

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

The reproduction/challenging of tribal prejudice between Shonas and Ndebeles through jokes and cartoons that are circulated on Whatsapp

By

Perpetual Ndlebe

R115280z

Supervisor Mr. Z. Mugari

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Science Media and Society Studies Honours Degree.

DECLARATION

I Perpetual Ndlebe (R115280Z) do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work that has not been submitted to any other university. Similarly, I declare that proper citations and acknowledgements in accordance with copyright law and ethical requirements have been strictly adhered to in writing the dissertation.

Dissertation Title: The reproduction /challenging of tribal prejudice between Ndebeles and Shonas through jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp.

Name of Student

Perpetual Ndlebe

Signature of student

.....

Date

.....

CIRTFIFICATE OF SUPERVISION

I hereby certifies that I personally supervised this dissertation in accordance with Department Regulations and the University General Regulations. I confirm that the dissertation is examinable.

Name of Student

Perpetual Ndelbe (R115280Z)

Dissertation Title

The reproduction /challenging of tribal prejudice between Ndebeles and Shonas through jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp.

Name of Supervisor

Mr. Z Mugari

Signature of Supervisor

.....

Date

.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Those who have been and are still in the field of research can concur with me that the pursuit of educational brilliance is not a one-man-for-himself undertaking. This study therefore was not an exception. There are many hands behind the completion of this project. First and foremost I would like to express my gratitude to the Most High God who has sailed me through this far. I never felt sick, neither did I encounter any problem of natural occurrence like death of a beloved one, hence my thanksgiving ascends high.

My supervisor Mr. Z. Mugari has been more of a supervisor to me. His fatherliness and supervision throughout the course of this project is greatly appreciated. His sacrifice to see and go through my work amidst demanding duties of a chairperson engulfing him is given credit. Thank you so much Mr. and Father Mugari, may God abundantly bless you and expand your territory.

Had it been not for Capernaum Trust, I would not have made it throughout this course. Thank you for being used as instruments in God's hands to provide for my tuition as well as upkeep. May God bless the entire Capernaum Trust members, particularly Mr. Strive Masiyiwa for all the financial support offered me. You made my college life easy.

My gratitude extends to all the lecturers in the department who have moulded me intellectually from the onset of my degree. Fellow undergraduate students who have been source of ideas and support are greatly appreciated. Sheron Chinkwita and Sibakhele your helping hand is so much recognised.

I would like to thank my family embracing my dad, mom and two sisters for the support they gave me financially, as well as the encouragement and comfort they offered on this thorny journey.

It won't be fair to leave my friend Fungai Murinda. He made my journey worth pursuing through prayers, encouragement and comfort. He has been a pillar to lean on in challenging times. Thank you so much my dear friend.

DEDICATION

This piece of work is dedicated to my two lovely sisters Nobukhosi and Everjoy and my dear friend Fungai Murinda. You mean a lot to me.

ABSTRACT

This study explores how the jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp fuel/challenge ethnic prejudices between the Shonas and Ndebeles. Ethnic differences and tensions which escalate into conflict between Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups date back to the pre-colonial period. Social media networks particularly WhatsApp seem to have presented the two groups with an opportunity to entrench or question these negative attitudes between them. To assess the way new social networking sites complicates ethnic relations between Shonas and Ndebeles, data was gathered through in-depth interviews with MSU students both Ndebeles and Shonas and from experts on ethnicity. Focus group discussions were also held with MSU students purposively selected on the basis of their ethnic affiliation as either Shonas or Ndebeles. The study found out that the jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp seem to entrench ethnic prejudice between the Ndebeles and the Shonas. On the other hand, though to a lesser extent, cartooning and jokes on social media are also read and consumed as a way of laughing at and lampooning such attitudes towards the other. The study makes recommendations particularly to government and relevant policy makers on how they can exploit social media platforms to foster greater amity between different ethnic groups that make up the Zimbabwean nation.

ACRONYMS

MSU	-	Midlands State University
ZANU PF	-	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic
CCJP	-	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
ZAPU	-	Zimbabwe African People's Union
MSM	-	Mainstream Media
CDA	-	Critical Discourse Analysis

Table of Contents

DECLARATION	ii
CIRTFIFICATE OF SUPERVISION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
DEDICATION	v
ABSTRACT	vi
ACRONYMS	vii
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the Study	1
1.3 Justification of Study.....	4
1.4 Statement of the problem	4
1.5 Research Objectives	4
1.6 Research questions	5
1.7 Delimitations	5
1.8 Limitations	6
1.9 Structure of the Study.....	6
1.10 Conclusion.....	6
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	7
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 Literature review	7
2.2.1 Origins and the evolution of tribalism in Zimbabwe.....	7
2.2.2 Mainstream media and their reportage on the “others”	14
2.2.3 Social media networks and neo-tribalism.....	19
2.2.4 Cartoons and their significance in meaning making processes	23

2.3 Theoretical framework	25
2.3.1 The public sphere concept	25
2.3.2 The concept of representation.....	26
2.3.3 The concept of identity formation process	27
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY	30
3.1 Introduction	30
3.2 Methodology	30
3.4 Unit of analysis.....	31
3.5 Sampling.....	31
3.5.1 Non probability sampling	32
3.5.2 Purposive sampling.....	32
3.5.3 Expert sampling	33
3.5.4 Snowball sampling	33
3.6 Data collection methods	34
3.6.1 Archival research	34
3.6.2 Interviews	35
3.6.3 In-depth interviews	35
3.6.4 Questionnaires	35
3.6.5 Focus group discussions	36
3.7 Methods of data analysis	37
3.7.1 Critical Discourse Analysis	37
3.7.2 Semiotics Analysis	38
3.8 Data Presentation.....	39
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	40
4.1 Introduction	40
4.2 The polysemic nature of jokes and cartoons	40

Fig 1.1	43
And with my first pay I bought myself a Bible	43
I bought myself and my parents beautiful suits	43
And spoiled them	44
As for me, when I finished my A' level, I crossed over to Mzansi	44
Fig. 1.2	44
4.3 Reading beyond a joke and/ or a cartoon.	46
4.4 "Tit for tat" a fair game	54
4.5 Othering the other through jokes and cartoons	57
4.6 Conclusion.....	59
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	60
5.1 Introduction	60
5.2 Summary of findings	60
5.3 Recommendations to the government	61
5.4 Recommendations a Ndebele-Shona society	62
5.5 Recommendations to MSU Students.....	63
QUESTIONNAIRE	69
QUESTIONS TO GUIDE THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS	70
QUESTIONS TO GUIDE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS	71

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The study focuses on how tribal prejudice is either reproduced or challenged on social media networks and in this case the researcher has chosen to centre on WhatsApp. WhatsApp is a social network that is affordable even to those people whose disposable income is low. There are some topics that seem a taboo to be discussed on the mainstream media in Zimbabwe and hence masses have found in social networks platforms to express their feelings. On media social networks people of different opinions, tribes, races, and level of education find the best atmosphere to confront each other. Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe have found in WhatsApp a platform to express their feelings, tribal affiliations and identities.

The researcher is interested to explore how Shonas and Ndebeles make use of WhatsApp to disparage each other along ethnic lines. Messages and jokes often shared on through this platform often carry and communicate consciously or subconsciously held tribal prejudice by one ethnic group against another.

Negative identities are ascribed to Ndebeles by Shonas and vice versa through these jokes and cartoons. These jokes and cartoons can be pictorial, audio or written texts. Representation by inclusion is key in this area as both of the groups would be represented but in a negative way. Mamdani (1996) argues that ethnic differences were there in Africa pre-colonial era but they were, however, exacerbated by whites during colonisation as they used it to create a boundary between the Ndebeles and the Shonas so that they come not into a mutual consent to fight the whites. Today, one can wonder why ethnic tensions are still in existence. The researcher therefore seeks to find out why tribalism still prevails in the so called Republic of Zimbabwe when 22 December is celebrated as the 'unity' day each and every year.

1.2 Background to the Study

This research will focus on the reproduction and circulation of ethnic stereotypes between Ndebeles and Shonas on WhatsApp. WhatsApp is a social network that was founded by Brian Acton and Jan Koum in 2009 to better the means of messaging. It is a network that helps the masses connect with their friends and relatives across temporal and spatial borders.

WhatsApp is no respecter of boundaries. Through WhatsApp people can send each other videos, photos, audio, and text messages.

Ndebeles is a group of people who ran away from Tshaka's fury after Mzilikazi their leader had refused to hand over the boot to King Tshaka after a raid. The Ndebele speaking group consists of a number of ethnic groups whose dialect was inclined to Ndebele hence were incorporated by the Ndebeles to form Ndebele speaking people. These ethnic groups include Bakalanga, VaVenda, Banambya, Babirwa (Malema 2013). Malema further argues that the great population of the Ndebele consists of the Kalanga speaking people whose ancestors lived in the Southern part of Zimbabwe over 1500 years before the Shonas. Hence his argument is based on the claim that it is the Ndebeles who settled in the Zimbabwean plateau first before the Shonas. Ranger cited in *issafrica*, notes that the Batonga in the Zambezi Valley, the Shangaan or Hlengwe in the South-eastern lowveld, the Venda, the Zulus, Xhosas, and the Basothos from South Africa and Lesotho who came to Zimbabwe in search of greener pastures during the colonial period were assimilated into the local Ndebele ethnic group because of shared Nguni linguistic origin.

Shonas is a conglomeration of distinct ethnic groups who have been clustered into one group. They lived for about 2,000 years in a region of the Southern Africa Plateau that includes most of Zimbabwe and part of Mozambique, (Doke 1931). These groups consist of the Manyika, Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore and Ndau.

The Oxford Dictionary defines tribalism as strong loyalty to one's own tribe, party, or group. Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe have become very much tribal to the extent that resolving these tribal differences seems a serious challenge for the state.

There are different schools of thought as to the origins of the ethnic unrest between the Ndebeles and the Shonas in Zimbabwe. Cramer (2005) argues that tribalism is a baby of the missionaries. He states that due to their desire of ensuring people's understanding of their gospel they divided the Zimbabweans into groups in accordance to their languages. All other ethnic groups were swallowed by Shona and Ndebele which were viewed as the dominant ethnic groups. According to Cramer, the division of the Ndebeles and Shonas gave birth to the existing suspicions and scorn between the two ethnic groups. She asserts that, 'the very widespread historical 'memory' of how 'the Ndebele' raided 'the Shona,' is not a product of

genuine traditional reminiscence but is the result of generations of school history lessons.” Posner also quoted in Cramer states that colonialism is a significant cause of tribalism and that “a country’s ethnic cleavages is not just a social fact but a historical product that can be traced.”

Some scholars argue that the conflict between the Shonas and the Ndebeles is dated back to the “divide-and-rule” era when the Whites took advantage of the two different groups to win power. Shonas were used to brutally punish the Ndebeles and the opposite is true. In 1893 a Shona leader refused to pay tribute to Lobengula saying that he and his subjects were then under the colonial protection. That is when Lobengula planned to attack the Shonas and the whites exploited this as an opportunity and under the pretext of protection, invaded and destroyed the Ndebele Kingdom.

Another school of thought on the history of tribalism in Zimbabwe is traced back to the pre-colonial era when the Ndebeles used to raid the Shonas. Beach (1994) argues that ethnic tensions which exist between the Ndebeles and the Shonas go back to the pre-colonial period of raiding and counter-raiding between the two groups. It is argued that colonisation only exacerbated the already existing conflicts. The tensions between the two ethnic groups however intensified post colonial era after Gukurahundi.

Journals, dissertations, books, online web pages and pamphlets have been produced in Zimbabwe in a bid to resolve the conflicts between the Shonas and the Ndebeles but to no avail. A couple of scholars including Gatsheni, Malema and others have just showed the existence of the conflicts between the Ndebeles and the Shonas but they seem to have less realised the role played by the media in so perpetuating the existing conflicts between the two ethnic groups. The researcher therefore is going to dwell much on the role played by the social media so called “Fifth Estate” by Greg Jericho in perpetuating tribalism.

The government have realised the intensity of tribalism and how it has bedevilled development and nationalisation. Since independence the government has employed a number of strategies to stop ethnic rivalries between the Ndebeles and Shonas but it seems efforts are in vain. It has adopted more inclusive policies and has tried to promote racial and ethnic integration through various ways, such as its reconciliation policy, which was internationally acclaimed in the first decades of independence. At the political and

ideological levels, the government also dismantled colonial institutions and laws promoting racial and ethnic disharmony (De Waal, 2002).

1.3 Justification of Study

Living in the Republic of Zimbabwe, the researcher has realised that while the government is preaching the gospel of unity and freedom of citizens the former is just but a utopia as the different tribes within the nation particularly the Ndebeles and the Shonas continue to harbour hostile sentiments against each other despite the unity accord that was signed in 1987 by ZANU PF and PF ZAPU. Little is known about how widely circulated and shared jokes and cartoons on social media networks maybe affecting these national efforts to unify the people. This subject of tribalism is significant as it has attracted the attention of the government because of its complexity and consequences.

It is therefore in the interest of the researcher to explore the role played by the social media networks in fuelling or diffusing these ethnic tensions. While the media in general is viewed as the watch dog, social networks have proved it otherwise as the ‘the hate language and obscenities’ through images, videos, audios and others are circulated through social media networks, (Mhiripiri 2013).

Websites like the ZimDiaspora, Bulawayo 24, and Pickled Plum have highlighted the tribalism issue but the angle used is just tracing the origins of this phenomenon, its existence and no attempt has been made to look at the media and its consequences on tribalism.

Series of discussions on tribalism in Zimbabwe have been made but no attention has been given to the media’s contribution on tribalism particularly social media networks, hence this study seeks to bridge the existing knowledge gap on how social media affects already existing tribal and ethnic rivalries and tensions chiefly among the Shonas and the Ndebeles.

1.4 Statement of the problem

Shonas and Ndebeles view each other with scorn and hatred. This study therefore, seeks to analyse how jokes and cartoons circulated via WhatsApp affect existing tribal and ethnic rivalries and prejudices between the Shonas and the Ndebeles.

1.5 Research Objectives

This study seeks to:

- Find out how the Ndebeles are portrayed on jokes and cartoons circulated on WhatsApp.
- Investigate how the Shonas are portrayed on jokes and cartoons circulated on WhatsApp.
- Find out how Shonas and Ndebeles consume and interpret jokes that negatively represent their ethnic group.
- Examine how Shonas and Ndebeles consume and interpret jokes that denigrate the opposite ethnic group.

1.6 Research questions

Main research question

How do the cartoons and jokes circulated on WhatsApp perpetuate/resolve tribalism in Zimbabwe?

Sub-research questions

How are the Ndebeles portrayed on jokes and cartoons circulated on WhatsApp?

How are the Shonas portrayed on jokes and cartoons circulated on WhatsApp?

How do the Ndebeles and Shona read and interpret jokes that denigrate their ethnic group?

How do the Ndebeles and Shonas read and interpret jokes that denigrate opposite ethnic group?

1.7 Delimitations

There are several social networks that are accessible to the Zimbabweans but the researcher has settled for WhatsApp. The researcher focuses on the cartoons and jokes circulated on this social network, be it images, videos, audios and written words which negatively portray the Shonas and Ndebeles. The time frame of the research is 2010 to date. WhatsApp was founded in 2009 and hence the researcher is going to dwell much from the period 2010 to date as it is during this period that the online forums became the “‘conversational arena’ in which people talk with each other in public settings about public issues,” Chase (2005). It is during this period that the masses familiarised with WhatsApp and hence found a great deal of it being

the “alternative Public Sphere with the capacity to give space to originally marginalised voices,” Moyo (2007) quoted in Chari (2013).

1.8 Limitations

Due to financial constraints the researcher could only download the videos, images and pictures when they have juiced their phone and that would lead to some of the material not downloaded due to limited bundles purchased. But, however, what the researcher collected is important and enough for further research in the subject.

1.9 Structure of the Study

This project is made up of five chapters. Chapters One consists of the introduction to the study, background to the study, justification of the study, statement of the problem and research objectives and questions. Chapter Two is constituted by literature review, literature that supports the perpetuation of tribalism on cyber space and the theoretical framework. Research methodology and the methods used to gather up data make up Chapter Three. Chapter Four covers analysis research findings and data presentation. And finally Chapter Five presents the conclusion and recommendations.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter takes us through the introduction of the research project, to the background of the study and other areas of interests. The following Chapter takes us through the literature review and theoretical framework.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores different publications that have been worked by different scholars in explaining the birth, evolution and current status of tribalism in Zimbabwe as well as abroad. Closer attention is also given to the role played by the mainstream media in tribalism as per views of other scholars. The theories relevant to this subject will be covered also.

