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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

TOPIC

***The representation of Zimbabwean liberation war chronicles in The
Sunday Mail and The Patriot***

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**This disssertation is submitted in halfway satisfaction of the prerequisites for
the Bachelor of Sciences Honors Degree in Media and Society Studies at**

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APPROVAL FORM

This serves to confirm that the undersigned has read and recommended to the Midlands State University for acceptance of a dissertation entitled:

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Submitted by R131284T in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Science in Media and Society Studies Honours Degree.

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I thank my parents for being the great mentors they are, role models and prayer warriors who believed in me from day one.

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Most importantly let it be known that God Almighty is the light that shines on our path in this life and beyond, all knowledge is rested in him, our shield and strength.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my loving family which ever supported me with their unwavering love and prayers through my academic journey.

ABSTRACT

This research set out to explore the role played by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in the framing of the Liberation war chronicles from 2015 to 2016 respectively. The main argument of this research is that the two newspapers partially represent all political parties in their reportage of the Liberation war chronicles due to political obligation to the ruling party ZANU-PF. The study assessed the effects of ownership, control and funding mechanism of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* on news reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. The study was guided by the following theories consisting of the representation theory, framing theory and agenda setting theory. The study breached a gap in the exploration of the underlying problem of political interference in the media's role to freely and fairly promote national identity and nationhood. The study implored the qualitative research paradigm as the study was purely qualitative in nature. Thus the study utilized qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis through sampling to identify the appropriate participants for interviews, focus groups and archival material to be used in the study. The study found out in general that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers proved their loyalty and allegiance to the ruling party ZANU-PF in supporting the political ideologies of the Mugabe regime for a one party state. This explained the one-sided and biased news reportage of the Liberation war chronicles and misconceptions of the societal perception of contemporary political and economic issues.

ACRONYMS

AIPPA Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act

GPA Global Political Agreement

GNU Government of National Unity

LOMA Law and Order Maintenance Act

MDC-T Movement for Democratic Change – Team

OSA Official Secret Act

POSA Public Order and Security Act

ZAMPS Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey

ZARF Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation

ZANU PF Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

ZAPU Zimbabwe African People’s Union

ZMMT Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust

ZANLA Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZMA Zimbabwe Military Army

ZHT Zimbabwe Heritage Trust

ZIMASSET Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable and Socio-Economic Transformation

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The study focuses on the representation of the Liberation War chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The study would focus on the period 2015 up to date, the reason being the rise in the plethora of Zimbabwe's political and socio-economic activities. The newspapers lay as platforms or political actors for the assessment of ownership and control patterns in reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers have had a strong pre and pro political history of 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' as well in the framing of the modern political discourse (Moyo, 2000, 2013; Mukasa, 2003, Chari et al., 2000, Runyowa, 2013; Mwanaka, 2013). McQuail (2010) argues that the incumbent government in Zimbabwe has incorporated the 'fourth estate' in perpetuating their hegemonic and ideological discourses such that their philosophies are viewed as 'common-sense'.

Media representation is the process which involves the 'gate-keeping' and 'agenda setting' to shape the publics' perceptions of accepted societal norms and values in the context of political, economic and social ideologies news activities (Hall, 1997; Williams, 2003). Therefore the study seeks to establish how the selected newspapers namely *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* construct and deconstruct the hierarchy of power.

The study made use of qualitative research methodology. The reason being that qualitative research is primarily exploratory research which is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations hence the researcher chose this type of research in order to uncover how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have represented the liberation war chronicles in Zimbabwe. The researcher implored in-depth interviews, archival research and questionnaires to mention a few. The main reason being to extract as much vital information as possible from the limited population of editors, reporters/columnists and readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in connection to the Liberation war chronicles respectively.

1.2 Background to the study

The Sunday Mail was established in 1935 by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company. Rusike (1990) states that *The Sunday Mail* was established to cater for the needs and interests of the white minority, while at the same time ignoring the interests of the black majority. The plights, needs and aspirations of the Africans were not given much priority unless they had committed a crime. The forms of representations during colonial period were done through inclusion and exclusion system. Saunders (1999) asserts that during the Second Chimurenga war, *The Sunday Mail* played a very crucial role on threatening and discouraging black Zimbabweans to join the war. It was used to disseminate falsehoods in support of the Rhodesian Front Regime. Thus this clearly shows the power and the influence of representation of dominant ideologies portrayed as news and undermines the political economy of the mainstream media in framing political ideologies of the dominant classes as to shape, construct and deconstruct societal norms and values.

Potts (2000) argues that the media has been a decisive tool of controlling and perceiving public thought as it is used to win the 'hearts and minds' of the masses. When Zimbabwe gained its independence *The Sunday Mail* did not change from its biased kind of reporting. Mlambo (1997) postulates that pre and post independence news accounts shape in decisive ways people's perceptions of the world through various and broad broadcasts. The way in which *The Sunday Mail* newspaper is reporting today in an independent and sovereign Zimbabwe is the same as how it was reporting during colonial period. In modern Zimbabwe, the newspaper is regarded as an effective instrument of the incumbent government and ruling party ZANU-PF to champion the elite's agenda.

Therefore in this study, the researcher would assess the extent to which *The Sunday Mail* is championing the ideologies of Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) through their representation of liberation war chronicles from 2015 to date. The issues to do with its ownership and control would be thoroughly interrogated as these representations are mainly influenced by these two factors. *The Sunday Mail* newspaper is a publicly owned paper but a state controlled one, which means that its production of meanings is done in binary terms of the inclusion and exclusion, exactly what it was doing during colonial period. Hall (1997) regards this form of representation as the process of 'othering' others or a process of 'them and us'. It is

the process of ‘othering’ others in *The Sunday Mail* that I am going to investigate in relation to the representation of the liberation war chronicles.

In Zimbabwe, there are some war veterans who are very loyal to the ruling party (ZANU-PF) led by President Mugabe, and on the other side there are some who are loyal to the Zimbabwe People First (ZimPF) led by Dr Joyce Mujuru. The liberation war chronicles of the war veterans who are loyal to ZimPF have received some negative representations yet those who are loyal to ZANU-PF have been receiving positive representations from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*.

The study also focused on the representation of liberation war chronicles in *The Patriot* newspaper. This newspaper was established in May 2011 by the ex-combatants, war collaborators and freedom fighters. Its main purpose is to report about Zimbabwean history from a very patriotic point of view, mainly the history about liberation struggle of Zimbabwe. There are some moments when the editors of this newspaper have been calling for war veterans and war collaborators to report their first hand information of the struggle to *The Patriot*. Its representations of the liberation chronicles are also viewed as biased and one-sided as the element of ‘othering’ others is also witnessed in this newspaper (Hall, 1997). Like *The Sunday Mail*, this newspaper is popularly regarded as the most useful instrument of the ruling government to champion its own ideologies and propaganda. In the study, the researcher also assessed how the liberation war chronicles have been represented in *The Patriot*.

The Sunday Mail and *The Patriot* have frequently covered stories of slavery, the partition of Africa and colonial exploitation as well as liberation war chronicles (Mukasa, 2003; Moyo 2000). In the period before Dr Mujuru and all other war veterans who are loyal to her have been expelled from the ruling party (2014), they were represented as well decorated freedom fighters. Dr Mujuru was represented as a ‘heroine’ who gun downed a helicopter of the white colonial forces during the liberation struggle, but in 2015 the same newspapers that were eulogizing for Dr Mujuru in 2014 started to dig memory and archives as they started to deny that she gun downed the colonialists’ army helicopter. The same newspapers are now representing her, not as a heroine but a sexual services provider of the Chimurenga period. This is viewed as an attempt to edit and re-edit the collective memory of Zimbabweans in order to re-write the history of the struggle for independence. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are denigrating and belittling these war veterans because it is believed that ex-guerrillas are at the center of Zimbabwean politics.

1.3 Problem Statement

The problem statement of the study is as follows: “The representation of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*”. The study seeks to assess the extent to which the dominant class or the elite, and in this case the Zimbabwean government, controls the state’s mainstream media in news reportage of national and historical events like the Chimurenga Liberation war struggle. Furthermore, the study aims at justifying the extent to which *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have fairly framed the Liberation war chronicles in their reportage paying particular attention to the highly politically polarized Zimbabwean media landscape and its effect on the society. Media representation involves the perspective and angle in which the two newspapers portray historical events like the Liberation war struggle against British colonial rule in their news stories.

The study seeks to demystify how the ownership, control and funding mechanism of state controlled newspapers *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* affects news reportage. However, the study also assesses the effect of news reportage of national and historic events like the Liberation war chronicles in shaping the concepts of national identity and nationhood to the ordinary Zimbabwean fellowman. The study also critically assesses how the media adapt and play an active role as a participant in the country’s politics and governance. This study strongly believes that there exists a lack of professionalism and ethical considerations in the Zimbabwean mainstream media in its news reportage of political issues evidenced by the representation of the Chimurenga war in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. It explores how the government and ZANU-PF have used the mainstream media for propaganda and political dominance since independence. Furthermore, the research explores how the pre and post independence Zimbabwean mainstream media have changed and developed in relation to nation building and democracy.

The study also emphasizes the extent to which the mainstream media make use of national historic events like the Chimurenga liberation war in their reportage to shape, construct and deconstruct social realities and its effect on the society’s public opinion.

1.4 Significance of Study

The research is worth to study as it seeks to make an assessment on how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers' reportage on the liberation war chronicles from the period ranging from 2015 to date is marred by political and ideological motives. The researcher is much worried by the fact that these representations of liberation war chronicles might distort the national history of this country since these representations from the selected newspapers are driven by politics, power and by the motive to sell ideologies as well as political brands. The research highlights how the political economy of the media and political communication has led about to the branding of political parties in relation to the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

The research demystified the myth behind media representation of political ideologies disguised as news by the mainstream media and its effects on public opinion as well as shaping societal norms and values. The relationship of the media in framing national identity, culture and patriotism with the ownership and control patterns would be constantly emphasized. The representation of war veterans in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is paramount as the veteran community has influence in the political and ideological structure of the ruling party ZANU-PF. The framing of freedom fighters as heroes and heroines in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is arguably not innocent at all in relation to the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles by the state media. The state media has been used by the ruling party ZANU-PF to perpetuate the party's ideologies to win the 'hearts and minds' of the fellow country man. The public is being misinformed and 'passified' by the state media into accepting the political dominance of ZANU-PF; as the party is represented as the liberator from white colonial rule.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are to:

- Find out the importance of news framing by the two mainstream print media in Zimbabwe on the liberation war chronicles from 2015 to date.
- Establish the influence of the media on political marketing, branding and campaigning in Zimbabwe.

- Explore the relationship between the media and politics within the Zimbabwean context through news reportage.
- Assess the influence of ownership and control and the extent it affects news reportage about liberation struggle in Zimbabwe unfold the influence of political economy in news reporting and content
- Explore the role of mainstream print media in Zimbabwe towards national political identity

1.6 Main Research Question

- ❖ What role was played by The Herald and The Patriot in representing the chronicling of the Zimbabwean liberation war?

Sub-Research Questions

- How does *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* politically brand the ruling party (ZANU-PF) through their reportage?
- Does ownership and control of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspaper reflect distortion and bias towards certain political parties in Zimbabwe?
- Do *The Sunday* and *The Patriot* give prominence to the liberation war chronicles in Zimbabwe?

1.7 Assumptions

- *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are no longer performing their social responsibility role of informing, educating and entertaining the Zimbabwean citizens, but are now marketing as well as de-campaigning other political brands through their reportage.
- *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have a tendency of taking sides when reporting about the chronicles of the liberation war caused by ownership and control patterns.
- The media are powerful instruments in swaying public opinion in regards to the information about liberation war credentials.

1.8 Delimitations

The study focused on the news articles from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* from 2015 to date. The researcher chose this period because it was just after the ZANU-PF elective congress when the people of Zimbabwe witnessed the reshuffling and party factionalism which led to the publicized expelling of party members such as the former Vice President of Zimbabwe - Dr Joyce Mujuru. The period also marked the use of the 'vote of no confidence' against war veterans' and ZANU-PF war veterans' committee such as chairpersons. The passing on of the vote of no confidence to the Members of Parliament, Senators and Minister who were regarded as associates with the oppositional parties' incessant factionalism schemes waged against ZANU-PF.

The research also focused on *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* journalists/columnists (Munyaradzi Huni), editors and a selected few readers of the two newspapers from Woodlands Park suburb in Gweru. The period 2015 to date also marked the dawn of the questioning of the liberation war credentials to everyone who was expelled from the ZANU-PF party and dare challenge the Mugabe administration. Furthermore, the period is a significant starting point because 2015 is the year when succession discourses based on liberation war credentials started to gain media attention. This study makes use of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* because of their frequent coverage of war veterans chronicles, also political economy of these two newspapers.

1.9 Limitations

The study is purely qualitative in nature and has some limitations since it only focuses on written text and documented literature; and ignores statistical/numerical data. The findings from the sample population (editors, journalists, columnists, readers) may not be generalized to other media houses since it only focuses on *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. Again the research findings alter generalizations since it is difficult to predict/interpret quantitative numerical/statistical data, time consuming and might lack credibility as results are easily influenced by the researcher's personal biases. Data collection methods like interviews, participant observation, focus groups, archival research to mention but a few suffered from the researcher's lack of technical competence in structuring of interviews which led to personal

biases and subjectivity. This then affected the authenticity/objectivity of results, data presentation process and the credibility of findings.

Furthermore the use of qualitative research method which does not ensure the data capture and presentation of statistical/numerical data thereby reducing the credibility and validity of findings. The study is also limited in its scope with the use of only two newspapers namely *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in a media landscape oriented with a vast population of main media vested in the art of reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. The inaccessibility of official government national documents and archival material in regards to the documentation of Chimurenga liberation war was hindrance to the authenticity and objectiveness of the overall findings.

1.10 Structure of the study

The study comprises of six chapters. Chapters 1 introduced the entire research and gave the background to the study. Chapter 2 consists of the literature review and the theoretical framework which reinforces the coverage of the liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. Chapter 3 comprises of methods of data gathering, sampling methods and techniques. Chapter 4 focuses on the organizational analysis of the two selected newspapers under the study, their historical backgrounds, their mission statements, visions objectives and funding mechanisms and dealt with. Chapter 5 consists of data presentation and Chapter 6 focuses on the researcher's recommendations and concluding remarks of the study.

1.11 Conclusion

The chapter introduced the entire study and provided a detailed background to the study. The chapter focused on the historical developments of the Zimbabwean mainstream media both in pre and post independence era. The chapter emphasized on the Zimbabwean colonialists' impact on the local media's reportage of the Liberation war chronicles in shaping, constructing and deconstructing of the national agenda towards nationhood and nation identity. It also highlighted on the lack of the mainstream media's role in fostering democracy and development within the Zimbabwean community.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The chapter seeks to review the related existing literature, and analyze the theoretical underpinnings as well as concepts that have relevant relationship to the phenomena under study. The major purpose of reviewing the literature is to determine other researches and scholarly articles that have already been done that relate to the phenomena under study in attempting to fill the crevice left by the before researchers. The literature intended to be reviewed emanates from books, journals and case studies from historians, social scientists or researchers like Mukasa (2003); Chari et al (2000); Schudson (2003, 2012) and Mwanaka (2013) to mention but a few.

2.2 Literature Review

According to Hart (2006) literature review is a process of examining, interrogating and academically analyzing a body of the existing literature that points to the current knowledge including substantive findings as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to a particular topic. Williams (2005) also asserts that literature review is a critical analysis of a segment of published body of knowledge through summary, classification and comparison of prior research studies. The researcher reviewed literature on the key aspects like the ‘relationship between media and politics’, ‘the role of the media as agenda setters in a political environment and ‘media coverage of liberation war chronicles’. It distinguishes the escape clauses identifying with what has been composed by different researchers concerning the examination under study. In this study, literature will be utilized from the different articles composed by researchers like Mukasa (2003); Chari et al., (2000); McChesney (1999); Schudson (2003, 2012); Moyo (2003, 2009); Mwanaka (2013); McQuail, Golding and Bens (2005) to mention but a few. Literature was reviewed thematically with the use of the following themes.

2.3 Relationship between politics and the media

The media play an important role in the democracy and development of any nation. No one can study politics without mentioning the importance of media in any governance of a state (Jebril,

2013). The relationship between media and politics has been under constant study for the past years from many disciplines, academics and researchers (Mukasa, 2003; Huggins, 2000; Oates, 2008; Meyer, 2002; Kemp et al., 2016; Greber, 1978, 1984). The mass media are the prime source of our everyday news and understanding of politics and ultimately they have a bearing in who we call ourselves. Since the mass media are mass disseminators of information, politicians view them as a good communication channel that would foster their political campaigns to become successful (Bennett, 1990; Iyengar, 1991). The bond between mass media and politics is strengthened by the fact that politicians seek to gain political dominance via the mass media as seen by the representation of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers. The ruling party ZANU-PF instrumentalises the two newspapers for political and economic dominance especially during election times and makes use of the party's Liberation war credentials to control public opinion.

According to Mukasa (2003) the relationship between media and politics in Zimbabwe is 'dialectical' and the local media landscape is 'highly politically polarized'. This means that there is a symbiotic relationship in terms of news sourcing for journalists to politicians and also in return politicians would be seeking for legitimacy and publicity. Moyo (2010) considers frames to be the constructed representations that reflect broader relations of power in a society driven by political and economic crisis. He came up with three models of journalism which are 'patriotic', 'oppositional' and 'independent' journalism which he asserts that they were born at the crossroads of Zimbabwean politics in the year 2000 where the discourses of land reform programme and the defeat of the ruling party in the constitutional referendum of February 2000. In this era, Chari et al (2003) posit that public life became bifurcated and the press became one of the most viable battleground of ideas and a best site of the struggle for political domination. The ruling party ZANU-PF forefronts *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* for its own positive political representations in the news reportage of the Chimurenga liberation war so as to sideline other nationalist parties like Zimbabwe African People Union (ZAPU) which participated in liberalising Zimbabwe.

However, Chuma (2008) views the press as a battleground for ideological domination to analyze how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have represented the liberation war chronicles. Similarly, Moyo (2002) states that the mainstream media like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers

has become sites of the struggle for domination on this specific issue of the framing of liberation war chronicles. Nyamnjoh (2005) also provides an analysis of the relationships between the media and politics giving Cameroonian perspective. He argues that journalists tend to turn a blind eye to the shortcomings of their political allies, while exaggerating the weaknesses of their political opponents. He further asserts that in Cameroon the press has been accused of 'journalistic hooliganism' of 'observing a conniving silence over certain happenings while being irresponsible and reckless in reporting other pressing matters' (Nyamnjoh, 2005:231).

In contrary to Nyamnjoh's (2005) notion, Dye et al (2007) argue that in this twenty first century the media have migrated from their role of informing the people into being kingmakers. This resonates with Marr's (2005) assertion that the media are no longer watchdogs but they are now lapdogs and to some extent attack dogs that can be unleashed to the enemies of those in power. Dye et al (2007) posit that the role of presidential elections in every nation is only a routine and norm but the elections are done and won through the media before the Election Day. In supporting this view, Murdock and Goulding (2005) suggest that the media are very influential even in the selection of potential candidates. They express that the media can royal position and oust political competitors by voicing out difference sentiments against an unfavorable political candidate. The Zimbabwean media has resorted to a more negative political advertisement approach in handling political disputes between candidates. Kangira (2006) states that Tsvangirai was delegitimized as a national 'traitor' and 'puppet' under British control. His conspiracy story as an alleged terrorist plotting to assassinate Mugabe is a clear example of the power of the media in the political game. Under the headline "Killing Mugabe-The Tsvangirai Conspiracy", *The Sunday Mail* posed Tsvangirai with terrorist activities Jamieson (1992:24) argues that,

...in politics as in life, what is known is not necessarily what is believed, what is shown is not necessarily what is seen, and what is said is not necessarily what is heard...in consultants exploited the psychological quirks that characterize humans...

The above statement clearly shows that meaning behind the news content vary amongst readers, and this is proof of the oppositional reading that anti-ZANU-PF supporters possess when in contact with *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* Liberation war stories. Due to the various cultural and political backgrounds readers possess, some readers may agree or disagree with the

ruling party ZANU-PF's ideologies portrayed in the newspapers' reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

Grabler (1981) postulates that political communication by the mass media involves the press and political candidates in disseminating 'political language' that is aimed at hegemonizing and interpellating the masses into accepting the party's political dominance. Moyo (2003) acknowledges that the ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* to create and shape patriotic history of the Liberation war chronicles to influence public opinion. Mapuva (2010) states that the government creates a sense of connection with the Liberation war chronicles deeming them the 'Liberation war credentials' and 'authority' to govern the nation. Cohen (2011) asserts that the Zimbabwean mass media is used to create social reality of nationhood and 'national identity' under the pretext of African empowerment and sovereignty. Denton and Woodward (1981:11) point out that the main attribute which determines ordinary communication as perceived political communication is connoted by the political persona's message "content and purpose". Thus *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have over the years fosters the Mugabe regime's ideologies disguised as news as they have over the years falsified the Liberation war history through biased, subjective and one-sided reportage.

However, Ballard (1989) asserts that the paid situation of authoritative (decision party ZANU-PF) messages in the media, is not innocent as the audiences are subjected to bias and falsification of the media content portraying the interests of its owners (government). Mupfuvi (2014) argues that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are political entities aimed at conscientizing the masses about the ZANU-PF's political and national agendas. Barnett (2014) posits that the Zimbabwean mainstream media 'commodifies' the media content as 'political products' meant to bring awareness to the political and economic issues within the states. Thus Williamson (1978) postulates that those 'media products' are meant to create 'meaning systems' that create an accepted social construction deemed as normal by the passive audience. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*'s commodify the ZANU-PF's ideologies as media products that shape, construct and deconstruct public opinion through Liberation war credentials.

Boorstin (1962) affirms this notion to what he calls the 'pseudo-event' whereby the media frames certain issues in the perspective of their owners to reach at certain targeted audiences. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are aimed at bringing mass awareness through their reportage of

the Liberation war at the same time uplifting the ZANU-PF's ideologies intended to create and shape the national history and national identity. The masses in Zimbabwe have heavily relied on public media for political and social information (Hove, 2014; Runyowa, 2013). Thus Blumler (1987:170) points out that, "the public's confidence in many social and political institutions has steeply declined" as the masses "have become more dependent on media resources". *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have proved to be the most influential newspapers in the Zimbabwe as they "are crucial in determining the public importance of issues" especially political contestations (Weaver, 1987:186). Thus McNair (2011) posits that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have the ultimate power and authority to shape, construct and deconstruct ZANU-PF's Liberation war credentials as 'political reality' for political and economic dominance.

In contrast to McNair's (2011) assertion, Sabao (2013) asserts that the Zimbabwean media landscape is highly politically polarized with the mainstream media like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* heavily inclined with the ruling party ZANU-PF and the government. The press' representation of President Mugabe as a fatherly figure and war veterans as liberators is highly questionable. Maareck (1995:2) notes that the media politically market ZANU-PF in a "complex process" that markets the ruling party's political brand image with symbolism of the party's positive policies in the potential voter's mind. Butler and Collins (1994) assert that ZANU-PF has commodified news as 'products' which consist of their party ideologies and policies, the candidates as well as the marketing communications. Lock and Harris (1996) affirm the role of the media in marketing and communicating political parties' ideologies and policies under the pretext of national history or historical events like the Chimurenga war. Thus Wring (1997:653) affirms this notion as ZANU-PF has a steady grip on *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as platforms for "opinion research" as well as the "political environmental analysis" for political dominance especially during election times.

2.4 Political Communication

News institutions have long been connected to political parties. Political communication is defined by Denton and Woodward (1990) as the interaction of social inequalities in the sharing of open assets, official power, and authority sanctions amongst the Zimbabwean government and the ordinary citizens. Political communication involves the process whereby the media act as an

advertiser to legitimise or delegitimize a certain political party or candidate through strategic communication (Murdock and Goulding, 2005; Nesbitt-Larking, 2007; Kline, 2009; Curran and Gurevitch, 2005). The media act as a political entity as they have the ability to shape, construct and deconstruct social reality and public opinion (Stoddart, 2007). In Zimbabwe the media landscape is highly politically polarized as the media's reportage of political issues reflect its political party's affiliation (Mazango, 2005). The state controls *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reportage of the Liberation war chronicles so as to hegemonize the society and influence the public opinion.

The ruling party ZANU-PF has instrumentalized the mainstream media so as to politically advertise and brand its political entities and policies (Tarugarira, 2014). Thus explains the heavy dosages of negative political advertising of oppositional parties have been continued to be used by President Mugabe through his incessant attacks of oppositional party leaders like MDC-T's Morgan Tsvangirai. Payne and Baukus (1985:5) opine that "name-calling, direct personal attacks" as well as implying coordinate individual assaults conveyed by "surrogate speakers" to tarnish the image of the oppositional political party's candidate during elections. Gronbeck (1994:62) asserts that negative political advertising is aimed at placement of negative attributes concerning the "one that creates unattractive or undesirable images of one's political opponents" of the ruling party ZANU-PF's oppositional political party leaders like Tsvangirai or Dr Joice Mujuru. The ruling party ZANU-PF and the government makes use of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* to negatively advertise so as to delegitimize other political parties like MDC-T or ZAPU which fought alongside ZANU-PF in liberating the country.

Various citizens have variable attitudes of perceiving political issues raised in the local newspapers. McCombs and Shaw (1972) argue that readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. Thus Kline (2009:1) asserts that the Zimbabwean press has deviated from its "watchdog role of government...whereby citizens can get the (informed and correct) information they need to participate in democracy and debate the issues of the day". Waldahl (2005) then contends that the media are the major political actors and primary sources of the political discourse. He further argues that the whole process of news production is characterised

by gate-keeping which then leads to the end product being an agenda set production. Kline (2005) asserts that for those who own and control the media, it is possible to steer political debate the way they want, to exclude particular topics from discussions and to decide which is to be allowed to voice an opinion. West (1994) postulates that that media information given to the people is riddled by covert intentions of manipulations, control and domination, which is inexorably what political communication at times seeks to achieve and uphold. McCombs and Shaw (1972) opine that in choosing and displaying news editors, reporters and newsroom staff to play the ZANU-PF's constructed role as an important part in shaping political reality, and they have power to marginalize particular politicians by simply neglecting them. President Mugabe's political agenda is fostered through the Ministry of Information which appoints *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* editorial staff to foster the political discourse and ideologies of the ruling party ZANU-PF in their news articles.

McNair (2011) argues that the power of the media lies in the ability to set the political agenda for the nation. He argued that the media do not only provide cognitive knowledge, influencing us about what is happening, but they also order and structure political reality, allowing events greater or lesser significance according to their presence or absence on the media agenda. McCombs and Shaw (1972) focused on the functions of the media in a presidential campaign and McNair (2011) also focused on the agenda setting technique about the Iraq war, all these are in foreign context which may be different to the Zimbabwean media scenario. The government politically instrumentalises *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* for political communication and branding during election times. The two state controlled newspapers represent the ruling party ZANU-PF's role in liberating Zimbabwe and emphasising more on its right to the governing seat under Liberation war credentials.

The press is very instrumental in the Zimbabwean politics of the day. Herman and Chomsky (1988) postulate that the political economy of the media is a very decisive factor in the game of politics as the media constitutes as the platform to address the interests of the ruling elite. Chomsky (2002) argues that the media acts as a source of information to the society and has the power to shape public opinion and sets agendas for political parties in the political discourse. Moyo (2002) and Mukasa (2003) postulate that the state media like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are seen as politically active newspapers in securing the dominance of ZANU-PF in the

political struggle. Carpentier (2011) affirms this notion as she points out that the media is a site of political and ideological struggle as various political parties use it as a platform for political debates and campaigning. The press in Zimbabwe is largely pro-ZANU-PF as *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is used as a mouthpiece for propaganda purposes via popular culture associated with national history/heritage of the Liberation war chronicles (MMPZ 14 February, 2002).

