MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

DISSERTATION TOPIC: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPRECIATION OF SEXUAL VILIFICATION OF WOMEN IN PRINT MEDIA: CASE OF H-METRO

BY

TATENDA CHIPUNGUDZANYE: R00741Y

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

NOVEMBER 2017

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

APPROVAL FORM

This is a confirmation that the undersigned has read and recommended the Department of Media and Society Studies at Midlands State University to accept the project entitled: **An ethnographic appreciation of sexual vilification of women in print media: Case of H-Metro**

SUBMMITED BY: Tatenda Chipungudzanye (R00741Y), in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Master of Science Degree Media and Society Studies

SUPERVISOR………………………………………………….

DATE SIGNED…………………………………………………

CHAIRPERSON: …………………………………………………

DATE SIGNED…………………………………………………

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: TATENDA CHIPUNGUDZANYE: R00741Y

PROJECT TITLE:

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPRECIATION OF SEXUAL VILIFICATION OF WOMEN IN PRINT MEDIA: CASE OF H-METRO

MASTER OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

YEAR GRANTED: 2017

Permission is hereby granted to Midlands State University library to reproduce copies of this dissertation for academic use only.

Student: Tatenda Chipungudzanye

Signature:………………….

Address   : 11545 Chitepo St

                      Zengeza 4

Date   : November 2017

Cell Number : 0772 941 861

Dedication

This is for my late mother who when I was on her lap taught me to be a fighter.

Better is not good enough, the best is yet to come.

Acknowledgements

An ethnographic appreciation of sexual vilification of women in print media: Case of *H-Metro*

Abstract

This study is based on sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro* with the research located in the connections of the theory of sexual objectification, picture theory and tabloid theory. The study is guided by the works of Fredrickson and Roberts, and Harmsworth. The study is of qualitative nature drawing extensive material derived from the archives where fifty (50) newspaper articles were studied, ten (10) interviews conducted as well as my own perceptions as a participant observer. I fixed my epistemological and methodological gaze on sexual vilification of women from January 2015 to August 2017 where I conducted my case study as a participant observer at *H-Metro*. Women's sexual vilification experiences create discursive lenses for re-imagining representations in the press. The major finding of this study is that women are sexually vilified by being given derogatory names. Women are portrayed as hookers, prostitutes, ladies of the night, thigh vendors and side chicks. The study thematically presented the data while hermeneutics, textual analysis and discourse analysis were used to examine the data. My conclusion, in part, shows that patriarchy as well as political economy of the media have influenced sexual vilification discourses against women in *H-Metro*.

Acronyms

AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
MISA	Media Institute for Southern Africa
ZLHR	Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights
ZAMPS	Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey

An ethnographic appreciation of sexual vilification of women in print media: Case of *H-Metro*

Table of Contents

An ethnographic appreciation of sexual vilification of women in print media: Case of *H-Metro*

An ethnographic appreciation of sexual vilification of women in print media: Case of *H-Metro*

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

This study gives the contextual background, contestations as well as the legislative framework on sexual vilification of women in Zimbabwe. The study ethnographically explored sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro* between January 2015 and August 2017 with focus on sexual and cultural values while speaking to both local and international legislative frameworks on sexual vilification viz a viz human rights. The media can easily be manipulated to disseminate messages which might be biased and stereotypical while reflecting the ideology of those who make them. There is therefore need to problematise sexual vilification of women within trajectories of historical, social, cultural and economic contexts in which it happens as well as contestations and how the law speaks on the subject. A brief discussion on patriarchy and sexual values is undertaken to introduce the link with sexual vilification milieu that informs it. The media shapes people's perceptions on sexual vilification. The subject of sexual vilification is discussed both locally and globally and this informs the research problem in this study. Research objectives, research assumptions, approach to the study and research questions are also introduced in this chapter before the structure of the entire study is discussed in detail.

1.2 Background

This study was motivated by being part of the decision-making process at *H-Metro* newspaper where there have been divergent views on sexual vilification of women. Sexual vilification of women has not only become cite of contestation and struggle the world over, but it been a sensitive issue that has brought with it emotions. The vilification of women sexually has seen them being relegated to the periphery in many societies. The media is used to shape and propagate certain norms and values of a society in various ways. In propagating the norms and values, the media propagate certain ideologies inasmuch as they are influenced by political economy. Wood (1984) posits that all forms of media communicate images of the sexes, many of which perpetuate unrealistic, stereotypical and limiting perceptions. Considering this the media can be argued to have a hand in the sexual vilification of women.

An ethnographic appreciation of sexual vilification of women in print media: Case of *H-Metro*

Ownership and control have great toll in the influencing of certain images in the media. The media have been argued to naturalise certain images as well as creating cite for struggle and contestations in sexual vilification of women. Sexual vilification of women is said to be ascribed and propagated by the media through representation of women in media. According to Creedon (1998) mass media portray the dominant images in societies of the industrialised world and depict life in our society. Creedon (1998) posits that the media has the power to shape, change and re-enforce values and attitudes. Bell (1991) advances there is certain carefully selected way to cover stories to make them newsworthy. Considering this it is likely to be the case with H-Metro stories that sexually vilify women. The media helps to create and help to uphold a masculine hegemonic order in society where men subjugate positions of power and masculinity is more cherished than femininity. In Zimbabwe, the media which includes print, television, radio and internet have become most influential forces that are sustaining societal values in different approaches. The main objective of the media is to inform, entertain and educate the society. H-Metro is not spared in prescribing certain images on women. The tabloid has been greatly regarded as sexually vilifying women. Many have considered the paper as a gossip tabloid and that which thrives on sexual vilification of women for sales. As part of considerations for the paper, it has been noted that stories that have women's sexual scandals sell as compared to any other stories. *H-Metro's* circulation figures have shown that women's sex scandals attract more customers.

Khumalo and Garbus (2002) argue that the African culture is patriarchal and patrilineal which placed female sexuality largely in the hands of males. The domination of the patriarchal society creates a system where men are observed as superiors and leaders of the society. It is in this context that women get cheapened to the level of being abused by the ideologies of the patriarchal society. Perkins (1979), Ngoshi and Naidoo (2010) re/conceptualize the concept of 'womanhood' and emphasizes the multiple and ever shifting roles of women and gender discourses that permeate social life. This suggests that there can be no celebrated structures shaping human relations and attitudes or absolute values that should not be contested. Patriarchal culture carries the illusion of shared concerns and values in the face of real and contentious divisions that exist among different classes, gender, race and ethnic

groups. For Gaidzainwa (1985) the descriptions of women as docile popularised in male discourses have been institutionalised in the Zimbabwean society and culture so that an attempt by women to break away from the bondage is viewed as a threat. In this case the media in Zimbabwe such H-Metro tabloid is greatly used in disseminating information on societal values. The tabloid is concerned with informing, entertaining and educating the society. However, besides the mentioned objectives H-Metro tabloid is used as a potent tool to serve certain ideologies in political, social and economic environments. Being a society driven by the patriarchal domination, the tabloid frames women in various ways with sexual vilification chief among the frames.

As aptly posited by Hartmann and Husband (1974) in Khosravinik (2009); "mass media are capable of providing frames of references or perspectives within which people become able to make sense of events and their experience." From this assertion it can be noted that the media have certain influence in people's views and behaviours towards a certain phenomenon. Since Zimbabwe is a patriarchal society, stereotyping in the portrayal of men and women is evident. The society to some extent has even normalized that hence the sprouting of many women's pressure groups. The roles of men and women therefore promote traditional arrangements between the sexes. Matekaire (2003) argues that the media hold an influential position as the main source of information and even opinion in society, especially a democratic one. He further asserts that the media are responsible for chronicling of events while according a transformative space as well as being a tool to change society. If harnessed well, the media can be a key element for positive change inasmuch as it can also be used for detrimental gains.

There are several international instruments that deal with sexual vilification issues. There is the United Declaration on Violence Against Women of 1993 which provides that; violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not limited to physical, sexual and psychological violence. There is also the Universal Declaration for Human Rights, 1948, which in its preamble provides against discrimination but recognises the inherent equality, dignity and inalienable rights of all members of the human family. It is in this regard that women see their representation as sexual vilification by a male dominated society. The Constitution of Zimbabwe No 20 of 2013 is the supreme law in

the country but however the law does not expressly provide for the right to be protected against sexual vilification. There are however provisions which can be relied upon to protect women against sexual harassment. Section 14 of the Constitution makes it an obligation for Zimbabwe to promote full gender balance in society. It can be argued that the provisions cited above can overtly include doing away with sexual vilification. Policy making in Zimbabwe is largely male dominated and as such can easily factor in pro-male policies more that women's. Kaseke, Gumbo, Dhemba and Kasere (1998), assert that the process of policy formulation is a preserve of government technocrats and politicians. As the technocrats and politicians are usually men who drown women's voices leading to rampant sexual vilification of women. While the above statistics provide important primary evidence, this study went beyond and explored media representation, text and language used sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro*. This study demonstrated sexual vilification of women through ethnographic approach.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The legislative framework in Zimbabwe seems to trivialise sexual vilification and the society has largely accepted the arrangement as normal. As argued by Matsikidze (2017), Sexual harassment may easily be put in the same category with rape but in our society the legal system seems to treat it as a light offence. Despite the existence of the legislative framework that criminalises sexual vilification, the cases of such have always been blamed on the women themselves after the occurrence of sexual vilification cases. Although there have been calls for the observance of law; these have not moved the male-dominated policymakers to act. Very little has been written by the scholars in respect how women are portrayed as sex objects in the Zimbabwean tabloid, H-Metro. Such developments are without doubt counter-productive in the efforts to end stereotypes and harassment of women as the world re-orients towards global goals intent towards empowerment of women. It is therefore the purpose of this study to ethnographically appreciate sexual vilification of women in Zimbabwean print media; case of *H-Metro*. It is also this study's intention to reinforce the body of knowledge from a tabloid perspective.