2.2 Literature review

Du plooy (2007) asserts that reviewing literature refers to detailed and efficient exploration of literature that is in line with a research topic. Publications of key scholars like Gatsheni, Mamdani, and others are given attention in line with what they say about tribalism and social media networks scholars are also referenced. A lot has been said about tribalism in Zimbabwe and abroad; how it came to be, its evolution, its consequences and how different governments are acting either for the best of washing it away and or for the best of using it as an instrument to consolidate their power. It can be argued that social media networks create opportunities and platforms for the topics excluded in the mainstream media. Voluminous articles have been published about social media networks. The marginalised use it to speak back to power.

2.2.1 Origins and the evolution of tribalism in Zimbabwe

A tribe is usually a reference to ethnic groups, (Paglia). She further notes that ethnicity according to constructionists scholars is a social construction which is seen not as a matter of 'nature' but a matter 'of nurture,' (Paglia, p 11). Fenton cited in Paglia describes ethnicity as referred to "the social construction of descent and culture, the social mobilization of descent and culture, and the meanings and implications of classification systems built around them." Primordialism sees ethnicity as innate, a God-given gift which is shaped by kin relations and family ties, (Paglia, p11)

A number of scholars however draw a line between tribalism and ethnicity. Msindo cited in Gatsheni states that tribalism is normally the mobilisation of ethnically conscious people to

foment political enmity and disunity between ethnic “others” to the detriment of nationalism; on the other hand he defines ethnicity as that capacity in people to classify themselves as social “others”. Glazer and Moynihan (1975) quoted in Paglia suggest that ethnicity is a tag for social groups who feel their difference from the “others,” by virtue of common culture and descent, (Paglia, p10) whereas tribalism on the other hand has “discriminatory connotations, because it underlines the primitiveness of a group relative to the advance of another group,” (Paglia, p.) In this project however, the two terms are used interchangeably.

Capacious publications have been written to show how tribalism came to be in Zimbabwe, how it germinated and produced evil fruits and its current status.

Finex Ndlovu cited in Gatsheni postulates that ‘Zimbabwe is a multilingual country with eighteen African languages that include Shona, Ndebele, Kalanga, Nambya, Tonga, Sotho, Dombe, Xhosa, Tonga of Mudzi, Venda, Shangani, Tshwawo, Tswana, Barwe, Sena, Doma, Chikunda and Chewa,’ (Gatsheni 2011, p 22). In addition to the pre-colonial tribes that existed in Zimbabwe, are the descendants of immigrants from Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique who migrated into the country during the colonial era, (Raftopolous and Mlambo 2009) cited in Ncube (2014). Ncube further notes that Coloureds, Indians and Whites add to the Zimbabwean population as well.

However, as it stands today, it is the Ndebeles and Shonas who are given much attention and other ethnies are given less coverage if any. Barnes (2004) argues that in the project of changing the history syllabus embarked on by the Ministry of Education just after independence these so called ‘ethnic minorities’ or ‘the invisible subject minorities,’ were not mentioned at all (Barnes 2004; Muzondidya 2004). In his study Zimbabwe for Zimbabweans: Invisible Subject Minorities and the quest for justice and reconciliation in Post-colonial Zimbabwe, James Muzondidya notes that Zimbabwean ethnies other than Shonas and Ndebeles are ‘ignored or marginalised in most popular discourses.’ (Muzondidya 2004, p 213).

Many scholars argue that Ndebeles and Shonas are the two major ethnic groups in Zimbabwe but (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009; Raftopolous and Mlambo 2009) cited in Ncube (2014) notes that the Ndebele, Tonga and Kalanga often express the view that the government regularly construct ‘Zimbabwean-ness’ from a ‘Shona’ perspective rendering them ‘outsiders,’ (Ncube

2014, p3). This project, however, explores much on the strained relations between the Ndebeles and the Shonas.

There are different versions as to the birth of tribalism between Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe. Some scholars date it back to the pre-colonial era, others perceive it as a baby of colonisation, yet others blame the missionaries and their work for its existence.

Cramer is of the thought that tribalism in Zimbabwe was brought about by the missionaries. She states that tribal identities in Zimbabwe developed through language mapping on the part of missionaries and educators. She argues that on their efforts to have the gospel reach the masses, they decided to divide the existing ethnic groups that were in Zimbabwe then which included the Zezurus, Manyika, Korekore, Kalanga, Vhenda, Ndebeles and so on. And in so doing they ended up having two major ethnic groups that is the Ndebeles and the Shonas as those that seem minor groups to them were incorporated to the two major groups. Cramer further says ‘...Shona and Ndebele languages... were declared as the only two official languages of Zimbabwe’. Chimhandu cited in Cramer contends that through this act, there was no recognition of the commonalities between the languages or cultures. “The very widespread historical ‘memory’ of how ‘the Ndebele’ raided ‘the Shona,’ is not a product of genuine traditional reminiscence but is the result of generations of school history lessons” (Ranger 4) cited in Cramer (2005).

Chimhandu (1992), notes that the Rhodesian Front intentionally planted the seed of tribalism between the Ndebeles and the Shonas so as to ensure the establishment of White rule. He further states that Christianity, Western education and new perception of language unity resulted in regions division due to ethnic background. Solomon Mombeshora quoted in Muzondidya and Gatsheni (2009) assert that ‘the seeds of ethnic factor were derived from the pre-colonial past, [but] the colonial era provided fertile soil in which the ideology of tribalism germinated, blossomed and was further propagated (Mombeshora 1990:431).

Another version of tribalism between the Ndebeles and the Shonas in Zimbabwe is traced back to the pre-colonial era. The argument base on the notion of raiding which was a Ndebele economic activity and they normally raided Shona women, children and cattle. Due to these raids, Shonas hated Ndebeles with passion. In this study, the researcher is going to dwell much on this notion of pre-colonial era. Mamdani (1996) makes it clear that colonialism did not create ‘African people’ instead it created ‘subjects’ and ‘citizens’. According to

Mamdani, this is called the bifurcation of the colonial state into subjects that were antagonised under decentralised despotism, and citizens who enjoyed full civil and political rights. He argues that it was colonialism that had the negative effect not of inventing identities from scratch, but re-inventing existing ones, rigidifying and politicising them in a number of ways.

Beach (1986) cited in Gatsheni and Muzondidya (1997) notes that the relations between the Ndebeles and Shonas were fluid, characterised by collaboration at times and hostilities at other times. This was due to inter-marriages, political consensuses and migrations within the Zimbabwean Plateau.

Post colonial era, just after independence, the government engaged in the work of detribalisation. The government was undoing the great work done by colonialists so as to ensure peace and sovereignty in the new born Republic of Zimbabwe. Policies that include the reconciliation policy and others have been employed by the Zimbabwean government in an effort to dissolve tribalism in Zimbabwe between the Ndebeles and the Shonas but all these have been fruitless as evidenced by the brutal killings of Ndebeles that were employed by ZANU PF from 1982 to 1987.

When President Robert Mugabe won the elections in 1980, in a bid to bring together the torn apart Zimbabwean State he made sure that he did not include ZANU-PF members only in parliament but he also incorporated members of ZAPU as well as the whites, (Brown & Saunders 2007) cited in Gatsheni and Muzondidya (2009). As ZANU PF seized power in 1980, it attempted to undo the colonial ethnic and racial systems using both persuasion and compulsion. At the political and ideological levels, it placed emphasis on dismantling colonial institutions, laws and practices promoting ethnic polarisation, (Muzondidya and Gatsheni.)

Addressing the congregants soon after attaining independence, the President, Comrade Robert Gabriel Bob Mugabe said:

“If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you ...The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten. If ever we look to the past, let us do so for the lesson the past

has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are inequalities that must never find scope in our political and social system. It could never be a correct justification that because the whites oppressed us yesterday when they had power, the blacks must oppress them today because they have power. An evil remains an evil whether practised by white against black or black against white ... Democracy is never mob-rule ... (Meredith 2002; de Waal 1999:49) quoted in Barnes (2004)

Muzondidya and Gatsheni (2007) assert that the new government condemned ethnicity during the day but used it by night as a political resource in their own battles for power. Through the programs undertaken by the new government, the Ndebeles were othered. Mhlanga (2013) states that ZANU PF as the founders of the Heroes Acre mandated themselves with the duty of drafting laws on how the shrine should operate and this was done without the knowledge of the Ndebeles. Mbofana cited in Mpofu (2013) observes that: History records that a few months after celebration of our independence; Nkomo, ZAPU and ZIPRA were reduced to enemies of the state and snakes whose heads should be crushed. Thus the part they played during the struggle was blotted from the official history of the country's struggle for Independence and so began the privatisation and patenting of Zimbabwe's history and liberation. Mhlanga (2013) argues that the new leaders were on a mission of 'culturing' the Ndebele as the 'other' and to violently teach them to accept their position as the subaltern.

However, as time elapsed the relations between the two parties that represented the two major ethnic groups were strained. This was due to misinformation and suspicion by the President that the other part sought to oust him. It was during this era that the tribal society was revived, a society which views "blood feud as the ultimate control of accountability," (Jacobson and Deckard 2012). ZANU PF members due to the directive given by the president started to persecute ZAPU members and this is a blatant display that the reconciliation had failed. It is then that the seed of tribalism that was sort of dying in the minds of both ethnic groups that is the Shonas and the Ndebeles started to germinate again. The so called 'Gukurahundi' marked the peak of the strained relations between the Ndebeles and the Shonas.

Gukurahundi also known as the fifth brigade was a period of unselected murdering, seizure and persecution of ZAPU supporters and Ndebele speaking people. Ndebele women and girls were raped and the Ndebeles were also compelled to switch on to Shona as a national language. All this was an attempt by ZANU PF to coerce Ndebele masses to be pro-ZANU,

(Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace CCJP 1997, cited in Muzondidya and Gatsheni 2009)

Bjorn Lingren (2005:156-158) quoted in Muzondidya and Gatsheni contend that the effect of Gukurahundi was the solidification of the feeling of Ndebeleness among the people of Matabeleland and this has currently resulted in the difficulties of bringing Zimbabwe together.

Though the Government of Political Unity was signed between Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo in 1987, hatred had already made its way in the veins of the Ndebeles and as it stands today Ndebeles and Shonas have a cat-mouse relationship. Commenting on the Unity Accord, Mugabe stated in Moyana and Sibanda (1999:81) cited in Barnes (2004) said:

It ought to have been the Magma [sic] Carta of Zimbabwe, a charter which would bind once and for all, the two major tribes of Zimbabwe, namely the Shona and Ndebele, into one ... The Unity Accord, thus, form[s] the bedrock upon which peace, democracy, social justice and prosperity should be built.

Yes, the president had that to say, but, the mayhem of this epoch, left scars on Ndebeles and exists today as a base of bitterness within the Ndebeles who undergo discrimination and exclusion from state decisions as well as economic dealings, (Ranger, Alexander & McGregor 2000; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2003). Through this incident many Ndebeles remained with a clear picture of who they are amongst their Shona counterparts and it instilled a strong hostile feeling in Ndebeles, (Lingren 2005) cited in (Muzondidya and Gatsheni.) it is after this incident that the people of Matabeleland attached together into their centre, holding firmly on their tribal stem, more blooming in their kind, more passionate and hence also happier in their inclinations and purposes, (Mhlanga 2013).

One of Matabeleland interviewees recorded in CCJP and LRF (1997) cited in Barnes (2004) clearly stated that the wound of the fifth brigade is big and it cut the edges. Matabeleland and Midlands residents admit that of course the liberation struggle was agonising but they were determined for the liberation of the nation, but Gukurahundi was unbearable and hard to forget. They say it was scary, etched on mind and unappreciated, (Epel 2004). They say that though the president can call the era 'the time of madness' they can hardly erase from their minds the experiences of the time, (Sunday Mail 11.05.97) cited in Epel (2004).

Mhlanga (2013) argues that ZANU, since the attainment of independence, has used music and other activities to conclude that it is the Shonas who are responsible for the birth of a free

Zimbabwe and Shona figures are celebrated over as the ones who fought the liberation struggle. Ndebeles and their history are being forgotten. Mbofana (2010) quoted in Mhlanga (2013) argues that soon after independence, Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU and ZIPRA were belittled to opponents of the nation and traitors who were supposed to be washed away. Thus their role during the struggle was blotted from the official history of the country's struggle for Independence and so began the privatisation and patenting of Zimbabwe's history and liberation, (Mhlanga 2013).

In music, lyrics have been continued to be used to lift up ZANU and its supporters as the heroes who fought for the liberation of the country. Elijah Madzikatire and his band exemplify this issue through the lyrics of their song which goes like:

Tinotenda vaSamora vakasunungura Zimbabwe

Tinotenda vaNyerere vakasunungura Zimbabwe

Tinotenda vaMugabe vakasunungura Zimbabwe

Tozotendawo vaNkomo sahwira wedu muhondo

(We thank Samora for liberating Zimbabwe.

We thank Nyerere for liberating Zimbabwe.

We thank Mugabe for liberating Zimbabwe.

We also thank Nkomo for collaborating during the struggle.)

In this song Nkomo is labelled not as a fighter but just ZANU's companion during the liberation war.

Today many songs are sung by different artists and bands which include Mbare Chimurenga choir, and others which totally exclude Ndebele freedom fighters and their leader Joshua Nkomo. For instance the song with the lyrics:

Mbuya Nehanda kufa vachitaura shuwa kuti

tingatore sei nyika Shoko rimwe ravakatiudza

tora gidi uzvitonge...

(Mbuya Nehanda died with the desire of liberating the nation,

And she noted the only way to go was to use a gun)

In this song, many of the Shona heroes who died like Chitepo, Kaguvi, and others are mentioned but none of the Ndebele freedom fighter is mentioned as if Ndebele did nothing towards the attaining of independence.

Enormous articles have been jotted showing how tribalism started in Zimbabwe, its evolution, as well as its effects but less if anything has been said about the role played by the media particularly social media networks in fuelling these tribal prejudices. This project therefore comes to fill the gap unrealised by the fore scholars of the subject.

2.2.2 Mainstream media and their reportage on the “others”

Coronel (2009) quoted in Spiess (2011) states that the media as watchdogs, play the critical and crucial role of bringing to light the wrongdoings of prominent figures in the public interest. Freedom of expression and of the press should form the base of watchdog journalism. But, this is not the case in Zimbabwe as “the state has monopoly control over the media” through the draconian media laws such as the Broadcasting Services Act (2002), the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (2002) and others.

Mpofu (2013) argues that Media institutions help reproduce social norms, behaviours and stereotypes that naturalise society’s values and beliefs. In Zimbabwe it has been naturalised that if one tries to discuss on the issue of ethnicity they risk being labelled as ‘tribalism’ and, therefore, divisive to a supposedly ‘united nation,’ (Mhlanga 2013). Muzondidya and Gatsheni (2009) assert that ethnic strains have continued to be rampant in Zimbabwe as a result of the politics of silence. The mainstream media in Zimbabwe which are supposed to be public spheres for such topics to be discussed are used as instruments of political control by the ruling party. Shepel (2004) notes that the Zimbabwean government from the 1980s ratify decrees which make it almost impossible for the citizens to have any truth in their finger nails as truth has remained a government assert, “a value- laden political tool that influences political life in Zimbabwe”, (Ake 1993) cited in Mpofu (2013).

Muzondidya and Gatsheni (2009), note that the politics of silence is experienced at both social level and state level. At societal level, they argue, members stay away or make every effort to mute every discussion that seems to have anything to do with ethnicity. On the other hand, ZANU PF drag their feet in including tribalism discussions in both politics and economy “with regard to addressing historical and contemporary factors” whereas the issue has remained raw in people’s minds especially the Ndebeles and influence the way they interact and socialise with other ethnic groups, (Muzondidya and Gatsheni 2007).