The government's intervention in the media has hoarded the media scene both in controlling the communication systems and distributed media (Chambwera, 2014). Since independence, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings (ZBH) is the sole national broadcaster and is largely influenced by ZANU-PF's agendas for deliberate political debates and biased news reportage. Blumler and Kavanagh (1999:209) point out that political communication has become "more diverse, fragmented, and complex" as the government seeks new strategies with the state media to curtail the political environment to their advantage. Blumler and Kavanagh (1999:209) go on to say that "power relations among key message providers and receivers are being rearranged" so as to enable political parties to outwit each other during election times. Through modernization and mediatization, African governments have resorted to using media as a major political tool so as to create a "media constructed reality" win the hearts and minds of the masses (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999:209). This is evidenced by the ruling party ZANU-PF's heavy dosages of political and cultural ideologies disguised as national news in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reportage of the Chimurenga liberation struggle.

In Western countries like America, politicians like President Barack Obama have always avoided traditional political campaign routines like rallies of public speaking conferences, but have often resorted to the use of mass media in "speaking their mind" (Mayhew, 1997). This relates to how ZANU-PF have constantly relied on using state controlled media like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in their coverage of presidential elections (Runyowa, 2013). According to the Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe's (MMPZ) Report of the 2002 presidential elections, the government made use of Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) for their election campaign coverage. MMPZ Annual Report (14 March, 2002) acquired statistical data that, "ZBC carried a total of 402 election campaign stories" and "only 339 of the bulletins favoured Zanu PF's presidential candidate" whilst "only 38 covered MDC activities". Thus Clark (1993) postulates that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are crucial political tools used to delegitimize

other nationalist factions such as ZAPU and sidelining other oppositional parties like MDC-T. The government and ZANU-PF mislead the national agenda via the press so as to acquire nationwide voters during election times and make use of the Chimurenga war history to preserve political power.

2.5 News as political actors

The media have long since been connected with politics and one cannot separate politics from the media (Mukasa, 2003; Schudson, 2002; Cook, 1998; Carter, 1959). Thus the media have ever since practiced the art of ‘mediatization’ of the political information. Cook (1998) asserts a strong emphasis of the power of ‘*The Fourth Estate*’ as prominent political actors and their participation in state governance. The media over the years have evolved and restructured its approach to the reportage of political issues and is regarded to be in the process of “professionalization of political publicity” (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999:214). Through ‘political communication’ and ‘branding’, the mainstream media is empowered with the power to legitimize or delegitimize other political parties through “positive political advertising” or “negative political advertising” (Gronbeck, 1994:62). Thus granting the media power to engage in an ‘othering’ the other scenario during elections (Hall, 1997). The government and ZANU-PF’s direct intervention in operations of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* has influence on political content and distribution patterns of the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

The media in Zimbabwe is under an eagle’s eye from the government and the ruling party ZANU-PF. Under ZimPapers, the government has ever since independence laid a stronghold foundation on mainstream press like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* for propaganda purposes. The Mugabe administration acts as the gatekeeper and agenda-setter of the press to determine the content and distribution patterns to delegitimize oppositional parties during election times (Mukasa, 2003). This is emphasized by Gould (1998:294) as he explains that political candidates like President Mugabe, “seek to gain and keep momentum...dominating the news agenda...with stories and initiatives so that subsequent news coverage is set” to his own terms in the election race so as to outsmart other political candidates. Mukundu and Ngwenya (2010) postulate that Zimbabwean media is divided along a thin line marked across the politics of media ownership and control. The ruling party ZANU-PF instrumentalises *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as

political tool to foster the party's ideologies and hegemonize the society via biased and one-sided reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

The press has been constantly used as a state ideological tool rather than it empowering development and democracy. Hall (1982:64) argues that, the press does not play only a watchdog role at the government but also acts as a gatekeeper in "selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping...the active labor of making things mean". Clarke (1993) argues that the media has power to delegitimize other oppositional party leaders in the public sphere as holding "campaigns without candidates". The government acts as a gate-keeper of sensitive information that may cause threat to the status quo. The state media desists from reportage that exposes corruption and government's mismanagement. The 1999 United States Agency for International Development (USAID) emphasized on the importance of the media during election times to bring about 'democracy' and 'national development'. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are expected to act as an information tool so as to make information readily available about public policy issues and empower citizens to make informed decisions come election time.

However, Montesquieu (1751) is of the view that the media's ability to bring about openness and transparency within government operations especially during election time serve as the recuperate in the course of majority rule state. This is evidenced by the privately owned *DailyNews's* attacks on President Mugabe and his ruling party ZANU-PF officials, in bid to expose him and his counterparts with allegations involving "police brutality" and "human rights abuse" as they have ignored the main provisions of the "constitution, for freedom of expression, what more 'about the citizens'" (*The DailyNews*, 30 August, 2016). Thus Barrat and Berger (2007) are of the view that the private media have undermined but effective power to 'democratize' the oppressed as they can reduce levels of fear within the masses in exercising their freedom of expression and access to information. Furthermore, O'Neil (1998) postulates the importance of freedom expression in citizen's participation in governance of their own country. He contends that, "with no liberty of communiqué the press supply, the base of self-governing law is destabilized". In Zimbabwe, the government calls out for democracy whilst *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are controlled and regulated via draconian laws and in-house editorial policies which hinder freedom of expression and access to information which triggers deprofessionalism in news reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

The local press like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* has long since been political actors but government interference and abusing them as political actors has deprofessionalised and deinstitutionalized the press as an institution. Thus Jefferson (1787:118) points out the importance of the press in the governance of any nation. He argues that it is better to have a press without government intervention than a government which controls the operations of the press. He argues that, “were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without a press or a press without a government I (Jefferson, 1787:118) should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter”. In politics the media also participate as the voice of the voiceless, as Guntler and Mughan (2000) also incline to the notion of the power possessed by the press in a state’s governance terming it as the connective tissue of vote based system. Thus *The DailyNews’s* (2016) motto of ‘*Telling it without fear or favor*’ is radical in exposing the government’s transparency of all its operations and endeavors. Through the speculation of illusions, imagery and political jargon, journalists act as major chains of production in the political communication process (Bennet, 1966), constructing artificial realities in the minds of the readers. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot’s* reporters make use of their journalistic expertise to influence the public sphere through socially constructed realities that are perceived as true by the ruling party ZANU-PF view points of the Chimurenga liberation war chronicles.

Thus Chakaodza (2003) affirms this notion of the media being subject to political parties as noted by the close ties the private press has in politically branding Morgan Tsvangirai as the sole redeemer of Zimbabwe from the President Mugabe political tyranny. Halberstam (1979) is of the view that media has changed the political game as the media are now the ‘puppets’ of politicians and have become the ‘product’ of the ‘creations’ of political parties. Zaller (2011:1-2) affirms this notion as he postulates that the present day politicians like President Mugabe use of the “mass communication to mobilize” their political campaigns and administration is testimony of the ruling party ZANU-PF’s political tyranny. Through the abuse of national history, the government has managed to interpellate the masses through the repeated coverage of the Chimurenga war accounts and ZANU-PF political jingles (Fisher, 2010; Daniels, 2011; Moyo, 2003). Carpentier (2011) views the use of the political use of the media as a political tool proves the mention that the media is seen as a ‘site of ideological and democratic struggle’. In the highly politically polarized media landscape of Zimbabwe, the private media is believed to sympathize with oppositional parties whilst the ruling party heavily relies on state controlled press like *The*

Sunday Mail and *The Patriot*. Through political communication and branding via these two newspapers, the ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of Liberation war chronicles to uplift party policies and interests to side line other political parties.

The government in Zimbabwe has integrated close ties with the media through the Ministry of Information and Publicity, as political strategists like Prof Jonathan Moyo introduced the ‘75% local content’ policy to conscientize the masses about the ZANU-PF ideologies (Mpfu, 2013). Mountfield (1997) as cited in Blumler and Kuvanagh (1992) posits that the United Kingdom Government Information Service (GIS) recognizes the essential need for ‘government communications’ to invest more in the mainstream news corporations to enforce their operations more strategic and efficient. Mountfield (1997:108) cited in Blumler and Kuvanagh (1992) posits that the United Kingdom Government Information Service (GIS) recognizes the essential need for “government’s communications” to invest more in “the media to make them more effective and authoritative”. In Zimbabwe, the government maintains strong relationships with the media so as to adopt “a more centralized coordination of government communications to the media” (Mountfield, 1997:108). Thus granting ZANU-PF the ability to influence *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot’s* ability to shape and construct the public opinion along the party’s own preferred encryption of the Chimurenga political discourse.

The former Vice President Dr Mujuru has been rebranded as a ‘prostitute’ after she was fired from ZANU-PF after allegations of party factionalism via *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot’s* reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. The once acclaimed liberation war heroin’s image has been tarnished due to internal party feuds, and this questions the objectiveness of national history and national identity constructed by the government and ruling party ZANU-PF in *The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail* newspapers. Nelson Banya editor of *The Source* proclaimed his doubt with the authenticity of the Chimurenga chronicles, “we could yet salvage a more accurate history” (RadioVop Zimbabwe, August 23, 2016). Local political analyst Ricky Muzana argued that the patriotic history of the Liberation war as portrayed in the state media “might all be fake” as “Zanu PF political elite, after telling us lies believe that we can correct the same lies” (*RadioVop Zimbabwe*, August 23, 2016). Thus this is essential to the study as it will highlight how government intervention in the ZimPapers Group influences the news content and political angle in which *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot’s* report on the Liberation war chronicles.

2.6 Sociology of news

The relationship between the media and the society are old as humanity and much of academic research has been worked on over the years (Schudson, 1989, 2003, 2012; Cohen and Young, 1973; Gieber, 1964; Curran and Gurevitch, 2000; Tuchman, 1978; Murdock, 1982; Gurevitch et al., 1982). The media has the power to inform, educate and entertain the society thereby granting them unquestioned power to socially construct of reality. As Gieber (1964: 173) states that, “news is what the newspapermen make it”. Sociology is the science of studying the social behaviours of the society in relation to its development and functionality in socio-economic, cultural or political context. Giddens (1989:56) defines sociology as “the study of human social life”. He contends that it examines the reaction in human behavior in response to various media products. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have a significant force in the construction of political and social reality in shaping popular culture within the context of the Liberation war chronicles as well as creation of the public agenda for the society to debate upon.

The Zimbabwean society is interrelated to the reliance of mass media in terms of state issues ranging from culture, socioeconomic and politics for the ordinary fellow country man. The mainstream media like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are vested with the power shape, construct and deconstruct ‘public opinion’ and have influence in the ‘public sphere’ to raise the national agenda (Habermas, 1962). The media does not only mirror the society but also engages in framing of cultural, socio-economic and political issues within the society like the Liberation war. As Hall (1982:64-65) asserts that media engages in the dynamic work of “making things signify” and he goes ahead to say that, “which means is a social generation”. This means that through symbolism in certain political discourse disguised as news articles, the political parties influence the readers’ perception of political and economic issues. Thus *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are very instrumental in influencing public opinion through a systematic and calculated angle of reporting the Liberation war chronicles determined by the ruling party ZANU-PF’s political and national agenda.

The Zimbabwean government controls the media through legislation and policies so as to create social realities that favor the interests of the elites. Curran and Gurevitch (2005) state that the political economy of the media has diverse effects on news reportage, content and distribution

patterns. In response Schudson (1989: 266) states that the political economy of the media has diverse effects on news reportage, content and distributions patterns. He points out “that there is a ruling directorate of the capitalist class that dictates to editors and reporters what to run in the newspapers”. This has led to the government granting ZANU-PF the power to misinform the society through the mass media on issues of public interest as government officials convict crimes such as ‘corruption’ and abuse of human rights (Moyo, 2014; Sithole, 2013). Schudson (1989:267) affirms this as he points out that the press has lost its professionalism in news reportage as journalists tend to write articles “characterized” by public service “system denigration” and “crime promoting”. Mukasa (2003) highlights that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have over the years deviated from their mandate of playing a watchdog role to the government and serving the interests of the society due to their inclination to the ruling party ZANU-PF’s political agendas. The production of ZANU-PF ideologies disguised as news in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* reportage of the Chimurenga liberation struggle perceives reality of the actual political and economic issues faced by the society.

This is affirmed by *The Sunday Mail*’s representation of the once hailed war veteran and former Vice President Dr Joice Mujuru in 2002 represented as the ‘heroin’ of the 2nd Chimurenga Liberation struggle and later framed as a ‘traitor’ and ‘prostitute’ after being fired from the ruling party ZANU-PF in 2014. Thus Hall (1997) asserts that the dominant class controls for their political interests by ‘othering’ other political parties influence news reportage and content in covering political issues. Murdock (1973:158) further explains this notion as he points out that, “the basic definition of the situation which undermines the news reporting of the political events, very largely coincides with the definition provided by the legitimated power holder”. Thus meaning to say that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s reportage of the Liberation war chronicles “convey an impression of authority” the government has in the reportage of national events and this notion affirms the superficial reality that realizes Zimbabwean news reporters as professionals (Weaver, 1975:90 as cited in Berkowitz, 1997). *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* rely on official government sources which tend to be biased and subjective via the representation of the ruling party ZANU-PF’s role in the Chimurenga liberation war chronicle.

There is also need for critical assessment of the relationship between the journalists and the sources (Gans, 1979; Sigal, 1973, Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Liberation war chronicles as

framed in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* rely on government official sources. These sources suffer from subjective, one-sided and biased information towards oppositional parties and create falsified 'social constructions of reality' within the society (McQuail, 1994). Thus Sigal (1973:209) postulates that reporters 'are exploited by their sources either to insert information into the news or to propagandize'. Gans (1979) affirms this notion as he explains that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* practice 'efficiency' through reliance of the government's authority and 'source power', gate keeping only information scrutinized by the Ministry of Information as newsworthy to publicize.

In relation to Gans' (1979) notion, McQuail (1994) argues that the media is used by ZANU-PF for 'creating social reality' as President Mugabe is framed as the fatherly figure of the nation whilst his war veteran counterparts are regarded as liberators of the British colonialist. Thus Hall (1997) postulates that *The Sunday Mail's* production of news involves the "meaning making process" that shapes, constructs and deconstructs societal values and norms creating the status quo for the society at large. Herman and Chomsky (1988) affirm this notion through the use of their 'propaganda filters', which enable *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as well as the government to act as agenda setters and gate keepers to influence public opinion in the public sphere. Moyo (2003, 2009) asserts that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have deliberately falsified and fabricated 'biased' national history and Liberation war chronicles in favour of the President Mugabe and his administration so as to govern Zimbabwe by consent.

The media have consciously cultured the masses through 'interpellation' into believing and accepting that President Mugabe is the rightful leader through political communication and branding, advertising of 'war veterans' as 'liberators' from British colonialism (*The Patriot*, February 25, 2016). Enzensberger (1974) agrees to this notion in realizing the mass media's power as the "consciousness industry" to deliberately take advantage national history so as to adjust the public sphere to adhere to a certain public political opinion. Gamson et al (1992) postulates that the media has been constantly used to create some sort of 'political consciousness' on which the 'media readers' are forced to think and act along with ZANU-PF's ideologies. Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that ZANU-PF's use *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as a 'propaganda' platform to disseminate party ideologies to the society disguised as news through the use of the 'propaganda filters' to socially construct reality.

Happer (2013) states that media must abide to the public service model and must always prioritize the needs of citizens. Thus Shoemaker (1996) postulates that newspapers should be vital sources of information with the main aim of promoting democracy and national development in their coverage of national issues. Murdock (1973:158) postulates that Zimbabwean journalists are often controlled by the government's media regulation policies especially in "news reporting of political events" whereby reportage is influenced by "legitimated power holder". Murdock (1973:172) points out that the media landscape in Zimbabwe is highly polarized as reportage on political issues is largely determined by the "definition of the political situation evolved by the political elite". Herman and Chomsky's (1988) 'propaganda model' highlights how the government "filters" information as a mode of a 'propaganda' tool. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* "serve" as parameters that are used "to mobilize support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity" (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:11). Mwanaka (2013) postulates that President Mugabe is constantly represented in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as the 'fatherly figure' of the nation and war veterans as 'liberators' from British colonialists to win the heart and minds of the masses. This biased and one sided representation of the ruling party ZANU-PF in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is used to perpetuate the party's ideologies under the pretext of the Chimurenga national history and national identity.

2.7 Professionalism in news reportage

Professionalism and war reportage have been under constant study throughout the years tracing the relationship between ethics and journalism practices, emphasizing on the role of the media in conflict resolution (Carruthers, 2011; Allan and Zeliser, 2002, 2004; Hallin, 1984, 1997; Tumber and Palmer, 2004; Karnik, 1998). Professionalism involves reporters and journalists being ethical, objective, truthful, immediacy and relying on credible sources in producing news. The reporters/journalists always abide to certain public service ordeal in their reportage. McQuail, Golding and Bens (2005:156) define professional journalism as, a code of unselfish administration, upheld by careful self approach; a unique arrangement of journalistic abilities which journalists and reporters must abide along for ethical clarity and validity in news reportage. Freidson (1994) asserts that previous studies indicate that professionalism is

obfuscated by implicit suspicions and conflicting and inadequate uses in the field of social science studies. In the Zimbabwean media, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reporters' inclination and dependence on government official sources has an effect on the credibility and objectiveness of the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. This has questioned the professionalism and ethical considerations of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* journalistic practice in the Zimbabwean media industry.

In contrast to Golding and Bens (2005) is notion of professionalism, Holroyd (2000: 39) argues that, "professionalism is not some social-scientific absolute, but a historically changing and socially constructed concept-in-use". This is affirmed by Sockett (1996: 23) who concludes that the journalistic "professionalism is about the quality of practice" whilst it adds "the public status of the job". *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* news reporters have deviated from the professional practice of journalism and over the years deviated from ethical considerations in news reportage, especially in the political context. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* news reporters have deviated from the professional practice of journalism and over the years deviated from ethical considerations in news reportage, especially in the political context. Moyo (2000) asserts that the state controlled media's coverage of political issues in Zimbabwe is one sided, subjective and biased towards the oppositional parties and privately owned media especially during election times. Mukasa (2003) asserts that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have over the years engaged in constant attacks towards MDC-T oppositional leader Morgan Tsvangirai through the use of hate speech and framing him as a 'fool' and 'puppet' under 'British colonialist' control. Thus the ruling party ZANU-PF instrumentalises *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as a political advertising and branding tool with the aim of delegitimizing other political parties.

However, Goldstein (1985:162) argues that "journalism is not a profession" thereby delimiting the responsibilities of journalists being professional in their news reportage. Carruthers (2011) asserts that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* coverage of the Liberation war chronicles tends to be 'one-sided' and subjective to 'bias' as reporters rely on government official sources. This is affirmed by Kepplinger and Kocher (1990:307) as they point out that journalism deviates from being counted as profession as reporters have been sidelined over the years as not belonging to the "professional class" as compared to other professional occupants. Hoyle (1975:315) identifies professionalism as the strategic implications that media personas apply as motive to

enhance status, compensation and conditions. Troman (1996:476) argues on the role of media owners in determining employee professionalism is “socially constructed” making use of the media organisation’s “management” departments to set guidelines and policies which ensure that reporters and reporters give their ultimate professional performance. Thus the government’s intervention in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s editorial staff and editorial policies has influence on news production and reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. The ruling party’s direct control of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* via the Ministry of Information determines the angle or perspective in which the two newspapers report on the Liberation war chronicles.

However, Ozga (1995:22) opines that journalistic professionalism is best examined in the realm of relevant media policy frameworks like the highly political Zimbabwean media landscape so as to “explore the value of the service” delivered from news reporters to the government and ruling party Zanu PF. In Zimbabwe, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* serve the government’s interests as a ‘propaganda’ tool so as to construct the ZANU-PF’s ideologies as social reality (Herman and Chomsky, 1998). According to Media Institute of Southern Africa (2003), the privately owned media resorts to self censorship in their reportage of political issues, exposing corruption and government’s mismanagement of national resources may lead to “arrest”. This however delimits the levels of professionalism in the journalism profession. Mukasa (2003) argues that the press should be truthful, fair and balanced in their coverage of conflict or war situations, but the Zimbabwean media has deviated from this assertion under the pretext of ‘public interest’ and ‘the public’s right to know’. The government and the ruling party ZANU-PF have over the years abused the Liberation war credentials fostered via *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* under the Chimurenga embroiled national unity and national identity to for political grounds.

The media should play a watch dog role at the government and should be impartial from taking political sides. In Zimbabwe the media landscape is highly polarized and the government uses *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as ‘political actors’ for political dominance (Patterson, 1997; McNair, 2014). The ruling party ZANU-PF abuses the state controlled mainstream media as a mouthpiece for propaganda purposes. Ranger (2003:4) points out that, “*The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail* regularly carried articles on slavery, the partition, colonial exploitation and the liberation struggle” as the main agenda set to the public sphere. Thus the news coverage of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* remain stagnant and ‘one-sided’

due to the influence of the ruling party ZANU-PF's strongholds on news production (Boyd-Barret, 2004).

In response to Ranger's (2003) claim, Carruthers (2000) affirms that the influence of the military and political authorities as the main sources of news; as she notes that, 'instead of covering the war, the war covered me'. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* frame Mugabe as a 'father figure' of the nation and war veterans as 'liberators' from colonial bondage (Moyo, 2013) whilst labeling Tsvangirai as a 'traitor' and 'puppet' under British control. Nolan (2008) postulates that African journalists lack adequate basis of training and theoretical framework as they lack social responsibility and have drifted from the public service model of journalism. Hallin (2002:220) asserts that today's era has been marked by the dented effects of deprofessionalisation of journalists due to the advent of the internet's emergence of 'citizen journalism'. He continues to explain that in the olden days, "the journalist was supposed to serve the public as a whole" but nowadays reportage is determined by safe guarding the interests of "commercial interests of advertisers and owners". *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* reporters have deviated from the public service model of news reportage that is informing and educating so as to foster democracy and development. Instead of playing a watchdog role to the government, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reporters have over the years served the interests of the ruling party ZANU-PF and the government. The state controlled media has shied away from exposing corruption and the mismanagement national resources by the government.

The ethical and professionalism level of Zimbabwean reporters is arguably a contested terrain. Mare (2010) asserts that in Zimbabwe, the economic and political conditions have led to the deprofessionalisation in journalism as journalists resort to corruption and brown envelop journalism due to lack of adequate salaries. As Aldridge and Evetts (2003:550) point out that "nearly a century" ago, journalists in the European countries have engaged in the "wages movement" in forms of national trade unions. The element of professionalism according Aldridge and Evetts (2003: 556) involves the unified action of the whole media house structure as reporters and journalists mastering the dialogue of "professionalism unilaterally and instrumentally". Norris (2000) is of the view that journalists act as watchmen of majority rule government, bolstering the general population data and reactions, and hence framing learned subjects ready to add to open life and create sees on current issues. This view underlines the need

to readdress the deprofessionalism and deinstitutionalization of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* journalists' opportunities and its partition from the government's legislative and political weight.

The Sunday Mail and *The Patriot's* reporters still remain unethical in all their reportage of socio-economic and political issues especially in Zimbabwe due to government intervention. As per Glasser et al (2008), journalistic professionalism involves ethical responsibility in all journalistic endeavors, the researchers underscore morals as a procedure, not only a result; a contention, not simply a decision. Nolan (2008) postulates that morals in this convention sees question and contradictions as an open door for a open talk open to everybody influenced by what the press does; it hence anticipates from reporters a guarantee to react, transparently and authentically, to any genuine question about what they do and why they do it. However, Atton (2009) asserts that the advent of citizen journalism has resulted in the 'deprofessionalism', 'deinstitutionalization' and 'decapitalization' of the mainstream traditional mass media like the press. Chalaby (1998) has called news reporting as a truth dominated digressive practice instead of an imaginative, philosophical, or political publication on current endeavors. Schudson (2001) asserts that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reporters must always practice the 'objectivity norm', and play a "watchdog" role to the government in reporting national issues like the Chimurenga liberation war so as to promote national development and democracy.

Thus Stromback & Karlsson (2011:643) assert that media owners, "set editorial guidelines and policies, and appoint editors and staff, and thus influence the news production processes". The ruling party ZANU-PF and the government control over the press thereby influences the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

Theoretical Framework

2.8 Introduction

Theoretical framework is a pool of interrelated theories and concepts that are used in relation to a particular research problem (Zeidler, 2005). Theories make generalizations about observations and consist of a coherent set of ideas and models. Fourie (2007) also posits that theoretical framework formulates the goals of the theory, meaning that before one can be able to comment on how something functions, one must give a clear narrative of a process first. The study

employed three main theories consisting of representation theory, framing theory and agenda setting theory to get a better understanding and assessment of the media representations of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* respectively.

2.9 Representation Theory

The representation theory was propounded by Stuart Hall in 1997. Hall (1981) proposes that the media, as a principal form of ideological dissemination, produces representations of the social world via images and portrayals. This manufactures a network of understanding that informs us ‘how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work’. Furthermore, Hall (1997) claims that we construct our understanding within an ideology, we ‘speak through’ ideology and that ideology enables us to ‘make sense’ of our social reality and our position within it. Hall (1981) asserts that ideologies become ‘naturalised’ and ideologically motivated representations mask themselves as ‘common sense’; within an ideology, politically constructed representations – such as political discourse – are passed on as being ‘given by nature’. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspaper represent the ruling party ZANU-PF and war veterans’ ideologies disguised as news under the pretext of Liberation war historical credentials.

The Sunday Mail and *The Patriot* have over the years endorsed the national agenda so as to influence the public sphere through news reportage that is heavily dependent on official government sources. Ross’s (1992) study demonstrates that the media assume a key part in state of mind development as they select data the general population gets, and that choice is ideologically persuaded. Ross (1992:12) with Playdon (2001) kept on building up this topic, expressing “assuming most media items are engraved with the same arrangement of social suspicions (and preferences) in light of the fact that their makers have the same social encounters, then those basic standards and qualities which may well be covered up yet in any case exist, are transmitted as an un-reluctant truth”. In spite of the fact that Ross and Playdon (2001) take note of that diverse representations shift in their ‘precision’, they keep up that all representations are socially built and situated in a particular chronicled connection. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have been used as ideological tools by the ruling party alongside the Ministry of Information for biased reportage of the Liberation war chronicles which favors the ruling party ZANU-PF.

Developing the issue of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* assurance of positive representations of all the ruling party ZANU-PF's escapades in their reportage. Gandy (1998:24) recommends that the broad communications are comprehended to be the most vital shaper of contemporary society, usurping the part beforehand held by chapel, state and school, as executives of open seeing, subsequently turning into society's essential mingling operator. Nonetheless, he includes the media themselves don't have boundless control over representation, as media items must consent to the necessities of sponsors, arrangement producers and the group of onlookers. Woodward (1997:2) says that identities are conveyed, eaten up and controlled inside culture – making suggestions through regular systems of representation about the identity positions which we may grasp. Emphasis must be drawn from Hall's (1990) idea that personality is definitely not fundamentally 'altered', yet a liquid wonders; perhaps instead of considering character an authoritatively refined real reality... we should think, rather, of lifestyle as an 'era', which is never completed, reliably in process, and continually constituted inside, not outside, representation. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have communicated the ZANU-PF's ideologies in their news articles so as to shape the culture of the masses in the context of political discourse.