1.4 Study Objectives

The study seeks to:

- demonstrate sexual vilification of women through ethnographic approach in the coverage of women in H-Metro.
- identify cultural contestations manifesting in the tabloid H-Metro when it comes to women's sexuality representations.
- explain sexual values in Zimbabwe showing what is acceptable and taboo.
- explore patriarchal illusions in the Zimbabwean set up.

1.5 Research Questions

- How are women sexually vilified in the print media from an ethnographic perspective?
- What are the cultural contestations manifesting in H-Metro articles on women?
- What are the sexual values that influence the coverage of women in H-Metro?
- What are the patriarchal illusions that can be identified in the framing of women in H-Metro?

1.6 Research Assumptions

i. Sexual values in Zimbabwe place women as sex victims or whores. Gunter (1986) posits that sex stereotyping occurs in relation to various roles in which men and women are portrayed. In Shona culture it is normal for a man to have many wives but taboo for woman to have many husbands (Murume ndewe vakadzi asi mukadzi ndewe murume) so whenever a woman is caught cheating she is labelled a prostitute while a man is view in the lines of virility. Bograd et al (1990) agree more with Gunter advancing that when the media is reporting it focuses on the female victim blaming the woman for her own victimisation and perpetuates the myth that she is responsible for the situation she is in.

ii.   The society in Zimbabwe places women below men. Meyers (1994) argues that coverage involving women serves to perpetuate the belief that men dominate women. It is in this thinking that gives birth to the assumption that women are below men.

iii.   Women are sexually vilified because of vague legislature on sexual vilification. As discussed earlier on, 'Sexual harassment may easily be put in the same category with rape but in our society the legal system seems to treat it as a light offence' (Matsikidze 2017). He further posits that the public service and the private sector lack the mechanisms in the legal framework to deal with sexual vilification in Zimbabwe.

iv.   Women need their voices to be heard concerning their status and sexual vilification.

1.7 Significance of study

Print media in Zimbabwe is one of the most significant platforms in the communication process. The study is important for women as it allows them to air their views concerning a seemingly repressive set up that he seen them being stereotyped and or seen much as second class citizens in a society that has legislative framework crafted by largely male-dominated elite. Subsequently, the study enables both men and women to use as a platform for lobbying for gender friendly policies that recognize women as equals of men. Policymakers are implored to come up with policies that do not sexually vilify women only when it takes two to tango. H-Metro, as the motto goes 'Real Life, Real Drama', was formed to inform and instruct audiences about current issues as well as happenings around them or affecting them bringing out issues in a balanced manner. This study becomes important as it seeks to explore the impact of *H-Metro* as a potent to in communication looking on how women are sexually portrayed taking from the abuses exerted by the patriarchal society on them. The study will also examine how *H-Metro* frames women abuses in its publication. This research is also important for the academia as it brings new knowledge to the already existing body of knowledge as well as providing a springboard for future research in sexual vilification of women in the media and society at large.

1.8 Delimitation

This study was confined to articles which sexually vilify women in *H-Metro* newspaper where this researcher is stationed as a News Editor in Harare. The newspaper has covered a lot of women's sexual vilification stories but this study only focused on articles published between January 2015 and August 2017. Pressure groups which include Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR), Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) and Padare Men's Forum (PMF) were engaged to make contributions in this research. These were chosen in that ZLHR deals with legal issue that also affect women while MISA is a media watchdog. Padare is a forum for men in this patriarchal society so their views towards sexual vilification of women would be prudent. Media practitioners were included to give views in the research.

1.9 Limitations

Research methods have their own weaknesses and as such the methods employed in this study have their own limitations. This research was, to some extent, affected by methodologies since The Herald library did not have all archival material for articles published during the period under research. The reason has been mainly movement from hard copies archives to online archival material which has been found wanting as some articles could not be found online. The other limitation is that of the research's scope of the study which covered articles published between January 2015 and August 2017 which might not be as representative as it should be. Therefore, some of the issues concerning sexual vilification of women which were reported on outside on this period and very relevant in the study were left out. Another limitation is that the study focused on the text which might be read differently by audiences. The researcher was male and this could be viewed in some instances as being part of the oppressive patriarchal system which generated problems getting information from the female respondents on the sensitive and personal issue of sex life and representation of such. Being part of *H-Metro* management as News Editor it was a strenuous process of trying to separate myself as content producer as well as a researcher. There were reservations in getting information from Zimpapers targeted respondents though the reasons were not readily availed.

1.10 Definition of Key Terms

Patriarchy (Bhasin 2006:3): Male domination, to the power relationships by which men dominate women, and to characterise a system whereby women are kept subordinate in a number of ways.

Virility: In this research this term refers masculine strength and sexual power.

Vilification: Abusively disparaging speech or writing.

Ethnography (Wilmer and Diminick 1997): Is a special kind of qualitative research where a variety of qualitative research techniques- field observation (participant observation), in-depth and focus group interviews and case studies – are utilised.

Stereotypes: This is a firmly fixed and oversimplified beliefs regarding a particular group which is not always true.

1.11 Dissertation Structure

This research is comprised of six chapters with each of the chapters addressing different issues. Chapter One is the Introduction and Background to the Study to give the reader the context and trajectory in which the research was conducted. Chapter Two is the Literature Review that juxtaposes the literature in the dissertation with other studies in sexual vilification of women in the media and society at large. The chapter also includes the Theoretical Framework that informs the research so that the research does not exist in isolation. Chapter Three focuses on the research methodology of the study. It entails the procedures data collection and analysis as well as ethical considerations in the study. Chapter Four focuses on political economy, organisational structure and analysis of *H-Metro*. Chapter Five is the presentation of the findings of the study and data analysis. Chapter Six is a summation of the findings. It gives the study's conclusion as well as give recommendations based on findings. The chapter leaves room for future studies.

1.12 Conclusion

The chapter has highlighted the background, historical and legal contexts as well as cultural contestations that give rise sexual vilification of women in the print media in Zimbabwe. The chapter outlined the focus and essence of the study before outlining

the structure of the entire research through research objectives, statement of the problem and the research questions. The qualitative nature of the study and the choice of the research paradigm was explained in brief. The next chapter explores the literature that has been written on sexual vilification as well as theorise this study.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the background, the research problem, the objectives as well as the delimitations of the study. This chapter examines the literature related to the study building up on the background of the study as well as the research questions and objectives to be achieved. The chapter identifies gaps which the study intends to fill as it critically reviews literature which has been published and some which have not yet been published with reference to sexual vilification of women in print media. Literature is presented thematically while a combination of the theories includes the objectification theory, picture theory and the tabloid theory guide the study. The study seeks to explore what influences the representation in the newspaper.

2.2 Literature review

Herbert (1995) posits that literature review, depending on the situation, evaluates the sources and advises the reader on the most pertinent or relevant issue. Other scholars Boote and Beile (2005) further argue that literature review should not be limited to search for information but should also involve serious recognition and articulation of the interface between the literature and the researcher's field of study. The two scholars define literature review as an evaluative report of scholarships that originates from the literature interconnected to the researcher's specific area of study. Literature review is important in every research as it gives more information on what is already known in the field under research as well as bringing out the information gap. Literature review is a collection of important pieces of work and arguments that are relevant to a study. It is in these pieces of work and arguments that one is able to examine what has been written concerning a subject. The researcher is then able to comprehend the difference between the studies that have been carried out before and the one being undertaken. Literature review is therefore discursive and critical in identifying gaps in sexual vilification of women in the media. In this study, the

researcher reviewed various published and unpublished works by different scholars in sexual vilification of women in the media.

2.2.1 Overview of women and the media

Information revolution, in its truest technical terms in Africa, is the latest phenomenon. During the phases of economic liberalization in last one and half decade, the overall scenario of media in Africa has changed tremendously. The depiction of women in African media, be it films, television serials, news, media, visual advertisement, or modernised traditional media, is indeed an area of great concern for people having interest in social science research and studies. A study of four main English dailies in South Africa finds that women's issues accounted for little over two percent of the total items in one of the dailies and even less in the other three, (Bahuguna, 2011). Some studies found have that social issues related to women (equality of status and opportunity) got less than nine percent while sensational stories relating to women which were invariably crime stories got between 52 and 63 percent of items in newspapers.

More disquieting is the growing trend in media to portray women as victims. Some recent studies of news stories show that sex and sensation is the primary motivation behind the reportage. Apart from the long and heated debate over the percentage of women in legislative bodies, the situation of women in African society at large is a matter of alarming consideration. There has been much criticism of newspaper advertising of some commercial products like cigarettes, laxatives or articles of intimate wearing apparel on moral grounds.

Comments in newspaper articles have found some of them objectionable and violating the requirements of good taste and sometimes offensive, some objections have also been made to the appearance of scantily clad women in some commercials (Ahuja & Batra, 2012). As the tentacles of globalization have trespassed into the electronic media, the advertising industry has been swept by the market forces with the result that sexist display depicting women in demeaning manner has become the norm. Though, it is true that the level of active participation and decision-making capability of women in each and every aspect of social and political life in India has increased leaps and

bounds, yet the overall conditions of women is not so good. The depiction of women in Indian media is simply shoddy and at times vulgar.