Commenting on the operation of the media in the subject of tribalism, Shepel (2004) states that during the Gukurahundi era, the radio and television were state-controlled and the Chronicle a Matabeleland based daily paper was silent on the atrocities that were taking place but, however, blamed the so called dissidents who happened to be Ndebeles. Currently, nothing has so much changed in the world of media in Zimbabwe as reportage on the “others” is characterised by labelling, selected use of data, generalizing incidents, negative stereotyping, giving one side of a story, using derogatory words, mixing facts and views, absence of fact checking, and miss-matching of the content of the text and headlines, images, and sound, (Rupar 2012).

Raftopolous (2009) argues that those who try to discuss about the 1980s massacres are blamed by the government of reviving the forgotten injuries yet those who were affected call for the revealing of the truth for the wounds to heal.

Charles Ungerlcider (1998) posits that, “news reporting is essentially an exercise in story telling which means that a critical part of news coverage consists of casting people as heroes, villains and victims.” Media in Zimbabwe is not exceptional in such practises. Some of the programs that are broadcasted like Zvevanhu are absolutely meant to create Shonas as Zimbabwean Heroes and so much silent on the part played by Ndebele heroes like Joshua Nkomo to bring about the independence of the nation.

It is argued that most mainstream media work for the exacerbation of ethnicity. In actual facts, it is the media that should make sure they accommodate everyone fairly in their reportage but in most cases the mainstream media are doing otherwise. Mainstream media help those in power, the ‘ethnic majorities’, the ‘ethnic strong’ to rule subjects by consent. Hegemony has been used by almost all of those in power to keep on going no matter oppositions. Ndebeles are critical of Mugabe and his ZANU PF but hegemony has silenced them and so is ideology through repressive state apparatus. Ndebele critiques of the ruling party are not capable of shouting their ideologies, they whisper in doors as the repressive state apparatus await those who are caught on the wrong side. Thus Castells (1997), states that, the mass media are used to reproduce social constructions thereby strengthening and legitimating dominant groups.

Ojo (2006) suggests that reportage on the ‘others’ in newsrooms is bedevilled by recruitments of journalists, editors, subeditors and many other workers who are responsible for the production of information. He states that the ‘others’ are less represented in newsrooms if ever they are. However Rupar (2012) put the blame on financial underpinnings. Combining the two factors that influence the production of information it can be noticed that the ‘others’ are left with no room to air their views via the mainstream media. In Zimbabwe it can be noticed that though Ndebeles fill influential posts in news rooms they don’t have the capability of engaging the issue of tribalism in the mainstream media as they are saturated by ZANU PF ideologies. The other thing is that they get their bread and butter from ZANU so they have to dance according to the tune of ZANU to earn their breakfast, lunch and supper.

Poor mainstream media representation of ‘other’ ethnic groups is common in many countries as almost every country in the world is made up of at least more than two different ethnic groups. To get rid of the issue, the minorities are escaping to ethnic media which are in form of community radios, community televisions and community newspapers. This has been the case in Sudan, Australia, America, Sweden and others. In other countries like Australia, these ethnic media are strictly censored by the government through established laws. But, however, in other countries the minority media “fills a compensatory function,” (Camuer). Through these community media, producers attempt to provide the kind of information that helps to qualify rough generalisations, by which they also contribute to spreading knowledge that can be used in the struggle against prejudice and racism. Tokunbo Ojo adds, “ethnic media were established in response to the misrepresentation, under-representation and invisibility of visible minorities in the mainstream media,” (Ojo 2006).

While the “others” of other countries are celebrating over ethnic media, in Zimbabwe the case is different as a few community media that are there, are owned and controlled by those with political, social and economic muscles. Of late 8 community radio licences have been leased but these licences seem to have been offered to cadres with strong ZANU PF background like Super Mandiwanzira.

Media as the culture industry manufacture the products that are consumed by the masses. It is through the media that we have popular culture. Media described as the watch dog which must check on the excesses of the state, are sometimes doing otherwise as they seem to uphold the interests of the ruling class. “Tribalism,” a mainstream trend largely based on

false, stereotypical notions of who indigenous people are, has become a pop culture phenomenon, (Ancestry.com). This popular culture phenomenon is diffused by the media as people get to know about popular culture through the media. In Zimbabwe it is now sort of a norm that Mashonaland is a Shona infested area and Matabeleland is swarmed by the Ndebeles. If a Ndebele happens to be in the East they should be able to “taura” because rarely is English used to accommodate everyone if vernacular seems a barrier. The same happens with the Shonas if they are in Matabeleland no one bothers listen to their language they must by all means “khuluma” so as to ensure a beautiful and comfortable stay in the area.

Andreas (2013) on Africa Arguments postulates that tribalism is a concept which many reporters readily tap in. Many journalists, editors, media managers and media owners use the media to frame the ethnic groups that may seem a threat to the perpetuation of their ideology. Framing, which is the creation of reality, has been employed in many media houses so as to uphold tribalism. This can be exemplified by a headline on Sunday News 20 March 2015. Reporting about the matches that were played by Dynamos against Hwange and Highlanders against Black Rhinos, the headline read “Dynamos wins, Highlanders lose.” Dynamos is mostly dominated by Shona players as well as Shona fans and supporters and Highlanders on the other hand is a Ndebele team. The headline is tribal in the sense that it is as if Highlanders was playing against Dynamos. If the Sunday News wanted to be tribal fair on the reportage it would say “Black Rhinos wins, Hwange loses. It can therefore be noticed that whenever there is an opportunity to perpetuate tribalism in Zimbabwe media houses make good use of the media.

Andreas, commenting on how the media is used in South Sudan to perpetuate tribalism, he states that leading heroes in South Sudan’s catastrophe also make use of a distinctly anti-tribalist rhetoric and warnings of ethnic conflict in order to justify their political plans as well as the use of force. He argues that most of these speeches are theoretical as practically these leading figures go on to sideline other minor ethnic groups. The same happens here in Zimbabwe exemplified by the President Robert Mugabe’s speech on Solomon Mujuru’s burial on the 20th of August 2011. “The significant part of President Mugabe’s speech was in his public call for peaceful, harmonious co-existence of Zimbabwe...” (Mavhinga 2011)

But, this was just in theory because choosing for the replacement of the Vice president Mujuru, a Shona figure Emerson Munangagwa was titled the first Vice President and a

Ndebele representative Phelekezela Mphoko was titled the second Vice President in the 2014 Congress held in December.

Mpofu (2013) argues that the presidency office is not attained by performance, effectiveness, intelligence vision or anything but the argument is that, according to Mpofu, ‘ethnicity influences political choices.’ This truth has been practiced in many countries across the globe. Those who belong to the major ethnic groups of a country always win the elections with the assistance of the media propagandising the masses to fall for a certain political party. Mpofu further notes that another common myth among some contributors, in particularly in Zimbabwe is the thought of the country having a Ndebele president crushed right, left and centre as politicians have argued that the highest ever position a Ndebele can attain in Zimbabwe politically is that of a deputy. Some observers fall for the thought that presidential office is acquired on merit, yet other believe ethnicity is the key to opening the presidential office.

The President’s most speeches are characterised by his theoretical call for a peaceful and harmonious State but there after he goes on to act otherwise. On his speech broadcasted on the celebration of the 2011 independence, the president said,

“Our Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration should continue to be not only the promoter of our peace and stability but also its watchdog...I call upon all Zimbabweans to unite in pursuit of a shared national vision and to strive at all times for peace not violence, and to respect the unity and development of our nation.”
(zimottawa.com 2011)

Taking a closer look to the practical part of the speeches it can be noticed that the theoretical part and the practical part are two worlds apart, the president is just doing the lip service. If the leading characters of Zimbabwe sought to come up with a united and peaceful Zimbabwe, they would suggest that vernacular news be read in Ndebele first then Shona, they would suggest that during national gatherings, the national anthem be sang in Ndebele first then in Shona, the Vice President is supposed to be Ndebele since the President is a typical Zezuru so as to strike a balance between the so called “two major” ethnic groups of Zimbabwe, or otherwise there is one major ethnic group, the Shonas.

The mainstream media of many countries are saturated by the ideologies of the ruling class. Political, economic and social powers are upheld through the use of the media. Much has been said about the media and tribalism, especially how the media is used by the capitalist to

marginalise the other groups of society, which are formed in the basis of tribes, races, gender and so on. This research therefore seek to bridge the gap of how the Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe have manipulated social media particularly WhatsApp to show what they think about each other despite the attempt of the president to bring these groups together through the reconciliation act.

2.2.3 Social media networks and neo-tribalism

Social media networks can be defined as the exercise of broadening a person's social contacts by attaching or linking with different individuals via the internet. Mpofu (2013) has argued that the advent of technology has provided masses with greater freedom of assembly and expression. (Mitra 2001; Moyo 2009; Ogola 2011) cited in Mpofu (2013) note that the alternative media has provided platforms where people can imagine and debate, (re) create communities and share experiences.

Different groups use different media and have different views of that media,(Boyd). He further argues that the internet is used to critique the mainstream media (MSM). There are many topics that are a taboo to be discussed in the mainstream media directly so social media networks have been celebrated over by the young and literate to air their views. Groups are formed, in accordance to social status, tribe, gender, religion, political affiliation and age, and it is on these groups that the masses speak their voices out. Boyd describe it as "Chicken, meet egg".

Tribalism have found its way on social media networks since on the MSM it is ignored as if it does not exist, whereas it does. Media scholars like McLuhan have coined the new invention of tribalism "neo-tribalism" or "re-tribalisation". According to these different scholars there are two meanings of this concept of re, or neo tribalism. The first one is denotatively tribalism that is characterised by ethnical background and the connotative one is characterised by tastes, religion, social status, political affiliation, hobbies and so on.Beck states that the basal layer of social media has remained unchanged, but the chief characteristic of tribes is the tendency to categorize membership in distinct groups, movements, cultures and ideologies—to band together in subpopulations of shared interests, tastes, demographics and marketplaces. Yet, within tribes is the free will to exercise personal choice over who we connect and communicate with.

Mpofu (2013) asserts that while the mainstream media's reportage is inclined towards the politically, socially and economically strong individuals, and blocking the views of other members of the society, social media networks present those who are "marginalised, ostracised and demonised counter-hegemonic voices" and a free sphere of debating issues of public interest.

To Marginalised Zimbabwean citizens within and outside the country, social media networks have proved to be the harmless and most consistent podium for "effectively (re) producing competing notions of nationalism and identity", (Khalidi 2010, xiii) cited in Mpofu (2103)

On the space provided by the social media networks, many like-minded groups, Caldwell argues, bond with each other and people are brought together to build alliances across a range of issues.

On the same subject, Boyd notes that, "while tribalism has its dark side, a tendency toward inter-tribal conflict and aggression, the wiring of the human mind and new social technologies are combining to engender neo-tribalism..." He further says this time around the tribes formed are no respecters of boundaries; people of different ethnies are brought together by different factors other than ethnicity. The groups formed by different people are exclusionary. For example, if the group on WhatsApp is titled "hot media and society studies ladies," no male is ever allowed to infringe in the group and that's where the tribal part of it comes in.

However, this research will not dwell much on this concept but on the denotative meaning of tribalism. Different scholars argue that the new media networks have created an opportunity for history to repeat itself as people of different ethnic groups "other" other ethnic groups in the way they relate, share information and create groups. Through the shared talk appearing, Ureta notes, "instant messaging and befriending...see the resurgence of ancient patterns of oral communication, direct bonds, intimacy and horizontal relations characteristic of a tribe."

Ureta further states that the advent of the alternative ways of communication, have resulted in what he calls "electronic orality" which sees the amazing sameness of ancient tribal culture and fashion where people participate employing a language "particularly emotional even though integrated in rational objective forms." In the collective pit-a-pat of profile-peeking,

messaging and ‘friending’, they see the resurgence of ancient patterns of oral communication, (Mensvoort).

Cadwell forwards that mobile and online tools are increasingly being used to map conflict zones, to quell election violence, and to respond to disasters. Through these mobiles, people decide on what to consume and what to reject with unlimited control of filter in, and they also filter out, with extraordinary power of accuracy.

Mensvoort argues that some years ago people used to live as tribal groups under chiefs and the coming in of big and intricate communities like towns, organisations, countries and continents are a new phenomenon. However, people have managed to survive on these communities but, Mensvoort argues, “Our tribal sensibilities were never entirely washed away.”

Through these alternative means of communication, Ureta notes “we all may feel part of something big that unites us to otherness.” People are shaping their identities by exhibiting their relationships to each other; while scrawling messages on each other’s walls and exchanging totem-like visual symbols, you define yourself in terms of who your friends are, (Mensvoort). The social media networks have created a new public sphere for the masses, the subalterns now can speak back to the authority, the common people and their views are now accommodated.

Ndebeles within the Zimbabwean borders and those in Diaspora have so much grabbed the opportunity offered by the social media networks to discuss their plight of misrepresentation, marginalisation and via the internet. Web-based forums like Zimeye, Inkundla.net and other public forums have been opened to link and connect the dispersed Ndebeles across the world to discuss how to best solve the current ethnicity problem in Zimbabwe. These Ndebeles have become so radical that they are dreaming of an independent Ndebele Nation-State built on a re- imagination of both pre-colonial history and a recounting of the recent history of the Fifth Brigade atrocities.

Social media networks so called “fifth estate” have created space for many to air their opinions. Mhiripiri (2013) defines the Fifth Estate as that emergent space where the ordinary people who are not necessarily media professionals nor are working for specific media institutions publish their stories.

The fifth estate therefore as noted by Mhiripiri allows the common to participate in the production of the media content through the internet. It is to the interest of the Shonas and Ndebeles to produce that media content that has nothing to do with the unification of Zimbabwe but to mock, dehumanise and castigate each other. They have grabbed the opportunity of the fifth estate to express their sentiments on each other which date back to pre-colonial era.

As far as tribalism is concerned in Zimbabwe the mainstream media journalists can be shut to air their views about what they think or even measures on how to solve the problem. But social media have come to do away with the gate keeping of the government. Where the mainstream media have covered issues of tribalism WhatsApp comes to unveil the truth. The government and the mainstream media might seem to be silent about the tribalism issue at hand, but WhatsApp that is accessible to Jack and Jill has pointed out that tribalism is there in Zimbabwe. Whether we like it or not, whether we pretend as if we are united while we are not, tribalism is a game played in Zimbabwe whose end seems to be a utopia especially if the first four estates remain deaf, dumb and blind to the issue. The masses have therefore mandated themselves to showcase what they think and feel about their identities and those of their fellows. The fifth estate has unveiled the current situation of tribalism in Zimbabwe.

The social media has been however celebrated as the new public sphere. Kellner and Dott (1998) quoted in Chari (2013) say that the technological developments of the 1990s such as the internet has given the concept of the public sphere new prominence. O'Sullivan quoted in Mhiripiri (2013) states that alternative media also referred to as 'radical' or 'underground media' stand in opposition to mainstream productions by representing political and social doctrines that lie outside the defined limits of parliamentary consensus debate.

Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe have understood the concept of the social media as a public sphere and thus fight their battles through jokes and cartoons as this tribalism topic seem to be a taboo to be discussed in the mainstream media. Many voices are heard on WhatsApp through videos, edited images and audios of the subalterns expressing their sentiments on how they feel towards each other as the mainstream media seem to have nothing to do with tribalism. WhatsApp is accessible to the outskirts of Matabeleland like Plumtree and the far end of Mashonaland which is Chimanimani. Through WhatsApp tribal images, audios and videos are forwarded from Plumtree to as far as Chimanimani.

Sandoval and Fuchs (2010) quoted in Mhiripiri (2013) points that social networks are 'civil media', 'community media', 'alternative media', 'grassroots media', 'participatory media or participatory culture.' Social networks, particularly WhatsApp as community media has become of vital importance to the Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe as they instead of hooking up and come together to build a united community are disintegrating the nation state Zimbabwe through their tribal prejudice on each other.

The way the Ndebeles and Shonas are participating in view of the social media as a 'participatory media' is just astonishing. Despite which part of the country they would be, group chats are created on WhatsApp to castigate each other.

2.2.4 Cartoons and their significance in meaning making processes

Cartoons can be generally defined as a caricature, comic strip or an animated film. The term cartoon according to Witz et al, refers to metaphorical codification, and or to a satirical or humorous genre through which an artist subtly informs, educates and entertains his viewers. Cartoons are perceived as doors ways for one to quickly express their feelings towards a certain subject. Nyoni et al (2012) trace the invention of a cartoon to the 19th century. They postulate that, during this era, different satirical and humorous drawings were called caricatures. In its current meaning, according to Nyoni et al (2012), the term cartoon was first used in 1983 in Punch, at time when the magazine first used satirical drawings in its pages.