Through the representation of ZANU-PF and ex-combatants in their stories, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* communicate the ruling party's of power and authority over national political and economic systems. Thus Duveen (2000) argues that representations may be the result of correspondence, yet it is additionally the case that without representation there could be no correspondence. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have over the years represented President Mugabe and war veterans as 'national heroes' who fought the Chimurenga war to liberalize the majority. Moyo (2013) states that ZANU-PF has landed itself the 'Liberation war credentials' so as to redeem itself fit of the rights to govern the nation in an African majority rule political framework. However, Hall (1997:6) asserts that representation "is more concerned with the effects and consequences of representation – its 'politics'. It examines...and defines the way certain things are represented, thought about, practised and studied". Waldah (2004) states that the measuring stick of a basic appraisal of the part of the media in legislative issues should be the rule that apply in a majority rule system. As these systems incorporate the evaluation of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* free and fair coverage of issues of national interest like the Chimurenga liberation struggle through free and open exchange of political and social view points.

Due to the advent of globalization, the reception and decoding of media content is highly contested and varies from culture, religion, race or occupation. Lewis (1994) argues that, implications turn into a battleground between and among people societies, class subcultures, ethnic societies, and national societies... which means of things appears to be less unsurprising and less certain. Due to the advent of technological innovations like the internet, the audience has become pronsumers of news and active citizen journalists through virtual communities. Thus Hall (1997:228) affirms this notion as he puts it that, “meaning floats. It cannot be finally fixed”. Thus *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* representation of the Liberation war chronicles has forced social change within the society’s understanding of the ever-changing political debate through the constructed lens of the ZANU-PF party.

2.10 Framing theory

One cannot talk about media representation and undermine its important interrelations and connections with the framing theory and agenda setting theory (Alonso, 2014; Meraz, 2013; Soroka, 2012). Framing theory has been under constant study over the years from various disciplines, academics, philosophers as well as researchers (Borah, 2011; Scheufele, 1999; Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996; Baran and Davis, 2008; Chong, 2007; Jeffrey, 2007). Framing is the angle or perspective in which the media covers certain political, socio-economic and cultural issues as news with a certain elitist perception of that particular issue.

It is critical to distinguish the difference between media representation and framing theory to get an insight into the main tenants of the framing theory. Hall (1997) states that, representation is the generation of signifying using ‘semiotic’ information, which are ‘signs’, ‘dialect’ and ‘items’, that are traded inside a given society. He further posits that representation is best studied using three theories mainly constructional, intentional and reflective. In contrast, Goffman (1974) postulates that framing is the media communication and presentation of news to its audience and gives them power to ‘schemata of understanding’ and ‘find, see, distinguish and mark’ certain identities, occasions or events. Entman (1993: 51) postulates that framing is a process of, “communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a ‘perceived reality’ and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or a treatment recommendation”. The ruling party ZANU-

PF makes use of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as an ideological mouthpiece for propaganda purposes aimed at shaping and construction of the party's political ideologies as perceived public opinion.

Through the socially constructed media frames of the Liberation war chronicles, ZANU-PF has managed to control public opinion and influence the political debate. Thus Reese (2001:7) postulates that frames can be used by political actors for political dominance as the media has power to report on "events and issues organized and made sense" by ZANU-PF to legitimize or delegitimize other political parties. Thus the matter of mediation comes into play. There is no reality undiluted by mediation. Porter and Samovar (1988) posit that when a message reaches the culture where it is to be decoded, it undergoes a transformation in which the influence of the decoding culture becomes a part of the message meaning. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* all use representation as a way to disguise ZANU-PF ideologies as news to shape 'patriotic history' and to create a sense of nationalism, national identity and 'Chimurenga' idealism (Ranger, 2005).

The meaning content of the original message becomes modified during the decoding phase of intercultural communication because the culturally different repertory of communicative behaviour and meanings possessed by the decoder does not contain the same cultural meanings possessed by the encoder. Cappella and Jamieson (1997:47) contend that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* framing process triggers knowledge within readers and stimulating "stocks of cultural morals and values, and create contexts" in accepting ZANU-PF's ideologies as the socially constructed realities.

Oppositional parties like MDC-T or Peoples First are constantly represented in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* through negative political advertisement. Former Vice President Dr Joice Mujuru are labeled and 'framed' as a real "traitor" and "puppet" under control of Britain to the just cause of the Liberation struggle (*The Sunday Mail* 14 May, 2014). The main aim of these attacks was to 'frame' Dr Mujuru as a traitor to the war veterans destabilized her own political party's voters trust and confidence in her. Williams (1996) affirms this notion as he postulates that these kind of "persuasive attack(s)" imply messages that endeavor to "damage the image" of other political parties. Shea (1996:123) states that, "because voters remember these images for ... a long period of time" proving once again the power of the media as a political actor. However due to the advent of technology, social media has now empowered audiences to practice 'citizen

journalism' in retaliation to the status quo (Jurrat, 2011). Thus Jamieson (1992:24) posits that, "in politics as in life, what is known is not necessarily what is believed, what is shown is not necessarily what is seen, and what is said is not necessarily what is heard". The advent of the internet has triggered social media like Facebook and Twitter which has empowered users to be pronsumers of news content via citizen journalism. The masses no longer depend on biased sources of news like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* which only favor ZANU-PF's interests as the internet has consciously enlightened the society on the social inequalities that exist amongst them.

Through media ownership and control patterns, the government has managed to gate-keep and set agendas that they have scrutinized to be to sway public interest and create a sense of falsified nationhood (Mukasa, 2003; Runyowa, 2013). The ruling party ZANU-PF continues to possess power over the mainstream media and its content for political domination. Moscovici and Marková, (2000) state that, we cannot communicate unless we share certain representations. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have always engaged in negative 'framing' of other political parties as it "organizes everyday reality" (Tuchman, 1978: 193) and offers "meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987: 143) thereby emancipating the "particular definitions and interpretations of political issues" (Shah et al. 2002:343). The present government of the day and the ruling party ZANU-PF present their ideologies through specific Chimurenga imagery and repetition of national historic content. The same content is specifically gate-kept by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* to shape the ZANU-PF's angle in which the audiences must decode the political messages.

2.11 Agenda Setting Theory

This theory was propounded by McCombs and Shaw in (1972) as a feature of their *Public Opinion Quarterly*. The theory emphasizes on the role the media play in raising prominent issues within the community. They argue that most of the topics that are discussed in a given society are derived from the media. In other words they assume that the media tell the people what to discuss and think about. Cohen (1963:13) contends that, "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about". This means that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* may generate social,

political or public interest topics in their reportage of the Chimurenga liberation struggle but the consumers do not get to know the reality behind the issues on ground.

However, McCombs & Shaw (1972) also contend that besides audiences learning about the raised agenda, of essence is also how much importance is attached to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. Ranger (2005: 217) point out that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have used the Liberation war credentials as a contemporary agenda highlighting “nationalism as a movement, or set of movements, and as an ideology, remains central to contemporary Zimbabwe” in shaping the public sphere.

Through the Ministry of Information, the ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* to raise national issues concerning public interest. Thus Lang and Lang (1966:468) assert the main function of the media as agenda setters during election times is that, “mass media force attention on certain issues...build public images of political figures...constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about”. This is evidenced by the ability of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* to shape election campaigns leading to the process of “agenda building” (Lang and Lang, 1983). This “agenda building” according to Okwuchukwu (2014:41) involves “a collective process in which the media, public and the government influence each other in determining what issues to be considered important”. Jensen (2010) affirms the notion of the press as an effective negative political advertiser with the main goal of delegitimizing and destabilizing other political parties. The government of the day has been in the habit of mediatizing *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* for the negative advertising and delegitimizing of other nationalist factions like ZAPU which also fought alongside ZANU-PF in the Chimurenga liberation war.

In Zimbabwe, the ruling party ZANU-PF is very instrumental in using *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* for political campaigns and political branding during elections. McCombs (1993) critique of the 1968 Presidential Elections Study of the management of the flow of information to attain voters’ attention concluded that the broad communications applied a huge impact on what voters thought to be the real issues of the political battle. Ibelema & Powell (2001) critique the assumed power of the agenda setting theory with notion that, People are more likely to believe what they

see. And persuasive institutions like the mass media are much more on display on television than in newspapers. McQuail and Waldahl (1993) assert that there is a relationship between agenda setting and political communication as evidenced by the complete reliance of ZANU-PF to stretch out election environment for political advantage). There is a solid relationship between the press, agenda setting and politics as *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are constantly used as political actors.

Sokora (2002) postulates that these communications rich into a broad examination enthusiasm, incorporating the media part in the arrangement of popular conclusion and, how much general society takes after or drives popular sentiment. What we think about the world is to a great extent in view of what the media choose to let us know. Happer (2013) posits that all the more particularly, the after effect of this interceded perspective of the world is that the needs of the media firmly impact the needs of people in general. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, are very persuasive in determining the national agenda or the political debate, which is constructed by the ruling party ZANU-PF as the societal norms and values.

As indicated by McCombs (2004), the advancing stream of famous feeling creates in these urban districts far and wide and that are portrayed by open political and wide interchanges systems. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* set the ZANU-PF's political agenda for the public sphere to debate and reason upon. Griffin (2012) postulates that framing is also known as the decision of a predetermined number of particularly related attributes for thought on the media arrange for when a particular dissent or issue is discussed. McCombs (1993) argues that the press' reportage of the Liberation war chronicles has certain political quantifiable behavioral results on the public opinion of the masses. Due to the advent of social media like Facebook and Skype, the masses have been emancipated with the power to become pronsumers of media content. Thus McCombs (2005) found out that the web nowadays has an enormous gathering of spectators with such an expansive number of unmistakable resources. Due to the internet resources, the audiences have now been equipped with a diverse and plural source of information through Facebook, Skype or Twitter as well as online newspapers and websites. The state controlled *Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have proven to be sterile in influencing how the society thinks and reacts to political and social issues like the Chimurenga liberation war.

Griffin (2009) asserts that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reportage of the Liberation war chronicles has a ghostly ZANU-PF political motive as the press can exchange the striking nature of issues on their news plan to general society motivation. The two newspapers have constantly maintained ties with the ruling elites both pre and post independence eras (Sesanti, 2013; Moyo, 2003). However some audiences may engage in the oppositional readings as they neglect *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reflections of ZANU-PF ideologies through access to private news sources from the internet. Thus Griffin (2009) affirms that the agenda setting hypothesis also “reaffirms the force of the press while as yet keeping up that people are allowed to pick”. Thus the digitalization and globalization of media conglomerates such as BBC and CNN has consciously raised awareness to the passified Zimbabwean citizen given biased and one-sided view points of political and economic news production via *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*.

2.12 Conclusion

The literature review and theoretical framework has managed to highlight the media representation's tenants of framing, gate keeping and agenda setting which influence the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The chapter stressed the effects of political economy of the functionalism of the Zimbabwean mainstream media outlets and its effects on content and news reportage. The next chapter explored the research methods and methodology which would be used to gather, present and analyse the research findings.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter looks at the study's research methods and methodology used to analyze the representation of the liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The chapter provides a discussion of how the research design, sample techniques, data collection methods as well as the data presentation gave validity to the findings and the study as a whole. Furthermore, the chapter also emphasises on the relevance of the research techniques and methods employed in the study in relation to the qualitative nature of the research.

3.2 Methodology

This is the technique which the researcher used in gathering and analyzing data. Somekh and Lewin, (2005) states that research methodology is the whole system of principles, theories and values that underpin a particular approach to a research. Clough and Nutbrown, (2008) also opines that research methodology is a branch of research that displays how research questions and objectives are articulated. Methods employed in this research to solve the phenomena under study can also be defined as methodology (Hamersley, 2011). Furthermore, Williams (2011) contends that a research methodology creates the right platform to map out the right research plan in line with the objectives of the study. Burns and Grove (2005:488) also assert that the researcher must choose the most appropriate approach with less "methodological limitations" which will not hinder "data collection" techniques in the whole research. Johnson (2005) also indicates that the methodology is the manner of doing something.

According to Gunter (2000), there are two categories of research methods which are qualitative and quantitative research. In this study the researcher will make use of qualitative research method. Qualitative research method because qualitative methodology produces data of spoken or written words in an interpretive (Duplooy, 2013). Its characteristics are based on what people write about or say. Silverman (2013) contends that qualitative research is primarily exploratory research which is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations

hence the researcher chose this type of research in order to uncover how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have represented the liberation war chronicles in Zimbabwe.

3.3 Qualitative research

Qualitative research design involves much of the social experiences of people leading to be more contextual, interpretive and explanatory in nature. Burns and Grove (2009) affirm this notion of the interpretative nature of the qualitative research as the strategic manner of acquiring data through life experiences, knowledge and deducting meaning behind such connotations. Again Holloway and Wheeler (2002:3) point out that qualitative research is a “form of social enquiry” that analyses the ordinary peoples’ perceptions of their surroundings to deduct meaning from how they understand their everyday lives. Thus safe to mention that qualitative research unlocks the feelings, perceptions and behaviours of people towards certain societal issues in a natural setting.

The researcher employed a more humanistic and holistic approach and became a participant in through in-depth interviews and contextual analysis for the unlocking of human experiences, attitudes and behaviors (Gunter, 2000). Thus indicating the participant observation aspect of the researcher as this guarantees a uniqueness factor to the research findings (Steubert and Carpenter, 1999). However, the qualitative research design does not guarantee complete objectivity as humans tend to be less logical, biased and subjective in their accounts. Thus qualitative research method is largely descriptive and desists from using statistical data in all of its endeavors.

3.4 Research Population

Bless et al (2009) assert that a research population is the entire set of objects and events of a group of people that the researcher aims to verify some characteristics that are suitable to the study. The target population is the actual group of people of aspects to which the researcher would like to generalize (Golding et.al, 2007). The articles selected in the study are strictly focusing on the coverage and related to the Liberation war chronicles.

The research population of the study consists of newspapers articles, four reporters and editors from both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* as well as twenty readers of the two newspapers from the Woodlands Park suburb respectively. The researchers selected this population bearing in mind that the selected reporters and editors have adequate and relevant knowledge of the phenomena under study as well as availability and willingness to cooperate. The readers chosen by the researcher act as the segmented audiences' for acquiring the readers' feedback and experiences evoked from reading the news of reportage of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*.

3.5 Unit of Analysis

A unit of analysis is the key board analyzed in a study with the most of the typical units of analysis being groups, individuals, geographical units, artifacts or social intentions (Golding et al, 2007). The unit of analysis can also be known as the focus of the study, as it refers to the individual elements or the members of a population. The research universe of this study is made up of archival material like textbooks and journals; a group of 4 reporters and 6 editors, responses from 20 readers as well as a selected few articles from *The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail* ranging from 2015 up to date. The researcher also made use of a group of twenty individuals from the Woodlands Park suburb who are familiar and prominent readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. Robson (2011) argues that unit of analysis is drawn from a bigger group or components and in media research, the units of analysis are usually people as most media researchers are mainly focused on the people's behavior, consumption or reactions to media content. Therefore, the study looks at sample journalists' news articles from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* focusing on the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles in Zimbabwe.

3.6 Sample selection

Sampling was employed in this study as it was impossible to include every reader, news article and journalist covering the Liberation war chronicles from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. Kumar (2005:164) defines sampling as “ the process of selecting a few from the bigger group (the sampling population) to become the basis for estimating of predicting the

prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group. Oppong (2013) also opines that, sampling is the process of choosing subjects to be used in a research enquiry on the ground that they provide information considered relevant in solving the research problem. Frey et al (2000) describes the sample as the representative “taste” of the whole population under study. Therefore this study made use of the non-probability sampling method which Kumar (2005) says to be used when the number of elements in a population is either unknown and cannot be individually identified and the selection of elements is dependent upon other considerations. The study will make use of purposive and convenience sampling respectively.

3.6.1 Purposive sampling

The researcher employed purposive sampling so as to identify the appropriate newspaper articles and the reporters with the most preferred knowledge of the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. The population of the research participants was aligned with the subjects who had an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the Liberation war history. Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003:713) point out that this type of “qualitative sampling” has a more systematic way of identifying relevance of subjects to be included in study as it the sampling technique is modestly in light of a particular reason instead of haphazardly. Purposive sampling is relevant to the study’s research framework as it has the ability to act as an asset from which you can choose your “your smaller sample” (Mason, 2002: 140).

The researcher is equipped with the ability to hand-pick certain reporters like *The Sunday Mail’s* Liberation war columnist Munyaradzi Huni who focuses on the unfolding of the Chimurenga war in present political discourse. Thus purposive sampling grounds the researcher with the ability to use relevant articles from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* from 2015 to 2016 as units of analysis that are critical to the overall findings of the research. The strategic identification of editors, reporters/columnists and readers well vested within oceans of detailed and informed information about the phenomena under study gains validity to the overall findings of the study (Cresswell and Clark, 2011). Thus *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* reporters and desk editors to willingly and professionally articulate on the raised topics and questions by the researcher would be of paramount effects to the authenticity and accuracy of the research findings.

The main aim of purposive sampling in the study was to focus on those reporters and editors who are familiar with the Liberation war chronicles so as to understand its reportage and influential forces towards the press coverage. The researcher made a specific choice in the selection of reporters, editors and journalists to be included in the research population as they were all homogeneously familiar with the research phenomena under study. Firstly the researcher selected the research population consisting of 4 reporters from each of the two newspapers, as well as the twenty readers from Woodlands Park suburb who were familiar with the phenomena under study (Teddlie, 2007). Purposive sampling strengthened the clarity and objectivity of the research findings in a quicker way within a short period of time, as compared to probability sampling (Latham, 2007; Tongco, 2007). Purposive sampling served as proof of the understanding of the impact of political and social coercions on the researched societal values and norms. Suri (2011) asserts that purposive sampling comes in handy to the utilization of likelihood inspection procedure since it helped the researcher in determining whether the study was sufficiently productive for investing energy and cash on contemplating it or not.

With regards to the study's practical field work, purposive sampling was effective in the utilization of data than random sampling due to the reason that an irregular individual from a populace was also not mindful as capable participants (Latham, 2007). Purposive sampling assisted the researcher in ordering and selection of specific reporters, editors and readers for the study who have the demanding information or aptitude which is required for the ebb and flow research being directed (Battaglia, 2008). Purposive sampling assisted the researcher in lessening the variety of information, bringing more engaged results (Tongco, 2007). In the event that the researcher is particularly considering the outrageous and deviant cases in populace, then purposive sampling was most valuable in consideration of the selected sample which was more data rich for his study (Creswell and Clark, 2011). Purposive sampling also brought new leads for further research which was utilized on other strata of the general public.

There are mainly various types of purposive sampling which the researcher employed including maximum variation sampling, homogenous sampling, typical case sampling, critical case sampling to mention but a few (Payls, 2008). Maximum variation sampling was employed by the researcher so as to incorporate a wide assortment of participants (readers, editors and reporters) in the study (Opping, 2013). Tailor (2005) asserts that the researcher incorporated few yet

changed subjects which are from various strata of the general public to make his discoveries more different and general. For instance, the sample incorporated of various reporters, editors and readers who fluctuated regarding age, social class, training and sex.

Homogenous sampling technique helped the researcher in identifying the editors, reporters and readers who shared their ideas and opinion on the phenomena under study (Latham, 2007). These shared the same and common features such as age, sex and occupation in relation to the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. This explains why this strategy was named as the homogenous sampling and not at all like maximum variation sampling (Payl, 2008). Nonetheless the researcher noted that data gathering was however not applicable to the larger strata of populace. Be as it may, the findings doubtedly gave a gauge of what the other comparable kind of studies inside the same field would present.

However, purposive sampling suffered from specific levels of subjectivity from the researcher and is inclined to bias, but still is one of the most exceptionally famous technique for inspecting research (Gunter, 2000). Random sampling is unrealistic in each study and when one needs to acquire rich data, point by point bits of knowledge, snappier results and new benchmarks in the field of research then one needs to apply purposive sampling in qualitative research.

3.6.2 Convenience Sampling

Flick (2006) opines that convenience sampling is regarded as a technique which is more about the availability of individuals that are needed by the researcher rather than selection of the entire population. Silverman (2013) also contends that this sampling technique is non-probability in nature and there are very little financial costs and time which are required as compared to probability sampling techniques. Not every article or participant from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is assured to be included in the study as the population is almost infinite. Convenience sampling (Haphazard sampling or Accidental sampling) is non-probability in nature as the targeted population's chances to be included in the research depend on certain variables such as willingness, accessibility, availability and reliability (Latham, 2007). *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers are both located in the Harare Province.

Not every participant or newspaper article in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is assured to be included in the study as the population is almost finite. Convenience sampling also known as the haphazard or accidental sampling is of a non probability nature as the targeted population's chances to be included in the research depend on variables. Such variables include the participants' accessibility and proximity to reach the research centre (Silverman, 2013). Thus geographical proximity and location to the research centre stands as a decisive factor. Both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are located and based in the Harare province whereby the researcher resides in Gweru (Midlands Province). The willingness of participant's reporters and editors to participate is also of concern. The Zimbabwean media landscape is political and 'highly polarized', thereby assuring the unwillingness of journalists to discuss certain political topics raised by the researcher in relation to their occupational mandate, editorial policy or safety/wellbeing (Sabao, 2013).

Thus convenience sampling refers and makes use of those convenient subjects which are inclined to be included into the study without any hindrances whatsoever (Flick, 2006). The researcher will also engage with 'captive participants', through interviewing nearby local readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in relation to the phenomena under study (Dornyei, 2007). Convenience sampling is also important in the manner of its ability to equip the researcher with power to identify the participants not included in the research or overrepresented participants. However convenience sampling suffers from bias and subjectivity as it is involved in unplanned, unstructured and accidental sampling which will not be under systematic and planned conditions (Gunter, 2000). The researcher implemented the convenience sampling technique to clearly and objectively identify the relevant journalist, editors, readers and local politicians and who were in close proximity and accessible to his reach (Dornyei, 2007).

The participants posed high probability ratio of being selected as participants in the research as they are the major respondents at the convenience of the researcher. However, convenience sampling helped the researcher in assembling valuable information and data that would not have been conceivable utilizing likelihood examining strategies, which require more formal access to arrangements of populations (Teddlie, 2007). It was very simple for the researcher to carry out this sampling technique as it provide the guidelines administering how the sample size of editors, reporters and readers ought to be selected. The researcher also made use of convenience

sampling so as to deduce the relative cost and time required to carry out the research as compared to probability sampling technique (Farrokhi, 2012). This empowered the researcher to achieve the most appropriate sample size in a moderately quick and cheap way.

However, convenience sampling suffered from bias due to the under-representation and over-representation of other selected editors, reporters and readers, fully aware of the phenomena under study. This affected the objectivity and clarity of the final research findings as well as data presentation. Convenience sampling also undermined the researcher's ability to make informed generalization of data gathered from the sample with the whole population of reporters, editors and readers. The editors, reporters and readers were chosen by the researcher for their convenient accessibility, knowledge and proximity to the researcher (Farrokhi, 2012; Teddlie, 2007; Bornstein, 2013).

3.7 Data Collection Methods

Data collection methods are simply the tools that were used for the collection of information and data required to find out solutions to the problems being studied, (Kumar, 2005). Haralambos and Holborn (2008) also assert that research instruments can be understood as a set of techniques and systems for collecting and examining facts. Krippendorf (2004) asserts that there are numerous data collection methods and amongst these include interviews, observations, archival research/document review, questionnaires, and longitudinal studies to mention but a few. According to Kumar (2005), some of these methods are applicable in both qualitative and quantitative research approaches. This research utilized qualitative research approach and it is aiming to study the reportage of the Liberation war in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*.

3.7.1 Interviews

Kumar (2005) defines an interview as a written or verbal conversation between two or more people with an objective of collecting relevant information for the purpose of research. Dane (2009) states that, interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. According to Haralambos and Holborn (2008) most interviews are categorized into three groups which are unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews and structured

interviews. Therefore, in this study the researcher employed face to face interviews which are also viewed as unstructured interviews (Kumar, 2005).

Kuale (1996:14) defines interviews as “an interchange of views” amongst the interviewer and interviewees during the interviews or discussions in relation to the phenomena under study. Thus Cohen, Manion and Morisson (2000: 265) argue that ‘the meeting is not worried with gathering information session life: it consists of human life pediments, its human embeddedness is certain’. The researchers’ main reason for employing interviews was for inspiring the respondents to give full and exact answers so as to avoid ‘biases’ due to ‘conformity’ or ‘social desirability’ to falsify information due to personal reasons (Hoyle, Harris and Judd, 2002:144).

Kumar (2005:124) contends that, up close and personal meetings are experiences between the interviewer and the interviewees coordinated towards understanding the sources’ point of view on lives, encounters or circumstances through their talked words with respect to the particular issue under the study. These face to face interviews would be conducted with editors, journalists, media analysts and some opinion leaders to get their views and opinions on the coverage of the liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers from the period 2015 to date. Edwards (2013) asserts that face-to-face interviews are very effective in that they acquire the researcher to deduce as much relevant information as possible in accordance with the specific issue under study. These interviews also allow the researcher to observe non-verbal responses of the participants (Driscoll, 2011; Jackle, 2006). The researcher employed a variety of interviews which included the following.

The researcher employed the use of structured interviews to extract as much vital data from the editors, journalists and readers (Baker, 2012; Lewis, 2011; Steensen 2011). Structured interviews are also known as standardized interviews and these enabled the researcher to ask the same structured questions to the editors, reporters and readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. This was done so as to achieve clarity and objectiveness of the findings and observations (Taylor, 2005; Tongco, 2007; Edwards, 2013). Corbetta (2003:269) asserts that structured interviews ensure objectiveness as the reporters, editors and reporters were asked “the same questions” to give them a broader understanding of the phenomena under study. Gray (2004) argues that the same questions asked by the researcher guarantee that interviews answers can be amassed in order to get a clearer comprehension of the information assembled.

The advantages of structured interviews included granting the researcher ability to control the topics and format of the interviews. David and Sutton (2004:160) assert that “prompting” can be useful when “questions” are “inappropriate” for empowering respondents to familiarize themselves with the topic under study. However the structured interviews may also lead to rigidity to the interview as the respondents might not understand or unable to respond to the questions imposed (Corbetta, 2003). The researcher also employed semi structured interviews. These are also known as non standardized interviews as they are commonly used in qualitative research (Cohen, 2006; Brick, 2007; Blandford, 2013). The researcher was not doing the research to test any hypothesis but to assess the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles (David and Sutton, 2004). The semi-structured interviews equipped the researcher to draft a list of the research themes and objectives essential to the study (Corbetta, 2003:270). Semi-structured interviews equipped the researcher to pre-draft the “key themes and sub-questions” before the interview as to deduct the most relevant information from the reporters, editors and readers (David and Sutton, 2004:87). The researcher was also equipped by semi-structured interviews to freely ask all questions unlike the structured interviews which only forced him to adhere to a more specific guideline (Kajornboon, 2004).

Patton (2002:343) asserts that semi structured interviews empowered the researcher to “explore, probe and ask questions” which are relevant in understanding the phenomena under study. Semi-structured interviews strengthened the study’s accuracy and clarity of findings, as the interviewer had the ability to probe as well as ask much detailed questions to the reporters (Byman, 2008; Curry, 2009). The researcher also had the chance to rephrase or simplify the same questions if respondents found questions unclear (Bredart, 2014; Oliver, 2005; Sow, 2012).

3.7.2 Archival Research

Mohr and Ventresca (2011) define archival research as loosely attached contestation of analytic activities that seek to gain understandings through a methodological examination of sources such as documents, texts and other materials that are produced by and about organizations. Flick (2006) also posits that this method of data gathering is used to collect information from documents or records kept in the archives. Therefore, the researcher would use archival research in gathering information from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s media outlet

archives from 2015 to 2016. The data collected from the archives of these two selected newspapers enabled the researcher to make a critical analysis on how the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

Archival research involves the analysis of documents such as newspaper articles, books, national records and annual reports mostly in form of 'written documents' or digital form in relation to the Liberation war documentation (Weber, 1968:957). Giddens (1987) highlights that all national archives material in forms of written texts has been seen as exhibiting government administrative powers. The researcher accessed *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* institutional data repositories so as to familiarize himself with the past and present trends of the framing of ZANU-PF's role in the Chimurenga liberation war in a short "spacetime" (McKemmish, 2005:9). Archival research assisted the researcher in the with the ability to get an understanding of then "fundamental differences" of news reportage of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in relation to the phenomena under study (Reason and Bradbury, 2008:4).