Babyegeya (2009) found that commodification of women as a sex object has been relentlessly portrayed in audio-visual media rather than in the print media. The overtones of sexual equation are much more explicit these days in our print media. The orthodox presentations and the conventional inhibitions seem to overpower the orientations of media planners. The women in African media are depicted generally as scrupulous, religiously intolerant, craving only for their own family, politically naïve, socially inevitable and culturally ultra-modern. Some criticism of advertising using women as sex objects can be seen in letters to the editor and very mild criticism of the cheapness and vulgarity in the display of women in advertising can be found in our literature on media.

Often the criticism of the advertising stems out of big business game, believing the advertisements, rising prices and creation of artificial needs (Kumar, 2007). Motion pictures are depicting women and young females involved in conspiracy, premarital, extra-marital, post material illicit affairs, wearing costly, heavy golden, and diamond jewellery, perpetuating their religious fundamentalism, spending time is family feuds, suicidal love affairs, mega parties, palatial houses, luxury cars, sleek mobiles, elegant, make ups, little care about anything else than the individual matters, and at all not even a word about the outside world.

Newspapers give place to the news related to rape, crime, politics, scandals, sports and economics, serious debates and discussions on issues related to women in general are completely missing. The columnists of the newspapers are rarely females. Most of them who find place in the leader pages are political activists or so-called socialites. In vernacular press the depiction of women gets a share only in coloured pages where there is a lot of gossip about actress of T.V. serials or film stars along with some hot pick-up and pinups. The English press also dwells upon providing snaps of hot babes and erotic photo-gallery of party-mania in multi star hotels. Even the photos of sports stars are also provided in a manner that depicts their body attraction.

2.2.2 Framing and the media

McCombs and Shaw (1968) advance that that research on framing and media frames started with the coverage of the presidential campaigns and elections in the United States. The two scholars argued that if the news media paid more attention to a particular story then audiences rated that story as being more dominant and salient than others. McCombs and Shaw (1968), posit that prominence is usually on the frequency, size and space of the story, relative placement of news articles, and the amount of coverage given to a story in the media. This is called agenda setting which is concerned with how the media directly influences or persuades audiences about what kind of story they should think about and how they should think about that story (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, in Price and Feldman 2009). Framing and representation can be used interchangeably, its main aspects are defining the problem diagnosing cases making moral judgment and suggesting remedies. Various literature devices can be utilized to perform these exercises. For instance, utilization of specific words or expressions making certain relevant references, picking certain photos or alluding to specific sources. It is likewise a method for giving some translation to segregated things of actualities prompting unadulterated "objectivity" presenting some predisposition. The media control the general sentiment by concentrating consideration on chose issues while overlooking the others. Overlooking different certainties at that point impacts how groups of onlookers consider certain issues and having solid effect on their states of mind towards a subject of abusive behavior at home. They may give one-sided data and move the crowd's consideration to impact their reasoning.

McQuail (2003) detailed that the media and the press do not reflect reality, they filter and shape it and the media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. The media uses objects or issues to influence the public. The media suggests what the public should think about. Moreover, the media focuses on the characteristics of the objects or issues. It is at this level that the media suggest how people should think about the issue. Kwansah-Aidoo (2005) advances frame building as factors that affect the internal

structural qualities of media frames normally applied to how news reporters give prominence to stories in the newspapers.

De Vreese (2005) identifies factors which affect the building of frames as consisting of editorial policies and guidelines, resources, time, space vested commercial interests of media houses as well as news priorities and values. From this assertion one can conclude that some issues are ignored by the media while others are given attention. It is also the case with representation of women in newspapers. Journalists have a way of framing women the world over and this has not come without its struggle and contestations. Gebner and Gross (2006) argue that women's representation in the media is rooted in patriarchy which fuels gender inequality in many societies. Morgan and Politoff (2012) on the other hand argue that attitudes, perceptions and knowledge all shape how people apprehend and deal with all social problems that occur amongst them. Entman (1993) also contends that media framing is an inscription of the power of patriarchy and hegemonic structures in media houses.

2.2.3 Women in pre-colonial Zimbabwe

Cheater (1986) argues that most anthropological and historical information that is available on women in pre-colonial and colonial Zimbabwe has been produced by men where there are biases against women. She further asserts that the literature on Zimbabwe's ethnic groupings is uneven with respect to its coverage of women in the pre-colonial era. The main reason for the exclusion of women from direct control of the means of production and the family product lay in the payment of bride price which transferred rights in a woman reproductive capacity from her own family to that of her husband. It is in this notion that women are generally regarded. Cheater argues that the only interesting and ambiguous role of authority occupied by women in the pre-colonial period was that of spirit mediumship. In this regard it can be noted that women were commodified from years back. This goes on to explain women as sex machines because men would have paid the bride price.

2.2.4 Women in colonial Zimbabwe

Cheater (1986) advances that there are two important strands of history which must be separated during the period 1890- 1980: on the one hand, what happened to

indigenous women; and on the other, the impact on the colonial system of immigrant women from many diverse cultures. Many factors external to traditional society influenced indigenous women during the colonial period with the situation ending up in stereotypes ascribed to them. Hollemao (1958) posits that education, migration to the towns, urbanisation and religious conversion all affected women's roles in their families. All these factors could have degraded women to lesser roles which often culminated to sexual vilification of women. Policy and family attitudes, Charter argues, combine to lessen women advancement. Gaidzanwa (1981) advances that women's existence was deemed to be depended on men during the colonial era. This colonial arrangement was arguably inherited in independent Zimbabwe to explain the situation the women are in years later. It then became easy to sexually vilify women since they were regarded as dependent on men. The ideological legacy of having a cattle dipping card in the name of a man as the head of the family constitute part of today's problems of women (Cheater 1986). From this discussion it is clear that women in colonial Zimbabwe had roles ascribed to them. Muonwa (2009) argues that colonial regimes codified some traditional practices into formal customary laws applicable to Africans only, leaving little room for black women to negotiate a fair degree of influence over important family matters. It is among these roles that women are seen as baby making machines who are there to satisfy men in their sexual desires. This study therefore explored the sexual vilifications in *H-Metro* in an attempt to find out the truth.

2.2.5 Patriarchal society

Kambarami (2006) views the cultural setup in Zimbabwe as the one that is predominantly patriarchal with some minimal voices calling for women's empowerment. These voices on women empowerment have sometimes gone unheard because those who champion the cause are mainly single and therefore viewed as failures who have failed to settle down to conventional marriage. Chari (2009) argues that African men's roles as fathers and breadwinners are insisted upon by the media where men are mainly depicted as strong, muscular and powerful. With this assertion then it is possible to sexually vilify women since they are regarded as weak. Significant research has been carried out on the way men and women are represented in the media, showing women as weak, not rational, emotional, as home makers, inadequate if not

married and man as strong and rational. In Zimbabwe men are found to be in most influential positions whilst women are care givers, sex workers and weaker powers which need men to achieve better things in life. With the help of the media, the patriarchal society readily shifts blame to women while naturalising sexual vilification of women. Zuidberg, McFadden and Chigudu (2004) posit that Zimbabwe is a patriarchal society, historically and culturally characterised by the exclusion of women from participation in the major decision-making structures and processes, and from ownership of the critical productive resources. This, to a greater extent, explains the situation women are in.

Yeboah (2010) further argues that women being products of patriarchal cultures, may have so internalised the muting process that they see media involvement as interference in what should otherwise be left for men. Amancio (as cited in Lobo and Cabecinhas, 2010) posits that vilification of women should not be divorced from the limits imposed women's representations because the ideological frame interferes with the goals individuals set. Lobo and Cabecinhas (2010) further argue that because gender is a discursive construction and media production is entrenched in power structures that produce meaning according to previously internalised stereotypes, there is therefore need for changing gender portrayals in the media to prevent further distortions. This study has however, considered women as victims of sexual vilification in a society that has naturalised such an arrangement where women are reduced to sex objects and mainly there to oil men's causes. The study therefore aims at evaluating sexual vilification of women emanating mainly from media representation.

Muonwa (2009) advances that Zimbabwe is imagined through a masculine voice, through males who speak on its behalf. He further argues that there is also a semiotic burden thrust on women to represent the nation as mothers. There is notion that women function to naturalize men as legitimate rulers of nation states. Yuval-Davis (1997) asserts that although women's voices are often silenced in the authority of national narratives, women themselves serve an important function in nation-building projects and nationalistic perspectives. The representation model of nationhood utilises symbols and signifying practices and such symbols are presenting the country as motherland. Boehmer (1992, p. 232) advances that by looking at metaphors contained in terms of

"motherland" and "fatherland", one notices that images of men and mothers occupy different realms in the society.

2.2.6 Representation of women in the media

Berns (2004) advances that the media are vital as they can act as a popular tour guide while teaching people about social problems. The media are therefore the main source of information because in so doing they deliver not only facts, but opinions, that help to shape ideology. Berns argues that the media do not necessarily provide neutral or objective representations (Semino, 2009) which readers of newspapers may not consider when reading such stories. The media play a very important part of people's everyday lives through images, texts or audio visuals that are produced and consumed daily. Nkosi (2005:17) posits that, "media representations shrink, reduce, select/reject and condense aspects of intricate social relations in order to represent them as fixed, natural, obvious and ready to consume" implying that the media do not necessarily present facts as they are but sometimes fix them in such a way that creates meaning that they want the public to believe in. It is against this background that one can argue that the media shape people's perceptions in the society.