Of late, the term cartoon and its application has won the attention of editors in newsrooms, programmers in broadcasting, authors of different books, and has also made its way to the alternative media.

Willems notes that different meanings and understandings are attached on cartoons and comic strips but, Witz et al el argues, they ruthlessly belittle worldly gurus and seemingly sound topics to ground level, subjecting them to suspicion and mockery. Cartoons consist of combined images, figurative words and objects that carry with them stories, opinions and sentiments, (Bamford and Francois 2001). Cartoonists, have nothing to do with stale, uncontested and calm issues, rather they engage in their work hot, current subject that affects citizens socially, politically and economically.

Nyoni et al (2012), assert that cartoons are viewed by many audiences as jokes and funny pictures that provoke amusement but, they “have a powerful, yet not fully understood effect”, (Bamford and Francois 2011). Cartoons are meant to cultivate and instil different opinions on the happenings of a given society having the vision of coming up with a developed and favoured community. A cartoon is a powerful weapon. Its honesty, proximity and certainty overrule a thousand texted words, an edited film and an acted drama. Lampon, funniness, disparity, shock and even nonsense are used to bring to light solemn facts.

Many audiences have fallen in love with cartoons. One might find them fixed on notice boards, offices, hair salons and many other public places and mostly they incite masses to dialogue. Cartoons seem informal as at times they are products of gossip; jokes and rumour but they disseminate formal issues that include the lofty worldly figures and burning current issues of society. In coming up with cartoons, cartoonists will be aimed at “constructing practical criticisms and provide political commentary meant at reorienting the public,” (Wintz et al). Their core mandate is to mirror in some way issues of public interest.

Cartoons have been mostly common in print media and broadcasting but, however, in a technological world, cartooning is not exceptional in social media networks. Cartoons of different sorts are circulated all over the world. Nyoni et al (2012) observes that while mainstream cartoons are based on a combination of images and written words, and socio-cultural to come up with sense, internet cartooning is much more advanced as online cartoons are reciprocal and sensitive, with a new and different audience and recipients who are universal internet ‘tribes.’

A number of scholars have surveyed how cartoons have been used in Zimbabwe to disclose people’s feelings on burning issues at a given time like Murambatsvina of 2008, corruption and ambiguity of government officials since the first millennium, Operation Garikai of 2008 and many other issues. However, it can be noticed that a void remains on cartooning in social media networks and the consequences on ethnic rivalries between the Ndebeles and the Shonas.

2.3 Theoretical framework

The researcher is going to focus on a number of theories that have a relationship with social media and tribalism. Theories that can be employed in such a study include the public sphere theory, representation and identity formation process.

2.3.1 The public sphere concept

The theory of the public sphere was spearheaded by Jurgen Habermas who defined it as a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space. The theory dates back to the time when people used to meet in salons to discuss issues of social interests. In its ideal form, the public sphere is “made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state” Large newspapers devoted to profit, for example, turned the press into an agent of manipulation: “It became the gate through which privileged private interests invaded the public sphere” Habermas (2007). Habermas stress that the public sphere is capitalist in nature. The fifth estate has however challenged Habermas view of the public sphere where the ‘publics’ are the capitalist as through the fifth estate (social media) common people can enjoy taking part in public debate.

The fifth estate however ignores the notion that the middle commons are the ones who enjoy the benefits as the bottom commons would have no access to the internet due to lack of finance since they would be worried much about their bread and butter issues. Hence as commoners take part in the discussion of tribalism in Zimbabwe not all of them are included as those who receive low income disposal if any would not manage to buy smart phones. The public sphere thus remains to the elite. Abdallar (2012) states that, the new media and social media as an open and free communication activity over the internet, can be considered today as an effective mechanism to monitor and watch over the ‘fourth power.’ In an attempt to show the fourth estate its weaknesses as far as tribalism is concerned in Zimbabwe, Ndebeles and Shonas are making good use of WhatsApp as it is an interesting way to reveal the range between actualism and idealism.

Waldahl (2004) states that, the media are core sources of the public sphere as they are the manufacturers of information which provide the masses with current news about the on goings of societies. However, Habermas observed the mutation of the public sphere as market forces go on to manipulate public sphere. Today the media are no longer public

spheres as they are now commercialised hence they have nothing to do with social interests but are engaging in the business of profit making.

Harbermus (1989) further asserts that the public sphere has been privatised as only a few corporate citizens, mostly elites seem to enjoy unsanctioned freedom in selling their ideas and opinions to an increasingly defenceless public. The use of economic power to own, control or curtail the media freedom can be seen as a new form of censorship but now has manifested in its most ruthless form in that it does not only control the editorial policy also deny popular participation in the democratic process.

The advent of technology has seen new public spheres emerging where every Jack and Jill can participate in the debate of social issues. Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and many other blogs form an uncensored public sphere ideal to every member of the society as long as they can afford a smart phone. In the new public spheres those issues that are given a blind eye in the media are discussed and exhausted. Ndebeles and Shonas have found in the new public spheres a battle ground to fight their wars as in the mainstream media they are not given the chance.

2.3.2 The concept of representation

Alvarado (1987) states that representation is the construction in any medium especially the mass media of aspects of reality such as people, places, events, objects, cultural identities and other abstracts of concepts.

Hall (1997) further goes on to say that there are three approaches to representation that include the intentional approach, reflective approach and constructionist approach, intentional approach means that journalists sometimes intentionally falsify information so as to achieve certain reasons. Representation is rather a flawed process.

Representation can be generally defined as standing on behalf of someone or something. Scholars have however, more to say about representation. Deacon et al. (2007) states that media representation is the general process through which meanings are embodied in specific material forms that is speech, written language, visual images or any combination of these like film and television. Representation of Shonas on some of the jokes that are circulated on WhatsApp leaves a lot to be desired as they would be represented by images of animals like

mice, cats and so on. The same happens to Ndebeles who would be represented by unattractive faces of people.

Media are described as a 'double edged sword' which can either construct or deconstruct societies in representing different ethnic groups. WhatsApp has proven true this statement as the Zimbabwean society is torn to pieces through the jokes and cartoons that circulated on WhatsApp negatively portraying the Shona speaking people and their culture by the Ndebeles and the opposite is true. Hall (2007) brought about representation by inclusion and exclusion. Through the jokes and cartoons circulated on WhatsApp Ndebeles are included in the jokes that are circulated and these will be mockery jokes where as if it is the matter of power and the beauties of Zimbabwe the Ndebeles are excluded from those jokes by the Shonas and so does the Ndebeles to the Shonas.

Ashbury et al (2005) initiated the three theories of representation that is the reflective approach, intentional approach and constructive approach. The Ndebeles reflect the Shonas in such a way that is so dehumanising. Intentionally, Shonas negatively circulate jokes and cartoons that mock the Ndebeles so that the Ndebeles will lose sense of belonging in the nation State. This can be exemplified by the joke of Lobengula selling the Zimbabwean State to the Whites. As much as these jokes are circulated on WhatsApp it can be noticed that it is upon the onuses of the Ndebele or Shona to construct meaning. For example a cartoon where two Ndebele guys will be rapping mocking Shonas. At the end they are rebuked by a Shona lady who is recording them thus different meanings can be attached to that cartoon.

2.3.3 The concept of identity formation process

Identity can be generally defined as an attempt to answer the question who you are. Identity can be ascribed that is what or who people say you are and inscribed that is who or what you say or think you are. Gripsrud (2002) argues that identity has to do with sameness or oneness. In such a scenario it can be observed that the Ndebeles stand as one possessing their identity that is characterised by supporting Bosso, at the same time the Shonas also stand together characterised by supporting Dynamos.

However, Hall (1997) indicates that identities are not limited to sameness they are about differences. Ndebeles differentiate themselves from Shonas as they claim that Ndebele ladies are beautiful facially and well structured like a Coca-Cola bottle. Mbembe (2002) states that,

every identity has an act of power, that is inclusion and exclusion, it is about 'us' not 'them.' Shonas stand to show that they are the Shonas, the rulers of the nation State and not the Ndebeles who sold the country to the whites because of greediness.

Marcia (2006) identified two core variables of identity formation process. These variables are exploration and commitment. Exploration is characterised by actively questioning and weighing various identity alternatives before making a decision about which values, beliefs, and goals one wants to pursue. On the other hand commitment entails making a relatively firm choice in an identity domain and engaging in significant activities towards the implementation of that choice, (Marcia 2006).

Comaroff (1997,p. 73) asserts that ethnicity when placed under the social relational lenses rests on how differences are understood ,interpreted, represented and sometimes decided by the cultural exigencies of history in any given context. Ethnicity can be advanced by factors that may not have caused it; therein lies the basis of social constructivist, instrumentalists and essentialists discourses. One may therefore argue that ethnic identity is not a God given gift as suggested by essentialists but a mere social construction. Different people are in the business of working towards their identification. Identities are therefore not fixed but change depending on where one is and what they are doing.

Ncube (2014) notes that to survive, or to get what they want and desire, many Zimbabweans slip and slide in and out of identities. Such slip-and-slide identities are formed on the go, improvised to suit a variety of contexts. Those Ndebeles who are part and parcel of the ruling party ZANU PF are just Ndebeles by name but their emotions and attitudes have been doctored to suit the ZANU PF ideology. They are silent on the grievances of their fellow men, they don't care about the atrocities that took place in the 1980s otherwise they blame the Ndebeles, simply they are Ndebeles outside but their hearts and souls have been Shonanised. And to this Lyton Ncube argues a Zimbabwean identity is layered.

Shona identity is also prone to contestations as those who identify themselves as Shonas are, according to Muzondidya and Gatsheni, groups who have existed since the pre-colonial era which include Karanga, Manyika, Zezuru and Ndau. Shona is just said to be an umbrella term. Raftopolous and Mlambo (2009) are of the view that in the ancient days there was nothing like Shona but 'VaNyai' abe Tshabi, 'Karanga or 'Hole', hence, Lyton Ncube argues, there is nothing natural about being Shona but a mere construction, (Ncube 2014)

Mbembe also states that identities are fluid they are always in a state of change. In a cartoon produced by the Shonas to show Ndebele identity the Ndebele is portrayed as someone who is backward, ugly and uncivilised but a cartoon that is produced by Ndebeles to identify themselves Ndebeles stand as beautiful, educated and focused.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at all means that the researcher used to collect, analyse and present data. Generally, methodology can be described as the means of gathering data necessary for a research project.

3.2 Methodology

There are a series of methodology concepts. There is, the constructivist approach, positivist approach and interpretivist approach of gathering information. Positivism is based on the argument that “the social world exists externally to the researcher, and that its properties can be measured directly through observation, (Gray 2000). Hughes and Sharock (1997) critiqued this positivism theory as they put forward that for reality to be strong there is need of doing other things more than observing.

According to Gray, interpretivism asserts that natural reality and social reality are different and therefore require different kinds of methods. He states under social reality there are five approaches that can be employed to come up with sound results. These are symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, realism, hermeneutics and naturalistic inquiry. The symbolic interactionism is characterised by meaning making process of people’s ways of life and live realities. These meanings are said to arise from social interaction by Gray. Phenomenology is of the thought that immediate people’s experiences of the society determine social reality. Realism is based on the argument that what science says the world is, is factual and exact and hence new discoveries adds to what is already known. Hermeneutics is characterised by the fact that social reality is created it’s not a God given gift. Naturalistic inquiry is based on history. In order to come up with social reality, history should be given credit.

Gray suggests that critical inquiry is of paramount importance in research as it has some parallels with positivism and interpretivism. He goes deep to analysing the structure of the society which he says is characterised by power relations. He says the ruling ideology in society is of the dominant groups at the expense of the oppressed, the ‘have not.’

There is also Feminism approach which states that the knowledge possessed by an individual is determined by their social position. Unlike Marxism that states that the position is determined by means of production, feminism is of the view that it is determined by gender as women are viewed as the weaker vessels. Therefore women have perfect knowledge as compared to man whose understanding of knowledge is distorted.

According to Cupchik constructivist approach is a qualitative method of data collection. He further postulates that Constructivist Realism is therefore a position which acknowledges that social phenomena exist in communities quite independently of professional researchers. These real phenomena will be observed and named by members of the natural community, and understood by experienced or wiser people of good judgment. Scholars can approach this real world each in their own way.

In this project therefore, the researcher employed the interpretivism approach and all its immediate approaches that is hermerneutics, phenomenology, symbolic interaction, realism and natural enquiry. This will help the researcher to come up with sound conclusions on the existence of tribalism in Zimbabwe and how the society perceives it in a technological world.

3.4 Unit of analysis

Unit of analysis is the key type of object of interest. “It is the subject (the who or what) of study about which an analyst may generalize,” (Long eta al 2013). He further stipulates that Units of analysis may be different from the units of observation. Unit of analysis, Duplooy (1995) notes, are people, groups, organisations or things and anything else that has relevance whose characteristics we wish to observe, describe or explain. In this study the objects of interest are the Ndebeles and Shonas. WhatsApp materials are also given closer attention.

3.5 Sampling

Sampling is the selection of a sample or a part based on the interests of the researcher from the entire population to find out solutions to a problem and the results are generalised for the whole society. “Sampling method is the process or the method of drawing a definite number of the individuals, cases or the observations from a particular universe, selecting part of a total group for investigation,” (Mildred Parton). Sampling is, Kumar notes, “the process of selecting a few (a sample) from a bigger group to become the basis for the estimated or predicting a fact situation or outcome regarding the bigger group,” (Kumar 2011). Key to

sampling is the 'population' and a 'sampling frame'. Population refers to masses that you have already made assumptions. In this case the population are the Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe. Sampling frame is described as a crowd where a frame will be taken from. In this case the sampling frame are Midlands State University Students.

There are two sampling techniques which are non-random sampling and probability sampling. In non-probability sampling, selection of the of the sample is not random but rather guided by subjective methods like level of education, gender, age, political affiliation and so on. Probability sampling is characterised by selecting the elements of interests randomly. Every element in random sampling has the chance to be selected.

3.5.1 Non probability sampling

'Non-probability sampling is a sampling technique where the samples are gathered in a process that does not give all individuals in the population equal chances of being selected.' (Flick 2006:26). In non-probability sampling, it is the researcher who determines on the factors to consider in choosing elements. There are various methods of non-random sampling which include convenience sampling, purposive sampling and many more. The researcher however settled for convenience sampling.

3.5.2 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling is the selection of a portion or part from the entire population by the researcher based on the researcher's interests or qualities. "Purposive sampling is also referred to as judgmental sampling or expert sampling", (Battaglia 2009, p524). In purposive sampling, the core task is to have a sample that represents the entire population. The researcher must be well-versed on the population which they are studying so that as they select the sample each element of the population will be represented. Purposive sampling is usually done with a purpose in mind. "Purposive sampling is selecting a sample on the basis of your own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of your research aims" (Babbie 97).

In this research, the researcher applied purposive sampling as it seemed the most relevant of the sampling techniques. Based on the knowledge the researcher has about Ndebeles and Shonas, considering that Midlands State University is in Midlands the centre of Zimbabwe

which is constituted by almost every tribe, the researcher drew their sample from the university. The other factor considered about MSU is that universities are normally populated by students from different places and also of different ethnic background hence the sample frame limited at MSU.

Employing purposive sampling, the researcher drew a sample from Media and Society Studies male and female students. The pre requisite to be part of the sample was to own a smart phone as well as being on WhatsApp. The sample was much bigger and the researcher had to select on the basis of the people's home location that is those who stay in Midlands, Matabeleland and Harare Provinces.

3.5.3 Expert sampling

Expert sampling is a type of purposive sampling where information is sourced from individuals that have meticulous know-how. The researcher intended to do in-depth interviews with 3 ethnic specialists that is one on Shona ethnicity, the other one on Ndebele ethnicity and the last but not least who stands on neutral ground. On the Shona side people like Tafataona Mahoso who seem to have a deep understanding of the Shona origins and culture were the targeted sample. Mahoso hosts a program on Ztv which is called Zvavanhu. This program explores the origins and culture of the Shona people. On the Ndebele side the researcher intended to interview Phathisa Nyathi who also seems to be well versed in the field of Ndebele origins and their culture. Nyathi has a column on Sunday mail where he writes about Ndebeles and their culture.