Archival was very instrumental in empowering the researcher with the two newspapers' mandate in representing ZANU-PF in the context of the Liberation war chronicles (Burton, 2005; Ketelaar, 2005). Archival research was a tool of exploring the primary or original documentation of the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles in the olden *Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers. The primary archival data was contrasted or juxtaposed with the resent secondary newspaper articles or any related literature of relevance, so as to gain a clearer understanding of the phenomena under study (Driscoll, 2011; Zhou, 2008; Hensley, 2014). The researcher employed archival research so as to analyse those specific selected newspaper articles which demonstrated the framing of ZANU-PF's role in the Liberation war chronicles.

Marshal (2006) postulates that, chronicled information are the routinely assembled records of a general public, group or association. Thus archival research involved the scrutinizing and skimming of post and present literature or newspaper articles portraying the interests of the ruling party ZANU-PF in shaping the national history of Zimbabwe through the Liberation war chronicles. The researcher constantly referred to the research topic in line with the representation of Zanu Pf in the Liberation war chronicles (Marshall, 2006).

3.7.3 Focus groups

The researcher grouped *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* journalists into focus groups to acquire as much different perspectives from participants as possible to get a better understanding of the phenomena under study. Focus groups are crucial research approach that gathers vital data due to group interactions on specific topics raised by the researcher (Gunter, 2000). Focus groups differ from interviews in the sense that they are more 'formal' and 'nominal' groups can also invite other participants familiar with the issues concerned with the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles such as privately owned media reporters, political analysts or oppositional political parties as well as historians (Gill, 2008). As interviews, focus groups are conducted in a specialized condition in the meeting rooms of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* for the participants like editors and reporters to be interviewed and observed (Ritchie and Lewis, 2013; Liamputton, 2011; Morgan, 1992, 1995). As a participant observer, the researcher analysed and obtained the contributions, opinions and thoughts being made by the reporters, editors and the readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* participants in response to the topic raised at first hand.

Focus groups undermine the validity of the in-depth opinions and experiences of a single participant interviews as they require more time and time to observe and make the most out of (Rubin and Babbie, 2016; Flick, 2009; Stewart, Shamdasani and Rock, 2007). The ability of the researcher to let the participants have control over the interviews is useful especially in the cases where the interviewer is not familiar with the appropriate questions to ask in relation to the phenomena under study (Ryan, 2014; Zorn, 2006). This proves to be helpful as the research is purely qualitative in nature and dwells much on contextual and explanatory discussions although individual interviews can be adjusted to conditions of the participants granting power to the reporters, editors and readers (Nind, 2008; Ryan, 2014; Spradley, 1979). The use of both focus groups and interviews strengthened the ability of the researcher in obtaining concentrated amount of valid data related to the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles such as ownership, control and funding mechanism of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* (Dilshad, 2013; Doody, 2013; Boyce, 2006; Morton et al., 1990; Kitzinger, 1994).

The researcher interviewed only those 4 reporters, 6 editors and 20 readers who are familiar with the Liberation war struggle both in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. Focus groups ability to

gain ‘quick and easy’ in-depth information from the participants will be an added advantage to the time factor of the validity of the research findings (Durand and Chantler, 2014; Gill, 2008). Group interviews explored the opinions or participants’ perception towards the research topic and deduct as much in-depth information as possible compared to individual interviews (Baker, 2012). Thus there is need for the researcher to strategically plan the logistics of the focus groups to ensure the participants have equal access to reach the research facility (Masadeh, 2012; Crabtree et al., 1993). Both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are located in Harare which serves an advantage to the accessibility of the journalists and editors to be reached. However the focus groups have disadvantages of the participants holding back private and sensitive information due to the public social setting condition (Oliveira, 2012). The media landscape in Zimbabwe is highly politically polarized, thereby journalists trade carefully in handling political issues as they fear the wrath of law or dismissal from the government newspaper (Runyorwa, 2013; Sabao, 2013; Chari, 2011).

3.8 Methods of Data Analysis

Realizing that the representation of the liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* can be best understood within its circumstantial social practices, the researcher opted for qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis. These methods of data analysis were used to critically engage with the data gathered from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* focusing on the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles from period under study. The researcher applied a variable of data analysis methods including Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

3.8.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

MacNamara (2005) notes that this method of content analysis is used to explore a variety of texts that was gathered through archival research and face to face interviews so as to analyse the effects of textual content in relation to the phenomena under study. In this case, the researcher used qualitative data analysis technique to examine the data gathered from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* reporters and editors in relation to the reportage and framing of the Liberation war chronicles in Zimbabwe.

Krippendorff (2006) says that the strong proponent of this data analysis technique is qualitative content analysis. He argues that this method rose to prominent in the first phase of the studies of media effects to the audiences and it was mainly studying the effects of propaganda. Flick (2006) states that qualitative content analysis is the objective and significance method in the discoverable of regularities with which arguments, expressions, idioms or notions in a particular text and meaning can be captured in regular predefined content variables.

Krippendorff (2006) argued that it is academically unjust for researchers using this type of data analysis to turn a blind eye to the following factors; that texts objectives are reader independent, texts are polysemous and the text that are interpreted by the researcher are not homogeneous. He argues that it the meanings that communicate rather texts themselves. In the study, the researcher is ethically considerate in the interpretation of the sample newspaper articles from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as the media terrain is highly political in Zimbabwe. Bryan (2012) asserts that quantitative content analysis is very instrumental in examining the role of newspaper language in shaping, transmitting and interpellating the Zanu PF ideologies in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. Fourie (2009) asserts that the framing of the ruling party ZANU-PF in the Liberation struggle portrayed a “discursive” practice in influencing the social and cultural denomination of the society.

According to Wodak (2002:8) the political discourse shaped by the state newspapers portrayal of the “dialectical relationship” between the framing of ZANU-PF’s role in the Chimurenga war and its effects on the societal cultural and social values/norms. The researcher employed qualitative content analysis so as to examine the nature of the ‘discursive’ relationship between *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* with the government to shape, construct and deconstruct social reality and its effect on society.

Berger (2005) asserts that content examination is an exploration method that depends on measuring the measure of something (depiction of ZANU-PF in the press) in a presentative inspecting of some mass-intervened prevalent frame. The researcher employed qualitative content analysis so as to get a ‘descriptive’, ‘hypothesis testing’ and ‘facilitating influence’ of the study with previous research (Nevendorf, 2002). Qualitative content analysis has the strength to enforce validity, generalizability of results to the larger population and replicability (Leung, 2015; Williams, 2011; Mayring, 2007). The qualitative content analysis proved to be inexpensive

as well as unobtrusive and requires less contact with participants-editors, reporters and readers (Elo, 2014; Hsich, 2005). It was very useful for analyzing the various historical materials in connection with the liberation war documentation, and focuses directly at the communication of the mass media via newspaper articles (White, 2006; Curry, 2009; Saraisky, 2015).

3.8.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

In analyzing the data gathered from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* through archival research and face to face interviews about the representation of the liberation war chronicles, the researcher further employed critical discourse analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to the study of language and discourse (communications) in the institutions of socialization (Fairclough, 2007, Wodak, 2009, Van Dijk, 2006 and Derrida, 1995). As indicated by Van Dijk (2006:252) critical discourse analysis is essentially inspired by the motive to comprehend the squeezing political social issues. Wodak and Mayer (2009:7) contend that critical discourse analysis accentuates the requirement for interdisciplinary research to properly familiarize the researcher with knowledge of how language functions in the social institutions like the mass media (*The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*).

Drawing from the poststructuralists discourse theory and critical linguistics, it focuses on how social, political and economic power relations are constructed through written and spoken texts. Fairclough (2007) contends that CDA refers to the use of an ensemble of techniques for the study of textual practice and language use as social practices. Wodak (2009) and Van Dijk (2006) concur that CDA builds from three broad theoretical orientations. Firstly, it draws from post structuralism the view that discourse operates laterally across institutional sites and that texts have a constructive function in forming and shaping human identities and actions. McGregor (2010:2) contends that critical discourse analysis provides the researcher with the ability to move from considering dialect to be conceptual to seeing our words as having importance in a specific verifiable, social and political condition. Henceforth critical discourse analysis concentrates on the genuine and frequently expanded, occasions of social collaboration which take place especially in the press' content and linguistic shape (Bloomaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 448).

Secondly, it draws from Bourdieu's (1983) sociological assumption that actual textual practices and interactions with texts become embodied forms of cultural capital, with exchange value in particular social fields. It also draws from Neo-Marxists cultural theory perspective, the assumption that these discourses are produced and used within political economies and they produce a set of ideologies, social and political formations as well as movements. Therefore, from the above explanation, this researcher employed CDA to interpret the ideologies and power relations that are being indirectly displayed by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers on their coverage of the liberation war chronicles. The researcher employed the three dimension approach to analyse the ZANU-PF's political discourse to shape public opinion. These concepts included the phrase level, sentence level, text level along with the higher level concept to analyse the selected sample articles from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* (Huckin, 2002).

Critical discourse analysis strengthened the researcher's ability to depict the connections among the news articles, collaborations of editors, reporters and readers to influence social change/behavior. The second strength was to secure the research's objective to translate the political discourse in the pretext of the societal values and norms. The third objective was to utilize the portrayal and understanding of political linguistics to clarify why and how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* shape, construct and deconstruct public opinion of the political discourse (Rogers et al., 2005:371). Fulcher (2010:7) points out that researcher employed CDA so as to understand the social relationship/interactions between mass media and the audiences. According to Locke (2004) the media text can be analysed through the following methods: prosody, contextualization signals, cohesion or thematic organization. The researcher made use of thematic organization in analyzing the various literature and newspaper articles.

Morgan (2010:4) postulates that the strength of CDA also included its ability to give a detailed positive social and political mental scrutinization of the phenomena under study. CDA enabled the researcher to understand the political language and discourse imposed by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* for social change and reception of the ZANU-PF ideologies.

3.8.3 Methods of data presentation

The study made use of narrative analysis, graphs, histograms, charts and tables to mention but a few in representations of data findings. The interpretation and presentation of the data gathered will be obtained from the overall research findings. Data presentation has the main objectives of organizing, describing, interpretation, identification and presentation of data through a systematic thematic approach as well as utilizing tools like tables (Sheppard, 2012; Voslo, 2014). The researcher aims at communicating the research findings in the most appropriate, strategic and systematic manner (Sayce, 1999) so as to equip the reader with a complete understanding and an overview of the study as a whole. The study is purely of qualitative nature and the data involved in interpretative, descriptive and holistic, gathered from journalists, editors and readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* through structured and unstructured interviews (Schurink and Schurink, 2003). Data presentation is crucial to the study as it communicates clearly to the reader and justifies the research objectives, thereby summarizing the study as a whole (Anderson, 2010).

3.9 Ethical considerations

The researcher was strictly obliged to the rights of participants who were selected as part and parcel of the study (Fritz, 2008; Kaiser, 2009; Streubert, Speziale and Carpenter, 2003: 314). The researcher thought of it as essential to lay the foundations of trust with the participants so as to respect them as independent individuals thereby empowering them to make sound and informed responses (Mitchell, 2010; Hinkin, 2007; Streubert, Speziale and Carpenter, 2003). The word 'ethics' is derived from the Greek word 'ethos' which is defined as a principle of moral conduct or custom. Sibanda (2014) asserts that this word in a Zimbabwean or African context is used interchangeably and synonymously with the word '*Hunhu/Ubuntu*'. Ethics are concerned with morals and values which are perceived as acceptable in a given society (Marianna, 2011; Gunter, 2000).

Moral contemplations were a critical perspective in this study, because of the sensitivity nature of the study (Fahie, 2014; Baird, 2014; Allmark, 2009). Conceivable dangers were constantly analysed to expand affectability to the members and not to uncover them. Ethical measures are essential in qualitative as in quantitative research and incorporate moral direct towards

participants' data and additionally legit reporting of the outcomes (Resnik, 2015; Farrimond, 2012; Flynn and Goldsmith, 2012). The moral measures in the study incorporated consent, confidentiality, privacy and the privilege to pull back from the study at their will.

3.9.1 Confidentiality

Crow (2008) attests that classification implies that no data about the members must be advertised or made accessible to others. The researcher guaranteed that the secrecy of members is utilized by it hard to interface parts of data to editors, reporters and readers to specific media associations or establishments (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012; Babbie, 2015). The researcher guaranteed mystery and obscurity of members by ensuring that data obtained is used as a piece of such a way, to the point that no one other than the analyst can get to it.

3.9.2 Privacy

According to Kaiser (2009) privacy alludes to assertions between the researcher and the participants to limit the entrance of other external publics to private information. In the study, the researcher ensured that all the data about and gave by the editors, columnists and readers was entirely kept private and in mystery (Adler and Clark, 2014). The researcher guaranteed that protection implies opportunity the members need to choose the time, degree and general condition under which private information was conferred to or withheld from others (Burns and Grove, 2003). In this study, protection was moreover kept up by not associating the members' character to the information.

3.9.3 Participants' right to withdrawal

The researcher ensured that the editors, reporters and readers could withdraw from the study at any time they deemed fit. The researcher explained to the participants' their right to withdrawal at any time before and during the interviews (Holloway, 2005). Edwards (2005) is of the view that every one of the members in the study must be all around educated and made mindful of their entitlement to withdrawal voluntarily. The privilege to withdrawal enables the members to inadequate and requires no illumination or legitimization (Holm, 2011:269-281). The researcher

ensured the participants including readers, editors and reporters with the ability to withdrawal from the research at any given time and with no clarification at all (Wiles et al., 2006; Dench et al., 2006).

3.10 Conclusion

The chapter looked at the research methodology, data gathering techniques, data analysis approaches as well as the presentation of the research findings. The chapter also emphasized on the importance of choosing the most appropriate, effective and strategic data gathering, data analysis and data presentation techniques so as to establish validity to the research findings and adding confidence to the reader. Chapter 4 looks at the organizational structure of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. It also highlighted how ownership, control and funding mechanism affect the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles respectively.

CHAPTER FOUR

ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

4.1 Introduction

The chapter explores the salient macro (and micro) factors that affect the newspapers' ownership, control and funding mechanism which are core determinants to the news production as well as distribution patterns and news content. In addition, the chapter explores the relationship between the political economy of the media and its influence of news reportage of national issues like the Liberation war chronicles. Thus in other words, the chapter seeks to demystify the external and internal factors which influence the type of journalism profession exercised by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in their systematic and strategic everyday operations under the control and ownership of the government.

4.2 Vision Statement of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The vision statement is the organizational predictions of what the media organization is ought to have achieved over the course of a particular time frame in the future (Carl, 2006; Grasenmeyer, 2009). The media landscape in Zimbabwe has seen the drastic growth in the print industry over the years. A media organization is ought to be strategically organized and vision-oriented to adapt to the ever changing and demanding market (Masoma, 2014). *The Sunday Mail* forges and brands itself as '*The leading family newspaper*' has a vision to be ***a locally and globally perceived daily paper known for its news coverage excellency, effectiveness and polished methodology in news reportage of nearby and universal news***. In Zimbabwe, *The Sunday Mail's* operations are controlled by the government, thereby highlighting ZANU-PF's political interests in the reportage of Liberation war chronicles (Mukasa, 2003).

The Patriot's vision statement is embroiled in the newspaper's mandate ***to illuminate and teach every single Zimbabwean resident on national and social legacy***, with regards to the Chimurenga national history, national identity and supporting a one-party state framework (Onslow, 2011; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have over the years been decisive tools used to manipulate the audience's behaviours and fostering ZANU-PF's 'conspiratorial perspectives' of the Chimurenga Liberation war (Mullen and Llaehn, 2010). The

content and news production of the Liberation war struggle highlights the interests of the government and the ruling party ZANU-PF in affirming the party's right to the claim the governing seat (Altschull, 1984). *The Patriot's* mandate is shaped and envisioned within the Zimbabwe Heritage Trust (ZHT) parameters of educating and informing the Zimbabwean citizens of the importance of 'national heritage' and 'culture' in relation to the Chimurenga war 'ancestry' (Kangira, 2006). *The Patriot* acts as a 'social constructivist' of normalizing the ZANU-PF's political dominance in connecting the party with national history of the Liberation war chronicles (Teague, 2000; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Through *The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail*, the government and ruling party ZANU-PF have reversed the gains of the Liberation war for their own political and economic interests.

However, *The Patriot* is well known to indulge in 'patriotic journalism' aimed at emancipating a market segmentation consisting of ex-combatants, government officials, local farmers and ZANU-PF supporters to mention but a few. The division of power within the government and the society has influence on the media reportage of national issues like the Liberation war chronicles portraying the interests of the ruling class (Balnaves and Donald, 2001). *The Patriot* is obliged to ZHT policies in affirming the political dominance of ZANU-PF as a heroic and 'liberator' pan-African movement in Liberation war struggle which brought about independency and democracy (Moyo, 2013).

4.3 Mission Statement of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

As a state controlled newspaper, *The Sunday Mail's* mandate is to *serve people in general's interests, for example, advancing national improvement and majority rule government*. Paying particular attention to *The Sunday Mail*, the mission statement emphasizes what exactly the newspaper does as a media organization, its competitive edge and organization's purpose. The mission statement is an important aspect in the managerial sector of the organization (Bart et al., 2001). *The Sunday Mail's* mission statement is to inform, educate and entertain Zimbabwean citizens through free, fair and balanced news reportage. However, *The Sunday Mail* has deviated from the public service model due to its inclination to prioritizing ZANU-PF's ideologies in its reportage of national issue like the Liberation war chronicles (Mano, 2008; Kanyemba, 2014).

The Patriot newspaper's mission statement is to *serve the enthusiasm of all Zimbabwean through expert, all around educated and moral reportage of neighborhood and universal news*. The newspaper is inclined to the mandate of educating, entertaining and informing the masses of their citizenry in relation to national heritage and national identity. *The Patriot* dwells much on the realization of the important role played by war veterans in fostering independency and democracy via the Liberation war struggle. The newspaper serves as a platform which fosters economic development and democracy, granting every citizen the right to participate in politics and access to national resources. Thus *The Patriot's* motto encompasses the newspaper's mandate of "*Celebrating being Zimbabwean*" in political, socio-economic and cultural context.

The Patriot's media productions are mainly targeted at the Zimbabwean citizens who are pro-ZANU-PF, ex-combatants, civil servants, government officials and local farmers (Kanyemba, 2014; Runyorwa, 2013). The newspaper's 'representation' of ZANU-PF's role in the Chimurenga liberation struggle aims at interpellating the masses into accepting the party as major force in fostering independence and democracy (Chandler, 2002). Through *The Patriot's* 'patriotic journalism', the newspaper's mission is to inform and educate the masses into accepting the ruling party's ZANU-PF ideologies and policies (Ranger, 2005). The ruling party ZANU-PF as well as the Ministry of Information and Publicity, act as agenda setters and gatekeepers to influence the reportage of Liberation war chronicles so as to construct social realities through mediatization (Mosco, 2004).

4.4 The Sunday Mail's Core values

According to Zimbabwe Newspapers Limited Company (ZimPapers) Annual Report for 2012. *The Sunday Mail's* staff is driven by *consumer loyalty, great corporate administration, gainfulness, rise to circumstance business, quality items and administration; constant advancement and additionally effectiveness*. These qualities are guaranteed through self-discipline and strategic planning but this is limited due to the various determinant factors within the highly polarized Zimbabwean media landscape. The ruling party and government's direct intervention in operations of *The Sunday Mail's* has led to the deterioration of the above listed core values. The ruling party ZANU-PF has over the years manipulated *The Sunday Mail's*

coverage of the Liberation war and is subject to bias, distortion and one-sided aimed at favoring ZANU-PF as well as side lining other nationalists parties like ZAPU.

4.4.1 The Patriot's Core values

According to Zimbabwe Heritage Trust (2016), *The Patriot* newspaper personnel are guided by the following values: ***demonstrable skill, trustworthiness, genuineness, great client benefit/care and quality news reportage***. *The Patriot* being an ex-combatant owned newspaper maintains close ties with the ruling party and the War Veterans Association of Zimbabwe. This however has impact on the newspaper's operations and news production since there is a direct government intervention and correlation. *The Patriot* is persuasive force in fore fronting the ruling party Zanu PF's ideologies and political interests in their coverage of Chimurenga liberation struggle. This has questioned *The Patriot's* professionalism, integrity and quality of news production as news content tends to be biased and one-sided favoring the ruling party ZANU-PF's right to the governing seat

4.5 The Sunday Mail's Objectives

The objectives of any media organization are the strategic planned courses of action to be taken so as to achieve certain aims of that organization (Rodgers, 1991; Potocki, 1995). *The Sunday Mail's* objectives include the ***practicable quality on a gainful premise, serving the best advantages of the group and the organization and additionally giving reasonable and adjusted presentation of every day's news, this enough mirrors the essential happenings in Zimbabwe and past***. *The Sunday Mail* also dwells much on ***the keeping up of good relations with trade and industry to encourage the organization's notoriety for reasonable managing, provoke benefit, constancy, respectability and politeness***. *The Sunday Mail* has over the years built through ***planned selection, developed and trained, a climate conducive to cooperation of goodwill and loyalty among all staff***. Lastly *The Sunday Mail* aims ***to keep up with internal sound money related limits the most elevated conceivable levels of present day specialized generation despite rivalry from daily papers and media***. Due to the hunt for profit, *The Sunday Mail's* reportage of the Liberation war is one sided and biased towards ZANU-PF. This deviates from the

newspaper's mandate to be free, fair and balanced reportage of news as coverage is determined by the interests of the government which is both an advertiser and media regulatory institution.

4.5.1 *The Patriot's objectives*

According to Zimbabwe Heritage Trust (2016), the following statements contribute to *The Patriot's* objectives which include *satisfying the Zimbabwe Heritage Trust's order of advising, teaching and protecting national legacy and culture to every single Zimbabwean subject. The Patriot* is also inclined *in tending to the feeling of inadequacy in Zimbabwe by molding one's mind to that of one who is gladly a dark Zimbabwean and is additionally pleased to be connected with the way of life, national history and ancestorship. The Patriot* newspaper has over the years fought *to provide good working conditions and opportunities for improvement of the company's internal and external relations, this will attract and retain the best type of employees*. Due to the various market constraints and the highly politically polarized Zimbabwean media landscape, *The Patriot* aims to create new markets and seek to continually expand the existing ones.

The Patriot's newspaper inclination to the government is due to its origins emanating from ex-combatants and government officials who participated in liberating Zimbabwe through the Chimurenga liberation struggle. Thus obviously, the newspaper's main objective is to play a nationalist role in fostering national development and democracy, which ridicules the western cultural, political and socio-economic forms of domination. Thus explains the heavy dosages of *The Patriot's* reportage of indigenization via ZimAsset and the Land Reform Programme in relation to the Chimurenga liberation struggle. *The Patriot* is constantly used as a mouthpiece by the ruling party ZANU-PF for political control and to create social inequalities within the society, leading to its biased and one-sided news reportage of Liberation war chronicles. *The Patriot* only serves the readership of pro-ZANU-PF supporters consisting of ex-combatants, local farmers, government officials and local business men who benefit from the Mugabe regime. Thus the newspaper is pro-ZANU-PF and is very instrumental in sidelining other nationalist parties like ZAPU which also participated in the Chimurenga liberation war struggle.

4.6 Analysis of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*'s Organograms

The Sunday Mail and *The Patriot*'s organograms highlight the power hierarchy which exists in the ZimPapers group from administration to the reporters' personnel. Through 'structuralism and instrumentalism', there exists a power hierarchy which resembles a top down asymmetry of power relations between the government and newspaper personnel (Barrow, 1993; Gordon, 2002). A top managerial staff of directors heads the ZimPapers organization and the present board which was chosen in May 2015 through the Ministry of Media Information and Broadcasting Services includes Mr Delma Lupepe as director, Pikirayi Deketeke (Group Chief Executive Officer), board individuals Dr Nyasha Madzingira, Mrs Doreen Sibanda, Mrs Karen Dube, Mr George Manyere, Mr Terrence Hussein, Mr Felix Moyo and Mrs Rejoice Nharaunda. The fundamental elements of the board are to direct organization administration and are in charge of the support of bookkeeping records and the arrangement of yearly monetary proclamations and any important assignments as doled out.

The ZimPapers vast group of directors who are designated by the legislature as highlighted above are responsible to the dominant part shareholder (Government) of the day however they are more disposed to a particular political gathering as of now (ZANU-PF). This is similarly demonstrate in the present board drove by Mr Lupepe who wandered down from the board in April, 2015 who as showed by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is a veteran government employee and famous businessman and contributor who is immovably associated with ZANU-PF controls and theories (Chambwera, 2014; Mukasa, 2003). This has influenced the organisational structure of the two sate owned newspapers as the ZANU-PF appointed newspaper editors via the Ministry of Information and Publicity to supervise the editorial area (Chari et al., 2003; Moyo, 2003; Melber, 2004). The accompanying positions are the pecking order under the purview of the editorial manager in grouping to be specific, the deputy editor, assistant editor.

4.7 The Sunday Mail's Organogram

The Sunday Mail's editorial staff is appointed by the Ministry of Information whereas the Minister is appointed by the President Mugabe himself. The accompanying positions are the

pecking order under the purview of the editorial manager in grouping to be specific, the editor in chief, deputy editor, assistant editor. Underneath the Assistant editorial manager is the chief Sub-editor then took after by work area editors for (News, Business, Arts, Leisure, Sport, Analysis and Agriculture), chief photographer, sub-editors, senior and junior reporters and as well as the interns. The office reports to the General Manager. Every work area editorial manager is in charge of a specific segment in the paper. Work area (line) editors answer to the editorial manager and journalists are responsible to all work area editors and the proof reader. Columnists or reporters show their journals (stories to be chipped away at) to their separate work area editors and it is the work area supervisor's prudence in accordance with publication strategy that the story is taken or dismisses. After columnists have introduced their journals, work area editors will then direct a journal gathering with all line editors and senior correspondents where they take a gander at stories thoughts exhibited as a feature of the entryway keeping check.

4.7.1 *The Patriot's* Organogram

Similarly, *The Patriot's* editorial staff is commandeered by the Ministry of Information under President Mugabe's office. The editor in chief is appointed by the minister himself so as to ensure the national and political agendas of the ruling party ZANU-PF. The board of *The Patriot's* editorial staff is under the government's supervision and constantly reshuffled to ensure transparency and allegiance to ZANU-PF. Underneath the editor, follows the deputy editor as well as the assistant editor whose mandate is to ensure the administration and production of the newspaper. Underneath the assistant editor follows the sub-chief editor who supervises the various desk editors (Sport, Culture, Entertainment, International News, Analysis, Feature, Farming). These various news editors are followed by the sub-editor. The sub editor is the leader of the news work area. His group involves appointee news editor, Chief Sub-editor or sub-editor.

As the leader of the work area the sub-editor assumes a critical part in the design of the daily newspaper. The Chief Sub-editor monitors the pages of a publication and sorts through the articles to decide on those that will be included. The Sub-editor is dependable for the everyday running of a daily newspaper. He decides arrangement of stories in light of relative essentialness, accessible space, and information of layout principles. Underneath the Sub-editor is the proof reader, whose responsibility is to checks grammatical errors, spellings and typing errors before

the last printing of a distribution. The Chief photographer takes appropriate pictures that encompass the stories in the newspaper in an angle which bears suitable meaning to the story.