The media are powerful weapons which can build or destroy nations since communication is always linked with power. Hall (1997), posits that representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully to other people. The understanding here is that to represent is 'to stand for' or 'to be a symbol of'. Therefore, representation is a 'symbol', 'image', 'depiction' or 'an account of something.' Representation is a vital part of the process whereby meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. Language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things are all involved in the production of meaning. It against this background that one can argue that the media can represent women in a certain way; women can be represented in a certain ideological manner which reflects the ideas of those who own and control the media. In this study, noting that representation is an ideological creation makes one understand more when women are sexually vilified in newspaper articles.

Medzani (2013) argues that men are viewed as perpetrators and women as victims while Berns (2004) asserts that media focus is mostly on female victims not on male abusers, and not on the social or cultural factors. Berns (ibid) argues that stereotypes end up changing the focus of issues when the media focuses on the victim which in this case happens to be a woman. Bograd et al (1990) agrees more with Medzani and Berns that the media blames the woman for being responsible for her victimisation. In this case women are victims of sexual vilification while the media seems to portray an image that they are responsible for the situation they are in.

The media does not look at the reasons why a woman acted in such a way but rather goes on to sexually vilify so this study had to problematise sexual vilification of women in the media. Dorfman et al (2003) advances that rather than the man's behaviour, the female's behaviour is analysed. This, therefore, shows that representation of men and women in the media is different and that media reports are biased against women which leaves women being sexually vilified. Okiring (2013) is of the view that women's issues are often sensationalised, trivialised, or otherwise distorted and thus their coverage involves a series of hits and misinformation. This representation also comes from sexual vilification. This study therefore aims at contributing to the fact that women are stereotyped with a sex stereotype tag on them in their representation. Rather than blaming women for their sexual vilification in the media, this study is going to offer solutions to how women can be fairly represented without sexually vilifying them.

2.2.7 Women in print media

The print media include newspapers, periodicals, newsletters is one of the oldest media and has been relied upon by the people as credible source of information. The print media are known for fearless criticism and service. Print media not only reflects the values prevailing in the society but also provides platform for dialogue and discussions on issues leading to social change (Kumar, 1995). No doubt that electronic media broadcast the issue immediately but print media creates a more persistent and lasting effect.

It has been observed that women issues generally do not get a chance to come up on the front page, unless they are rape cases, crime, sexual harassment, abuse of women or other atrocities. Even in news on issues related to women they are presented as passive victims or passive reactors to public event in news media. Visibility of women in news is widely covered on some specific days like Mother's Day, Women's Day etc. On other day's news related to women generally occupied with sensational stories of glamour, sex, domestic violence and other forms of violence.

Besides Sunday and Saturday special glossy editions on women's leisure, fashion, beauty and other luxurious news items with erotic photographs are issued from time to time by daily newspapers (Dhar, Pattnaik, 2006). The presentation of women in media has changed the perception of perfection especially among women adolescents. Perfection means being skinny beyond healthy standards, and fit and beautiful for today's adolescents. Ultimate impact of identifying themselves with these models of media contributes to the growing rate of eating disorders among young women. Many women now feel the need to be skinny and do so through drastic measures, such as anorexia or bulimia (Morgan, 2012).

2.2.8 Women in newspaper advertisements

Mishra (2015) asserts that in recent years newspaper advertising has witnessed a significant transformation in the manner in which women are portrayed. The way women are depicted in advertising changes with times, reflecting the transformation taking place in society. Advertising is one of the major media that affect our daily life consciously and unconsciously and are responsible to play a significant role in shaping the society in a much broader perspective (Mishra, 2015). Another scholar Das (2000) advances that women today are no longer consolidated behind kitchen walls. Their aspiration for coming out of the door also taught society to think differently. Marketer wisely utilised this transformation process to launch their product and advertisement strategically, examined the portrayal of women and men in African magazine ads from a wide range of magazines in 1987, 1990, and 1994. Results indicated that although the gender portrayals in African magazine ads have changed over the period, they are still portrayed in stereotypical ways (Das, 2015).

Vela et al., (2007) examined male and female stereotypes in Europe-Spain magazine advertising during the last three decades of the twentieth century. The results found that male and female portrayals have undergone significant changes in the last 30 years though gender stereotypes persist. Results also indicated that low and decreasing levels of sexism in Spanish magazines. Dwivedyet al., (2009) examined the role portrayals of men and women appeared in India's most popular men's, women's and general interest magazines during October 2006 to April 2007. Ads were content analysed to identify the role portrayal patterns of male and female across magazine types. It was revealed that male and female are portrayed in traditional roles (Mishra, 2015). Men's magazines depict men and women in very traditional role while women's and general interest magazines depict women in more modern roles.

2.2.9 Beijing Conference: Women and the media

In 1995, women drawn from many countries converged at Beijing for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women with the aim of empowering women in various sectors. There was consensus in removing obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making. Equality between women and men was deemed a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and a fundamental prerequisite for equality, development and peace. During the Conference Gallagher stated that the print and electronic media in most countries do not provide a balanced picture of women's diverse lives and contributions to society in a changing world (Grove, 20110). She asked for a balanced portrayal of women and girls in their multiple roles. Gallagher encouraged the media to use non-stereotyped, balanced, and diverse images of women because the media are well placed to influence opinions, attitudes, and relationships in the world.

The platform of action noted that the lack of gender sensitivity in the media is evidenced by the failure to eliminate the gender-based stereotyping that can be found in public and private local, national and international media organisations. Sexual vilification of women among other degrading images of women in media communications – electronic, print, visual and audio – were called upon to be changed. The Beijing Conference noted that both print and electronic media in most countries do not provide a balanced picture of women's diverse lives. The conference

also highlighted that pornographic media products were also negatively affecting women and their participation in society. The conference reached an agreement that programming that reinforces women's traditional roles can be equally limiting. Consumerism was deemed to have created a climate in which advertisements and commercial messages which often portray women primarily as consumers and target girls and women of all ages inappropriately. From the literature available it is clear that the media were deemed to commercialise women. Gallagher's study provides a background to my own study as it agrees that women are sexually vilified.

2.2.10 Reporting on sexual violence

Zimbabwe Women's Lawyers Association conducted a research in 2015 on the representation on sexual crimes in *B-Metro, The Herald* and *Southern Eye* between January and March. It was discovered that the media trivialises, dramatizes and misrepresent cases of sexual violence where it was concluded that the papers give voice to perpetrators of crime as opposed to the victims. It was discovered that despite the strides in doing away with the stereotypes, the inequalities in the society were still evident with women being the victims. It was recommended that the press was supposed to sensitively present the plight of the victims who are women and not revictimise them through ridicule and victim blaming. Presenting of testimonies by perpetrators was deemed to humanise the heinous acts. An article in *B-Metro* on March 16, 2015 had a headline titled '*I only inserted my finger in her privates*' which suggested to validate that the accused did not commit sexual violence since there was no penetration. *Southern Eye* of January 12, 2015 had an article titled *'Man rapes niece (11), promises her mangoes'.* In the article the perpetrator claims to have only fondled the victim which the paper does not portray as a crime. The paper actually normalised the act.

2.2.11 Language in women's articles

Language is used to communicate events in ways that are convenient for those who own the means of production. It is no wonder that women are portrayed in certain ways since they are detached from the ownership of means of production. Kozol (1995) posits that representational strategies used by the mainstream media tends to protect male power with portrayals typically focused on the women involved by blaming them

for the abuse. Kozol elaborates saying media representations more often than not reinforce national ideologies through their focus on individualism and freewill while ignoring crucial factors of race, class and sexuality in ways that reproduce, rather than question national ideals. The argument here is that the media represents ideologies of nation states while ignoring some things such as the proper representation of women. There is therefore tendency to ignore women's sexuality and in so doing vilifying them. Meyers (1994) posits that there is certain coverage that serves to perpetuate the past belief system that men dominate women.

Zimbabwe Women's Lawyers Association (2015) posit that language use in reporting sex issues involving women is often manipulative as it can be used to create or uphold certain beliefs in sexual vilification of women. *B-Metro's* article of January 11, 2015 carried an article – *"Kids raped while others watch'.* In the story the paper reported that the children said it was their 'game'. The paper also mentioned the rape as an 'adult game' which trivialises the case. The choice of those words could be largely seen as sexually vilifying women since there is a tendency to portray the act as normal. This puts to test the concept of responsible journalism in Zimbabwe. ZWLA argues that portraying rape as a 'game' or adventure is reckless and unjust. In another story *B-Metro* reported that a man raped a woman during a drinking spree and the paper indicated that the woman had been making sexually suggestive dances. The tabloid shifted the blame from the abuser to the abused painting a picture that the dance had caused the rape. Stories usually victimise the abused in the representation by either claiming that the victim exposed herself to danger by either walking at night or drinking with the rapist. It is reported as if the victims already knew what lay ahead. ZWLA argues that in the course of coming up with catchy headlines that sell, newspapers negate their social responsibility roles while perpetuating social ills in the society.

Although there is vast literature on sexual vilification of women in the media, there has never been participant observation to explore the nature of sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro*. It is imperative to note that previous studies were done some time ago therefore there is need for current studies to contribute to the body of knowledge concerning the subject. There have been studies on other newspapers in Zimbabwe on

issues to do with women but there has been nothing on sexual vilification on the first tabloid written in English in Zimbabwe that is *H-Metro*. By paying closer attention to media representations this study analysed how sexual vilification articles are worded.