Dr. lyton Ncube is an expert in ethnicity. He did a thesis in football and ethnicity in Zimbabwe. Dr. Ncube's ethnic background is complex as he is of mixed tribes. His comments and understanding on ethnicity in Zimbabwe is not biased based on his ethnic background. The researcher therefore intended to interview these three to hear what their views are on ethnicity. However, only one expert Dr. Ncube because of his convenience as he is mostly located in the university was interviewed. The interviewer could not make it on the other two interviews due to financial constraints and time.

3.5.4 Snowball sampling

Snowball sampling is a sampling technique whereby the researcher identifies a candidate who meets the requirements of the research topic. The researcher then goes on to work hand in

glove with the candidate who will help the researcher identify other candidates who meet the requirements of the research topic. In this project, the researcher identified two students at MSU, one Ndebele student and one Shona student who then proceeded to recruit others to participate in the interviews. A total number of 20 students were interviewed, 10 Shonas and 10 Ndebeles of which 5 from each group were males and the other 5 females.

3.6 Data collection methods

Data collection means all the ways that can be used to gather data that is relevant to the study. There are primary and secondary data collection methods. The researcher used both methods so as to come up with a sound and meaningful conclusion. Self administered questionnaires were used where individuals were given well structured questions to attend to. The researcher also made use of observations. By so doing the researcher actively participated in the sharing of the jokes and cartoons on WhatsApp in order to capture people's views and opinions on these. The researcher forwarded these jokes and cartoons to both Ndebeles and Shonas.

In secondary methods of data collection the researcher is going to dig more on the journals, books, dissertations and websites where the issue of tribalism in Zimbabwe is discussed.

3.6.1 Archival research

Archival research can be simply defined as studying and analysing existing data. In social sciences, archival research refers to the location, assessment, and logical explanation and scrutinising of resources available in archives. This project is more rooted in online archival research. The researcher had to locate where they could have access to jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp. In order to have a handful of the jokes and cartoons that denigrate other ethnic group circulated on WhatsApp the researcher applied the bulk SMS method. The researcher sent a bulky SMS to all the contacts in their phonebook as well as to all class members to forward them each and every joke they receive on WhatsApp. After receiving different jokes of different categories which include mocking of the unlearned, minorization of women, mocking of the greedy, tribal jokes and so on the researcher then filtered all other jokes and made an archive of jokes and cartoons that disparage Shonas and Ndebeles.

3.6.2 Interviews

“An interview is literally an inter-view, an inter change of views between two or more persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest,” (Klave 1996). Interviews can be generally seen as interpersonal communication but in this case the other participant will be only responding to the structured questions asked by the interviewer. The researcher used face to face interviews.

3.6.3 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviewing occurs in a more confidential manner between the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviewer is assured of the privacy of the information they will share with the interviewee. In-depth interviewing is of paramount importance when the researcher wants to hear the judgements of individuals on sensitive issues. It is mostly coming up with information from individuals about their experiences, feelings behaviours and opinions. The interviewer must provide an atmosphere where the interviewee is free to air all their views out about how they feel or view certain subjects in society.

In-depth interviews are one on one encounters where the interviewer ask questions based on the subject or topic they want to know more about. These questions will be guided mostly by the intention of answering the research questions of the project. The researcher held indepth-interviews with 20 MSU students to find their views on the issue of tribalism between the Ndebeles and the Shonas portrayed through the jokes and cartoon circulated on WhatsApp.

3.6.4 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a set of questions jotted on a piece of paper. This set of questions is used to collect data relevant to a research project. Kumar (2005) states that the respondents read the questions interpret what is expected and then write the answers down. Barnett (2002) defines questionnaires as documents containing questions designed to solicit information appropriate for analysis. Only closed questions were used in this case as the researcher wanted to easily identify those who were eligible to participate in the focus group discussions. A total number of 50 questionnaires were distributed to MSU students. These questionnaires were distributed to MSU students to draw a sample of those who would qualify to participate in focus group discussions. After the distribution of these questionnaires, the researcher went on to employ systematic random sampling so as to have an ideal number for focus group discussions. On

the questionnaires, the respondents were asked to identify their home language, sex, province and whether or they are on WhatsApp.

The questionnaires were sorted and grouped into three sections that is Shona, Ndebele and those who are neither Shona nor Ndebele. It was after this sorting that systematic random sampling was applied to pick those who would participate in the three focus group discussions that were carried.

Questionnaires are ideal as they are less time consuming hence they allowed the researcher to quickly identify whom to include in the focus group discussion without wasting much of the time. The weaknesses of questionnaires include that sometimes respondents may not bring back the questionnaires thus short-changing the researcher. These questionnaires were also complicated as the information needed was somewhat personal like one's mobile number. But the number was only needed to contact the individual if they had got the opportunity to be a member of the focus group discussions.

3.6.5 Focus group discussions

A focus group is a group of people not more than 8 and not less than six who assemble together to discuss about a certain issue or topic, (Foundation 2007). Oates (2008) notes that although people in the group will be giving different views about the issue they still remain in line with the subject. This discussion is done in the presence of the moderator or mediator who makes sure that members of the group do not go astray of the issue. Focus groups are ideal as they allow individuals to mingle with different ideas and build on them to come up with other sound views as compared to the interviews where it is only the interviewer and the interviewee.

The researcher selected 8 Ndebeles from level 4:2 Media and Society Studies students whom she share two tribal jokes, one that denigrates Shonas and one that denigrates Ndebeles. The moderator asked on how they viewed, or interpreted the joke that belittles them as well as that disparages their fellow Shonas. Questions were also raised by the mediator on how they would react if they received such jokes on WhatsApp. The same procedure was carried with 8 Shonas from the same class. An overall discussion was held of a blend of Shonas and Ndebeles but those who had not participated in the other two guided by the same questions.

3.7 Methods of data analysis

Data analysis refers to the assessment of data that collected in attempt to answer the questions. This analysis is done after the collection of data. The researcher is going to use semiotics analysis to figure out if the data collected answer the research questions. Discourse analysis is going to be employed as well so see how the Ndebeles and the Shonas interact.

3.7.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The term discourse is a contested terrain whose meaning is vague in accordance to different scholars. Some understand it as meaning primarily language whether verbal or written; others perceive it as pointing to objects, images or symbols.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is defined by Dijk (1998) as a “discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”, (p 252) he further notes that critical discourse analysts are mainly concerned with realising, revealing as well as denying discrimination within communities.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997 p 271-80) give a summary of the main doctrines of CDA. They state that CDA seeks attend to the issue of social problems. As noted by Dijk the whole duty of critical discourse analysts is to bring to light the unfairness dealings of capitalists in a society. The other tenet of CDA is that power relations are discursive. The Marxists argue that everything in a society is characterised by power relations and at all costs the capitalists make sure that these power relations are rambling so as to ensure the continuity of their dominance. Another key principle is that discourse constitutes society and culture. They also state that discourse does ideological work. Another principle is put forward that discourse is historical. Fairclough and Wadok also state that the link between text and society is mediated and in most cases it can be noted that it is the media that plays this role of mediation. Last of the key principles of CDA are that discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and that discourse is a form of social action.

O'Connor and Payne (2006) argue that discourse analysis is firmly in the study o f language, its usage the meanings behind the words and the values that are implied. In light of this view, the researcher analysed texts in form of jokes that are shared on WhatsApp belittling the Ndebeles as well as the Shonas. Tribal audios were also analysed on how the two ethnic

groups that is Shonas and Ndebeles view each other and how they make use of these to perpetuate their ethnic tensions.

3.7.2 Semiotics Analysis

Semiotics is the science of signs, the study of signs and symbols and their meanings. Different signs and symbols are used in language, to mock, to praise as well as to put across some issues that are difficult to clarify in simple terms. Images and objects are, key in semiotics analysis.

De Saussure in his study of semiotics came up with the signifier and the signified. The signifier according to him refers to “sound-image” and the signified refers to “a concept,” cited in Berger (2004). He notes that the relationship between a signifier and signified is arbitrary thus the meanings that signifiers are pregnant with must be learned and he states that there are codes and associations that help us attach meaning to the signifier. Pierce is the key figure who came up with the index, icon and symbol in the study of semiotics. He states that an icon resembles something and it can be form of pictures or statues. Something that is indexical is characterised by casual connection like smoke and fire and something that is in symbolic dimension is conventional.

Berger (2004) states that if signs are used to tell the truth they can therefore be used on the other way round and that is to disseminate lies. He notes that signs are used to lie exemplifying with elevator shoes that make short persons to be taller. Elevator shoes here stands as a sign, hence giving a misconception of someone who is short considered as tall.

Denotation and connotation meanings are also key in semiotics analysis. Connotation according to Berger (2004) means to mark along with and denotation refers to the literal or explicit meaning of words and other phenomena.

The researcher did much of semiotics analysis to attach meanings to the jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp by the Ndebeles mocking the Shonas and also by the shinas mocking the Ndebeles.

3.8 Data Presentation

Data presentation is normally done after the data has been analysed. There are a number of ways to present data which include bar graphs, pictograms, histograms, pie charts, thematic form and so on. The researcher used thematic form to present the data collected. From the data collected, the researcher drew themes that seemed to be fundamental in the perpetuation of tribalism between Shonas and the Ndebeles through the circulation of tribal jokes and cartoons on WhatsApp.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to present data that was gathered by the researcher through in-depth interviews, archival research and focus groups. The data is presented after subjected to critical discourse analysis and semiotics analysis. This chapter is key in answering the research questions of the study as well as pointing at the achievement of the objectives which are to find out how the jokes and cartoons circulated on WhatsApp affects the relationship between Shonas and Ndebeles.

4.2 The polysemic nature of jokes and cartoons

This section is based on analysing the very jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp by Shonas and Ndebeles demeaning each other. There are many jokes and cartoons pregnant with stereotypical messages disdaining either Ndebeles or Shonas. Through archival research, the researcher managed to gather a total number of 51 jokes and cartoons including texts messages and edited images. Of the 51 only 20 were mocking Ndebeles. Two factors are attributed to such statistics.

The first one is explained by the locatedness of the researcher. The researcher has Ndebele origins and of the Khumalo lineage. To gather these jokes the researcher forwarded a text message to all the contacts in their phone book for friends and relatives to forward any joke they received on WhatsApp. Since the researcher is Ndebele more than 52% of the contacts in the phone book are of those with Ndebele origins and those who claim to be Ndebeles so this influenced the statistics.

The second factor is that, the most recent history point that Ndebeles have suffered as victims to their Shona counter parts where as the Shona have been made to suffer in the hands of their Ndebele adversaries some years ago. Memories of Shonas suffering raids of cattle, women and children in the hands of Ndebeles seem to be fading in the historic past. Yet, to Ndebeles, the wounds of Gukurahundi are still fresh hence it appears this is the reason why the jokes and cartoons gathered are mostly mocking and denigrating the Shonas.

For the research carried by the researcher they found out that these tribal jokes and cartoons are meant to deride, down size, poke fun at and tarnish the image as well as the culture of the opposite ethnic group. In this first sector the researcher analyses the jokes and cartoons that mock the Shonas and their culture. One audio cartoon, one edited image and one text message are closely analysed as to what message they communicate about Shonas and their culture.

The audio is about two Ndebele guys who want to be famous so that they will be loved by many girls. The guys decide to be artists so that they may be known by many girls. They decide to go for a recording. The lyrics of their song go like:

“Khululeka mntwana waseBYO...uRagie uhlala koBulawayo lapho okungela langa, indawo emnandi.uRagie uthanda amankazana amahle, ngizonda yona inkazana ebukhali ethanda imali, amaShona abukhali, athanda imali njalo aqhoka kabi, ubuso bakhona ungani yinja ezokuluma...” (*Feel free Bulawayo resident, Ragie stays in Bulawayo, a place with favourable low temperatures. Ragie loves beautiful ladies, I hate a lady who is greedy and a money monger, Shona ladies are greedy, they are money mongers, they dress clumsy and they don't bath and their face is like that of a dog that is ready for a bit*).

In this cartoon a lot is being said about the Shonas particularly Shona ladies and their culture. Ragie is saying he hurts Shona ladies for the reason that they are greedy. In a Ndebele constituted focus group the members stated that it is true that Shonas are greedy. They said this is evidenced by the way they charge bride price. They are not concerned with establishing a stable relationship between two families but with making sure they gain wealth. In a different focus group populated by both Ndebeles and Shonas, a Ndebele member bravely pointed out that Shonas are also greedy socially, politically and economically. They want to down tread the Ndebele culture in Zimbabwe and pronounce Shona culture as that best that explains the Zimbabwean culture. Politically they are said to be those who occupy influential positions in the Zimbabwean government. This can be exemplified by the selection of Phelekezela Mphoko as the second vice president while the two Shona figures Mugabe and Mnangagwa occupy the Presidency and first vice presidency respectively. Economically the Shonas are said to have flooded the industries in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland as if Ndebeles are incapable of working. Most of the companies are also said to have been eradicated from Bulawayo to Harare because Shonas are greedy, they are selfish.

It can be noted that in the same joke Shona ladies are said to be money mongers. Ndebele interviewees echoed that it is true that Shona ladies are money mongers as they are the ones who practice prostitution much however this thought is not supported by any pragmatic evidence.

Ndebeles claim that they know how to dress, they know how to blend colours and they bath with passion as compared to Shonas who just are just pale even after they are from a bath. One Ndebele in a Ndebele focus group had this to say:

“Vele iShona kalizweli manzi noma ungaze ulikhuhle ngelitshe ebusweni. U John njengomuzekeliso bakithi, noma vele ungaze umthini, noma angahlala egoli lapho okuqanda khona vele akusebenzi lutho ngoba vele iShona kalihlambululeki. Ukuqhoka vele angisakhulumi ngoba uzathola umuntu eqhoke iformal trowse, itshirt ihlohliwe nematurkies...” *(No matter what efforts can be made Shonas can never glow even if they are from a bath, for example John (pseudo name) even if one uses a stone to bath his face, even if he is taken to South Africa where there are low temperatures its just the waste of time. On dressing I will not mention as you find a Shona putting on a formal trousers, a t-shirt tucked in and some snickers...)*

The text message joke is about people who were in a plane. These people included a British, a Chinese, a Zimbabwean and many others. A British picked up pizza and threw it out through the window saying they have much of it in Britain, and a Chinese picked plastic and also did likewise, an Ndebele followed and picked a Shona and also did the same.

In this joke it can be noticed that Ndebeles are irritated by the Shona population and they go on to trace history in order to explain why they are few. From the interviews carried by the researcher, Ndebeles claim that they are few because their males were slaughtered during the fifth brigade. And this has also led to Shonas flooding the industries because they claim they are the large population in Zimbabwe.

There is an edited image of a burger as indicated below:

Fig 1.1



According to Ndebeles, Shonas are primitive, they are barbaric and backward. This edited image shows a burger which is labelled Shona burger. The rat in the burger, according to Ndebeles even if it was not labelled who the consumer of such a burger are it was obvious they were Shonas because they are the ones, in this modern day, still feasting on Mbuya Nehanda's food staff. "This is also the reason why Shonas do not know how to dress, they are still primitive, mabhechu will do well for them as they require no colour blending," said a Ndebele interviewee interviewed at MSU on the 3rd of May 2015.

While all these negative identities are ascribed to Shonas by Ndebeles, Shonas are not silent. They are speaking back to Ndebeles in the same way. One edited image, a text message and an audio is also analysed to show how Ndebeles are portrayed in these jokes and cartoons that circulate on WhatsApp.

A text message joke is about former high school students who met after a long time. These students happened to be a Karanga, a Zezuru, a Manyika, a Ndaou and a Ndebele. Their discussion went like:

Karanga: When I finished my A' Level I decided to join the military force

And with my first pay I bought myself a Bible

Zezuru: Well, that's nice of you dear; I decided to advance with education

And pursued a degree in Engineering and with my first pay

I bought myself and my parents beautiful suits

Ndaou: You guys, you did great, as for me I got a scholarship to America,

When I finished my degree in Medicine, I got a job there and my

First pay I bought tickets for my parents to come over to America

And spoiled them

Ndebele: Aaaaah you guys, you don't know how to enjoy life to the fullest

As for me, when I finished my A' level, I crossed over to Mzansi

I would drink, enjoy life and spent 10 years there. When I came to

Zimbabwe I made sure I had a walk up knife to discipline notorious people.