4.8 Political Economy of The Sunday Mail and The Patriot

Political economy of the media dwells much upon the macro factors that influence the ownership, control and funding mechanism of media outlets (Mosco, 2009; Curran and Gurevitch, 2000; MacChesney, 2008; Golding and Murdock, 2000). These factors in turn determine news reportage, news content and distribution patterns. Kline (2009:2) asserts that, “Political economy is essentially the study of the politics of economic relations. The term itself is somewhat ambiguous and can have varying meanings across different disciplines”. In the study, the term ‘political economy’ referred to the control, ownership and funding mechanism of the Zimbabwean mainstream media by the government and influential political parties like ZANU-PF and its effects on the reportage of Liberation war chronicles.

According to Golding and Murdock (1991) assert that political economy is involved with the assertion of the harmony between entrepreneur undertaking and open mediation. Hardy (2010:18) is of the view that, today the correspondence ventures have moved to focal point of worldwide private enterprise and open media are altogether coordinated into entrepreneur generation. Herman and Chomsky’s (1988) discussed on the important assessment of the ‘propaganda model’ highlighting the influences of the elite’s political and economic power to influence and shape news content. The propaganda model displays that the media tend to control the audiences’ perception of news product with techniques such as reducing financial risk and being deliberately biased with the main aim of pleasing the elites. Due to the hunt for profit, the media has resorted to tried and tested methods, commodifying information as a product and changing audience segmentation into markets. This has triggered lack of diversity and pluralism in the local media content so as to foster the one-sided reportage of the Chimurenga liberation war to disseminate ZANU-PF’s ideologies.

Murdock and Golding (1974:4) are of the view that political economy examines how the media “produce and distribute” information as “commodities”. Advertisers have over the years proven to be the main sources of income and marketing ZANU-PF’s ideological perceptions as the ideal

economic and political system of governance. The media industry has been recognized as shaping, construction and deconstruction of social realities in the public opinion. This would assist the research in the study to analyse how meanings on war chronicles can be constructed and deconstructed in favor of the ruling party ZANU-PF.

The political economy of the Zimbabwean media as expressed by Murdock and Golding (2000:62-63) is used to analyse how the local economic structure of the media influences the plurality and diversity towards the community's 'public cultural expression'. Thus the media's coverage of the Liberation war chronicles has been influenced by the ruling party ZANU-PF's interests leading to lack of media content's diversity and pluralism. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* main obligation is to the 'commodification of cultural life' so as to control the public opinion to accept the party's political dominance. Instead of the media products being served to the majority of Zimbabwe, the mainstream have segmented the audience into pro- ZANU-PF supporters and state controlled media products' consumers (Chuma, 2006). This has however led to the bias, unprofessionalism and one-sided coverage of the Liberation war chronicles across the various social classes. Nesbitt-Larking (2007) asserts that the government's intervention in the operations of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* leads to the suppression of the diverse and plural political dimensions. In Zimbabwe there exists a relationship between the government and ZimPapers Group (Mukasa, 2003). The government and the ruling party ZANU-PF instrumentalise the media as a propaganda tool to delegitimize other oppositional parties through the one sided, biased and falsified reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

Thus Murdock and Golding (2005) affirm that the political economy of the media acknowledges the ability of the press to democratize the masses through purifying media products as public products, not commodities for the public interest. The government has influential control over the 'content' produced by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* (Kline, 2009). Thus political economy stresses the 'biases and inequalities' resulting from government's ownership and control of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* (Kline 2009:6). The interests of the political elites, owners and advertisers are taken into account in the production of news (Herman and Chomsky, 1988 cited in Chambwera, 2014). In the study political economy assists the research to analyse the extent to which *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* forefronts biases and inequalities in their

reportage of war chronicles in favor of ZANU-PF and anti-ZAPU party that fought alongside towards liberating Zimbabwe.

The idea of political patriotism despite ethnic variations was protracted by the merging of ZANU and ZAPU displacing ZANU-PF's major political opposition (Chuma, 2005; Chari et al., 2003). The ruling party ZANU-PF's stronghold on *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspaper operations led to the intervention of the government and the Ministry of Information and Communications Technology in determining the editorial policy of ZimPapers (Saunders, 1999 cited in Chambwera, 2014). Through the Ministry of Information, the ruling party ZANU-PF sets the fabricated public agenda to be portrayed in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* on political grounds so as to represent the party's interests under the influence of Liberation war credentials to shape public opinion.

4.9 Ownership and Control of ZimPapers

The transition period of Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2003 was marked by harsh economic, social and political turbulence (Chuma, 2005; Saunders, 1999; Chari et al., 2003; Mukasa, 2003). As Chuma (2005) asserts that, Zimbabwe was faced with the challenge to readdress the economic blow which resulted from colonialism. The country had suffered a major blow from debt and financial crises resulting from the Liberation war and this affected the media market (Chipika et al., 2000). After independence the new black government landed a \$5million donational grant from the Nigeria government to buy off the Argus majority shares from the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company (RPPC) in 1981 (Mukasa, 2003; Moyo, 2013; Chari et al., 2003). The government under President Mugabe immediately established the ZMMT to manage the new national mainstream newspapers under ZimPapers which owns 51% of the Argus majority shares.

Under the Ministry of Information and Publicity headed by Christopher Mushowe, the government appointed newspaper personnel exterminating all white employees including editors and reporters replacing them with black personnel. The then appointed Minister of Information and Publicity Professor Jonathan Moyo's '75% local content policy' was a calculated and malicious move aimed at promoting the ruling party ZANU-PF's ideologies disguised as

patriotic news aimed at promoting nationalism and national identity. The government abused the patriotic history of the country to persuade public opinion into believing the norm that President Mugabe and ZANU-PF were the rightful rulers as war veterans are portrayed as liberators and Mugabe as a fatherly figure of the nation. Thus Graham & Murdock (2000) argues that the critical political economy of the media involves the cluster of powers that practice control over social generation constrains or free people in general circle. The critical political economy is relevant in the study as it would aid the researcher in analyzing the extent to which ZANU-PF influence *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reportage of Liberation war chronicles so as to influence the societal cultural productions that shape the Zimbabwean culture.

Thus the government instrumentalises the Ministry of Information and Communications Technologies to act as 'gatekeepers' and 'agenda setters' to control media content through media policies at both micro and macro level to shape, construct and deconstruct public opinion towards national history. The government's ability or power to control *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* ownership and funding mechanism influence news reportage of the Liberation war chronicles as well as the distribution patterns of news.

4.10 Shareholding Structure of ZimPapers

According to MISA and Munyuki (2005), the ZimPapers shareholding structure is as follows. The Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust emerges as the real share holder in Zimbabwe as it holds a 51.09% larger part share holding edge of the ZimPapers Group. At that point Old Mutual Life Assurance Company Zimbabwe possesses 10.24% and the rest is shared among private endeavors like ZimPapers Manager's Trust (4.59%), Zimcor Limited (5.41%), Hotair Investments (Pvt) Ltd (4.72%), ZimPapers Employees' Share Trust (3.41%), Messina Investments Limited (1.75%), National Society Authority (1.45%) and The Bexley Trust (0.96%) in the shares substance.

This shareholding structure is important in the study in that it shows the administration of ZimPapers, making it a defacto state possessed organization. ZANU-PF as the decision party has had free access to ZimPapers with no protest from a non-existent board. While ZimPapers as an openly recorded association ought to have a board reflecting interests of shareholders in the

organization, the Minister of Information is the person who selects the ZimPapers board individuals henceforth actually it is hazardous to group ZimPapers either as an open organization or a freely possessed association. In a situation where the Minister is fanatic it takes after then that ZimPapers productions like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* serve the gathering and not people in general. Through the Minister, the ruling party ZANU-PF sets the national agenda of issue to be covered in the press for the party's political and economic interests thereby neglecting the media's mandate of development and democratization of the society.

As the legislature has expected control of ZimPapers, *The Sunday Mail* has therefore gotten to be subservient to the manages of the legislature of the day, which in the period before Government of National Unity (GNU), was controlled by ZANU-PF. Notwithstanding, amid the time of the GNU it was normal that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* would serve the comprehensive government, and not one specific gathering. The study aims at analyzing the extent to which *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reportage of the Liberation war chronicles influences public opinion in relation to the cultural, socio-economic and political debate.

4.11 Funding Mechanism of ZimPapers

The funding mechanism is essential to the study as it highlights how the government, donors and advertisers influence news production and the local media market. Media outlets depend on advertising revenue for their survival. Advertisers are regarded as the oxygen tank safeguarding the lifecycle of media houses. Although *The Sunday Mail* is government funded, the newspaper heavily relies on advertisements revenue. *The Sunday Mail* which is viewed as "*The Leading Family Newspaper*" has a wide readership comprising of 912 670 perusers in high thickness regions, and another 451 603 in low-thickness territories countrywide (ZAMPS, 25 November 2015). Every duplicate of the week by week daily paper is sold for only for a \$1. As indicated by the Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey (25 November, 2015) distributed by the Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation (ZARF), *The Sunday Mail* appreciates a week after week readership of 1 364 210 around Zimbabwe.

The Patriot is a war veteran founded newspaper aimed at celebrating the essence of becoming Zimbabwean through its analysis of the nation's road to independence. State controlled and

owned by the War Veterans Association of Zimbabwe, *The Patriot* newspaper supports the ZANU-PF ideologies and represents the party's prowess and achievements in the Liberation struggle. Through secret donations from local and foreign organizations including the Chinese government, *The Patriot* has maintained its readership and the ZANU-PF mandate since its birth in 2011. *The Patriot* maintains close ties with the ruling party ZANU-PF and the government as it enjoys direct subsidiaries of direct funding. *The Patriot* newspaper relies also on advertising revenue mainly from advertising issues to do with the government, Zimbabwean National Army (ZNA), ZANU-PF political campaigns, National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ), Air Force of Zimbabwe (AFZ), Zimbabwean Republic Police (ZRP), Grain Marketing Board (ZMB) amongst a whole lot of other national institutions across the country (Mukasa, 2003; Chari et al., 2005). This enabled the research to trace the influence of advertisers to the content of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* from 2015 to 2016.

Ranger (2005) asserts that the government's major threat of oppositional parties like MDC-T provoked the Ministry of Information and Publicity and the government to elect trusted war veterans at top positions like editors and senior reporters to ensure 'patriotic journalism'. The look east policy set by President Mugabe on 6 December 2005 was based on the superficial beneficial China-Zimbabwe relationship (Mudyadzo, 2011). The Chinese government is also involved in the secret funding of ZimPapers Group including *The Patriot* newspaper. Chapter 14:30 of the Zimbabwe Investment Authority Act (ZIAA) guarantees that Zimbabwean local investments engage in joint ventures with foreign invests aimed at national development and democracy (Mapaure, 2014). The government also took advantage of the Marange Diamonds Fields along the Mutare West region in looting the diamond resources so as to fund the government's activities, the ruling party ZANU-PF as well as ZimPapers across the country (Saunders, 2009).

The ruling party ZANU-PF and ZMMT have maintained strong ties with major advertising companies, to hegemonies the masses into accepting the political ideologies of the Mugabe administration (Sinclair, 1987:72). Through loans from the Old Mutual Banking Society, the ZimPapers have strategically placed themselves on the financial seat of development and organizational growth. Golding and Murdock (1996:21) asserts that the major advertising conglomerates do work as a modern permitting power due to their close relationship with the

government and ZimPapers. These internal funding dimensions have an impact on the lack of plurality and diversification of media content due to the inclination of tried and tested media formats. Thus Golding and Murdock (1996) point out that the political economy of the Zimbabwean media influence news creation for the scope of discourses and representations in general society and for the groups of media decoders to them. The control and funding mechanism is relevant to the study as it will aid the researcher in analyzing the effects of government's intervention in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* to influence news content and distribution pattern.

4.12 Editorial Policy of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The procedure of the ordinary media in Zimbabwe is formed by the by highly politically polarized media market (Moyo, 2007; Chari et al., 2003). The government controls the ZimPapers internal and external policies. Journalists in *The Sunday Mail* abide to the state's constructed editorial policy. Cottle (2000) asserts that journalists engage in the "professional" act of news production that suit the specific needs and clauses of *The Sunday Mail's* "organizational policy". The editorial policy refers to the newspaper's objectives and interests of the ruling part Zanu PF. *The Sunday Mail's* editorial policy is to be the leading country's weekly newspaper, aiming at development and democratization of the nation. Mutsvairo (2013) argues that *The Sunday Mail* publicly exhibits its allegiance to the ruling party ZANU-PF through its weekly publications. *The Sunday Mail's* editorial policy is largely influenced by the Mugabe's authoritarian government. The editorial policy of *The Sunday Mail* influences the news reportage of influential national events like the Liberation war chronicles which are determinant factors in the construction of ZANU-PF's political discourse in shaping the public sphere.

The editorial policy in *The Patriot* is framed in the same manner as of *The Sunday Mail*. The government again has constructed the newspaper's editorial policy in such a way that fosters and encapsulates the transmission of the ruling party ZANU-PF's ideologies disguised as valid news aimed at national development of culture and national heritage. *The Patriot* has over the years maintained the symbiotic relationship with the government. *The Patriot* has been witnessed as acting as an active media platform for disseminating the government's policies and its alliance with the Ministry of Information is not innocent at all. *The Patriot* maintains and guards the

ruling party's political dominance through a specialized reportage of national events like the Liberation war chronicles. Through *The Patriot's* newspaper editors, ZANU-PF has managed to set political agendas through selective narratives in reference to the Chimurenga liberation war chronicles so as to instill a sense of the party's obligation to democratize the majority and legitimizing itself to the governing seat (Raftopoulos, 2005). *The Patriot* has been constantly used to create the desired realities of presenting the ruling party's ZANU-PF as heroes and liberators (Chuma, 2006).

4.13 The Editorial Staff *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The Sunday Mail and *The Patriot* have various desk editors in which they are responsible as the 'gate-keepers' and 'agenda setters' for the selection and deselection of the newsworthy of information ought to be disseminated about the Liberation war chronicles (Goodman, 2008). The editorial staff safeguards the newspapers' mission, vision and objectives through the instrumentalisation of the government's editorial policy through news production that only favors the ZANU-PF's one party state ideologies and interests (Curran and Gurevitch, 2000; Curran, 2011; McQuail, 2010). The editorial staff was initially elected by the Minister of Information and includes the editor, deputy editor, senior assistant editor as well as the various desk editors so as to enforce ZANU-PF's political and economic dominance under the pretext of fulfilling the newspapers' vision, mission and objectives (Runyowa, 2013; Mukasa, 2003).

The Minister of Information and Communications Technology, Christopher Mushowe is elected by the President Mugabe himself, so as to secure ZANU-PF's political, socio-economic and cultural dominance. The media landscape in Zimbabwe is highly polarized to ensure that the press obliges to the authoritative editorial policy vested within the organizational mission, vision and objectives (Chari et al., 2002; Moyo, 2003). The editorial staff fulfills the vision and mission statement as well as the objectives through obliging to the ruling party ZANU-PF and the government parameters for philosophy for open public control in which they are used as "propaganda filters" for disseminating the party's ideologies (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

The Publisher/Chief Editor of the *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The Sunday Mail's news editor is the most important and influential person in the organization. He/she is the one who decides which Liberation war chronicles stories are ought to be covered and not in the weekly newspaper. As an instrument commandeered by ZANU-PF the editor deviates from pioneering the newspaper into being professional, credible and fair in news production via the representation of ZANU-PF in the Liberation war. The editor being appointed by the Minister of Information is used as a puppet to perpetuate the ruling party's ZANU-PF interests. This questions the professionalism and ethical consideration of *The Sunday Mail's* news reportage. The editorial policy misleads editor to acknowledge *The Sunday Mail's* mandate of informing and educating the citizens towards national development and democracy. The selection of a proportion of articles reporting on the Liberation war chronicles as exclusive is guided by the government and the ruling party ZANU-PF.

The Patriot's editor is also largely responsible for the scrutinization of important national news and is in close relationship with the Ministry of Information as well as the president's office. The editor is subjected to control from the government so as to priming of national agendas and this misleads the society towards cultural and national heritage. Thus this deviates from *The Patriot's* mandate of informing and educating the society via professional and ethical news production of national heritage and cultural issues since the newspaper only represents ZANU-PF's political ideologies. Instead of readdressing the inferiority complex within the society, *The Patriot* editor is facilitates the ruling party ZANU-PF's notion of narrowing the public sphere through biased news reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. Thus the news editor makes use of 'propaganda filters' in the production of news (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

Deputy Editor of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The deputy editor acts as an assistant to the newspaper editor. He/ she assume the role of the newspaper editor in their absence. *The Sunday Mail's* deputy editor deals with the organizational and administrative aesthetics of newspaper in promoting readership through informed decision making as well as market driven strategic decisions. *The Sunday Mail* ignores the general public as it only focuses on pro-ZANU-PF supporters for political interests. The deputy editor is influenced by the government in monitoring of consistency within the various section/desk editors and that limits the newspaper professional and ethical consideration. Instead the deputy

editor is used as an ‘agenda setter’ and ‘gate keeper’ by ZANU-PF to ensure one-sided and biased reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

In contrary, *The Patriot’s* proofreader has throughout the years been instrumental in serving the interests and belief systems of the decision party ZANU-PF. The supervisor slant to ZANU-PF contracts the implausible daily paper's command to advance national improvement, national character and sway through reasonable and adjusted news reportage. The ruling party ZANU-PF has undermined the squeeze's open administration model of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* (Nyahunzvi, 2001). The appointee editorial manager delimits the daily paper's capacity to extend and find new markets through adhering to a solitary market comprising for the most part of star ZANU-PF supporters like neighborhood agriculturists, ex-warriors and government authorities. Rather than readdressing social disparities inside the general public, the manager works sideways with the administration to hegemonize the masses into tolerating the ZANU-PF's political talk. *The Patriot's* delegate editorial manager goes amiss from safeguarding national history and culture through the ‘Mugabeism’ of culture through one-sided and uneven of the Liberation war narratives in order to make social developments of reality.

Senior Assistant Editor of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The Sunday Mail’s senior assistant editor’s role is responsible for supporting the deputy editor. He/she has a supportive role but may be also authoritative in overseeing all the editorial sections which may include features, sports, environment and international news. He is intended to ensure professionalism and ethical consideration of *The Sunday Mail* at all levels of the news production system so as to give fair and balanced news reportage. Due to the government’s intervention in the press, he is forced to ignore the newspaper’s objectives, mission and vision statements so as to abide to the Ministry of Information’s national agenda and follow the ZANU-PF capitalist system.

Similarly, *The Patriot’s* senior assistant editor is also responsible for the management and evaluation of other editors and reporters’ duties. The senior assistant editor maintains ties with other editors so as to plan and anchor *The Patriot* mandatory vision, mission and objectives. Due to government’s intervention in the administration, the role of the senior assistant editor has been reduced to a mere subject who serves the political and economic interests of the ruling party.

Thus he/she is used as a statutory tool to mobilize the political administration of ZANU-PF supporters and officials under the pretext of informed and awareness coverage of culture and national heritage. Thus this contradicts with *The Patriot's* objective to improve the internal relations due to the top-down hierarchy of power from the editors to the reporters. The senior assistant editor deviates from being professional as he uses the newspaper as a platform to disseminate ZANU-PF's policies and ideologies disguised as cultural and historical news about the Chimurenga liberation struggle. Through the misguided representation of ZANU-PF in the Liberation war as a "democratic political system" to foster development and democracy (Nyahunzvi, 2001:2).

News Editor of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The Sunday Mail news editors vary according to the various desks encompassed within the newspaper including sport, business, arts, farming, religion, features, entertainment and culture just to mention a few. *The Sunday Mail's* news ensures professionalism through quality media products aimed at the interests of the community through fair and balanced news reportage. This is not usually the case as the editor is largely influenced by the Ministry of Information agendas and the ruling party ZANU-PF's ideologies. He/she has the responsibility of factually and objectively editing the written news articles from various reporters but only is determinant to the most appropriate political language to foster the ZANU-PF's discourses. *The Sunday Mail's* mandate is to inform and educate the Zimbabwean citizens but instead the editor is subjected to a 'gate-keeper' or 'agenda setter' of the weekly newspaper publications.

Similarly, *The Patriot's* news editor oversees that the newspaper promotes awareness towards national heritage and culture so as to preserve national identity but in-turn is highly subject to the Ministry of Information's national agendas prior to the ruling party's ZANU-PF political interests. The editor is supposed to celebrate the Zimbabwean citizenry through advancement of democracy but the media regulation tends to limit professionalism and ethical considerations as the editor resorts to self-censorship. The news editor is also responsible for ensuring new market penetration and growth through broadening the scope of news reportage but the newspaper follows the pro-ZANU-PF supporters segment. The editor assigns reporters to their daily duties and hold diary meetings to ensure coverage of national interest stories but reporters are urged to follow the ZMMT policies which only encompass the ruling party ZANU-PF's interests.

Chief Sub Editor of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The chief sub editors in *The Sunday Mail* are responsible for ensuring professional and quality designing as well as lay-out of newspaper in consideration to advertisements. The sub-editor deviates from being professional due to the influence of advertisers in determining news content. The government acts as a major advertiser and institution to *The Sunday Mail* thereby serving its interests and neglects the public interest. This questions the professionalism and ethical consideration of the newspaper towards national development and democracy as it is only guided by its hunt for profit. The aspect of the sub editor is mainly involved in the newspaper production process to ensure the informing, educating as well as entertaining of Zimbabwean citizens. This is not usually the case as the chief editor is guided by the ZANU-PF's formulated editorial policy to only favor the party in all its endeavors. The ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of the editors so as to perpetuate their interests through structuralism and instrumentalism of the newspaper employees.

The Patriot's chief editor is also affected by the government and the ruling party ZANU-PF government and the media put the society into various classes depending on political affiliation, level of wealth, education, occupation and culture. The editors' role is to reaffirm and address the capitalist system through informing and educating the citizens but *The Patriot* is seen as a platform to foster the government and ZANU-PF's ideologies. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* news reportage is used as a courier of the ZANU-PF's ideologies to enlighten the masses and narrow the public sphere.

Senior Reporters of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The senior reporters in *The Sunday Mail* are well vested within the ZANU-PF ideologies and are aware of the political party's political, socio-economic and cultural mandate. These have a lot of experience in the newsroom in terms of reportage of news and news gathering as well as editing skills. The senior reporters deviate from ensuring free and fair news reportage so as to increase efficiency as well as professionalism through inclination to profit oriented media system. *The Sunday Mail* is fore-fronted by ZANU-PF in handling sensitive issues like Liberation war chronicles concerning the government or the ruling party ZANU-PF. Thus the reportage of the Chimurenga liberation war is associated with the heavy reliance on government's official sources

which are biased, duplicated and one-sided deviating from the objectives of being professional in journalism excellency. This is evidenced from the one-sided representation of ZANU-PF and sidelining other nationalist factions such as ZAPU in the Chimurenga war.

However, *The Patriot's* senior reporters inclination to ZANU-PF's ideologies deviates the newspaper's ability to ensure its informant and educative objectives as well as the mission to be professional and ethical in raising awareness of national heritage as well as culture to Zimbabwean citizens. The senior reporters' reportage of the Liberation war chronicles aim at national development and side lining democracy due to its one-sided coverage favoring the ruling party ZANU-PF.

Junior Reporters of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The Sunday Mail has quite a number of junior reporters who are responsible for the gathering of news and all things considered play out an imperative capacity in the weekly and daily newspaper foundation. The junior reporters ensure the growth of newspaper's market penetration and maintain stakeholder relations due to attending seminars, trade fairs, conferences and press conferences. Through community engagement, the junior reporters ensure development of the society dependability and preserving integrity through professional news reportage of national issues like the Liberation war chronicles. Junior reporters work hand in hand with desk editors so as their reportage limiting the fair and balanced presentation of news through inclination to the newspaper's policy.

The junior reporters in *The Patriot* fulfill the ZMT's mandate of informing, educating as well as awareness to the society of their national heritage and culture through addressing the inferiority complex via professional and ethical news reportage. The junior reporters are influenced by senior reporters to incline to self-censorship in news reportage of sensitive issues like the Liberation war chronicles to ensure good and sound external/internal relations with the government thus ignoring the value of the society.

Chief Photographer of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The Sunday Mail has professional and experienced photographers who have pioneered the expertise of journalism photography. Through professional pictures, the photographers empower a strong planned selection of pictures as they are crucial in every story article. Sometimes the same picture of the Chimurenga struggle is used more than once in different articles as they carry the ZANU-PF's symbolism to influence public opinion. The photographers' use of ZANU-PF's war imagery deviates from the newspaper's mandate of being professional and balanced as they follow the Ministry of Information's agendas in the news production system.

The chief reporters in *The Patriot* supervise and instruct the junior photographers in the photography segment of the newspaper. The photographers ensure the newspaper's meets its mandate to inform and educate citizens of national heritage/culture through professional selection of only war veterans of ZANU-PF and side lining the ZANU ex-combatants. Thus this worsens the inferiority complex within the society as ZANU-PF commandeers the press to only represent it in reportage of the Chimurenga liberation struggle. *The Patriot* makes use of various war pictures of Zimbabwean liberation war chronicles to control public opinion and socially construct ZANU-PF as the sole liberator of the nation.

Cartoonists of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The cartoonists in *The Sunday Mail* are responsible for politically communicating the socially constructed Chimurenga realities. Thus the cartoonists serve the interests of ZANU-PF government officials and neglect the masses through satirical portrayal of oppositional party leaders. Instead of aiming national development and democracy, *The Sunday Mail's* cartoonists are only loyal to ZANU-PF's capitalist system which hinders financial growth and market expansion of the newspaper. Instead of informing and educating the masses, the cartoonists' coverage is seen in the deconstruction and side lining of other ZAPU ex-combatants or oppositional political parties.

In *The Patriot*, the cartoonists have over the years obliged to the ideologies of the newspaper's editorial policy thereby limiting the newspaper's market share and deprofessionalism of news reportage. Coupe (1969) points out that like every one of the reporters, the cartoonist is worried with the creation and control of popular supposition. Cartoons are mainly used in *The Patriot* for negative political advertising and agenda setting which further increases the inferiority complex

within the society (DeSousa & Medhurst, 1982). Instead of informing and educating citizens of their national heritage and culture, The Patriot's cartoonists carry a symbolic meaning and theme towards the ideologies of the ruling party ZANU-PF's role in the Chimurenga liberation struggle (Feldman, 1995).

Proof readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

The Sunday Mail is very critical and decisive with the importance of their proof readers. The proof readers are influenced by ZANU-PF's political agenda and this neglects their roles to ensure objectivity, factual, fair and balanced news reportage. *The Sunday Mail's* relations to the government delimits the newspaper's professionalism and ethical news production as the newspaper only forefronts ZANU-PF's interests and ideologies. This disrupts the newspaper's loyalty to its readers and relations with stakeholders as Liberation war chronicles coverage tends to be one-sided and biased towards ZANU-PF. The proof readers have over the years ignored the importance of the organization's reputation through publicly exhibiting their loyalty to ZANU-PF and not the Zimbabwean citizens. This however hinders the newspaper's new market penetration and triggers a reduction in sales due to the newspaper only serving the government interest not the general public.