2.2.12 Current protections from sexual vilification

Several countries prohibit discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, gender identity and relationships. Zimbabwe is a signatory to several conventions on women, among them the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Violence Against Women (CEDAW 1991), the Global Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration (1995), the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997) and the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children. The laws in Zimbabwe aimed at empowering women's status include the Sexual Discrimination Removal Act, the Sexual Offences Act and the Domestic Violence Act. Despite the presence of all of these provision, women continue to be marginalised when it comes to their sexuality; sexual vilification is the order of the day.

The Information and Media Panel of Inquiry (IMPI) report of 2014 acknowledges gender imbalances in the media which is largely accepted as the norm. It is a pity that the IMPI report is still to be implemented to do away with some of these disparities in the representation of women in the media. Morna (2002) argues that women continue to be marginalized because it has become difficult to change the mindsets hardened by centuries of socialisation and cemented by custom, culture and religion. Zimbabwe like the Australian Capital Territory and Tasmania also prohibit sexual vilification of women where vilification refers to communications made in public that incite hatred towards, serious contempt for, or severe ridicule of', a person or group of people on the ground of their sexual orientation or sex and/or gender identity. This vilification may include graffiti, comments made on radio or television, web pages with public access or verbal abuse in a public place. It is however very difficult to prove vilification. It is usually not sufficient to simply conclude that one's conduct conveyed hatred or expressed serious contempt. Therefore, it must be shown that one's conduct was capable, in an objective sense, of

urging or arousing other people to feel hatred towards the complainant, on the ground of their sexual orientation or sex and/or gender identity.

Equality and non-discrimination is recognised as part of international customary law. Equality and non-discrimination are part of fundamental, overriding principles of international law, from which no derogation is ever permitted. There are various human rights instruments guaranteeing the right to equality and non-discrimination. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa. The conventions impose obligations on states in relation to the protection of the right to equality. The obligations include modifying or abolishing existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women. It is the purpose of this study to establish why women continue to be sexually vilified in their media representation when there are several conventions regionally and internationally to jealously guard their well-being.

2.2.13 Gender stereotyping

Gaidzanwa (1985) asserts that the ideal wife has been viewed as one who is totally committed to serving the interest of her husband even if it means sacrificing her own interest. She argues that women can easily accept their fate while being abused so that they are deemed as ideal mothers. Given these views one is bound to question whether women hold the same views about their marriages and sexual vilification representation in the media and society as a whole. Van Zoonen (1995) posits that the media is perceived as the main instrument in conveying respectively stereotypical, patriarchal, and hegemonic values about women and men. She advances that it is difficult to define what is realistic and what is not when in actual fact what the media present as stereotypes is what would be on the ground. Since there are these stereotypes on the ground, it does not mean that it is the end of the world, there still needs more research on the subject to add onto the body of knowledge that already exists. Gauntlet and Hill (1999) are of the view that the media have changed from making stereotypical gender representations adding that some interventions have been

made to try and normalise the way women are also presented in the media. This literature is therefore functional in creating a much-required balance in the representation of women in the gendered phenomenon of sexual vilification of women. The current study therefore explored the ways in which the media sexually vilified women with the possible explanation to the representation as well as evaluate whether there can be changes in presenting issues to do with women's sexual lives. The media might have succeeded in making such stereotypes of women but the extent to which these stereotypes are put across could be debatable. There is therefore need to add more information basing on the available literature hence the need for this study on sexual vilification of women in the media.

2.2.14 Beyond unequal visibilities

Kimani and Yeboah (2010) question whether women treated differently from men in the news. The two advance that literature on women's representation in the news is focused on two main concerns: their coverage and role as sources, and their role as reporters. It is argued that the most consistent report of studies examining women's inclusion in the news is when it comes to marginalisation (GMMP, 2010; Yeboah, 2010; Ross, 2007; Shwartz, 2011; Asamoah, 1994; Mensah, 2002). Yeboah (ibid) argues that beyond the situation of unequal visibilities and inclusions there lies the bigger question of what women say and do in the news as well as how prominently they are portrayed.

2.2.15 Women's photographs

Kimani and Yeboah (2010) argue that photographs of women in news stories are not only meant colour and credibility to stories but also to tilt audiences' thoughts. Len-Ríos et al (2006) examined photographic representation of women in two newspapers and compared these to news staff and readers' perceptions of such representations where they found out that women were less likely than men to have photos of them accompany stories. This is the case with many newspapers including *H-Metro* under study where acres of space can be availed to publish women's pictures. Tuchman (1978) advances that the mass media deal in symbols which have implications for realities. The symbols may be unrepresentative of changing realities thereby limiting perceptions of the misrepresented. Tuchman further argues that this can also result in

members of the misrepresented group defining their own abilities by the images they are exposed to. Stereotypic presentation of women as sex objects can actually make the women define their abilities along the stereotypes. Bonnot and Croizet's (2007) support this arguing that women internalise stereotypes concerning their abilities.

2.2.16 Pressure and lobbying groups

Campaigns for women issues have been championed by civil society groups such as Musasa Project, Katswe Sisterhood, Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights and lobbyists such as the Media Institute for Southern Africa among others. It is the purpose of this study to establish the extent to which pressure groups advanced women's causes.

2.2.17 National Policy

Muonwa (2009) advances that the policy shows that the media continues to portray women negatively and it continues to perpetuate cultural, social, political and economic stereotypes, attitudes and practices. The National Policy admits that women were and are still poorly represented. Muonwa (2009) further argues that tangible strategies to transform the media and make it gender sensitive in output by training media personnel while ensuring the inclusion of gender and media modules in media training institutions and facilitating the positive portrayal of women by the media to fight negative cultural practices and traditions in order to enhance equality among women and men was lacking in the national policy. There are gaps in the policy as argued by Mawarire and Nyakuni (2007) that whatever the authorities choose to do or not do in the media becomes policy in the absence of clearly laid out document. It is against this background that one can clearly see that the existing policy gaps are responsible for stereotypical representations of women which sees sexual vilification as normal. Muonwa (2009) also observed that even programing at ZTV did not show much gender sensitivity and balance but continued to mirror male figures as the standard citizens of the nation which reflects patriarchal dominance.

2.3 Theoretical framework

Mertens (1983) argues that theoretical framework relates to the philosophical basis on which the research occurs as it forms the link between theory aspects and practical

components of the investigation while Sinclair (2007) simply puts theoretical framework as a map or travel plan which gives direction and knowledge about a particular subject being studied. It is the theoretical framework that governs or guide social norms and understanding of women's sexual values and representation in society. The theoretical framework is important in creating a background and also vital in understanding how people interpret and relate to media representations as well as the significance that these frameworks play. Theory helps to mirror ideologies that exist in society which may be observed in media presentations. The theory frames how one looks and thinks about the area under study. It is the theory that gives us concepts, provides fundamental assumptions, gives direction to the important question and suggests useful ways of us to make sense of data that would have been gathered in the study. Neumann (1997), posits that theory and research interrelate. This research employed three theories in order to understand the impact of *H-Metro* on the sexual abuse of women. These theories include the objectification theory, the picture theory and the tabloid theory. These theories assisted in strengthening the argument on the level to which women are sexually vilified in the print media. The patriarchal dominance has contributed very much in creating a sexist world for women.

2.3.1 Objectification theory

Objectification theory offers a significant background for understanding and investigating to improve women's lives in a sociocultural context that sexually objectifies the female body and equates a woman's worth with her body's appearance and sexual functions. The objectification theory which was propounded by Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) postulates that women are sexually objectified and treated as an object to be valued for its use by others. The theory creates a framework for appreciating the experience of being female in a sociocultural context that sexually objectifies the female body.

Sexual objectification of women occurs when a woman's body or body parts are singled out and separated from her as a person and that particular woman is viewed primarily as a physical object of male sexual desire. Therefore, this research will explore on how the *H-Metro* tabloid endorses the male sexual desires and the patriarchal society taking the basis of the research on how women are represented in

articles published by the paper. The theory also posits that sexual objectification of females is likely to contribute greatly to mental health problems that disproportionately affect women (i.e. eating disorders, depression and sexual dysfunction via two main paths. The first path is direct and overt and involves sexual objectification experiences. The second path is direct and subtle as it involves women internalisation of sexual objectification or self-objectification (Fredrickson and Roberts, 1997). This study sought to unearth possible factors that allow women to be labelled as sexual objects and how the *H-Metro* fuels up the sexual objectification process from a patriarchal perspective. Similarly, the study reveals on how sexual objectification experiences are presented by *H-Metro* by looking at how women are framed on pictures making the headlines of the newspaper. This helps to also identify on the level to which women describe themselves as influential sexual objects. Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) posit that sexual objectification can increase women's anxiety about physical appearance that is fear about when and how one's body will be looked at and evaluated. They also argue that sexual objectification can increase can reduce opportunities for peak motivational states or flow; diminish awareness of internal bodily sensations. The primary argument here is that sexual objectification has a toll in a woman's hunger, sexual arousal and stomach contractions such that there are high chances of body shaming (i.e., the emotion that results from measuring oneself against a cultural standard and coming up short). Sexual objectification can increase women's anxiety about their physical safety such as fears about being raped which in turn can lead to disordered eating, depression as well as sexual dysfunction.