Form the joke above, it can be noted that Ndebeles are portrayed on these jokes as having minds that are saturated with spending money lavishly; they do not have the ideas on how to develop themselves, their families as well as the nation. Ndebeles are selfish, they are stingy and don't want to share even with their own relatives, how can someone go to South Africa for ten years only to bring a knife? Their stinginess is at political, social and economic level. Politically when an Ndebele is a leader, they don't want to execute ideas given by other they only make declarations. Economically, it can be seen that when a Ndebele fills an influential post in a company they don't consider their family members as compared to Shonas. Ndebeles are selfish they want everything to belong to them. A Shona interviewee 1 had this to comment about Ndebeles:

“It's true Ndebeles are selfish, sure how can someone cross the border spend ten years in South Africa only to come back to his parents with a knife? That is selfishness. Not even recognising the parents who brought them up, that is why most companies are filled by Shonas in Zimbabwe, Shonas loves and feel for their fellows as compared to Ndebeles who only think of 'me, myself and I.'”

The below edited image shows how Ndebeles are portrayed in these jokes:

Fig. 1.2



The above edited image is a comparison of Ndebeles and Shona. In this image, Ndebeles are portrayed as prostitutes, poverty stricken, murders and Ndebele ladies associated with drug abuse. Ndebeles are mocked right from their ancestors as all this notorious behaviour they are associated is like the inheritance they got from Lobengula while Shonas from Mbuya Nehanda are religious.

“Ndebeles only think of ‘ngiyakugwaza ngenqamu’ (*I kill*) that is why they go to South Africa for ten years and only manage to buy a knife. It true Ndebeles are associated with murder. Ndebele ladies are prostitutes it’s true because they claim that Shona ladies do not know how to dress because to them knowing how to dress is to be naked. Ndebele ladies are cheap...” said a Shona member in a focus group held on the 28th of April 2015 at MSU.

Discussion

Representation and identity formation is employed by both Shonas and Ndebeles to pour scorn on each other. Discourse and language used in this jokes and cartoons should not be ignored in explaining the ethnic tensions that characterise the Ndebele-Shona relationship. In analysing these jokes, the researcher noted that Shonas are “othered” by Ndebeles, they employ what Mbembe’s “us” not “them”, (Mbembe 200).

Through these jokes and cartoons, the Shonas are othered by Ndebeles, they are viewed and portrayed with scorn and suspicion. They are depicted as greedy and primitive. To a Shona, receiving a joke loaded with such discourses is unacceptable. According to Ndebeles greediness, primitiveness and dirty defines who a Shona is. Such representations and identities ascribed to Shonas by Ndebeles provoke Shonas to act and at the end of the day, it ends up being a tit for tat game”.

On the other side other of the coin, Ndebeles are not exceptional to these representations and negative identities. Shonas retaliate; they reduce Ndebeles to very dull people who inherited Lobengula’s dullness, as according to Shonas, he could not resist colonisation just because of only a 2kg of sugar. Shonas echo with essentialists that identities are in born. Essentialists argue that identities are not a result of social construction but a God-given gift. Ndebeles have their inborn nature, of violence, of tight-fistedness and of low reasoning capacity an inheritance which Lobengula left them.

4.3 Reading beyond a joke and/ or a cartoon.

The rivalry between Ndebeles and Shonas as noted by Ncube (2014) is based on real and perceived historical and contemporary ethnic and regional ‘enmities’ between Zimbabwe’s two dominant ethnic groups – the Shona and the Ndebele. As far as ethnicity is concerned in Zimbabwe, there stands a 100 years unsolved predicament especially between the Ndebeles and the Shonas that are perceived as the two dominant ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. There is an unfinished battle between the Ndebeles and Shonas which sees these two ethnies turning some public platforms like Stadiums (empirical evidence from Ncube’s 2014 study), social media networks (empirical evidence from the research I carried) to battlefield to continue their unfinished battles.

From the research carried in this project through focus groups, in-depth interviews and archival research, the researcher came to the conclusion that Ndebeles and Shonas use WhatsApp to perpetuate their tribal prejudice towards each other. The government can be silent pretending as if the relationship between different ethnic groups in Zimbabwe is milk and honey, but astonishingly platforms like WhatsApp are used to show how tense the problem is.

Images are edited, messages created and texted, audios recorded and cartoons are fashioned by the Ndebeles disrespecting and demeaning the Shonas and the opposite is true. From the research carried by the researcher, they detected that these jokes, cartoons and texts that are circulated on WhatsApp worsens the already strained relationship between the Shonas and the Ndebeles as the way people are portrayed in these influences their opinions. The satirical and mocking approach used to create these jokes and cartoons, the techniques employed to speak back to each other is more of adding salt to an already bleeding wound. Commenting on these jokes, an interviewee 2 interviewed at MSU on the 28th of May, 2015 had this to say:

“Ndagara Mandebele handimafariri (*I personally hate Ndebeles*) because of their behaviour, they don’t respect themselves, their time and where they are, so pandinongo receiver a joke inova dzikisira (*the moment I receive a joke that defame them*), I feel that as Shonas we are superior and they are inferior, I feel happy and at the same time feel like I must distance myself from them.”

The Foucauldian discussion states that discourse is a power game, power yet to be seized. Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe are just fighting over power. Currently, it seems Shonas are dominating the status quo hence the Ndebeles are using the jokes and cartoons as an

instrument to downsize Shonas and their culture to avoid Ndebele culture imperialism as cultural domination leads to political domination. The Ndebeles are holding to their culture with a grip having the hope that one day they will dominate the political sector in Zimbabwe. Comforting and bearing hope of ruling one of the days, a Ndebele interviewee 3, interviewed at MSU on the 6th of June 2013 boldly exclaimed:

“Amahole ale pride, babona ingani iZimbabwe yilizwe labo, kabafuni kufunda isiNdebele besithi ngoba amaNdebele malutswane, kodwa yindaba yesikhathi, siqalisa kuma jokes lama cartoons sibatshengisa ukuthi amasiko abo ayamukeleki esigabeni. Indaba yelobola vele batshengisa ukuthi bona kabana ndaba nokuqinisa ubuhlobo phakathi kwezimuli kodwa ukubuthanisa inotho, ngokushesha amasiko anje azakhithika, sizalibusa ilizwe, (Shonas have pride; they claim that Zimbabwe is a Shona nation. They don't want to learn to speak in Ndebele and say because Ndebeles are few. But it is the matter of time, for now we are on jokes and cartoons showing them through these that their culture is unacceptable especially the issue of bride price, they are not concerned with establishing relationships between families but hunting for wealth. Soon such norms will crumble, we will rule the nation)”

When people receive these jokes and cartoons on WhatsApp, they don't just consume them as jokes and cartoons but they look beyond. Yes they are just jokes as others would claim but some factors why these jokes started to circulate saturate the mind. They go back to history to answer the Why “tribal prejudice between Ndebeles and Shonas.” For Ndebeles, there is no way such a subject can be handled outside Gukurahundi. They claim they want to be emancipated; the word ‘sorry’ from the president and his officials who took part in the operation can be a strong medicine for the bleeding wound of years. Expressing how provoking the issue is, a Ndebele interviewee 4 interviewed at MSU on the 6th of May 2015 claimed:

“Vele ibala lokuthi Gukurahundi liyaphambanisa inqondo. The moment ngireciever ijoke ekhuluma kubi ngamaNdebele ekhanda lami kufika indaba yeGukurahundi. Okhulu bethu bangaphi kathi? Kabacele uxolo labo abaphathekayo ngokubulala okhulu bethu. Bakhona sibili, uMugabe noMnangagwa, kabasicele uxolo, kungaba ngcono. (The term Gukurahundi disturbs the mind. The moment I receive that joke which negatively mocks the Ndebeles the next thing that fills my mind is the term Gukurahundi. Where are our grandfathers? Those who took part in slaughtering them must apologise. They are there we know them, Mugabe and Mnangagwa, they must apologise, at least it will be better.)”

From the research carried, the researcher found that through these jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp the ethnic tensions between Ndebeles and Shonas are exacerbated. The respondents said the more they interact with such jokes and cartoons, the more they become offended. The mocking part builds on already existing cat and mouse relationship

between these two ethnic groups. Different jokes purveying different discourses about who the Ndebeles are and who the Shonas are offends members of these two ethnies. Shonas are associated with rats. Everything a Shona does is associated with rats according to Ndebeles. Such discourses don't go down well with Shonas. When they receive such jokes, that negative attitude which they already have towards the Ndebeles is worsened. On the other hand Ndebeles are associated with violence, laziness, and being so much patriarchal. The moment they receive jokes and cartoons pregnant with such discourses, they feel cut to heart and they want to revenge hence these jokes and cartoons are like adding paraffin on an already bust petrol fire.

The tribal jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp denigrating either Ndebeles or Shonas, lead to strained relationships between these two ethnic groups, they end relationships and they break communications. Jokes and cartoons that are forwarded to groups created for different purposes like church groups, school groups, and so on have a great negative impact on the relationship of Shonas and Ndebeles that would be members of the group. A perfect example has been given by an interviewee interviewed at MSU on the 27th of April 2015 that a church group was closed after a joke mocking Shonas was forwarded. The joke was about different nationalists who were in a plane which included a China, a British, a Ndebele, a South African and others. It is said a China picked a plastic and threw it outside saying there is much of plastics in China, a British picked pizza and did the same and a Ndebele picked a Shona and did the same. After the joke was forwarded only one Shona lady commented on why someone would forward such an embarrassing joke on a group that was made up of people of mixed ethnies. That marked the end of that group.

These jokes and cartoons should not be treated slightly because they carry within them heavy messages that are difficult to consume, messages that cut to heart, messages that are unbearable and messages that when they are received the person will not remain the same. The messages carried by these jokes are like sermons preached by Pastors. They compel one to think, change the way they perceive things and react.

WhatsApp has been celebrated as a platform that better suits to be used as a battlefield by Shonas and Ndebeles to fight their battles that can be traced back to the colonial era. Through the jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp it can be noticed that people are compensating as there is no formal platform where the subject can be discussed.

“Vanhu vari kupedzera shungu pamajokes vane nyaya dzavo dzisina kupera, vari kungoti pavawana pano gona kungotaurika nezvenyaya iyi vopedzera Shungu ipapo. Asi zviri nani nokuti tototenda WhatsApp inoita kuti mapoka maviri aya asasangana nokuti pangatorwiwa” (People are compensating on these jokes and cartoons; they have their unfinished issues so whenever they get the opportunity and platform to revenge they do so with passion. But we must thank these social networks which are ideal for indirect confrontation between the Ndebeles and the Shonas because if they do meet exchanging such jokes, fights are inevitable” (Interviewee 5, interviewed on the 27th of April 2013 at MSU)

One interviewer had this to say “in every joke, there is an element of the truth.” It is that element of the truth carried by the joke that worsens the existing ethnic tensions between the Ndebeles and the Shonas. This can be exemplified by a joke that negatively portray Shona ladies as ugly, dirty, greedy, money mongers and so on. The moment a Shona receive such a joke the existing hatred towards Ndebeles is deepened.

Scholars like Giulianotti (2004:81) cited in Ncube (2014) states that Ndebele speakers comprise around 16% of the total population as compared to Shonas who are 80%, so basing on such discourses Shonas say they are not prepared to learn Ndebele because Ndebele is not a major language in Zimbabwe but a second one after Shona. One Shona interviewee respondent proudly said that Ndebeles are the minority group and Zimbabwe is for Shonas yet the Ndebeles don’t want to switch off to Shona neither to speak English so jokes will be employed to show that Ndebeles and Shonas don’t click and they will never do. The minority issue of the Ndebeles leaves a lot to be desired as some of the Ndebeles have joined hands with Shonas shunning their Ndebele identity because they want to be associated with those in power. The acculturation model explains how people from different ethnies want to be associated with the dominant ethnic group. This explains why some Ndebeles are for ZANU PF despite the 1980s massacres. They don’t mind and care about their Ndebele fellows but what they do is to sing for their bread supporting ZANU PF ideology that those who were killed during Gukurahundi deserved to be slaughtered.

The jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp have a great negative impact on the already tense relationship between the Ndebeles and the Shonas as they constantly reminds people of their ethnic differences. They jog the mind of those who would have received them on how they ought to interact with the opposite ethnic group. They bring to memory the family values that would have been passed on through socialisation as the family is the

primary socialisation agent. Giving emphasis on what happens when they receive the joke interviewee 6 had this to say:

“The moment I receive that joke, I recall what I was told and taught at home that in no way I should not be married to a Shona guy. My dad clearly told me that when I bring a Shona guy at home for marriage they will just ask him to pay 5 rand for a bride price showing that they would not be accepting neither happy about it.”

Another different Ndebele interviewee echoing with the above said her said told her that they will only charge that Shona chap 2 rand. Many interviewees said the moment they receive these jokes and cartoons they are quickly reminded of their home/family principles as far as the Ndebele-Shona relationship is concerned.

Dr. Lyton Ncube an expert in Zimbabwean ethnicity pointed out that the moment such jokes are received, people are reminded of a problem that needs government intervention. He clearly stated that of course the messages carried by these jokes are not true; they are just mere stereotypes that are not grounded on empirical research to validate them but their effects are inevitable. Media as a socialisation agent, conscientise Ndebeles and Shonas to realise their ethnic differences. Ncube had this to say:

“As the government is not keen to solve the issue, jokes and cartoons must be treated as lens that allows us to view ethnic differences that are bedevilling Zimbabwe. They are a reflection of historic and contemporary ethnic differences between these two groups. Yes the government may be quiet about the problem, but there are popular sites like social media networks and stadiums where the problem of ethnicity manifests,” (interviewed on the 6th of May 2015 at MSU).

The tribal jokes and cartoons circulated on WhatsApp pose a threat to the already unsolved differences between the Ndebeles and Shonas as instead of bringing together and uniting the two; they solidify one opposite ethnic group. The othering of the other manifests after such jokes and cartoons are circulated. As those negative identities are ascribed to Shonas by Ndebeles they unite and have the ‘us against them’ attitude, and so does the Ndebeles when Shonas do the same to them.

Tribal jokes and cartoons circulated on WhtasApp widen the already existing gap between the Shonas and the Ndebeles as most of these jokes are sensitive. From the research, the researcher found out that Ndebeles perceive Shonas as ethno-phobic. They believe Shonas view them as foreigners in Zimbabwe that is why they choose to cross the border southwards as they suppose they feel belonging when they are in South Africa than when they are in

Zimbabwe. They claim that in Zimbabwe they are not treated fairly. The government does not bother to avoid the collapse of a multiple of companies in Matabeleland and most of the industries were eradicated from Matabeleland specifically from Bulawayo to Harare. They say it clearly shows them that even the government has nothing to do with Ndebeles. Shonas are everywhere in Zimbabwe. The few industries that are left in Bulawayo are mostly dominated by Shonas and they practise nepotism and corruption so it becomes hard for one with a Ndebele surname to get a well paying job.

Commenting about the Shona ethno-phobic, a Shona member in the focus group held on the 6th of May 2015 arrogantly and rigidly said:

“I cannot imagine myself having an Ndebele boss, neither am I prepared to have a Ndebele leader, it sounds very funny and abnormal to hear ZANU PF slogan shouted ‘pambili ngeZANU PF’, it can’t and it is unacceptable.”

The researcher was reminded of a claim by Mpofu (2013) that as far as Shonas are concerned, Ndebeles can never occupy a presidential office, the best position they can occupy is that of deputy.

Discussion

From the above description, it can be noted that while ethnic differences are bedeviling Zimbabwe, jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp should be given credit as they are playing a pivotal role in fuelling these ethnic tensions. Tribalism between Shonas and Ndebeles in Zimbabwe which is dated back to the pre-colonial era as noted by Beach (1996); Muzondidya and Gatsheni (2009) has continued to bedevil Zimbabwe. In the technological world we are living, Ndebeles and Shonas have grabbed the opportunities offered by the internet to indirectly confront each other. Through the jokes and cartoons created and circulated on WhatsApp both groups are represented both by inclusion and exclusion. Ndebeles are represented as stingy and violent while Shonas are represented as corrupt, primitive and greedy. Such discourses are a blatant display that the two ethnies are not in good books. The government made efforts to bring these two together through policies like the reconciliation policy but as it stands today it shows all the efforts were in vain as evidenced by the continuous scorn and suspicion that characterises the Ndebele-Shona relationship.