The proof readers in *The Patriot* have heavily relied ZANU-PF's political discourse of power to hegemonize the masses through biased and one-sided news reportage of the Chimurenga liberation war articles. Instead of ensuring that the language is aimed at fostering national development and democracy, through raising national awareness issues of culture and national heritage, the proof readers ensure that the stories produced carry ZANU-PF ideologies to all the readers. Thus the newspaper is only limited to a certain market segment consisting of local farmers, ex-combatants and pro-ZANU-PF supporters and new market penetration is far-fetched. The proof readers are subjected to ensure that ZANU-PF's political discourse is vested within every sentence of the news story and ignoring the mandate of informing and educating readers on the importance of national heritage. Thus *The Patriot* proof readers delimit the newspaper ability to exercise journalism professionalism and ethical considerations in their reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

4.14 Relationship of *The Sunday Mail* with other media organizations

The Sunday Mail is linked to a number of media and none media organizations both locally and internationally. The ZimPapers Group has more than 13 newspapers (*The Herald; The Patriot; The Chronicle; Sunday News etc*) and more than 3 radio stations (Star FM, BH24) which interchangeably rely on each other for survival. *The Sunday Mail* is also linked to the New Ziana which is the sole public broadcaster under ZBH for broader coverage of national and international news of interest. *The Sunday Mail* is also linked to the telecommunications companies such as Econet Wireless, Telecel and Netone which serve as the biggest advertisers in producing revenue for the newspaper. *The Sunday Mail* also maintains ties with advertising companies like *Herald Advertising, Askeland Media, Vantage Advertising* to mention but a few. Internationally the press in Zimbabwe has strains with other foreign media organizations due to the media regulation and government's monopoly over the media industry.

4.15 Relationship of *The Patriot* with other media organizations

As a subsidiary of Zimbabwean Heritage Trust, *The Patriot* maintains ties with the ruling party ZANU-PF which has direct intervention in the ZimPapers Group. The Patriot secures relations with *The Sunday Mail, The Herald, Sunday News, New Farmer, Kwayedza* to mention but a few. *The Patriot* has links with Econet Wireless and Netone which pose to be the major advertisers in the newspaper. Due to the newspaper's inclination to the ruling party ZANU-PF, *The Patriot* has faced constraints in establishing international media organizations following the government's attacks on foreign media like BBC, CNN and Sky News.

4.16 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the organizational structure of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, highlighting how ownership, control and funding mechanism affect the news production of the two newspapers towards the representation of the Liberation war chronicles. The chapter also assessed how the all powerful government and ZANU-PF influence the news content and distribution patterns of the two newspapers. It highlights how the shareholding structure of the two ZimPapers creates a hierarchy of power relations between the Zimbabwean press and political parties. Emphasis is also exerted on the power of the elites and ruling class to control

the media for dissemination of their political and cultural ideologies within the society so as to foster political dominance.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION, FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The chapter focuses at the presentation and analysis of the research findings. The data was obtained from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* archival repository, editors and reporters as well as readers from Woodlands Park suburb via interviews, focus groups and archival research. The data obtained included only exclusive stories from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers ranging from 2015 up to date. The researcher presented the data findings in a thematic and systematic format. The formulated themes aided as a platform to address the research question, objectives and assumptions to the problem statement of the study. The chapter also dwelt much on the presentation of data in a thematic approach and using tables respectively. It analysed the credibility of the research findings through the use of qualitative content analysis as well as critical discourse to unchain the ZANU-PF's political discourse and linguistics in news production.

5.2 Response rate summary

The study made use of unstructured and structured interviews, participant observational focus groups and archival research for data gathering. The researcher implored critical discourse analysis as well as qualitative content analysis for exposing the political discourse and nature of language behind *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* news articles. The study implored a total number of 12 stories from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* ranging from the period of 2015 to 2016. The researcher carried out interviews to strictly 10 editors and reporters of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* so as to acquire relevant and credible data related to the phenomena under study. The researcher also indulged in participatory observation through focus groups comprising of strictly 20 readers of the two newspapers under study from Woodlands Park suburb. The table below illustrates the response rate from participants from the interviews, focus groups and the strength or relativity of textual material from archival research.

The response rate from participants and archival material

Methods	The Sunday Mail	The Patriot	Total	Participants	Response rate
Interviews	5	5	10	10	100%
Focus groups	10	10	20	20	100%
Archival research	5	7	12	12	100%

Fig 1: The number of interviews, focus groups and archival material from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* respectively

As indicated by the table above, the research made use of 10 interviews from the 6 editors and 4 reporters from both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The researcher implored both structured and unstructured interviews to enhance credibility and consistence in the data obtained. The interviews were carried out to 5 participants from both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers to acquire a broader understanding of the phenomena. The participants were accessible and willing to cooperate guaranteeing a 100% response rate to the interviews. Secondly, the researcher also made use of focus groups so as to note the publics' perception of the Liberation war frames in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers. The study made use of 20 readers of the two newspapers from Woodlands Park suburb. Each of the two newspapers' consumers were divided into 2 groups which consisted of 10 participants both female and male which were accumulated as open discussions related to the phenomena under study.

The participants proved mixed feelings towards the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* and produced a broader array of responses. The participants from the two focus groups were accessible and willing to participate which was an added advantage to the progress of the research contributing to the totaled 100% response rate. The researcher also engaged in contact with news articles from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* repository. The researcher scrutinized for contemporary news articles ranging from 2015 to 2016 in relation to the representation of Liberation war chronicles. The researcher exposed 5 stories

from *The Sunday Mail* repository and 7 stories from *The Patriot's* repository adding to the total of 12 stories. Thus he achieved a total of 100% story relativeness to the phenomena under study.

Thus it is safe to say that the researcher was successful in data gathering in answering to the research's objectives and research questions which comprised of an assessment to the fairness of reportage of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The research also aimed at addressing the consistence of the Liberation war chronicles reportage in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The study also explored the variable factors such as ownership, control and funding mechanism effects on news production. The researcher also took in account the importance of individual perception of the reportage of the Chimurenga liberation war in shaping national history and national identity.

The researcher implored data gathering methods like interviews, focus groups and archival research to fully acquire a better understanding of the phenomena under study. The researcher also used tables to the presentation of data findings. The research findings were also presented in a thematic system and were broadly discussed to strike the relation between existing knowledge and theoretical framework. Discussions in the study made the researcher in the study to generate new body of knowledge.

5.3 Framing of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

Through interviews with 10 participants comprising of 6 editors and 4 reporters from both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, the researcher found out that two newspapers have been constantly used by the government and ZANU-PF as agenda setters and gate keepers of the Liberation war chronicles which contributes to the heavy dosages of the political party frames in news articles. The researcher selected 12 sample news articles from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* archival repository, and also engaged in discussions with 2 focus groups each consisting of 10 participants. The table below shows how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* framed the Liberation war chronicles from 2015 to date:

The Sunday Mail reportage of the Liberation war chronicles	The Patriot's reportage of the Liberation war chronicles
<i>Chimurenga II Chronicles: Zanu's unforgettable truth</i>	<i>Eye witness accounts of Chimurenga after 1975</i>
<i>Defining the Zimbabwean war: The Second Chimurenga</i>	<i>Heroes' Day and the continuing struggle for deeper unity</i>
<i>War Vets must listen to their Patron</i>	<i>Great heroes of Chimurenga: Part Two ...weakness of Rhodesians exposed</i>

Fig 2: *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* frequency in reportage of the Chimurenga liberation war chronicles

The table above clearly shows the political discourse behind the news headlines in the unpacking of the Liberation war chronicles in both *The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail*. The two newspapers indicate experience heavy dosages of the Liberation war political advertisements so as to integrate ZANU-PF with Liberation war credentials. Through interviews with 10 participants comprising of 6 editors and 4 reporters from both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, the researcher deducted the most relevant responses from the editors and reporters. The respondents gave a wide array of mixed responses. From the interview, *The Sunday Mail's* chief editor was of the view that the newspaper followed the protocol set by the Ministry of Information in their reportage. This assisted the newspaper in maintaining good ties with the ruling party ZANU-PF and the present government. The brand of *The Sunday Mail* is largely dependent on the government funding which is both a major advertiser and regulatory institution. Similarly *The Patriot's* senior reporter expressed the ruling party ZANU-PF's intervention in the news production of the ex-combatant owned newspaper in relation to the framing of the Liberation war chronicles in their news articles.

The researcher in the study through focus group discussions that consists of 20 participants who were prominent readers of both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* newspapers. The participants were Zimbabweans citizens from Woodlands Park suburb and well above 35 years who are both females and males. Participants who constituted to the readership of *The Sunday Mail* expressed that reportage was based on political grounds aimed at granting the ruling party ZANU-PF authority to the governing seat due to the party's Liberation war credentials. Those participants

who were familiar with *The Patriot* newspaper were of the view that the newspaper's operations were based on the war veterans' perception of the Liberation war chronicles. They highlighted that the newspaper's allegiance to the ruling party ZANU-PF is no secret and that it supports the political party's administration as well as its political ideologies. Through archival material which constituted to 12 news articles from both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* repositories. The stories included headlines like *The Patriot* 15 June 2016 article entitled, "*Highlights in Muchemwas's The Struggle for Land in Zimbabwe-Part Two...the metaphysics of Chimurenga One continued*"; *The Sunday Mail* 25 October 2015 article entitled, "*Chimurenga: the story victors begin*"; *The Patriot* 17 June, 2016 article entitled, "*Dr Muchewa and our Liberation War Story*" and *The Sunday Mail* 8 May 2016 entitled, "*Chimurenga II Chronicles: Zanu uncomfortable truth*" to mention but a few.

The stories reflected the historical accounts or narration of the ruling party ZANU-PF's administrative role in stabilizing the ZANLA forces into defeating the Rhodesian Front. Through critical discourse analysis and content analysis, the researcher found out that the use of political language as well as the rhetoric connotations recapturing and restructuring of the Chimurenga history to the present ruling party ZANU-PF's political discourse of power and authority. The researcher implored that there exists a symbolic relationship between the press and the ruling party ZANU-PF as the stories encompassed the political interests of the government via the establishment of Liberation war credentials. The stories encompassed the ruling party ZANU-PF's ideologies disguised as newsworthy articles.

Discussion

The Sunday Mail and *The Patriot's* 'gate keeping' and 'agenda setting' from priming of the ruling party ZANU-PF's ideologies disguised as newsworthy stories is also evidenced by the press's one-sided and biased framing of the Liberation war chronicles (Hall, 1997 and McCombs and Shaw, 1972). *The Sunday Mail's* 8 May 2016 news article entitled, "*Chimurenga II Chronicles: Zanu's unforgettable truth*" entails the political and cultural agenda that is fore fronted through the representation of the ruling party ZANU-PF's prominence in the Liberation war chronicles. Hall (1997) claims that we construct our understanding within an ideology, we 'speak through' ideology and that ideology enables us to 'make sense' of our social reality and our position within it. Hall (1981) asserts that ideologies become 'naturalised' and ideologically

motivated representations mask themselves as ‘common sense’; within an ideology, politically constructed representations – such as political discourse – are passed on as being ‘given by nature’. *The Sunday Mail* 8 May 2016 asserts that before ZANU-PF there “was ZAPU and other political parties” that were fighting against white minority rule “but there was no real change on the ground”. Mukasa (2003) states that the relationship between the press and political parties is ‘dialectical’. This means that there is a symbiotic relationship in terms of news sourcing for journalists to politicians and also in return politicians would be seeking for legitimacy and publicity.

The formation of ZANU-PF in 1963 was to readdress ZAPU’s mandate of “advocating for the rights of blacks”, but to “take up arms and fight the colonial regime” under ZANU-PF’s under Cde Leopold Takawira and Cde Chitepo’s administration. Thus affirms Hall’s (1997) notion of ZANU-PF ‘othering’ other political parties like ZAPU which fought alongside the party in liberating the nation. Thus *The Sunday Mail’s* portrayal of the ruling party ZANU-PF’s insurgence and military control over the Chimurenga is heavily emphasized. Though ‘representation’ of the ruling party ZANU-PF there is biased and one-sided reportage in *The Sunday Mail* towards the political party’s interests and ideologies (Hall, 1997).

In *The Patriot’s* 24 June 2016 news articles entitled “*Eye witness accounts of Chimurenga after 1975*”, the newspaper bases its Chimurenga liberation war chronicles from official government sources. The government through Herman and Chomsky’s (1988) ‘propaganda filters’ delivers biased and subjective information to the press to meet the interests of the ruling party ZANU-PF. Basing on the major government officials and ZANU-PF ex-combatants accounts like Washington Makurumidze alias Cde Jackson Muchapera. Chuma (2008) argues that the press reflects the supremacy syndrome of ZANU-PF’s political members commandeering the Chimurenga liberation war in reportage. Developing the issue of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot’s* assurance of positive representations of ZANU-PF in their reportage. Gandy (1998:24) recommends that the broad communications are comprehended to be the most vital shaper of contemporary society, usurping the part beforehand held by chapel, state and school, as executives of open seeing, subsequently turning into society's essential mingling operator. Ambassador Christopher Mutsvangwa puts it that, “Samora Machel broke the psychological barrier that served as the trip wire which the unjust rule of white minority regimes had long

subsisted upon”. Thus Mapuva (2010) postulates that the government creates a sense of connection with the Liberation war chronicles deeming them the ‘Liberation war credentials’ and ‘authority’ to govern the nation.

Similarly, Goffman (1974) postulates that framing is the media communication and presentation of news to its audience and gives them power to ‘schemata of understanding’ and ‘find, see, distinguish and mark’ certain identities, occasions or events. Entman (1993) postulates that framing is a process of conveying content or message is to advance certain features of an ‘apparent reality’ and make them more remarkable in a manner that underwrites a particular issue definition, causal understanding, moral assessment, as well as a treatment suggestion. Again Entman (1993) indicates the power of the media to frame issues along the perception of the dominant classes so as to influence public opinion. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have over the years framed the Liberation war chronicles in response to the ruling party ZANU-PF’s political dominance. The framing of ZANU-PF’s insurgents as heroes in assisting the FRELIMO is largely associated with the contributions then ZANU-PF’s commander in chief Samora Michel and Ambassador Mutsvangwa’s to defeat the Portuguese military.

Thus Barnett (2014) points out that the press ‘commodifies’ news content as political ‘products’ to disseminated to pro- ZANU-PF supporters across the country. The crossing over of Zanu PF’s military soldiers marked the “marked as a trigger to test the shifting political sands”. The efforts of the Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) are largely connected to ZANU-PF as the alliance continued to defeat enemy lines as “ZANLA gunners continued to hit them (Rhodesian military helicopters) in triples or quads and they fell” recounts Cde Muchapera. Thus Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacott (1977) point out that the press is used by the dominant classes to socially construct reality as the norms and values of the society. McCombs and Shaw (1972) assert that through ‘agenda setting’ the Ministry of Information to determine reportage of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. Ranger (2005: 217) point out that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have used the Liberation war credentials as a contemporary agenda highlighting “nationalism as a movement, or set of movements, and as an ideology, remains central to contemporary Zimbabwe” in shaping the public sphere.

The researcher employed qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis in analyzing the ZANU-PF’s political symbiotic meaning embroiled in the news. According to Curran and

Gurevitch (2005), *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have over the years engaged as the ruling party ZANU-PF's mouthpiece for political communication in the delegitimizing of other nationalist political parties ZAPU. *The Patriot* 24 June 2016 also speculates on the ZANU-PF's influence on the "Soweto Uprisings triggered by students demonstrating against the Afrikaner language". *The Patriot* links Liberation war history with politics of the day as giving birth to the "new African political mood that had dispensed with age-old fear of repression and oppression". Thus Stoddart (2007) affirm this notion claiming that media act as a political entity as they have the ability to shape, construct and deconstruct social reality and public opinion. The ruling party ZANU-PF has over the years used *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in fore-fronting its much speculated important role in the Chimurenga liberation war whilst delegitimizing the ZAPU nationalist party which also participated in liberating Zimbabwe. Thus Kline (2009) argues that the press has reluctantly deviated from playing a watchdog role to the government due to its affiliation with political parties and advertisers. It should be safe to say that the two newspapers owe their allegiance to the ruling party ZANU-PF and the present government as both advertisers and media regulatory institution.

5.4 Political branding through reportage of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

Through interviews, the researcher found out that the media landscape in Zimbabwe is highly politically polarized and there exists a symbiotic relationship between the press and politics. In the course of face to face interviews with a total of 10 participants comprising of 6 editors and 4 reporters from both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The researcher found out that the participants expressed mixed feelings towards the two newspapers' framing of political parties. Most of *The Sunday Mail's* editors and reporters expressed that:

The major role of the newspaper is to was to foster development and democracy through playing a watchdog role to the government and corporate sector. But the Mugabe administration has instrumentalized the newspaper as a political branding tool especially during election times (personal interview 26-08-2016)

The above statement shows that, there exists a symbiotic relationship between the press and the governments, as the two newspapers rely on government funding for their survival. The government acts as both an advertising agency and an institution governing *The Sunday Mail's*

operations. Thus the ruling party ZANU-PF has influence on the content and distribution patterns of news products. The reporters rely on official government sources which are biased and one sided favoring ZANU-PF whilst sidelining other political parties like ZAPU or MDC-T.

Through 2 focus groups comprising of 10 participants which consisted of 20 readers of both *The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail's* from Woodlands Park suburb. The researcher exposed that undoubtedly the participants were all aware of government's use of the newspapers as political branding tools:

The newspapers obligation to the ruling party Zanu PF as the one state party is no secret to the world at large. *The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail* represent government's rule and publicize it's the ruling party Zanu PF's Liberation war credentials as rights to the governing seat (discussion 26-08-2016)

The above statement indicates how the influence of war veterans' connection with Liberation war credentials fosters ZANU-PF's power to hegemonize the masses for political control. Through *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, the ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of national history and culture to delegitimize other political parties. Through Prof Jonathan Moyo's '75% local content', there has been strong emphasis on indigenization of various sectors of the economy including the media via the ZimAsset agenda.

Through archival research from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* repository ranging from 2015 to 2016, the researcher explored only 12 selected news obligated to the press' branding of the ruling party ZANU-PF in the Zimbabwean political arena. The archival material found that the ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of 60% of the annual newspapers' reportage of the Liberation war chronicles especially during election times. A prominent example is that of the much anticipated March 2003 presidential election and the Harmonized 2013 elections whilst sidelining other political parties. Through negative political advertising which consisted of 30% in form of name-calling and hate speech from President Mugabe himself, the ruling party ridicules the stance of oppositional parties as unfit for the governing seat. The rest of the 10% is dedicated to the foreign affairs issues which pose a threat to the political and social conscientizing of the local fellowman by global conglomerates so as to revolt against the Mugabe regime. The government has been over the years been reluctant on freeing the broadcasting airwaves with the monopoly of ZBC as the sole national broadcaster of the country.

Discussion

The press is very instrumental in the Zimbabwean politics of the day. Herman and Chomsky (1988) postulate that the political economy of the media is a very decisive factor in the game of politics as the media constitutes as the platform to address the interests of the ruling elite. Carpentier (2011) affirms this notions as the points out that the media is a site of political and ideological struggle as various political parties use it as a platform for political debates and campaigning. *The Sunday Mail* 32 July 2016 news article entitled, “*Treasonous Chimene loses plot*” indicate President Mugabe’s incessant attacks at oppositional MDC-T leader Tsvangirai labeling him as a “disgruntled sell outs”. Chomsky (2002) argues that the media acts as a source of information to the society and has the power to shape public opinion and sets agendas for political parties in the political discourse. The Mugabe regime alongside the ruling party ZANU-PF make use of the state controlled media to dilute news as party political ideologies disguised as newsworthy information across the nation.

President Mugabe affirms that, “war veterans are still a united front who support his leadership” as ZANU-PF’s enemies have “rubbed their hand s in glee”. This statement from *The Sunday Mail* clearly indicates the newspapers ‘representation’ of the ruling party ZANU-PF’s heavy reliance on the press as an effective political tool and propaganda machine to shun oppositional parties (Hall, 1997). This is evidenced by *The Sunday Mail’s* 16 June 2016 news article entitled “*War Vets must listen to their Patron*” whereby President Mugabe is claiming his leadership birth right as voted in power by the majority. The newspapers foster the ruling party ZANU-PF’s ideologies so as to influence public opinion. Hall (1981) asserts that ideologies become ‘naturalised’ and ideologically motivated representations mask themselves as ‘common sense’; within an ideology, politically constructed representations – such as political discourse – are passed on as being ‘given by nature’.

The Sunday Mail and *The Patriot* newspaper act as ‘agenda setters’ of the ruling party ZANU-PF and war veterans’ ideologies disguised as news under the pretext of Liberation war historical credentials (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). President Mugabe is seen addressing the war veterans who are redeeming their hard earned fruits of the Liberation war struggle through violent

protests. Through media representation, *The Sunday Mail* 16 June 2016 portrayed President Mugabe as portrayed as a “Patron” whose is “very clear in terms of leadership of this country”. (Lewin, 1974). Moyo (2002) and Mukasa (1996) postulate that the state media like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are seen as politically active newspapers in securing the dominance of ZANU-PF in the political struggle. Hall (1981:11) proposes that the media, as a principal form of ideological dissemination, produces representations of the social world via images and portrayals. This manufactures a network of understanding that informs us ‘how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work’ (Chuma, 2008).

Due to *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s dependence on official government sources, reportage tends to be biased, subjective and ones-sided. Sigal (1973:342) postulates that reporters ‘are exploited by their sources either to insert information into the news or to propagandize’. Gans (1979) affirms this notion as he explains that the press practices “efficiency” through reliance of the government’s authority and “source power”, gate keeping only information as newsworthy. This is evidenced by *The Sunday Mail* 16 June 2016 article where President Mugabe further uses the general people’s voice along national discourse to destabilize war veterans insurgents and oppositional factionalist parties like Dr Joice Mujuru’s People First “as the people who select(ed) (President Mugabe as) their leader”.

President Mugabe continued to say that, “it is the people who helped the war veterans win the war of liberation” (*The Sunday Mail*, 32 July 2016). This has usurped the ‘priming’ of *The Patriot*’s 17 December 2015 news article entitled “*Lets document war history*” where President Mugabe attacked other political parties in a speech at the 15th ZANU-PF’s Annual National People’s Conference (Curran et al., 2008). President Mugabe labeled Dr Joice Mujuru’s political party as “non-event and thrown out of the window”. He went on to say that, “Vice-Presidents Emmerson Mnangagwa and Phekezela Mphoko...are genuine war veterans who do not brag about their genuine war credentials”. Mugabe engages in constant ‘negative political advertising’ of other parties via *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* through name calling and hate speech (Gronbeck, 1994). Moyo (2010) considers frames to be the constructed representations that reflect broader relations of power in a society driven by political and economic crisis. He came up with three models of journalism which are ‘patriotic’, ‘oppositional’ and ‘independent’ journalism which he asserts that they were born at the crossroads of Zimbabwean politics.

Again through news framing theory, *The Patriot* 8 May 2016 article entitled “*Chimurenga II Chronicles: Zanu’s Uncomfortable truth*” exposes how ZANU-PF ex-combatants like Cde Joseph Khumalo have been fore-fronted to President’s Mugabe as a national hero who administrated the war veterans in the Liberation war (Entman, 1993). Cde Joseph Khumalo expressed that, “Zimbabwe is blessed to have President Mugabe as its leader” and sidelining ZAPU as “sell-outs in the Zanu PF’s leadership in Lusaka”. The negative political advertising of war veterans like “Rugare Gumbo” and “Simon Bhene” as “spies” who engaged in the “selling of information to the Smith Regime” is testimony of the ruling party ZANU-PF’s use of *The Sunday Mail* as a political tool for propaganda. According to Mukasa (2003) the relationship between media and politics in Zimbabwe is ‘dialectical’. This means that there is a symbiotic relationship in terms of news sourcing for journalists to politicians and also in return politicians would be seeking for legitimacy and publicity (Chari et al, 2003).

Through agenda setting theory, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have over the years been official political propaganda tools of the ruling party ZANU-PF’s policies and ideologies in their reportage of the Liberation war chronicles (Goffman, 1974). *The Sunday Mail* 21 August 2006 entitled, “*Dr Joice Mujuru unmasked*” pre-empted Mujuru’s heroic escapades in the Chimurenga liberation struggle. Through ‘agenda setting’, the ruling party ZANU-PF made use of Cde George Rutarhira of the ZANLA’s nationalist party as it readressed the lies behind Mujuru’s highly speculated prowess in the Liberation war struggle (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). He expressed that “opposition leader Dr Joice Mujuru was at the periphery of the Second Chimurenga, primarily rising through the ranks via a combination of benevolence and her romantic liaisons”. This clearly indicates that Dr Mujuru was allegedly engaged in the Liberation war as a ‘prostitute’ only after sexual escapades with the war veterans for closure.

The former Vice President, Dr Joice Mujuru, has continued to be labeled as sexual object in the war as only after sex as she tricked war veterans as an, “opportunity to enjoy the forbidden fruit” and she never fought the Chimurenga struggle due to her “big body” and she ended “selling out” to the enemy lines. Thus *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have been constant platforms of ‘political branding’ as well delegitimizing of other political parties through agenda setting and priming of Liberation war chronicles (Gronbeck, 1994:62).

5.5 Influences of ownership and control patterns to the reportage of Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

Through interviews conducted with 6 editors and 4 reporters from both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The researcher found out that the Zimbabwean government has been reluctant in restructuring of the media regulation framework (Chari et al., 2003). The ruling party ZANU-PF exercises direct intervention in the operations of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* with a steady grip on the ownership and funding mechanism of the ZimPapers Group (Mukasa, 2003). The respondents expressed that through the Ministry of Information, the present government influences the editorial staff and editorial policies of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as well as formulation of the editorial policies to fore front the interests of the ruling party ZANU-PF (Hove, 2014). Through media laws like AIPPA, POSA, LOMA and OSA, the government has delegitimized the media's watchdog role of fostering national development and democracy to a mere political actor of the ruling party ZANU-PF (Feltoe, 2002).

Through focus groups comprising of 20 participants from Woodlands Park suburb as readers of the two newspapers under study. These group discussions ensured that every participant has a chance to talk, thereby ensuring the diversity of broader opinions. Focus groups exposed the participants' knowledge, feelings, opinions and experiences in relation to the phenomena under study. The participants who were aberrant readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* newspapers expressed that:

The state controlled press has fore fronted the ruling party Zanu PF's political interests through reportage that is biased and one-sided favoring President Mugabe's administration. The government has over the years used the press to control public opinion (discussion 26-08-2016)

The above response clearly illustrate how legislation is used by ZANU-PF as a repressive tool used to destabilize operations of the private press's allegiance to oppositional political parties like MDC-T and People First. However, these laws have also affected the public press's mandate of informing and educating the Zimbabwean citizens through free and fair reportage of the Liberation war chronicles.

Making use of archival research, the researcher observed 12 news articles from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* so as to unlock the symbolic and meaningful political discourse behind political stories. The researcher observed that the higher the government controlled the press, the more

power it had on public opinion due to its ability to control the news production process. This has resulted in the lack of diversity and pluralism in news content as news stories tend to be biased and one sided towards the ruling party ZANU-PF. Through critical discourse analysis and content analysis, the researcher explored that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* heavy reliance on official government's sources as exclusive has led to the misinforming of the general public's perception of the Liberation war chronicles. Qualitative content analysis assisted the researcher to describe the type of political discourse behind every story under study as well as unpacking its interpretative nature through deducting meaning from that particular story. Critical discourse analysis explored the political language implored by the ruling party ZANU-PF's ideologies and policies disguised as newsworthy stories. The press is constantly masqueraded by the ruling party ZANU-PF to engage in heavy dosages of political reportage aimed at encompassing the ruling party ZANU-PF's war credentials for political dominance.