2.3.2 Picture Theory

The research also employed the picture theory in explaining how women are represented in the *H-Metro* tabloid through rhetorical expressions. Propounded by Ludwig Wittgensten (1968), the picture theory is also considered as a correspondence theory of truth. Wittgensten claims that there is an unbridgeable gap between what can be expressed in language and what can only be expressed in non-verbal ways. Therefore, this study used the picture theory to investigate possible meanings that are given on sexual vilification of women being represented in *H-Metro*. The type of language that is being used to represent women in most pictures presented has

contributed very much in shaping the public opinion about how they see women in different societies.

The picture theory also explains that pictures are meaningful if they are defined or pictured in the real world. Wittgensten categorized pictures in two parts which are the elements of the picture and the form or structure of the pictures. On elements he revealed that pictures are representation of objects. He argues that elements of the pictures stand for objects in something like the way the names stand for their referents. The form picture on the other hand also has a role to play in determining what the picture represents. The idea here is that pictures have structure which is identical to the structure of some possible facts on the ground. Additionally, the picture theory highlights on the impact of pictures, sense and truth condition. It is imperative to note that a picture cannot place itself outside its representational form. Pictures usually depict reality, they represent a possibility of existence and non-existence. The meaning or sense of a picture is the possible fact that it represents when it is created. Picture is very important in the creation of meaning because the picture can be seen as a version of the events that would have occurred which represent an account of reality. In this study, the picture theory was premised to explain how pictures contribute to sexual vilification of women.

2.3.3 Tabloid Theory

The tabloid theory was employed in this study as a theoretical framework to reveal the influence of the *H-Metro* tabloid in sexually vilifying women in its representation. The word tabloid was first introduced in 1896 by Alfred Harmsworth in relation to news. The concept "tabloidization" has been used to refer to the tendency that the general media is under the influence of tabloid journalism (Ornebring and Johnson 2004:283). A tabloid newspaper has pages half the size of those of the average broadsheet, typically popular in style and dominated by sensational stories. Tabloids have characteristics ranging from being influenced by sensationalism, emotive language, the bizarre, sex, gossip, police news, marriage and divorce, royal news, celebrities, political bias as well as other small or big news that can generally be deemed as human-interest stories (Conboy 2006). It is in the perspective that the study employed the tabloid theory to investigate the influence of tabloid journalism in

sexual vilification of women. The theory is important in revealing on issues of sensationalism, emotive language as well as sex in relation to the sexual abuse of women by the patriarchal society. The term tabloid came from Alfred Harmsworth who stole the concept from a pill manufacturer as an expression of what he wanted his new paper, the *Daily Mail*, to be: A small, concentrated, effective pill containing the most important news within one handy package half the size of the existing broadsheet newspaper (Örnebring & Jönsson 2004: 287). From that time newspapers in Britain began to look at news being more than just informative but also entertaining and sensational.

Critics, however, view tabloidisation as a negative evolution of the news coverage the world over. The argument is that tabloids represent all that is wrong with journalism (Örnebring & Jönsson 2004: 284) writing-for- profit rather than writing-for-cause (Örnebring & Jönsson 2004: 291). Critics question the integrity of tabloids journalists for not upholding their journalistic responsibilities of bringing salient issues to the public but only concentrating on news that they consider selling (Skovsgaard 2014). The most vital news to the public, but rather focusing on broadcasting news that sells. Bestseller news are usually those stories with a sensational aspect such as celebrity news as well as personalizing news. Critics also argue that tabloids contaminate serious journalism with sensationalist news with a completely new style of coverage of issues. Skovsgaard (2014) argues that tabloids are driven as private businesses with a corporate aim rather than an ethical one.

However, tabloids have a positive impact on the news reporting in that they are specific in the style of writing and presenting news and reach out to an entirely different branch of the public. Conboy (2006) posits that by simplifying and personalising news, tabloids broaden the interest of the public to include other social groups overlooked by broadsheets. The tabloids can therefore be seen to be targeting the previously marginalized readership that broadsheets have never managed to interact with. Conboy argues that through the tone of the tabloids readers become part of the news debate which is rare in the broadsheet. The tabloid theory is therefore very vital in explaining the representation of women in *H-Metro*. The theory informs the certain representations such as sexual vilification.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed related literature by various scholars that on sexual vilification of women in Zimbabwe and globally. The reviewed literature was analysed showing the gap that exists in the field and need for new study. What emerged from the literature reviewed in this chapter is that while it is relevant to understand the magnitude of the sexual vilification of women in the media, it is important to go deeper and ascertain the causes and what informs such representation. The theories that inform the study, that is, the objectification theory, the tabloid theory and the picture theory have also been highlighted and discussed in this chapter. The next chapter deals with research methods and methodology used in the study.

Chapter 3

Research Methods and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined and critiqued the literature that is available on sexual vilification of women. This study was also theorized in the previous chapter. This chapter focuses on the research methods and methodology used in the study, the paradigms that informed the methodology and the research instruments. It also gives a detailed account of research methods used by the researcher to sample, collect and analyse data that would have been collected in the study. There is explanation in detail of the theoretical framework of the study as well as the philosophical assumptions leading to the research methodology. Sampling techniques and research instruments used in the study are also discussed in this chapter. This chapter discusses the use of archival collection and interviews as ways of collecting data. The research design as well as the research approach is discussed. Ethical considerations that were followed are laid out in this chapter.

3.2 Methodology

This study has an ethnographic approach which employed the qualitative research method to study the sexual vilification of women in H-Metro. Methodology gives the researcher the plan to conduct the best research which then gives the researcher the best methods to employ in the study. Pitout (2009) commends ethnography as one of the fundamental research methods of cultural anthropology that seeks to answer central anthropological questions concerning the way of life (cultural practices) of human beings. The data base for ethnographies is usually extensive description of the details of social life or cultural practices of people, and the data is gathered by means of participant observation, the in-depth interview, focus groups interviews and document analysis (Pitout 2009).

3.2.1 Research design

Ngulube (2009) defines research design as a program that guides a researcher in collecting, analysing and interpreting data and giving meaning to it. On the other hand, Borg and Gall (1989) define a research design as a process of creating an empirical test to support or refute a knowledge claim. Scholars Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) posit that research design for any study depends on three factors which are; (a) the kind of questions being asked or investigated; (b) the process of the research and (c) the research paradigms and principles in which one is working, and the philosophies, ontologies and epistemologies underpinning them. In this research, the epistemologies and ontological assumptions for study clearly suggest a qualitative approach. McMillan and Schumacher (2010) advance that the qualitative case study design seeks to gather and describe facts and it describes what the observer sees beyond the implied meaning. This is mainly done for the research design to allow for the exploration of individuals through complex interventions. It is in this context a research design defines the question of who and what will be studied as well as looking that the methods the researcher uses to collect and analyse data. The researcher employed a participant observation method as well as case study research design in exploring the sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro*. Yin (1984) advances that the case study research design is typical case with the aim being to capture circumstances as well as conditions of an everyday situation. It is the case study, therefore, that helps in developing procedures for carrying out the study. Research design, according to Best and Khan (1993), is a way of selecting research subjects, sites and ways of collecting data that answers research questions. It was imperative, in this study, to explore the individuals' perceptions of sexual vilification laws and the political, economic and socio-cultural contexts that shaped them.

3.2.2 Qualitative research

Qualitative research was employed as the best that could give answers to the study. Weill (1989) posits that qualitative data is presented in words and is usually richer, vital, in-depth and therefore more likely to present a true picture of a way of life, of people's beliefs, attitudes and experiences. Strauss and Corbin (1990) further advance that qualitative research is any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. In simpler terms qualitative

research methods involves the collection of data through tools such as unstructured interviews to allow respondents to express their attitudes feelings and motives about a particular phenomenon. The qualitative data collected was principally through participant observation, case study and unstructured interviews to get insight on attitudes, opinions, feelings and motives on how women are sexually vilified in the tabloid H-Metro. There are different designs under the qualitative research approach which include the phenomenological, interpretive and constructivism. The researcher employed the interpretive and explanatory approach which was necessitated by the fact that the study requires the reflexivity of the researcher during the analysis phase among other things.

Evaluation of themes was done through analysing the selected stories, pictures and headlines. The approach to this study is descriptive and explanatory in nature. The data is mainly in the form of words rather than numbers. It is from the words and pictures that meaning is derived as well as explanation. Qualitative research methods can better explain the study since it is difficult to quantify representational issues. Haralambos and Holborn (2004) further reinforce this suggesting "qualitative data are usually richer, more vital as having greater depth and as more likely to present a true picture of a way of life of people's experiences, beliefs and attitudes." In light of this, the researcher the used qualitative research methods which then call for interpretation of data at the centre of the study.

3.2.3 Case study

The researcher employed case study in order to explore concepts in the most natural setting which is the H-Metro newsroom as well sexual vilification of women stories that were published in the period under study. Punch (1998) defines case study as the vital idea that one case will be studied in detail using whatever available methods seen appropriate. Issues under study are researched in their natural state so as to get most reliable results. McNealy (1999) advances that specific case studies lead to intense clarification that is not provided by more thinly spread and generalised accounts in research. To come up with the best of results this researcher took *H-Metro* newspaper as the case study and also where the researcher is stationed. Articles which sexually vilify women were selected and analysed while the researcher also used the

H-Metro to establish the causality of sexual vilification of women. By taking *H-Metro* as the case study, there was an attempt penetrate situations which are not necessarily depending on analysis. The case study approach used participant observation, interviews and archival material in gathering data. The three methods help to explore instances where women appeared to be sexually vilified in their representation in *H-Metro*.