The 100 years unsolved tribalism issue between Ndebeles and Shonas according to Sharepell, has made its way to the internet. From the research carried out in this project it shows the problem is still continuing. Social media networks particularly WhatsApp that was studied in this research are used to perpetuate these ethnic tensions. This is achieved through the jokes and cartoons that are circulated mocking and despairing either the Shonas or Ndebeles.

While explaining the predicament of ethnic differences between Ndebeles and Shonas, according to Ndebeles, one would have not done justice if this subject is discussed outside Gukurahundi. Rivalries between these two ethnies were intensified by Gukurahundi as argued by the CCPJ (1997). Ndebeles assert that whenever they receive a joke, their minds are saturated by the term Gukurahundi. Ndebeles are claiming for emancipation, they say to them it is not fair that the issue is just trodden under feet and pretend as if nothing like that happened. To them, the jokes and cartoons they create is a way of trying to speak their voices out that maybe they can be heard. But, unfortunately, instead of getting the solution through these jokes and cartoons the problem is aggravated as Shonas also go on to create their own jokes to retaliate.

The silence of the government is astonishing on this subject. Muzondidya and Gatsheni (2009) noted that both the society and the government are silent about the predicament. But, silence does not solve anything. The researcher may not be certain whether the government is aware of the battles that are fought on different platforms between the Ndebeles and the Shonas or not. If it is aware and decides to pretend as if nothing is happening, the jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp are slowly but surely paving way to a physical fight between the two ethnic groups at national level.

Ndebeles across the borders through WhatsApp are also part taking in the sharing of these jokes and so do the Shonas. Sooner or later, if the politics of silence continues the nation will burst into a civil war as happened in Sudan and Arab.

Raftopolous (2009) argues that those who try to discuss about the 1980s massacres are blamed by the government of reviving the forgotten injuries yet those who were affected call for the revealing of the truth for the wounds to heal. This explains the broad circulation tribal jokes and cartoons.

It can be argued that from the study carried by the researcher, though many elements in the sample were of the view that these jokes and cartoons worsen the already existing ethnic tensions between Ndebeles and Shonas on the other hand they work for the betterment of the situation. Some interviewees stated that instead of them feeling emotional or happy because of these jokes, they feel hurt; the current status of the Shona-Ndebele relationship does not go down well with them. Ndebelea and Shonas must not base on history, why should they fight while they are the citizens of one nation. Instead of viewing each other with scorn and suspicion, they must joins hands and works towards improving and developing Zimbabwe.

When these jokes and cartoons are posted or shared on platforms like groups, they mend the broken relationship between the two groups as the one who would have forwarded the joke is rebuked by other members in the group that ethnicity is bad. If that person would have been tribal they can be transformed by the words of advice from other members of the group.

Other respondents also pointed out that these jokes must be treated as jokes that are meant for people to laugh so they unit the two ethnic groups. One interviewer said that ‘lovers always fight’ so when they receive such jokes on WhatsApp they know the opposite ethnic group loves them.

The perpetual circulation of these jokes and cartoons is for the good of the relationship between the Shonas and Ndebeles as it becomes normal to those who receive them and they end up making funny out of such jokes and cartoons. One respondent noted out that if people get used to the trouble it ends up not haunting them, hence the circulation of these jokes and cartoons on WhatsApp are of importance in unifying the two ethnic groups.

.Discussion

Form the above empirical research, it can be argued that while Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe are indirectly fighting through jokes and cartoons, to some Ndebeles and Shonas these jokes mend the broken relationship of the two ethnic groups. The perpetual circulation of these jokes and cartoons on WhatsApp has instilled resistance to some Shonas and Ndebeles who used to be tribal. When they receive the jokes, instead of feeling hurt and provoked they just laugh and forget about it. Rebukes and advices given to those who forward these jokes and cartoons reform them from their sin of tribalism.

Some of the signs and symbols that are used on these jokes and cartoon are exaggerated to the extent that the victim, instead of becoming emotional, they just laugh. If signs are used to tell the truth, Berger argues, they can therefore be used on the other way round and that is to disseminate lies, (Berger 2004). It is these lies and exaggerations that heal the wound of ethnic differences to others.

4.4 “Tit for tat” a fair game

Cartoons and jokes consist of combined images, figurative words and objects that carry with them stories, opinions and sentiments, (Bamford and Francois 2001). Ndebeles and Shonas are telling their stories; they are expressing their opinions and showcasing their sentiments through these jokes. Denigrating, stereotypical and belittling discourses are carried by these jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp. However David Moley’s study transferred power from the media texts to the audiences. Through his abhorrent, negotiated and oppositional reading it can be noted that media texts and messages are meaningless until they are encoded and jokes and cartoons are not exceptional in this. Of course those who would have created these jokes and cartoons would have their preferred and desired meaning but that are not the meanings attached to these jokes and cartoons after consumption. As Ndebeles and Shonas consume the jokes that denigrate their ethnic groups they react differently, depending on different factors.

From the interviewees carried out by the researcher particularly at MSU they found out that most of the people become emotional after interacting with such material on WhatsApp. Most of those who were interviewed and participated in focus group discussions noted that they feel so offended after receiving these jokes and these cartoons and they are forced to react in different ways.

“It really hurts that someone can identify Shona ladies as dirty, money mongers, ugly and greedy. I can’t wear a smile after receiving such a joke, I feel so much hurt to the extent that I hurt Ndebeles with passion and when I see or meet one of them I feel like grinding them because I believe they are the ones who would have created the joke,” exclaimed a Shona interviewee 7 interviewed on the 28th of April 2015 at MSU.

Echoing the same sentiments a Ndebele boldly exclaimed in a focus group:

“Vele kuyabe kubuhlungu kuhlaba inhliziyu, ngeke ngihlekelele izinto zobuzanka, vele khonapho ngihle ngicabange ukuthi abanengi bethu abafundi/abafundanga, hantsho obaba bethu bababidliza ngeGukurahundi.Isikolo sakhona sizabhadhalwa ngamahlamvu ezihlahla yini. Umuntu ajoke sibili ukuthi amaNdebele awafundanga,

kawathandi kufunda, lezo yizithelo zeGukurahundi, vele kuyabe kusithi ngime ngenqindi ngingahlangana nalawo majokes anjalo,” (*it really hurts cutting to heart, I really cannot grin to such nonsense, what quickly comes into my mind is why most of my Ndebele fellows are not educated and acquiring education, they slaughtered our breadwinners during the Gukurahundi so who will pay the fees. How can someone joke in such a way that Ndebeles are not educated, they hate books, these are the fruits of Gukurahundi, I feel like fighting there and there when I receive such jokes*).

Revenge has been noticed by many as the best way to go. The moment they come across such jokes and cartoons that denigrate their ethnic group, they have that revenge feeling and go on to create or work out a more ruthless and unapologetic joke or cartoon. This explains why these jokes continue to circulate thereby producing fruits, a more sour relationship between the two ethnic groups.

Respondents agreed that of course some of the jokes would be depicting the truth about who Shonas and Ndebeles are, but that cat-mouse relationship between them forces them to bust with fury. They think and believe they would be inferiorated by the opposite ethnic group and they make it a point that they gatekeep such joke, they don't share it with anyone.

“Yes it might be true that Ndebele guys are stingy, but the fact that it is coming from a Shona, kuyadanisa sibili, (it really disappoints),” said an Ndebele interviewee 8 interviewed at on the 4th of May 2015.

Shonas also noted that they experience the same sentiments, “zvinobhowa chaizvo and zvinodzikisira, (it irritates and dehumanise),” echoed a Shona interviewer interviewed at MSU on the 30th of April 2015.

Some of the respondents noted that the reaction or feeling experienced after receiving the joke depends on who would have forwarded it, and the message it is carrying. If the joke or cartoon has been forwarded by the opposite ethnic group, they are really hurt. Sometimes the messages held by these jokes are exaggerated to the extent that one cannot even bother having any emotions about it. A Shona interviewee said that they cannot be affected by some of the jokes, for example, joke whereby a rat was personified saying rats grow to be as big as goats but it is Shonas who interfere with their growth as they catch them young for food. Other yet stated that that element of exaggeration cut them to heart as these would be only lies and people are left with a wrong image or picture of who exactly the Ndebeles or Shonas are and what characterises their culture.

However, some of the Shonas and Ndebeles have become immune to such jokes and cartoons due to different factors. Others noted that it depends with one's closeness to the subject as some people have nothing to do with ethnicity whether they are Ndebele or Shona. Thus they feel nothing after receiving the joke. Others pointed out that because of the perpetual sharing of these jokes and cartoons, they have become resistant. "A joke is a joke" laughed other interviewees who said they are not affected at all as they just laugh, relax and forget about it.

A football and ethnicity scholar Dr. Lyton Ncube in an interview said "nemazuva ekusaziva" (before) it used to offend him, but now he has become immune as ethnicity is just a mere construction.

Discussion

The above findings, echoes Ncube (2014)'s assertion that 'Shona–Ndebele relations have never been smooth.' This has seen these two ethnic groups trying by all means to exhibit what they feel towards each other. While constructionists scholars argue that ethnicity is not a God-given gift but a result of social construction, to Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe this claim is invalid as they have continued to mount hatred against each other. The two groups receive tribal jokes and cartoons forwarded them with fury and misery especially the ones that denigrate their ethnic group and its culture. The fury develops to hatred, and the hatred grows to tribalism and it is this tribalism that influences the interaction and socialisation of these two ethnic groups.

It has become a tit for tat game that When Ndebeles say Shona ladies are dirty and they don't know how to dress, Shonas speak back and identify and associate Ndebele ladies with prostitution. All these discourses are spread through social media networks and particularly WhatsApp which is a case study of the researcher.

Ethnicity is a power game, whereof the victims are concerned with seizing power from the opposite group. When a Shona receives a joke that belittles them, they feel inferiorated and the next thing is to revenge. The reason why these jokes are multiplying is the revenge mentality in both Ndebeles and Shonas. This revenge mentality, strains the already injured relationship between Ndebeles and Shonas. The seeds of ethnic factor were there from the past, but, Whatsapp jokes and cartoons provide "fertile soil in which the ideology of tribalism germinates, blossoms and further propagates" (Mombeshora 1990:431).

4.5 Othering the other through jokes and cartoons

It is difficult at times for enemies to meet, to directly confront and tell the adversary what they feel towards them. Indirect platforms have been seen as the best way to go by masses of people. This has been the case with Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe. These two ethnic groups have remained bitter towards each other time and again. Hatred, contempt and inkling is the best way to describe their relationship. They have grabbed the public sphere of social media networks to express their emotions towards each other.

Jokes, cartoons, text messages and edited images are used by one group negatively portraying another group. When these two ethnic groups receive a joke, cartoon or edited image that denigrates the opposite ethnic group they react almost the same as evidenced by interviewees from both ethnic groups. Many of those who receive the jokes and cartoons that belittle the opposite ethnic group feel so much amused and believe the message carried by the joke is true. One Shona interviewee 9 had this to say:

“Ndikaona joke rakadaro ndinonzwa kufara chaizvo and zvinotaurwa nemajokes aya chitori chokwadi, like joke remaNdebele akafira mumvura mushure mekunzi vaite chamunyoruduu anenge atanga kubudisa musoro ndiye aizotengera vamwe lunch. Hapana akada kushandisa mari yake to the extent that they preferred kufira mumvura. MaNdebele agara anonyima especially vakomana vacho aaaah, saka ndikasangana nejoke rinonyomba MaNdebele ndinosununguka chaizvo nemufaro nekuti majokes aya anenge achitotaura chokwadi nenzira inosetsa,” *(When I receive such jokes, I feel so much happy as the messages carried by these jokes are true. Like a joke about Ndebele guys who died in water when they were swimming after one of them had suggested that they have a competition of drowning in water in which the one who would be the first to come out of water was to buy lunch for all of them. No one wanted to use his money to buy lunch to the extent that they preferred to die. It is true Ndebeles are stingy especially Ndebele guys, so if I come across such a joke I feel happy because these jokes say the truth but in comic way.)*

Echoing with what the opposite ethnic group has said, a Ndebele interviewee 10 also said:

“Hawu ngiyacazeka sibili ukuthi iShona laze latholwa. Vele okuyabe kukhulunywa ngamajokes lawa liqiniso njengaleliyana elithi amaShona abukhali athanda imali, liqiniso sibili lonelo ngoba vele uzabona ukuthi nasekufeni bazabe begida kuthwa omalukazana bayaphiwa imali. Kulokuthi abantu bakhale lowo obhubhileyo, bayabe sebephatheka ngokuzindingela imali ekufeni,” *(I feel impressed that a Shona has been made fun of. Most of the jokes purvey the truth as exemplified by that joke that says Shona ladies are greedy, they are money mongers. It is true because mostly at funerals they will be dancing, and daughters-in-law demands some funds which they call it their custom. Instead of them mourning the deceased they become so busy in turning a funeral into a fundraising platform).*

Gatekeeping and more circulation of the jokes that denigrates the opposite ethnic group is also done by the Shonas and Ndebeles. From both sides the researcher noticed that when a Shona receives a joke that negatively portrays Shonas they make sure they gate keep it but if it is the opposite, they make it a point to share with their Shona colleagues. This is the case also with Ndebeles. They also mentioned that they keep on visiting the joke and make funny out of it.

However some of the interviewees noted that as they receive the jokes that belittle the opposite group they are not affected at all as that would not concern them but the opposite group.

“That would have nothing to do with me so I don’t have any reason to feel this or that because I am not included. The issue comes when I am a victim of what the joke or cartoon is saying,” said an interviewee 11 interviewed at MSU on the 28th of April 2015.

There are some myths that are believed in the context of Zimbabwean culture about the Shonas and Ndebeles. Such myths have been used to create the tribal jokes and cartoons that circulate on WhatsApp. Some respondents said that they end up believing such myths because of these jokes for example that Ndebeles are violent.

However, though many of the respondents were of the idea of being happy when receiving the joke and cartoons that denigrate another group, other stated that they feel hurt when such jokes penetrate into their phones as they hurt tribalism. While the government is silent about the ethnic differences between Shonas and Ndebeles it hurts other citizens in Zimbabwe who are eager to see these differences dissolved and the birth of a new united Republic of Zimbabwe. Others noted that as they receive these jokes nothing happens as these are just mere jokes meant for people to laugh and relax. Some of the respondents also stated that it depends on who would have forwarded the joke.

Some Shonas are befriended to Ndebeles so if a Ndebele who happens to be their friend post such a joke or cartoon they said they will just laugh as it would be their way of teasing. But if such jokes are forwarded by the opposite ethnic group member who happens not to be their friend they really become emotional.

Dr. Lyton Ncube explained how he used to be filled with amusement when he received jokes and cartoons denigrating Ndebeles. To him, it was a reflection that Ndebeles are inferior to

Shonas but of late he says nothing happens to him as ethnicity is not a God given gift but rather a social construction.

Discussion

Tribal jokes and cartoons circulated on WhatsApp “subtly informs, educates and entertains” Shonas and Ndebeles on the already existing tribalism problem (Wintz et al). They sought to remind those who tend to forget history, where Zimbabweans are coming from and where they are going. Tribal edited images, recorded audios and videos, and text messages that denigrate Ndebeles are received with much amusement by the Shonas and the opposite is true. The amusement pushes the one who would have received the joke to share with members of their ethnic group. If one feels happy that someone has been caught unaware in a joke or cartoon, nothing hinders them from feeling the same if that someone is caught in between the lines in real life.

It starts from the jokes that a Shona laughs to a Ndebele mocking joke, hence when it comes to real life, when Ndebeles are suffering from hunger and economic decline in Matabeleland Shonas celebrate. The moment a Ndebele learns of such celebration that enmity to a Shona become a hundred fold and the opposite is true.

Intolerance of Shonas and their culture by the Ndebeles to some extent is worsened by these jokes and cartoons that circulate on WhatsApp. While Shonas are portrayed as dirty and ugly Ndebeles are portrayed as stingy and violent yet on violence, “a lot of the evidence offered as proof that the Ndebele are violent people is largely anecdotal, conjectural and stereotypical,” (Ncube 2014).