Discussion

The government's control of ZimPapers Group through acquiring the 51% majority shares grants the government power to control the newspaper industry including *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* news productions (Mukasa, 2003; Chari et al., 2003). *The Sunday Mail's* 31 July 2016 'framing' of the news article entitled "*BOB at 92: My Picture perfect boss*" positively portray President Mugabe as a natural leader who has positive traits of a good leader (Goffman, 1974). *The Sunday Mail's* Chief photographer Joseph Nyadzayo remarkably describes his first encounter with President Mugabe as, "I have never met anybody with a congregation of virtues like President Mugabe". *The Sunday Mail's* 31 July 2016 representations of Mugabe as a welcoming fatherly figure who exhibits only "good qualities that you can ask for, he is a super intelligent man yet he couples that with discipline and does not abuse his intelligence or take advantage of others with it". Thus politically branding President Mugabe as a legit leader who has the most appropriate political leadership qualities due to his obligation to the Liberation war's mandate of shunning all forms of white subjection.

Duveen (2000:12-13) argues that, "representations may be the product of communication, but it is also the case that without representation there could be no communication". Thus the ruling party ZANU-PF make use of the Ministry of Information to ensure that the media 'politically brand' and advertise President Mugabe as loved by people all around the world including China,

were “President Mugabe has received wild cheers more than leaders of other countries... This shows you how much he is revered abroad”. Habermas (1962) points out that the mainstream media like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are vested with the power shape, construct and deconstruct ‘public opinion’ and have influence in the ‘public sphere’ to raise the national agenda. This clearly exposes that the government instrumentalises the Ministry of Information and Communications Technologies to act as ‘gatekeepers’ and ‘agenda setters’ to control media content through media policies at both micro and macro level to shape, construct and deconstruct public opinion towards national history. The government’s ability or power to control *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s ownership and funding mechanism influence news reportage of the Liberation war chronicles as well as the distribution patterns of news.

Similarly, *The Patriot* 4 August 2016 news article entitled, “*Heroes’ Day and the continuing struggle for deeper unity*” which emphasized on the role played by ZANU-PF in the Chimurenga liberation struggle in connection with symbiotic connection with the Heroes Day commemorations. In *The Patriot* 4 August 2016 news article, Professor Tafataona Maohoso articulated on the importance of “Organisation of African Unity (OAU) from 1963 to 2002 and African Union (AU) in from 2002 to date”. Mahoso readdresses the African inferiority complex to the whites through Samir Amin’s observation:

The African people wanted a revolution to overthrow and overcome their historical economic subjugation and exploitation...while the post-colonial state wanted sovereignty and autonomy against imperialism

Thus the above statement is testimony of the government’s power and authority over the press’ reportage of the Liberation war chronicles (Bagdikian, 1983). As through the ZANU-PF’s media lens, Professor Tafataona Mahoso (2016) is instrumentalized by the government to ‘frame’ the ruling party Zanu PF’s role of administrating ZANLA military forces to defeat the Rhodesian army (Entman, 1993). He notes that, “two nationalist movements which merged as the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) were called the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)”. Mahoso heavily defends the ruling party ZANU-PF’s war credentials as he expressed that, “we are reminded to return to the prototype and practices of national unity bequeathed to us by the freedom fighters we now call war veterans and war heroes”. The reporters’ heavy reliance on

‘official government sources’ tends to explain the biased and one-side nature of the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

However, Chuma (2008) postulates that the press is a battleground for ideological domination to analyze how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have represented the liberation war chronicles. Similarly, Moyo (2002) states that the mainstream media like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers has become sites of the struggle for domination on this specific issue of the framing of liberation war chronicles. The political economy of the Zimbabwean media as expressed by Murdock and Golding (2000:62-63) is used to analyse how the local economic structure of the media influences the plurality and diversity towards the community’s “public cultural expression”. Thus the media’s coverage of the Liberation war chronicles has been influenced by the ruling party ZANU-PF’s and war veterans’ interests leading to lack of media content’s diversity and pluralism. Lilleker (2004:4) asserts that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* should be political communicators of “political views from all groups in a state”. However, Chuma (2006) is of the view that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s main obligation is to the “commodification of cultural life” so as to control the public opinion to accept the party’s political dominance.

However, Chuma (2007) is of the view that the Zimbabwean government acts as both a major advertiser and media regulatory institute to *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’ operations. Advertisers have over the years proven to be the main sources of income and marketing ZANU-PF’s ideological perceptions as the ideal economic and political system of governance. The media industry has been recognized as shaping, construction and deconstruction of social realities in the public opinion. The political economy of the Zimbabwean media as expressed by Murdock and Golding (2000:62-63) is used to analyse how the local economic structure of the media influences the plurality and diversity towards the community’s ‘public cultural expression’. Thus the media’s coverage of the Liberation war chronicles has been influenced by the ruling party ZANU-PF’s interests leading to lack of media content’s diversity and pluralism. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s main obligation is to the ‘commodification of cultural life’ so as to control the public opinion to accept the party’s political dominance.

Instead of the media products being served to the majority of Zimbabwe, the mainstream have segmented the audience into pro- ZANU-PF supporters and state controlled media products consumers or readers. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* do not serve the neutral information or

free entertainment but are platforms to foster the government's ideologies through socialization and as tools for manipulation (Arđono, 1991). Through "innumerable historical articles" of the Liberation war's "monolithic history", *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have over the years reflected the interests of the government (Ranger, 2003:4). According to Nhema (2002:1) the two newspapers' framing of the Liberation war also proved to be "enabling environment through which the (Mugabe) regime could achieve its stated long-term objective of establishing a one-party state". Thus Murdock and Golding (2005:65) affirm that the political economy of the media acknowledges the ability of the press to democratize the masses through purifying media products as public products, not commodities for the public interest.

5.6 The prominence given to the Liberation war chronicles by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*

Findings of the study through 10 respondents from interviews from 6 editors and 4 reporters from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* expressed the importance of the reportage of the liberation war chronicles as it has forged a benchmark of modern day politics in modern society. The participants' revealed that, "the ruling party Zanu PF has instrumentalized *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* to raise awareness issues of the importance of the Liberation war struggle in shaping "nation identity and national heritage". The participants claimed that since independence the press has served the interests of the ruling party ZANU-PF and shunned to serve the general public. The ruling party ZANU-PF's ability to be both an effective advertiser and media regulatory institution has drastic effects on *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. Through *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reportage of the Liberation war chronicles, the government has embraced the power to determine how the masses perceive raised issues through accessible and distinctive media content.

Through focus group discussions with 10 participants for each newspaper from Woodlands Park suburb, the researcher realized diverse knowledge, feelings and attitude towards the topic under discussion. The 2 groups consisted of 10 participants both female and male who are familiar readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* from Woodlands Park suburb. The researcher urged the participants to express their individual the perceptions of the representation of war veterans in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. The

respondents' response were at variation over the criteria and effects of the press' priming of Liberation war chronicles whilst sidelining other national issues as irrelevant. The participants expressed mixed feelings over the representation of war veterans in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in various articles ranging from 2015 up to date. Those participants who are closely linked with the ruling party ZANU-PF expressed that it is the mandate of any African state to educate and inform its citizens on the country's road to independence. The respondents indicated that "it is the press' official role to represent the inevitable role of war veterans' in the Chimurenga Liberation struggle to liberate Zimbabwe from colonial bondage so as to preserve the national heritage and national identity".

However, those respondents who were against the ruling party ZANU-PF's administration expressed contrasting conceptions of the prominence given to war veterans in the two newspapers. The participants revealed that "the framing of war veterans and President Mugabe in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* was nothing but a calculated political move aimed at retaining political dominance due to the misrepresented Liberation war credentials". This undressed the heavy dosages of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* headlines encompassing the prominence of war veterans to the Chimurenga revolutionary cause. This is evidenced from *The Sunday Mail* 3 July 2016 articles entitled, "Maziwisa's apology to war veterans" and *The Patriot* 5 Feb 2015 article entitled, "War veterans' welfare: Iwe neni tine basa". The articles are testimony of the two newspapers' obligation to the appreciation and legitimization of the War Veterans Association of Zimbabwe as a pillar for the nation's development and democracy.

The researcher using archival research found out that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers have over the years maintained strong ties with the present government and ruling party ZANU-PF. Through 12 selected sample articles from the two newspapers, the researcher implored qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis to unlock the 'political symbiotic meaning' and 'linguistics' behind news articles. The researcher analysed 12 stories which included the following: *The Sunday Mail* 10 January 2016: "2nd Chimurenga CHRONICLES-Zanu 1963: A revolution born on empty tank", *The Patriot* 24 June 2016: "Eye witness accounts of Chimurenga after 1975", *The Patriot* 4 August 2016: "Heroes Day and the continuing struggles for deeper unity", *The Sunday Mail* 8 May 2016: "Chimurenga II Chronicles: Zanu's unforgettable truth" and *The Sunday Mail* 17 September 2016: "2nd

Chimurenga Files”. Through qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis, the researcher exposed how the two newspapers engage in the use of political language as symbolism of the ruling party ZANU-PF’s political authority and power.

Thus content analysis and critical discourse analysis, the researcher explored the belief systems and power relations required in discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Dialect interfaces with the social through being the essential space of belief system, and through being a site of, and a stake in, battles for power (Van Dijk, 1993). The researcher unchained that the government controls the media via the Ministry of Information through appointing the editorial staff and reporters. Thus McCombs and Shaw (1972) affirm that, in picking and showing news, editors, newsroom staff, and supporters have vital impact in molding political reality. The audiences learn about a given issue, as well as how much significance to connect to that issues from the measure of data in a news article and its arrangement as well as production and consumption of news articles (Shoemaker, 1996). The researcher employed content analysis so as to analyze the Liberation war frames inserted in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* to acquire the meanings behind the context of the stories.

Discussion

Taking note of *The Sunday Mail* 10 January 2016 article entitled, “*2nd Chimurenga CHRONICLES-Zanu 1963: A revolution born on empty tank*”, the government engages in the priming of Liberation war chronicles through media representation of ZANU-PF’s fabricated ‘framing’ and ‘agenda setting’ of national issues. The news article stress on the humble beginnings of ZANU-PF as a nationalist faction which led to the formation of the “Crocodile Gang” which deemed the first ever attack on the Rhodesian armed forces. Thus the frames in *The Sunday Mail* articulate the Liberation war frames indicating the ruling party’s political ideologies which “organizes everyday reality” (Tuchman, 1978). Alexandre Binda (*The Sunday Mail* 4 August, 2016) expressed the inevitable role of ZANU-PF as, “These early contacts between the Crocodile Gang members and the Rhodesians showed that despite the arrogance the Rhodesian forces displayed, they were incompetent”. Thus through ‘media representation’ the government instrumentalises the Ministry of Information in gate-keeping the political policies which determine news reportage of the Liberation war chronicles (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999).

Through ‘media representation’ of the ruling party ZANU-PF in the Liberation war chronicles has a grip on public opinion and how the masses’ perceive the raised issues (Hall, 1997).

Through the ‘representation theory’, the framing of war veterans in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is testimony of the distribution of political power between government officials and war veterans (Hall, 1997). Hall (1981) proposes that the media, as a principal form of ideological dissemination, produces representations of the social world via images and portrayals. This manufactures a network of understanding that informs us ‘how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work’. Furthermore, Hall (1997) claims that we construct our understanding within an ideology, we ‘speak through’ ideology and that ideology enables us to ‘make sense’ of our social reality and our position within it.

Through the framing theory, as employed in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s representation of war veterans in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is symbolic of the political connotations of authority and granting of war credentials to ZANU-PF party members (Goffman, 1974). *The Patriot 4 August 2016* article entitled “Great heroes of Chimurenga: Part Two ...weakness of Rhodesians exposed” there is use of official government primary sources which tend to be one-sided and biased towards the ruling party ZANU-PF. Basing on the narration of ex-combatant Cde Alexandre Bindu, there is a symbiotic relationship between the ruling party ZANU-PF and the Liberation war struggle. Bindu (*The Patriot 4 August 2016*) expressed that “ZANU insurgents launched the first serious armed infiltration into Rhodesia”. Thus through ‘framing’, the government has engaged into the political branding of the ruling party ZANU-PF as the major administrator coordinating other nationalist parties like ZAPU to attack the Rhodesian army (Jeffrey, 2007). The press also has power to symbolize political meaning behind the news frames so as conceptualize the ruling party ZANU-PF’s political ideologies as legit. The government has continued to use *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as ‘propaganda’ tools for political communication and political branding (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

In the same article Cde Bindu (*The Patriot 4 August 2016*) negatively politically advertise the Rhodesian army as “poor military display” as he articulated that “there was very poor coordination between the army, police force and their air force”. The press ensures that political power is “unequally distributed” amongst the political landscape as *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* news articles of the Liberation war chronicles resemble “material and symbolic

(political)” advantages to the ruling party ZANU-PF (Schlesinger, 1990 as cited Blumler and Gurevitch, 2000:157). This is affirmed by Cde Bindu politically positioning the national agenda of the ruling party ZANU-PF as the sole legit nationalist party with right to Liberation war credential. He points out that:

The great heroes (ZANU) who fired the first...against Rhodesians set up the platform from which the freedom fighters who kicked off the decisive phase of the Second Chimurenga in 1972 (*The Patriot 4 August 2016*)

Thus the statement above clearly shows how the two newspapers are controlled by ruling party ZANU-PF’s regime (Chibuwe, 2016). The representation of ZANU-PF’s heroic role in the Liberation war struggle gives salience to the ruling party ZANU-PF’s political ideologies (Murdock and Goulding, 2005). The placement of President Mugabe in the Liberation war context is assurance of him as the legit leader of Zimbabwe (Curran and Gurevitch, 2005). This is articulated in *The Sunday Mail’s* June 12 2016 article entitled “War Vets must listen to their Patron”, where his Excellency President Mugabe is positioned as a veteran leader pioneering the revolution against white colonial rule. Vukani Madoda “Sharp Shooter” articulates that His Excellency “President Mugabe has been very clear in terms of the leadership of this country”. This clearly shows that the ruling party ZANU-PF uses the media to establish unquestionable political power and media authority (Waldahl, 2005).

The researcher found out that the ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of government officials such as the “Head of State and Government and the commander-in-chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF) swiftly moved to curtail any misguided ambitions” of party factionalism and any forms oppositional parties to revolt against the Mugabe administration. The ‘agenda setting theory’ raised in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* clearly indicate the symbolic political discourse in the reportage of the Liberation war chronicles expose the meanings of power and authority of the government. McCombs & Shaw (1972) also contend that besides audiences learning about the raised agenda, of essence is also how much importance is attached to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. Ranger (2005) point out that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* have used the Liberation war credentials as a contemporary agenda highlighting patriotism as a development, or set of developments, and as a philosophy, stays key to contemporary Zimbabwe in shaping the public sphere.

5.7 The roles of the media in building political identity

Through interviews with 10 respondents comprising of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* 6 editors and 4 reporters. The researcher realised the importance of the press in stabilizing the ruling party ZANU-PF's political escapades. Through 'name calling' and 'hate-speech', President Mugabe has been in the habit of negative political advertising of other political parties. The ruling party ZANU-PF has been instrumentalising *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* for political dominance whilst side lining ZAPU which also participated in the Chimurenga struggle and other present day oppositional political parties.

Through focus groups conducted to each of the 10 familiar readers of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers. The researcher observed that:

The media landscape in Zimbabwe is highly political and news reportage is influenced by political affiliation... *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are all subject to the government which controls...coverage of political issues especially during election time (discussion 28-08-2016)

The statement above clearly indicates that the participants are fully aware of how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* manipulate the media products so as to decampaign other oppositional parties. Through negative political advertising, the ruling party ZANU-PF has fabricated political ideologies disguised as credible news stories conveying the symbolic meaning of power and authority in the political arena. This is evidenced in *The Sunday Mail* 21 April 2016 article entitled "Dr Mujuru unmasked" and *The Sunday Mail* 17 April 2016 article entitled "Tsvangirai losing the numbers game". Through satirical incessant attacks on MDC-T leader Morgan Tsvangirai and People First leader Dr Joice Mujuru, there exists a game of thrones between political parties in Zimbabwe. Thus Carpentier (2011) asserts that the press is a platform for ideological and political struggle between the ruling party and oppositional parties. One could also read behind the line the framing of oppositional parties like MDC-T. Cde Jason Zhuwao puts it across that, "Tsvangirai and his cronies should accept the harsh reality that they are daily losing relevance and influence in this great country of ours". Thus this negative political advertising is employed by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers in their reportage of political issues especially during elections. The ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of the media to tarnish the image or policies of other political party leaders so as to control public/voter opinion.

Thus the ones side “political view” representation of the ruling part ZANU-PF deviates from the press’ watchdog role to the government (Lilleker, 2006:4). Instead of the press to serve public interest for “the wider and longer-term good of the society”, the press has allegedly inclined its attention to political parties and advertisers (McQuail, 2010:568).

The researcher also indulged in archival research through the scrutiny of 12 stories from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The researcher analysed the textual material through qualitative discourse analysis and content analysis. The researcher found out the existing symbolic meaning behind the news stories and how language is used to alter the ruling party ZANU-PF’s messages. This is evidenced through *The Sunday Mail*, August 21, 2016 news article entitled “*Dr Mujuru unmasked*” is testimony of the media’s power to delegitimize other political parties. Dr Mujuru is negatively framed as belonging to “the periphery of the Second Chimurenga, primarily rising through the ranks via a combination of benevolence and her romantic liaisons”. Thus the Zimbabwean media has predominantly vested political power to emancipate the ZANU-PF’s notion of a one party state. The labeling of Mujuru as a ‘prostitute’ and ‘sell out’ also indicates the vile nature the press has to tarnish the image of well renowned political figures (*The Sunday Mail*, 23 August 2016).

Discussion

The researcher found out that the media are very instrumental in the legitimizing and delegitimizing of political parties through political branding and political communication (Kline, 2009; Curran and Gurevitch, 2005). *The Patriot* 22 October 2015 news article entitled, “*ZANU PF ‘factionalism’: A product of the media*” President Mugabe blamed ZANU-PF’s internal party feuds emanating from oppositional parties’ private media. President Mugabe is witnessed administering a speech at the “99th Ordinary Session of the ZANU-PF Central Committee at ZANU-PF Headquarters” attacking private media’s allegiance with oppositional parties. Mugabe expressed that the oppositional political parties and private media had a “hypocritical and malicious agenda aimed at pushing ZANU-PF towards extinction”. Thus through the priming of national political issues, ZANU-PF makes use of the media for the ‘framing’ of ideologies disguised as news. The government makes use of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* as a ‘propaganda tool’ to filter the most appropriate media stories for the effectiveness of political branding (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

The use of the press in fostering party policies and ideologies is a calculative and mastered move by the ruling party ZANU-PF. From the President Mugabe himself to the senior reporter, there exists a top down hierarchy of power (Chakawa, 2015). Based on ethnic ties and political affiliation, the ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of cadres like Munyaradzi Huni in *The Sunday Mail* to address the loyal party supporters (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). Munyaradzi Huni has a column in *The Sunday Mail* entitled *Chimurenga II Chronicles*. The newspaper has dedicated itself to the reportage of the Chimurenga Liberation war chronicles but secretly embraces the ruling party ZANU-PF's political and media monopoly (Dzimiri, 2014). Thereby granting the ruling party ZANU-PF Liberation war credentials as an ultimatum for the governing seat. The newspaper even declares the use of the native Shona language to articulate the importance of the ruling party ZANU-PF in the Liberation war which originated from the Shona speaking people ((Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Thus creating an ethnical divide between the Shona ZANU-PF and ZAPU of the Ndebele speaking war veterans like Cde Joshua Nkomo, who also fought alongside ZANU-PF in liberating Zimbabwe (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007). *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are all located in the dominant Shona speaking people Harare Province along with the ruling party ZANU-PF's headquarters. Thus this is clear and cut deliberate effort by the government to eliminate and displace other minority tribal groups who also fought alongside the Shona speaking ZANU-PF from political authority (Muzondidya, 2009).

The Sunday Mail has over the years embodied the misrepresentation of other minority nationalist parties through one-sided and biased reportage for political dominance in the political arena. *The Sunday Mail's* 9 October 2016 entitled, "Bulawayo awaits Ndebele Hero status". This article followed after the death of the renown "Peace and Reconciliation Commission Chair Cde Cyril Enock Ndebele" as the Ndebele Province "awaiting for clarification" from ZANU-PF in bid of "recommending that he be accorded hero status". Cde Ndebele's presence in the Liberation war was strongly felt as at one time he became the "Zapu chairperson in 1970" and later "Member of Parliament in 1990". This clearly shows how the ruling party ZANU-PF has stringent authority in the accrediting of Liberation war veterans as legit or illegit for being led to rest in the Provincial or National Heroes Acre. The top down hierarchy of power from the President Mugabe's Office to the Members of Parliament is not an idle lying secret as "Zanu-PF Bulawayo provincial chairperson Cde Denis Ndlovu", lay idle "awaiting clarification on that matter before we take a position" from the Mugabe administration. This clearly shows that Zimbabwe is

obliged to a singular political identity inclined largely to the Shona speaking ex-combatants and government officials in distributing the fruits of the Liberation war credentials.

Through the ‘framing theory’, *The Sunday Mail*, 31 July, 2016 news article entitled, “*VP Mnangagwa breathes fire over Lacoste*” as VP Mnangagwa was ‘framed’ as loyal to President Mugabe. He proclaims that, “he has no association with the so-called Lacoste group linked to a plot to either topple or succeed President Mugabe”. Mnangagwa also explains his relationship with President Mugabe as dating back to the Chimurenga liberation struggle, as the two “shared a “personal relationship dating back to the 1960s and 1970s”. The ‘framing’ of Mnangagwa’s blaming of the private media for the internal ZANU-PF succession feuds and party factionalism as the “allegations gained the support” from oppositional parties like MDC-T and People First to influence public opinion. Thus the control, ownership and funding mechanism of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* influences the news production of the two newspapers in relation to the political debate under the scrutiny of the agora. The ruling party ZANU-PF’s political discourse and language, serve as to hegemonize the public opinion of the masses that come in contact with the two newspaper publications. Goffman (1974) postulates that framing is the media communication and presentation of news to its audience and gives them power to ‘schemata of understanding’ and ‘find, see, distinguish and mark’ certain identities, occasions or events.

Through the ‘representation theory’, there were negative frames of Dr Joice Mujuru in *The Sunday Mail* 21 August 2016 article entitled, “*Dr Mujuru unmasked*” is testimony of the ruling party ZANU-PF’s use of the press to negatively politically advertise Mujuru’s position in the People First political party. Dr Mujuru was framed as “was a teenage chimbwido (a term used to describe civilian girls who ran errands in aid of combatants”. This affirms Entman’s (1993) notion that media representation involved the press’ process of conveying content or message is to advance certain features of an ‘apparent reality’ and make them more remarkable in a manner that underwrites a particular issue definition. In *The Sunday Mail*’s 21 August 2016, there is deliberate misrepresentation of Mujuru as belonging “at the periphery of the Second Chimurenga” so as to strip away her Liberation war credentials. Mujuru is framed as only after sexual “intercourse” with the “comrades” and that she never gunned down a helicopter. In the article Cde George Rutanhire narrated that, “This nonsense that (Dr Mujuru) brought down a helicopter – I don’t know where people got that from. It was Cde Chipembere who did that, and

unfortunately he was a casualty of that battle”. Thus this proves the power of official government sources employed by the ruling party ZANU-PF in the negative political advertising in order to discredit the opponent both negative candidate theme and issue (policy) theme to induce negative images of other political members in the people’s minds.

This largely contributes to the ruling party ZANU-PF and MDC-T resonance upon a vicious propaganda trail against each other, with ZANU-PF making use of state-controlled media and the MDC being ‘adopted’ by the private and independent media. The *Patriot* 19 May 2016 article entitled, “*What makes ZANU PF a people’s Party*”. The ruling party ZANU-PF makes use of *The Patriot* as an ideological mouthpiece for legitimizing President Mugabe as the sole president for life. President Mugabe is seen as addressing Gutu residents of the party “about re-establishing the ideological connection that makes ZANU-PF the people’s Party”. The article framed President Mugabe as fostering the political party’s “consistency with the Party ideology was the message directed both to youths and war veterans who have had ugly public spats in recent times”. The media act as a political entity as they have the ability to shape, construct and deconstruct social reality and public opinion (Stoddart, 2007). In Zimbabwe the media landscape is highly politically polarized as *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s reportage of political issues is reflected by the political party instead of adopting a public service media model framework (Mazango, 2005). Instead, the “public” press has over the years served the interests of ZANU-PF only, thereby puncturing the whole concept of democracy.

The state controls *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*’s reportage of the Liberation war chronicles so as to hegemonize the society and influence the public opinion. The ruling party ZANU-PF has instrumentalized the mainstream media so as to politically advertise and brand its political entities and policies (Tarugarira, 2014). Thus explains the heavy dosages of negative political advertising of oppositional parties have been continued to be used by President Mugabe through his incessant attacks of oppositional party leaders like MDC-T’s Morgan Tsvangirai. McNair (2011) argues that the power of the media lies in the ability to set the political agenda for the nation. He argued that the media do not only provide cognitive knowledge, influencing us about what is happening, but they also order and structure political reality, allowing events greater or lesser significance according to their presence or absence on the media agenda.

5.8 Conclusion

The chapter presented the findings of the overall study and analysed the results so as to deduct meaning of the political discourse associated with the media and political parties. The analysis of findings was thematically presented to unchain the meaning attached to stories of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The data was acquired from various data gathering methods which included interviews, focus groups and archival research. Data was presented using diagrams such as tables, bar graphs and pie charts in trying to understand the discourse associated with the Liberation war chronicles. The research heavily relied on qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis since the study is purely qualitative in nature. For the two newspapers, it was a game of thrones in farming the ruling party ZANU-PF as the sole legit political party resembling Liberation war credentials granting it rights to the governing seat. The next Chapter focuses on the summary, conclusions and recommendations to the entire study.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The chapter is aimed at giving a detailed summary of the whole study. It validates the relationship between the existing literature and the theoretical framework linking it to the data presentation and analysis of the research findings. It also addresses the problem statement to the study's research question, assumptions and objectives. The chapter also emphasized on the recommendations for *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in relation to the phenomena under study. It also provided a credible platform for the identification of key areas for further study and research.

6.2 Conclusions

The research was customary in the realization of the reportage of Liberation war chronicles in *The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail* from the period 2015 to 2016 respectively. The main goal of the study was to assess if the two newspapers fairly frame the Liberation war chronicles in their reportage. It stressed the symbiotic relationship between the media and political parties which influence the news reportage and the discourse behind the news content. The study also exposed how the dominant classes use the media to foster their political and economic interests to influence how the public perceive and think upon the media raised agendas. While previous studies concentrated on surrounding historic one political party ZANU-PF dimension, distinctive restriction parties since independence, and this study was one of a kind in its wide scope of political party concentration.

The study was principled against the research question, assumptions and objectives for the sake of clarity and validity of the research's findings. The research stressed the historical background of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* so as to relate to the pre and post trends of the phenomena under study. The study made use of literature drawn from a broad array of scholars, journals, books as well as other related material and was reviewed in a thematic approach. The literature review was centered on prominent works of Media and Society Studies scholars like Schudson (2003, 2012); Curran and Gurevitch (2000); Curran (2011); Fourie (2007); Boyd-Barret (2004);

and Golding and Murdock (2005) to mention but a few. The theoretical framework was based upon Hall's (1997) representation theory, McCombs and Shaw's (1972) agenda setting theory and Lewin's (1943) gate keeping theory posed as the literature review of the study.

These theories were consistently used throughout the study to ensure clarity and consistency in addressing the phenomena under study. The study also implemented qualitative research methods and methodology for data gathering, presentation and analysis. The researcher employed interviews, focus groups and archival research for data gathering of the material to be analysed. The qualitative research method proved to be vital and instrumental in the research since the study was purely qualitative in nature. The qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis proved to be useful in determining the establishment of underlying meanings behind the frames of the Liberation war chronicles.