Neuman (2000) posits that case study design "uses ordinary language in describing and explaining what goes on during the research study especially during observation." This was evident in this study as it allowed the researcher to witness themes as they developed as well as the relationships between perceptions and reality. The researcher chose *H-Metro* since it is widely concluded to be a newspaper for the downtrodden, for the ordinary citizens and well-read outside the leading *The Herald*. Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey (ZAMPS) (August 2017) showed that *H-Metro* is the second leading daily paper read by 17 percent of the total reading population in the country. It is also read by 23 percent of the reading population in urban areas. *H-Metro* case study helped in the understanding of some theoretical underpinnings of the study. The major disadvantage of case study approach is that it (case study) is prone to bias. Mack (2005) talks of 'subjectivity' as a major weakness affecting most qualitative researches. There is also bias in the gathering of data and analysing of information since the researches chooses what to gather and analyse. In so doing beliefs and values of the researcher might affect results to some extent. Drawing definite results and conclusions when using case studies can also be difficult while case studies cannot be generalised as other samples. Generalising from a single case can be detrimental.

3.3 Unit of analysis

Unit of analysis can simply be described as sampling element. It is the single element derived from the research population that relates to the study. Du Plooy (1995) advances unit of analysis "as the people, groups, organizations, or items and anything else that has relevance whose characteristics we wish to observe, describe or explain." In other terms unit of analysis is the main entity that is being analysed in the study. The unit of analysis in this research are stories from *H Metro* which relate to the

subject of sexual vilification of women. The stories must have been published in *H-Metro* between January 2015 and August 2017.

3.4 Population

It is not pragmatic for the researcher to study the whole population so as a result a small scale version of the population is selected. Bryman (2000) defined the research population as the subjects to be focused on in research. Polit and Hungler (1999) on the other hand postulate population as a totality of all the objects, subjects or members that correspond to a set of specifications. Saunders et al (1997) define population as a number of elements a researcher can focus on in the study. In this research it was virtually not possible to study all the articles on sexual vilification of women published in *H-Metro* since its inception. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) advance that the researcher often needs to obtain data from a smaller group or subsection of the population in such a way that knowledge gained is a representative of the population. Therefore, a sample of the population had to be chosen for the study with cognizance that it is a true representation of the total population. This small scale version of the population is the sample.

The researcher had to determine the size of the population sample which is 50 articles on sexual vilification of women published in *H-Metro* between January 2015 and August 2017. The study employed 10 key media practitioners in the industry as well as members of pressure groups on both men and women to include in the study. The media practitioners largely determine what is published as well as having political economy in the mind when publishing stories. The pressure groups are largely concerned with policy change and they are vital in the contestations of sexual vilification of women in the media.

3.5 Sampling

There are several types of sampling, but each study has its own sampling method that suits it well. Flick et al (1998) posit that a sample is a small section that represents individuals, items or events in the targeted population. This study involves selection of news stories on sexual vilification of women published between January 2015 and August 2017. The basic idea in sampling is selecting a few samples from a bigger

population to become the basis for establishing outcome regarding the bigger group. It is important to note that sampling is cost effective, but it has its weaknesses on how one determines the population to include in the study. The sample in some instances, is also prone to the biases of the researcher. The sampling procedure used was largely non-probability in nature in which a few selected newspaper articles from *H-Metro* were chosen to represent a certain population. This study employed purposive sampling method.

3.5.1 Purposive sampling

Van Rensburg (2010) advances that purposive sampling is appropriate when a wider understanding of social processes is required. Patton 1990 defines purposive sampling as a process of selecting information rich cases for study in depth. Purposive sampling involves selection of a particular sample with a purpose in mind. Purposive-sampling approach is widely used in communication research due to the recognition that some types of news content are inherently more important to study than other types (Reese and Danielian, 1989). It is a technique that takes cognizance sample selection on the purpose of the study. In so doing the researcher seeks to establish who to interview and how many people to interview. In this study there was need to understand the phenomenon of sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro* so there was need to settle for purposive sampling technique. With purposive sampling in mind, the researcher can easily get valid results because the researcher would have selected a sample that answers the research questions in the study. As aptly put by Babbie (1990), purposive sampling involves selecting a sample based on the researcher's own knowledge of the population, the elements of that population, and the nature of the research aims. The researcher, in this case, used purposive sampling on the basis of the researcher's knowledge of sexual vilification stories that were published in *H-Metro* between January 2015 and August 2017. It is through usage of this method that the researcher selected 50 articles in the period under review on sexual vilification of women.

Mack et al (2005) advance that population to be sampled is selected with an intention that is based on a particular characteristic which they possess that is not possessed by other types of sampling methods. That is the reason why the researcher also chose 10

technocrats in journalists and pressure groups on both men and women's rights. From this, it is self-evident that the researcher picked samples based on the knowhow of the subject under study. In choosing technocrats, this can be supported by McNealy (1999) who argues that the individual characteristics are selected to answer necessary questions about a certain matter or product. Neuendorf (2002) concurs with McNealy when he concedes that in purposive sampling the researcher chooses what is deemed important in the sample. There is however a weakness in purposive sampling in that the researcher can easily make an error in judging. Thakur (2009) notes that any type of judgment sample precludes the calculation of estimates of the likely range of error, and thus it is not dependable. Wrong judgment could be done when choosing new stories for the study.

3.6 Data gathering methods

There are several methods that can be employed in gathering data in research. Methods can be understood as a set of techniques and systems for collecting and examining facts (Dawson, 2002; Kothari, 1985; Kumar 2005). There are two types of data gathering methods which are primary and secondary. Primary research method involves collecting information using questionnaires and interviews while secondary research method for data collection is involves researching using archival material that is related to the subject under research. The methods of data collection depend on the type of research whether is qualitative or quantitative. The respondents in the research also determine the method to be used. This study employed both primary and secondary sources which are participant observation, interviews and archival material collection.

3.6.1 Participant observation

The research seeks to gather data through participant observation as one of the methods. Participant observation is fundamentally a research method necessitating first hand participation of the researcher in the daily activities and experiences of the members of an organisation or the person involved in a process or event that is being studied. This researcher was stationed at *H-Metro* where he was employed as a News Editor and as such full participant observation sought the researcher to get to get accurate information on how women are sexually victimised by the patriarchal

ideologies through the medium of print. Genzuk (2000) reinforces this when he posits that the extent to which it is possible for a researcher to become a full participant in an observation will depend partly on the nature of the setting being observed. Participant observation, in this study, would ensure the researcher is hands on with the exact situation and not general universe. The researcher was involved in the day to day running of the newspaper so participant observation became important in outlining how the general audiences perceive the issues of women sexual vilification portrayed by the newspaper. The roles of the researcher included what to put as headline and on what page as well as choosing pictures that would package the newspaper well. These are mainly determined by response of certain stories on the market and how they are packaged. The texts could not be absolutely examined without participant observation of the researcher in the newsroom. There are however, some ethical considerations to be considered in this method of data gathering. It is not ethical to observe people for research without their permission. In this case the researcher had to brief the organization through the editor of the academic intension and was given a nod to go ahead.

3.6.2 Archival collection

The other method employed in gathering data was the archival data collection method which involved gathering information on sexual vilification of women from the articles published in *H-Metro* for the period under review. Mohr and Ventresca (2011) argue that archival research is attached group of analytic activities that aim at gaining understandings through a methodical investigation of sources such as documents, texts and other material available. The primary argument here is that archival research methods focus on the study of historical documents that provide us with information we do not have regarding a particular organisation, individuals or events. Some of the facts for this study was found through archival material in the framing and headline cast on women and how both the framing and headline casts sexually vilified women in *H-Metro*. The archival work afforded a platform for addressing key issues in the research supporting arguments as well as substantiating them. Archival material was useful in its ubiquitous and far-reaching nature.

An ethnographic appreciation of sexual vilification of women in print media: Case of *H-Metro*

This researcher purposively used text rather than digital and audiovisuals so as to get more on the organisational structure and ideology connected to the text. Goody, 1986; Latour, 1987; Ventresca, 1995 advance that texts are connected to forms of administrative authority where writing structures were initially conceived in response to the need for counting, surveying, recommending and controlling the action of others through both time and space. Giddens (1987) also argues that archival material does not only provide information about the organisation and its structure, but also exposes power connected to texts. It is in light of this that the researcher got much insight on the patriarchal ideological power of the texts as portrayed in the *H-Metro* stories on sexual vilification of women. Smith (1984) further supports this notion arguing that texts play a particularly substantial role in organisations because they organise in an effective fashion, that which has been said and thought.

Archival research material can also be used positively or negatively to impact the society. As argued by McKemmish et al (2005) the archival research material method can be used as memories of what a society underwent, fountain of experience, instruments of accountability and politicians use it for power and control. It can therefore be argued that these records can be kept to remind people of certain experiences, in this case the sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro*. This then helps the researcher to evaluate the presentation and its influence while offering possible solutions to the problems. The main advantage of using archival research is the availability of information which is not time consuming. The researcher found it easy getting archival material since the papers are bound in monthly volumes in *The Herald* library. The method was not dear since the researcher accessed the material for free just because the researcher works at *H-Metro*. Jewel (2000) advances that following up on data collected using archival material increases reliability as well as accuracy.