4.6 Conclusion

The jokes and cartoons circulated on WhatsApp to a larger extent pose a threat to the already existing ethnic tensions between the Ndebeles and the Shonas. The way these two ethnic groups portray each other cultivates, develop, and instil a negative attitude towards each other. The lies, exaggerations and negative identities carried by these jokes and cartoons worsen the tense relationship between the Shonas and Ndebeles. However, looking at the other side of the coin, it can be noted that, though to a lesser extent, these jokes bring together the broken pieces as the continuous circulation of these jokes instils resistance in those who receive them

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a summary of the research is given. Recommendations resulting from the analysis and presentation of data done in chapter 4 are also noted. The recommendations are directed to the government, MSU students, and Ndebeles and Shonas in particular.

5.2 Summary of findings

The researcher found out that the jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp negatively impact the already strained relationship between the Ndebeles and the Shonas. Emotions developed on the consumption of these jokes and cartoons so much widen the gap that is already there between the two ethnies. The way Shonas are portrayed as money mongers, dirty and greedy pushes the Shonas to hate Ndebeles with passion. The same negative way Ndebeles are portrayed as stingy, prostitutes and unreserved cultivates in Ndebeles negative emotions towards Shonas.

As individuals receive these jokes, they don't read or consume them as jokes but they read beyond the joke and cartoon factor. Other factors like history and social consideration are applied when people are consuming these jokes and cartoons. For Ndebeles history cannot simply fade away. When they receive these jokes and cartoons their minds are saturated with the 1980s massacres which results in intense hatred towards Shonas.

It can also be noted that these jokes and cartoons do not only laugh at people but culture as well is included. Shonas are mocked of their custom of overcharging the bride price as well as dancing at funerals. The Ndebeles are mocked of their norm of charging little bride price.

The researcher also detected that most of those who receive jokes and cartoons that denigrate their ethnic group and culture react negatively. This compels them to also create their own jokes and cartoons that denigrate the opposite ethny.

From the research carried out, the researcher noticed that individuals receive with amusement jokes and cartoons that disparage the opposite ethnic group and they go on to forward these to their fellow friends and relatives.

The researcher also noticed that the government is silent about the issue whilst the jokes and cartoons on social media networks are used to exhibit how tense the problem is.

Form the research, the researcher also noticed that Ndebeles are the ones who are bitterer on the issue of tribalism. This has been attributed to the freshness of the recently past history according to them they are still undergoing pains of loosing their loved ones during the Gukurahundi era. Ndebeles feel and are determined to pay back Shonas with evil that is why most of the jokes and cartoons that circulate on WhatsApp were from the Ndebele side mocking Shonas. Ndebeles are trying to compensate through WhatsApp, they are making efforts to retaliate to the Shonas.

The jokes and cartoons that are circulated on WhatsApp also doctor the injured relationship between the Ndebeles and the Shonas. Some of the interviewees clearly stated that as they continue to receive these jokes and cartoons they end up becoming immune. These jokes and cartoons no longer affects them rather they laugh and treat these jokes as jokes and forget about the messages carried by these.

5.3 Recommendations to the government

The government must not play the politics of silence on the issue of ethnic differences between the Ndebeles and the Shonas because it risks the burst of a civil war. Media must be utilised especially social media networks like WhtasApp they must be welcomed as they provide opportunities for to unite the Ndebeles and Shonas. The politics of silence solve nothing but rather pose a threat in the Zimbababwean society. The government must make good use of the media to unite these two ethnic groups.

The government must do away with segregation and unfairness in the distribution media resources and space coverage. Ndebeles are complaining for double oppression. They are heavy laden with the 1980s atrocities and as if not enough, they are experiencing a decline of industry in Matabeleland; on top of that, they are not happy about the way Ndebeles are treated in the mainstream media that is why they are taking platforms like the WhatsApp to propagate their ideologies as well as speaking back to power. As it has been noted that

WhatsApp seems a great deal for these two ethnic groups to perpetuate their tensions, it can be argued that the same platform can be used to resolve these ethnic tensions as well. Instead of creating groups that are well known for castigating and belittling each other, the government can take the advent of technology as a reliable public sphere to create groups that can be ideal to speak this issue over.

Ndebele and Shona are seen as the two major languages in Zimbabwe but the way media operates treats Ndebeles as having the second citizenry in Zimbabwe. The government must make sure that Ndebele is given priority the way Shona is given. It may go down well with Ndebeles if the national anthem is sung in Ndebele first in national gatherings like graduations, vernacular news on both radio and TV are broadcast in Ndebele first then in Shona, and the second Vice President is given prominence by the media the same way the first vice President is given.

Zimbabwean history needs to be revisited. The effort made by Ndebele guerrillas and their leaders in the liberation struggle must be given credit. Artists praising Mugabe and his Shona fellows must be advised to include Nkomo and his Ndebele fellows for it is through these, that independence was won in Zimbabwe.

5.4 Recommendations a Ndebele-Shona society

Ndebeles and Shonas are the ones who have that capability of coming up with a united and developed Zimbabwe through the same WhatsApp platform. Fighting does not solve anything and so is burning inside. Issues must be discussed and solutions to the problems posed. Social media networks particularly WhatsApp were put in place not as battlefields but spaces for socialisation, networking with different people as well as for educating, informing and entertaining.

It is true that jokes and cartoons tell the truth in a comic way, but the best way to overcome being labelled tribal is to treat a joke as a joke, to laugh, relax and forget after receiving such types of jokes. We must learn to appreciate, accommodate and treat each other as human beings. Being Shona or Ndebele is not applied for; it is not a matter of choice but, according to essentialists, a God-given gift. Therefore on WhatsApp lets not use the being Shona or Ndebele to mock and denigrate each other but rather to unite.

Employing the constructionists approach can be the best way to go. No one is really sure of where their origins are traced from. Sometimes one may claim that they are Ndebele while their origins if traced well, have some Shona elements. The term ethnicity should not be given gravity, for, to constructionists, ethnicity is a mere social construction. Hence, instead using WhatsApp to laugh and each others' culture and ethnic background lets use WhatsApp through the same jokes to show love to each other, to show sympathy on each other as well as to show acceptance of each other.

5.5 Recommendations to MSU Students

The learned lead by example, those who have had the opportunity to interact with what essentialists and constructionists argue, must not go back home the same. Parents and grandparents, brothers, friends and sisters who are at home, must be enlightened the continuous circulation of jokes and cartoons that circulate on WhatsApp bedevil unity and development in Zimbabwe. The skills and knowledge acquired from the institution must not be just theorised but put into practice.

There stands a living testimony of your own Doctor, Dr. Lyton Ncube who used to be so much offended and provoked and sensitive about the jokes and cartoons that circulate on WhatsApp, but, after digging deep in the field of ethnicity has come to the conclusion that, it is true, ethnicity is just a mere social construction. It is not about memorising and cramming piles of books, but also about living what the books say. Ncube testifies "I used to be filled with amusement after receiving jokes and cartoons that circulate on Whastapp, but now nothing touches me, as ethnicity is juts social construction." He has set a pace, a good standard has been positioned, follow suit his steps and it will be well with you. Try it you will harvest good fruits of a smooth academic and levelled social life at the college.

REFERENCES

- Abdallar, H. (2012) *The Fifth Estate: Media and Ethics*, Volume 5, Issue 1.
- Alvarado, Manuel and Robin G (1987) *Learning the media*, London, Macmillan.
- Andreas, H. (2013) What is ‘tribalism’ and why does it matter in South Sudan?
<http://africanarguments.org/2013/12/24>
- Ashbury, R., Cassey, J, Helsby W, Ramey M, Turner P. (2005) *Understanding Representation*, London, BFI Publishing.
- Bamford, A. Francois, A. (2001) *Generating Meaning and Visualising Self: Graphic Symbolism and Interactive Online Cartoon Paper Presented at The Eighth International Literacy & Education Research Network Conference on Learning, Dimotiko Skolio of Spetses, Spetses, Greece*
- Barnes, T. (2004) *Reconciliation, ethnicity and school history in Zimbabwe 1980–2002*
- Battaglia, M. P. (2008) *Non-probability sampling, Encyclopaedia of Research methods*, London: Sage publications.
- Beach, D. (1986) *War and Politics in Zimbabwe, 1840- 1900*. Gweru: Mambo Press,
- Beck, M. B. *The Future Of Social Media Is Mobile Tribes*, APR 18, 2014
- Boyd, S. *Social Networks and the New Tribalism*.
- Caldwell, Z. *Tags: behavioural change, Online Dialogue, Social Capital, Technology*
- Camauër, L. *Ethnic Minorities and their Media in Sweden An Overview of the Media Landscape and State Minority Media Policy*
- Castells, M. (1997). *The Power of Identity of The Information Age: Economy, Society and*
- Chari, T. (2005) *Rethinking the Democratization Role of the Online Media: the Zimbabwe Experience*.
- Chari, T. (2013) *Rethinking the Democratization Role of the Online Media: the Zimbabwe Experience*.
- Charles Ungerlider (1998)

Chase, S. E. (2005) *Narrative Inquiry. Multiple Lenses, Approaches, Voices*, in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed), London: Sage, 651-680.

Chase, S. E. (2005) *Narrative Inquiry. Multiple Lenses, Approaches, Voices*, in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed), London: Sage, 651-680.

Chimhundu, H. *Early Missionaries and the Ethnolinguistic Factor During the 'Invention of Tribalism' in Zimbabwe*, University of Zimbabwe
Colonialism. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Comaroffs, J. L. (1997), *Totemism and Ethnicity: Consciousness, Practice and the Signs of*

Cramer, M. January (2005) *Linguistic Distinctions: A Cause of Tribalism in Zimbabwe* http://www.academia.edu/3684257/Linguistic_Distinctions_A_Cause_of_Tribalism_in_Zimbabwe

Cramer, M. January (2005) *Linguistic Distinctions: A Cause of Tribalism in Zimbabwe*

Cupchik, G. *Constructivist Realism: An Ontology That Encompasses Positivist and Constructivist Approaches to the Social Sciences*, Volume 2, No1 Art – February 2001

De Waal, V. (2002), *The Politics of Reconciliation: Zimbabwe's First Decade*, (London: Hurst

Deacon, D. Pickering, M. Golding, P. And Muddock, G. (2007) *Researching Communications, A practical guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis* 2nd Ed, London, Hodder Arnold

Dijk, V. A. T. *Critical Discourse Analysis*

Doke, C.M. (1931) *A Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press

Du Plooy, G.M (2007). *Communication Research. Techniques, Methods and Application*. Lansdowne: Juta & Co.

Eppel, S. (2004) *Zimbabwe Injustice and Political Reconciliation* Edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Tyrone Savage Institute for Justice and Reconciliation Cape Town 2004 'Gukurahundi' The need for truth and reparation¹

Fairclough, N. L. and Wodak, R. (1997). Kegan Paul. Critical discourse analysis In T. A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse Studies. More Bad News*. London: Routledge *A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Vol. 2. Discourse as Social Interaction* Glasgow University Media Group. (1982). (pp. 258-84). London: Sage.

Flick 2006:26

Gatsheni-Ndlovu, S. (2011) *The Zimbabwean Nation State Project a Historical Diagnosis of Identity and Power-Based Conflicts in a Postcolonial State* Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala

Gray, E. G. (2000) *Doing Research in the Real World*, London: Sage

Gripsrud, J. (2002) *Understanding Media and Culture*, London: Arnold

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

Hall, S. (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London, Sage publications.

Harare .Weaver Press.

Inequality. 2 C Ed. London: Oxford

Jacobson, D. and Deckard, N. (2012) *The tribalism index: unlocking the relationship between tribal patriarchy and Islamists militants* Lansdowne: Juta & Co.

Kumar, R. (2011), *Research Methodology--A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners*, 2nd Ed. Singapore: Pearson Education.

Long, K. J. (2013) Editors: Michael S. Lewis-Beck & Alan Bryman & Tim Futing Liao Book Title: *Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods* Chapter Title: "Unit of Analysis" Pub. Date: 2004 Access Date: November 27, 2013 Publishing Company: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Lyton Ncube (2014): *The interface between football and ethnic identity discourses in Zimbabwe*, Critical African Studies

Mamdani.M.(1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of* Lite

Marcia, J.E. (1991). *Identity and self development. In R. Lerner, A. Peterson, & J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds.), Encyclopedia of adolescence (Vol.1)*. New York: Garland.

Mavhinga, D.A *crisis in Zimbabwe coalition regional office weekly report*

Mensvoort, V. *Essay: Back to the Tribe*

Mhiripiri, N. and Mutsvairo, S. (2013) *Social Media, New ICTs and the Challenges facing Zimbabwe Democratic Process*, Inprint of IGI Global: London

Mhiripiri, N. and Mutsvairo, S. (2013) *Social Media, New ICTs and the Challenges facing Zimbabwe Democratic Process*, Inprint of IGI Global: London

Mhlamga, B. (2013) *Ethnicity or tribalism?The discursive construction of Zimbabwean national identity, African identities.*

Mpofu, S. (2013)*Social media and politics of ethnicity in Zimbabwe* *Ecquid Novi, African Journalism Studies*, 34:1 115-122

Muzondidya, J. (2004) *'Zimbabwe for Zimbabweans' Invisible subject minorities and the quest for justice and reconciliation in post-colonial Zimbabwe.*

Muzondidya, J. and Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni *'Echoing Silences': Ethnicity in post-colonial Zimbabwe, 1980-2007*

Ndlovu-G.S. J. (2009). *Do Zimbabweans Exist? Nation Building, Identity and Violence*, Oxford: Peter Lang AG International Academic Publishers

Nyoni, M., Grand, N., Nyoni, T. (2012) *Beyond The Humour: a Newspaper Cartoon as Socio-Political-Economic Commentary: The Case of 'Wasu'of the Manica Post in Zimbabwe* Vol. 2 (6), pp. 179-190,

Oates. S. (2008), *Introduction to Media and Politics*. London: Sage Publications

Ojo, T. (2006) *Ethnic print media in the multicultural nation of Canada A case study of the black newspaper in Montreal* University of Queensland, Australia, New Dehli, Sage Publications

Paglia, P. *Ethnicity and Tribalism: are these the Root Causes of the Sudanese Civil Conflicts? African conflicts and the Role of Ethnicity: a Case Study of Sudan*

Raftopoulos, B. *Nation, race and history in Zimbabwean politics*

Rupar, V. (2012) *Getting the facts right, Reporting on Ethnicity and Religion A study of media coverage on Ethnicity and religion in Denmark, German, France, Greece, Italy, Hungary, Lithuania, Sllovakia and the United Kingdom* Brussels, International Press Center

Spieß, M. (2011) *From watchdog to lapdog? Published by Media@LSE, London School of Economics and Political Science*

Ureta, J. *The Fourth Revolution and Present-day Cyber-Tribalism-Final*

Waldahl, R. (2004): *Politics and Persuasion. Media Coverage of Zimbabwe's 2000 Election.*

Willems, W. (2006) *Mocking the State: Comic Strips in the Zimbabwean Press*, African Studies Centre: Leiden

Wintz, T. Neighbor, Karaca, C. Lang, L. *Understanding the world of Political Cartoons a Curriculum Guide*

zimottawa.com (2011)

QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Perpetual Ndebe, level 4:2 Media and Society Studies student at Midlands State University. I am carrying out a research which is a core task to complete my degree programme. The title of the dissertation is: **The reproduction /challenging of tribal prejudice on WhatsApp through jokes and cartoons.** I do hereby soliciting for your knowledge in the subject. Information gathered will be treated private and confidentially and used for academic purposes only.

Gender:

Male Female

Reg number **Age**

Are you on WhatsApp?

Yes No

Home/first language

Province

Contact Number

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Have you ever shared or received any joke on WhatsApp?

Do you still recall any of the jokes that you received?

How did you react after seeing such a joke?

Do you think these jokes circulated on WhatsApp portray the truth about issues of the society or they are meant to make people laugh?

Do you think these jokes and cartoons have an effect on the relationship between the Shonas and Ndebeles? Explain how.

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The focus group discussion will be on the basis of two jokes that would be sent to those who are going to participate. One of these will be denigrating the Shonas and the other denigrating the Ndebeles. The following questions will guide the focus group discussions:

What are your views about jokes and cartoons, that is do they disclose the truth about societies or they are just meant to make people laugh?

What is your take on that negatively portraying the Ndebeles/Shonas.

Is there any element of truth in these jokes about each ethnic group?

Do those jokes affect the relationship between the Shonas and the Ndebeles in one way or the other?