The study also implored an overall analysis of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* stressing out how media ownership, control and funding mechanism affects news production. The study highlighted on the two newspapers' objectives, mission and vision statements in relation to their news production towards reportage of the liberation war chronicles. The study also exposed the influence of the Ministry of Information in commandeering *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* editorial staff and editorial policy in constructing the news frames of the Liberation war chronicles. The advancement of the ruling party ZANU-PF's interests by the Ministry of Information via the two newspapers is testimony of the political party's mission of political and economic domination. Through patriotic journalism *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers have constantly been used as a political tool by the ruling party ZANU-PF to negatively publicize other oppositional political parties.

The study explored the symbiotic relationship between mainstream media and political parties. It stressed out the impact of government intervention in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot's* reportage of the Liberation war chronicles. The findings proved that the ruling party ZANU-PF instrumentalized the press to foster the party's ideologies and political interests. The media is constantly used by ZANU-PF to side line other political parties like ZAPU which also fought along with ZANU-PF in the Liberation war. It was found out that the government controls the media industry through legislation and policies to secure its stronghold on the governing seat. The heavy dosage of patriotic news headlines in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is testimony of the

two newspapers' allegiance to the ruling party ZANU-PF. The study also made recommendations to the two newspapers and highlighted key areas for further research in relation to the phenomena under study.

6.3 Recommendations

- The study indicated that the highly polarized media landscape and media legislation calls out for the normative role of the Zimbabwean media industry. The researcher recommends that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* must strive for professionalism in their news reportage of political and economic issues. The editors and reporters must be objective, truthful, free and fair in their reportage of contemporary issues. The media should do away with the inclination of itself to the government and political parties as this will only ensures the interests of the dominant classes and neglect the society at large. The media must do away from being political activists in their reportage and must serve the public's interests. The media must ensure that coverage that reportage is aimed at promoting democracy and national development. If Zimbabweans are to be able to make informed political choices I recommend that the media try to give balanced and objective stories about the activities of political parties. While it may be utopian to envisage media that are completely impartial in Zimbabwe the media have tended to brazenly carry ideologies of either ZANU-PF or the opposition.
- As the study exposed that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are instrumentalized by the government and ruling party ZANU-PF as a platform for propaganda and political branding especially during election times. The researcher recommends that the media must play a watchdog role to the government's endeavours as well as the corporate sector. The media must give free and media must be neutral during conflict and must be objective, truthful and balanced in their news reportage. The media must inform and educate citizens so as to ensure that they make informed decisions come election time or public policy making. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* must act as a platform for political debate so that political parties' policies become publicized to all citizens in the society.

- The study reflected that the state controlled press like *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* is subject to serving the government's interest whilst side lining the interest of the society at large. The researcher recommends that the media must serve the interests of the society as a whole and not incline itself only in fostering the interests of the dominant class like the government, political parties and advertisers. The media must strive for professionalism and ethical considerations in its news production. The media must always represent all the social groups in the society despite ethnic, cultural or political divide. The media must not engage in hate speech or name calling in its reportage of political feuds or conflicts. It should desist from being used as a political tool for propaganda purposes by the dominant political parties. The media must be guided by free, fair and balanced reportage of news to ensure clarity and validity of news products.
- The research exposed the one-sided and biased heavy dosages of the Liberation war chronicles in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* news articles. This resulted in the lack of diversity and pluralism of news products. The researcher recommended that the media must give free, balanced and fair reportage of news. The media must serve the public interest and not the interest of the government or the ruling party ZANU-PF. The media must abide to ethical and professional conduct of journalistic practice so as to ensure clarity and objectivity in news products. The media must be aimed at conflict resolution and as a peace promoter. The media must be an arena for political debate to all political parties to foster national development and democracy.
- The study highlighted that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* are constantly used as political tools for propaganda and political branding of the ruling party. Thus the researcher recommended that the media must be neutral, fair and balanced in its news reportage of political issues. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* must be professional and ethically considerate in its news reportage. The media must also strive for a peace making role during times of conflict. The media must inform and educate all citizens with adequate information on their human rights and ability to participate in the governing of the nation.

6.4 Area for further study

The study only focused on *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* thereby limiting the scope of the study. Thus this implies that the research findings cannot be generalized to the entire Zimbabwean media industry. There is need for an assessment of the entire Zimbabwean media landscape so as to breach the gap of clarity and relevance of the study to other media organizations. There is need for exploring the dynamics of media texts, audience and reception in relation to the phenomena under study. Thus there is also vital need of broadening the scope of understanding the interplay between media products and consumption. It would have been interesting if the politicians and government officials from the various political parties participated in the study.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter gave a detailed summary and conclusion as an appreciation to the whole study. It also gave an insight into the recommendations of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers which were under study. The chapter also summarized the research methods and methodology giving credibility to data findings of the study. It highlighted the connection between the study's problem statement, research question, assumptions and objectives with the existing literature and theoretical framework. The Chapter also emphasized on the study's key areas for further research ought to be related to the phenomena under study.

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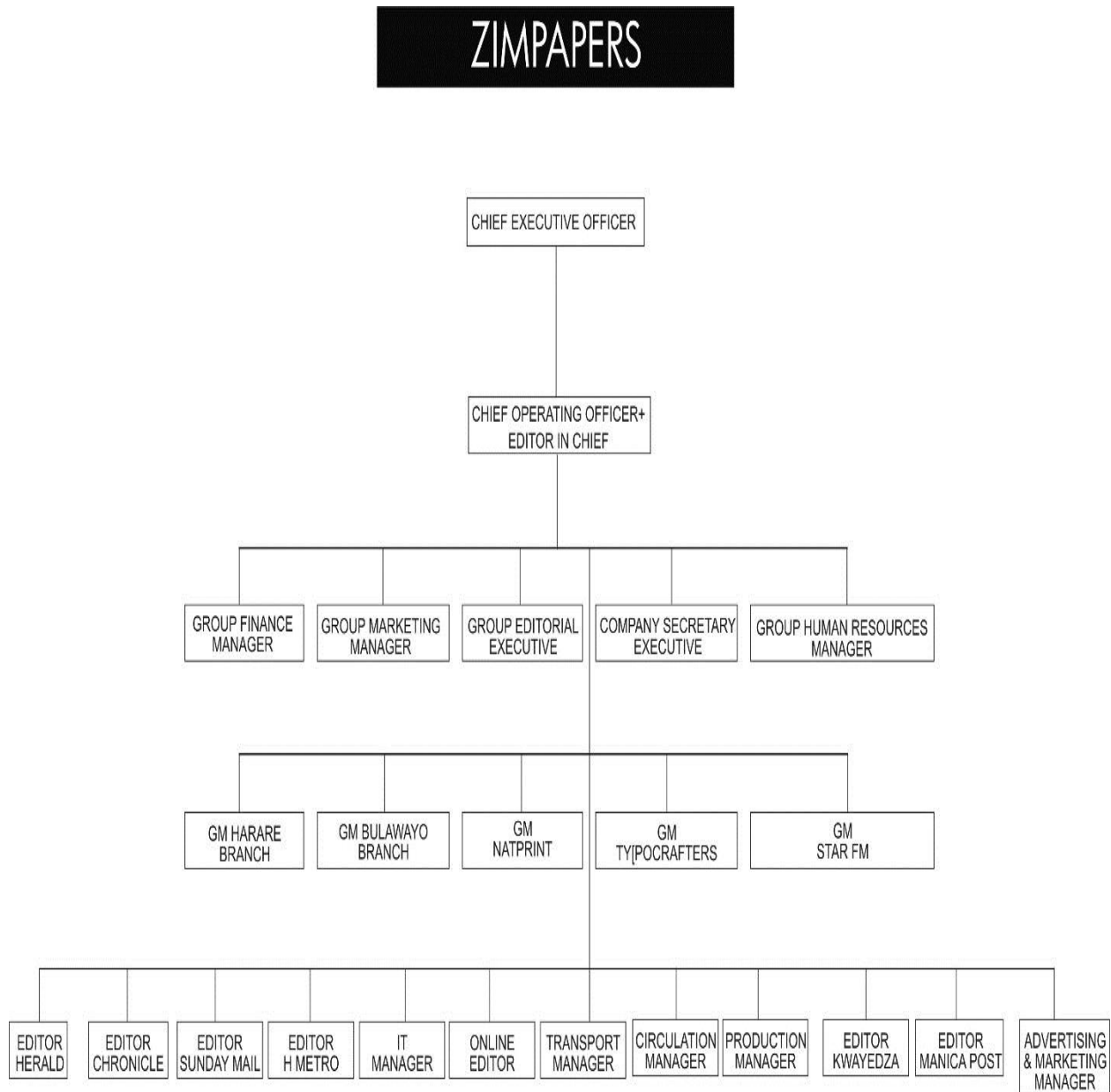
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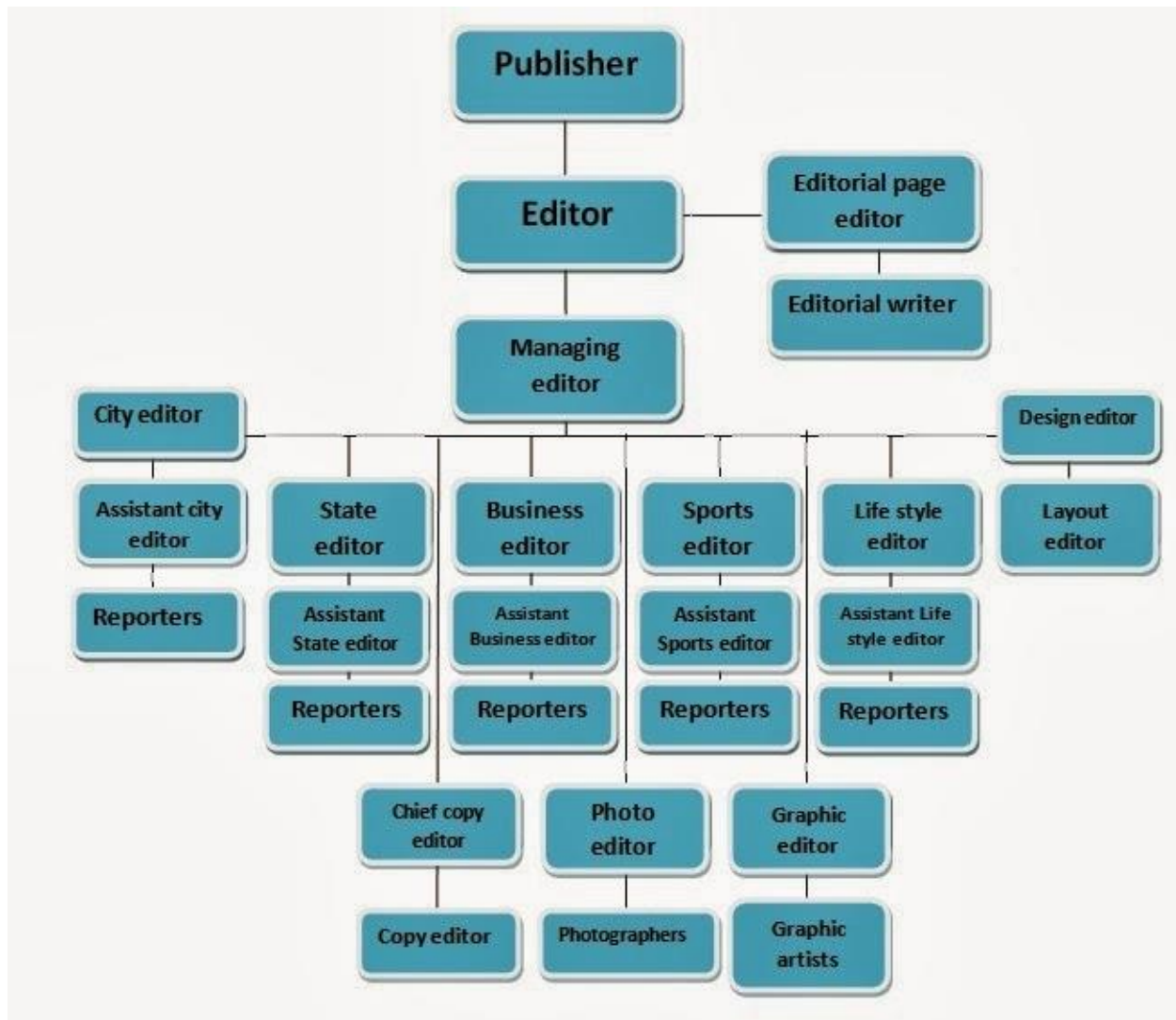
Appendix 1

ZimPapers Management Organogram



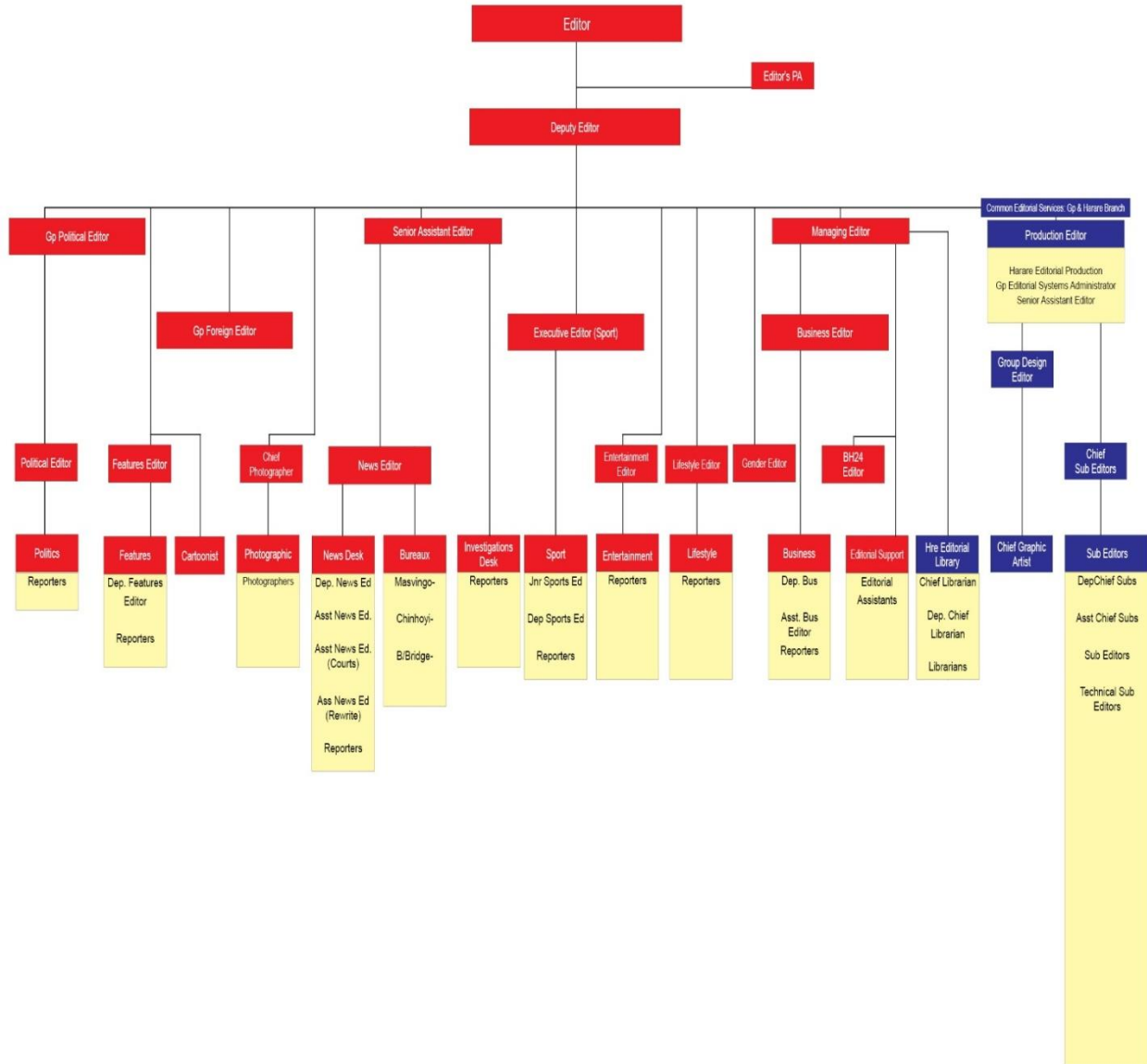
Appendix 2

The Sunday Mail newspaper Organogram



Appendix 3

The Patriot newspaper Organogram



Appendix 4

Defining the Zimbabwean war: The Second Chimurenga

By Professor Pfukwa – June 3, 2015

This article is part of a scholarly paper written by Professor Charles Pfukwa.

The Patriot will next week publish the other part. CHIMURENGA is a Shona word that reflects the passion and intensity of feeling towards the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. The term carries a long history that spans over 500 years and it motivated the nationalists and guerrillas (Lan 1985, Bhebe 1999, Bhebe and Ranger 1995). Giving the conflict their own name was in itself an act of reclaiming a past that had been erased by some 90 years of colonial rule. Naming it Chimurenga was an act of reasserting control over ideological space that had been taken by the settlers in the First Chimurenga. The name Chimurenga developed from the name Murenga Soro Renzou, a Zimbabwean chief of the Munhumutapa Dynasty. The name Murenga is opaque and Soro Renzou means the head of an elephant (Vambe 2004: Beach 1984). Probably Murenga had a head that was big hence it metaphorically resembled that of an elephant. The name Chimurenga was given to the first wars of resistance to British rule in 1893/1896. The Zimbabwean liberation war which raged from 1966 to 1979 was named after these first wars of resistance. Hence the name Chimurenga pegs the conflict in some definite historical space that suggests continuation of a struggle that was started some 70 years earlier by another generation of Zimbabweans. This historical perspective justified and legitimised the 1966-1979 conflict as an effort to complete a task that was left unfinished in 1896. Most historians (e.g. Bhebe and Ranger 1995; Simbanegavi 2000; Bhebe 1999; Manungo 1991; Kriger 1992) explore this historical continuity. Giving the conflict the name Chimurenga became an effort to define the armed conflict in a Zimbabwean context that acknowledged a past that was deliberately erased and undermined by the colonial power. It was an effort to establish an identity that

has historical roots and justified the conflict of 1966- 1979 by closely relating to the past struggles against foreign rule. The next term still sees the conflict in the above frame but with a more global perspective. Liberation Struggle was used as an alternative to Chimurenga and in many ways the former echoes most of the ideals enshrined in the latter term.

Appendix 5



Cde Joseph Khumalo - Picture by Kudakwashe Hunda

Chimurenga II Chronicles: Zanu's uncomfortable truth



MUNYARADZI HUNI

MAY 8, 2016

CDE JOEL Samuel Siyangapi Muzhamba, born June 6 1942, whose Chimurenga name was Cde Joseph Khumalo is a veteran freedom fighter who was part of the Group of 36 which was the first group under Zanu to go for military training in Ghana in 1964. He was part of the team in Lusaka that decided to “abduct recruits” as it became apparent that Zanu had fewer comrades than Zapu.

His family had moved to Zambia in 1959 in search of fertile farming land. While in Zambia, he met people like Cde Percy Ntini, Cde John Mataure, Cde Noel Mukono and Cde Mazhandu who were actively involved in politics. Cde Percy Ntini approached him to join Zanu and in no time, he was on his way to Ghana to receive military training. By this time, Cde Josiah Tongogara had not yet joined Zanu as he was working at a golf club in Lusaka.

Without mincing his words, in this interview with our team comprising **Munyaradzi Huni and Tendai Manzvanzvike**, Cde Khumalo narrates how issues to do with regionalism and tribalism derailed the struggle well before the war started in earnest. He talks about the sellouts in the Zanu leadership in Lusaka who sold information to the Smith regime, the friction that was caused by the formation of Zanu's High Command and the trouble causers in the party.

Cde Khumalo narrates how Zanu was planning the war on a zero budget and why they were instructed to go and see spirit medium of Mbuya Nehanda before starting the war.

SM: Before going to Ghana in September 1964, can you briefly explain to us when you joined Zanu during these early stages of its formation, what did the party stand for?

Cde Khumalo: Remember, before Zanu was formed in 1963, there was Zapu and other political parties that were advocating for the rights of blacks in Rhodesia. However, despite these efforts, it was discovered that there was no real change on the ground with regards to the treatment of blacks by whites. During these days *kwakamboita Chimurenga chekutema fodya yevarungu, chibage* and even *mombe dzevarungu*. All these were efforts to free blacks in Rhodesia, but nothing really changed because of the whiteman's superiority complex.

So after all this, in August 1963, Zanu was formed and it's position was that we are done trying to talk to the colonial regime. We now want direct confrontation with the whites to free ourselves. Negotiations are not taking us anywhere. It's time to take up arms and fight the regime.

At that time, the person who was president of Zanu was Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole. The deputy was Cde Leopold Takawira while Cde Chitepo was the chairman. President Mugabe at that time was the secretary general.

These leaders and others like Morton Malianga said let's take up arms and fight the colonial regime. The motto was as Zanu, we are our own liberators.

The party then decided that there should be a body that leads in the direct confrontation with the colonial regime. That is when Dare ReChimurenga was formed to lead the armed struggle. This

Dare ReChimurenga was being led by Noel Mukono. There were people like Mataure, Mazhandu, Hamadziripi, Percy Ntini and others I can't remember their names.

That is when the party started recruiting people who were going for military training because most comrades who had gone for military training, had gone under Zapu.

That is how our group in Ghana became the first group to receive military training under Zanu. The Rhodesian regime knew that Zanu wanted direct confrontation and they knew the party was going to send some comrades for training, so the recruitment of members of our group from inside Rhodesia and us in Zambia was done very secretly. The Rhodesians sent some of its black policemen to join the Zambian police so as to detect what was going on.

Appendix 6



Cde Tobias Chizengeni

2nd Chimurenga CHRONICLES – Zanu 1963: A revolution born on empty tank



MUNYARADZI HUNI

JANUARY 10, 2016

BEFORE Zapu and Zanu got guns to fight the country's liberation struggle, there were some youths during the early 1960s who gave the colonial regime a torrid time. Using their own resources, these youths with a difference carried out sabotage activities that later gave birth to the liberation struggle.

One of the youths from this era was Cde Tobias Chizengeni born 23 September 1943, whose Chimurenga name was Perkins Malan. In this interview with our Deputy Editor Munyaradzi

Huni, Cde Chizengeni narrates how tough it was to be a NDP, Zapu and later Zanu youth in the early 1960s.

He narrates the untold story of who exactly was Cde Felix Rice Santana, Zimbabwe's own James Bond character. From a youth point of view, Cde Chizengeni, who went up to Standard Six at school in the early 1960s, explains the split of Zapu and the formation of Zanu. "We got very close to having a civil war after the split," he explains.

MH: Comrade, briefly tell us how you joined politics and why?

Cde Chizengeni: In 1960 Michael Mawema and company formed the National Democratic Party (NDP) and they started talking politics. At first I had no interest but as time went on, colleagues would come and ask me to join them in attending meetings by NDP.

When I attended the first meetings, what impressed me was that I had never heard an African speak in English the way Michael Mawema did. Also he was very forthright in what he was saying. He was saying we demand One man One Vote. He was saying the politics of appeasement was over. He was saying we are no longer asking to be treated better, but we want to be able to determine our own affairs. To me that made lots of sense and from that time wakava mutserendende. I would attend most if not all meetings.

This is how a lot of people from my generation joined politics. You would join politics because someone has persuaded you. Iwe waenda kana zvakunakidza you invite your friend zvichienda zvakadaro.

MH: Who are some of the people you invited?

Cde Chizengeni: Felix was one of them. Felix Santana. We knew each other because we were staying in the same township in National, kuMbare. Felix was much older than me and much more experienced in life than me because apparently he had been all over the place. He was given maP.I (prohibited immigrant) in Salisbury which restricted him to his home area because he would do all sorts of things.

He went as far as Joburg during these years. That's early for many of our people to have gone as far as Joburg. He would go ikoko and be given P.I again and come back home.

MH: We are going to ask you more about this man as you narrate your story, but maybe briefly just tell us what kind of a person was Felix Rice Santana?

Cde Chizengeni: Felix was a quiet chap. He was not the type that would go kunotsvaga trouble, but he was also not the type yekutangana nayo. You had to know zvaurikuda kuita kana wada kutangana nezvaFelix. Very cooperative but asingadi zvinhu zvemashort cuts. He didn't want to be cheated.

If you cheat him, then you have a problem naye. Paiita hondo.

For me to attend these meetings, I think it was Shadreck Chipanga who invited me.

MH: During these years of NDP what were the main drivers of politics?

Cde Chizengeni: The right for Africans to rule themselves through One man One vote. But there were no meetings to say our government would be like so and so. No. At the point, the issue was simply, we want majority rule in this country and in order to achieve that we should have the right to vote. You remember there was qualified franchise where certain types of privileged blacks were allowed to vote. So people like Mawema were saying to hell with that. We want One man One vote.

MH: You said at the tobacco company you were working with whites. Tell us, how much the whiteman was feared during these years?

Cde Chizengeni: Murungu akanga ari chimwari chidiki and they behaved as such. Munhu mutema was never seen semunhu. Whether wakura or not, murume wese aingonzi "boy," while vakadzi vese were called "girl."

Appendix 7

SECTION A: INTERVIEWS TO EDITORS AND REPORTERS

Answer all questions as briefly as possible

1. What is the impact of print media ownership and control on news reportage in Zimbabwe?
2. Briefly comment on how the state-owned print media portrayed the Liberation war chronicles political landscape in Zimbabwe from 2015-2016.
3. How did *The Sunday Mail* or *The Patriot* portray the political landscape in Zimbabwe from 2015-2016?
4. Are there any biases that you note in the manner print media reports on political events in Zimbabwe 2015-2016?
5. Do you think print media are setting agendas concerning the Zimbabwean political sphere?
6. To what extend does the Zimbabwean print media reflect partisanship?
7. Is Zimbabwe experiencing media polarisation on political lines?
8. What are the major issues advanced by private /state-owned media in Zimbabwean politics?
9. In what ways is print media influencing and affecting the politics of Zimbabwe?
10. What do you recommend should be done to reform print media in Zimbabwe?

Appendix C: Focus group schedule for members of public

My name is Dokotera Munyaradzi a Media and Society Student undergraduate student at Midlands State University. I am undertaking a study on the representation of the Liberation war chronicles in The Sunday Mail and The Patriot newspapers from the period 2015 to 2016. This study is for academic purposes and part of the fulfilment of the coursework requirements. Kindly answer all questions as briefly as possible. Your anonymity is guaranteed and all information supplied is treated as confidential. You are not forced to complete this set of questions.

Section A Tick appropriately

1. Sex Male Female

2. Age

30-40 years

41-50 years 51-60 years

61+

3. Education

Certificate Diploma

Bachelors Degree Masters Degree

PhD

4. Do you read newspapers?

Yes No

5. How often do you read newspapers?

Daily Weekly Monthly Never

6. Does *The Sunday Mail* or *The Patriot* fairly report on the Chimurenga Liberation struggle Yes No Moderately

7. Which newspapers do you read?

The Sunday Mail *The Patriot*

8. Does *The Sunday Mail* or *The Patriot* fairly represent the society in their reportage?

Yes No Moderately

Appendix D: Content analysis guide for newspapers

THEME	<i>THE SUNDAY MAIL</i>	<i>THE PATRIOT</i>	COMMENT/ANALYSIS
1. STATE MEDIA AND NATION BUILDING			
2. THE PUBLIC PRESS AND POLITICAL PARTIES			
3. MEDIA AS POLITICAL ACTORS			
4. FRAMING OF THE LIBERATION WAR CHRONICLES			
5. PROFESSIONALISM IN NEWS REPORTAGE			
6. LOCAL POLITICAL NEWS PRODUCTION			