Archival material is however not without its pitfalls. Veal (1992) points out that archival information may not be suitable for the problem under study at that particular time and also some of the information may be outdated. This however did not apply to this researcher's study. Ventresca and Mohr (2011) also argue that the use of archival materials is never innocent since there are conditions of archival resources production

and of their tenacity mean that materials often provide partial or conflicting evidence for an interpretation. The researcher's success in gathering data is determined by the organisation's ability to keep records for instance some of the *H-Metro* are not found on the bound volumes and this could have brought challenges in the researcher gathering enough data for the study.

3.6.3 Interviews

The researcher used one-on-one interviews for key informants in this study. Muranda (2004) defines interviews as type of a personal questioning which is not structured but using extensive enquiry to get the respondent to express thorough beliefs and feelings on a particular topic. Neuman (2000) advances that interviews have the highest response rate and allow the interviewer to observe the surrounding environment and to ask all types of questions including the complex ones. In this study, the researcher was looking for in-depth information about sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro* the reason why interviews were used to get the best of results. Semi-structured interviews gave leeway for the researcher to mix both semi-structured and open questions which was very important to probe further. Tuckman (2013) posits that for sensitive topics, open ended questions are more appropriate as they enable respondents to answer in their own words. Sexual vilification of women is a sensitive subject that always brings out emotions.

The researcher interviewed top journalist within Zimpapers who include *H-Metro* senior and junior staffers and *The Herald* journalists. Some of the interviews were obtained from Media Institute of Southern Africa, Padare Men's Forum and Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights. Those in the media were found to have directly responsible for news filtering as they have the final say on what is published in their respective newspapers. The other three pressure groups are key informants in the subject of sexual vilification of women in various capacities. MISA fights for equal representation, ZLHR stands for human rights of people with women included while Padare deal with issues affecting men. Interviews have an advantage in that they are not time consuming since answers are readily given to the researcher. Clarification is also readily sought from the respondent during the interview where certain issues are not clear. The use of telephone and email interviews cut the distance-time barriers

when the respondents are readily available. However, the respondents might not be readily available to respond to emails or telephone calls. There are also some instances where some respondents might choose not to co-operate even on face to face interviews giving reasons of confidentiality even if schooled that the research is for academic purposes only. Some of the respondents always have their reservations.

3.7 Data analysis methods

This research is informed by the qualitative research approach which also largely translates to qualitative data analysis techniques. Data analysis in conducted in order to understand and link content to the topic under study. Smith (2002) asserts that data analysis is a method in which raw data is ordered and organised so that useful information can be extracted from it. This also includes interpreting research findings in conformity with research questions. This aligns the results with the research assumptions and theories used in the study. All this is employed in studying the sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro*. Hatch (2002) posits that data analysis involves organising and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, to discover relationships, to develop explanations, to make interpretations, to mount critiques or to generate theories. Realising that sexual vilification of women is a bit sensitive subject, the researcher settled discourse analysis, textual analysis as well as hermeneutics of interpretation data analysis methods. These three methods of data analysis were used to critically engage with data gathered from *H-Metro* about sexual vilification of women.

3.7.1 Textual analysis

This researcher used the textual analysis method in revealing possible meanings that are given to women through the tabloid paper. Frey, L., Botan, C., & Kreps, G. (1999) alludes to the fact that "textual analysis is the method communication researchers use to describe and interpret the characteristics of a recorded or visual message." The purpose of textual analysis is to describe the content, structure, and functions of the messages contained in texts being examined. Therefore, it is of great importance to describe and analyse the content, structure of presentation and functions of messages

contained in stories connected to sexual vilification of women the *H-Metro* tabloid. In employing the textual analysis method there was also use of rhetoric criticism approach as systematic method for describing, analysing, interpreting, and evaluating the persuasive force of messages embedded within texts under study. As advanced by (MacNamara 2005), this method of analysis is used to explore a variety of texts gathered through methods of data gathering such as interviews and review of texts from television programs, advertising content from magazines and newspapers. The researcher, in this case, used this technique to examine data gathered through archival research from *H-Metro* on the sexual vilification of women frames. Textual analysis, to some extent, is objective and significant in the discoverable of regularity with which arguments, expressions, idioms or notions in a text and meaning can be captured in regular predefined content variables.

Textual analysis is advantageous in that texts are manifestly accessible and can be broken down into smaller manageable units of analysis such as headlines, paragraphs or even specific words. The texts can even extend to pictorials which are also fundamental aspects in this study where pictures mainly carry the day to sexually vilify women. Textual analysis enables formulation of research questions and hypotheses basing on reasoning to investigate any aspect of social life.

There are however several weaknesses to textual analysis. It requires an ample amount of material to be studied as it is difficult to determine whether the material sampled embodies all the material that could be studied according to (Dominic and Wimmer, 2000). Another weakness was advanced by Krippendorf (2004), 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 have various diverse meaning, thus the meanings raised by texts are not homogenous. The primary argument here is that meanings communicates more than the text. It is also imperative to take into cognizance that meanings of texts are read with specific regard to given contexts, purposes and discourse. As postulated by post-structuralist Derrida (1973), signs have various meanings, hence invented the word différance to explain the divided nature of the sign. Curran and Gurevitch, 1992; Fiske, 1992) argue that texts are polysemous which postulates that audiences of texts have the capability to

make subversive interpretations that were not intended by the producers of the texts. There is therefore need to examine the interface between the text and its likely audience meaning. Textual analysis is also susceptible to researcher bias. Dominic and Wimmer, (2000) argue that textual analysis is time consuming while involving small samples of media content. It has been often argued to be unscientific and unreliable.

3.7.2 Discourse analysis

Fairclough (1989) puts it that discourse analysis explores the organisation of the ordinary talk and everyday explanation of life. The term discourse was initially used to explain a linguistic concept which meant the connected writings or speech (Hall, 1997). This is the study of how the print media is used to describe a particular phenomenon. Hall acknowledges the shift of attention from language to the study of discourse as a system of representation. Texts are polysemic in nature thus they can be decoded in three ways that is dominant, negotiated and aberrant reading, the researcher also analysed the way in which the subjects responded to questions and how they interpreted the subject. According to Foucault the term discourse designates specific patterns within a given universe. Foucault also reveals that these rules can be analysed by means of four different devices. The most important is to identify how a discourse turns something into an object that can be classified, explained, acted upon and institutionalised. The researcher analysed how *H-Metro* sexually vilifies women through its discourses emanating from the stories published in the period under study.

3.7.3 Hermeneutics of interpretation

The study also employed hermeneutic interpretation as a data analysis method. Hermeneutics is a qualitative research focusing on the task of understanding texts. This method requires an understanding of the worldview of the researcher and his or her community and of the controlling idea such as religion embodied in the text. Hermeneutic analysis is important to use when one is conducting a qualitative inquiry. Hermeneutics interpretation deals with the phenomenon of language because language shapes man's conception of himself and his world (Palmer, 1969). Two German philosophers Max Weber and Wilhem Dilthey, are associated with

hermeneutics and they see the understanding of texts as not simply a scientific process of knowing concepts, but rather as a historical encounter which calls forth personal experience (Palmer, 1969). The scholar perceives interpretation as contextual and dialectical. Palmer argues that interpretation is contextual in that meaning is derived in specific contexts and dialectical in that that there is a relationship between the researcher's pre-understanding of the object and his interpretation of the text.

Hermeneutics is best for work of a textual and interpretive nature. The hermeneutic approach is more concerned with understanding rather than explanation while it recognises the situated location of interpretation. It also locates the role of language and historicity in interpretation. Hermeneutics of interpretations views inquiry as conversation while it is comfortable with ambiguity. Rakotsoane (2012) asserts that hermeneutics provides a way of understanding textual data. The meaning is in the text. It goes beyond the reading and understanding of the text to the interpretation of what is being read. In this study hermeneutics was used to analyse newspaper articles on sexual vilification of women and to and interpret and understand the cultural values and practices.

3.8 Methods of data presentation

The study took a qualitative approach so the data was presented thematically. Themes were used to explain and present information. Several themes were developed in the sexual vilification of women in the tabloid which was under study. The researcher identified and linked the emerging themes from the gathered data. In some instances, the researcher used direct quotations from participants. Pie charts, tables, pictorial presentations as well as description and narrative opportunities were used in data presentation.

3.9 Reflexivity – Researcher's interest as a content producer

It is imperative to take into cognizance that reflexivity is one of the major components in academic researches. Hall (1997) posits that identities are circumstantial, multiple and fluid. The researcher is a News Editor with *H-Metro* and could easily be taken as an interested party since he supervises the production of content as well as framing of

news stories and the headlines. The researcher however conducted the study objectively while separating himself from his job as a News Editor and content producer. This was however not easy considering that the headlines and stories determine sales of the newspaper; this researcher's performance at work is evaluated in the content and sales of the newspaper. The researcher is also a product of the patriarchal society where there have been societal norms and values hence the socialization of the researcher with the society could have an impact on the researcher's understanding of issues when it comes to sexual vilification of women debates. For this study to be scientific and reliable, the research was guided by academic maturity and ethics needed to avoid bias against women since I am a product of the patriarchal set up. The researcher was also guided by the need for informed consent interviewees who gave the researcher information about the papers. Some interviewees agreed to have their names used in the research while some wanted to speak on condition of anonymity – an ethical issue that was considered. Another ethical consideration was that the researcher had to respect of the activities of the various organisations at stake during the study. There was also need to respect respondents' beliefs, culture and views towards the subject. All this assisted this researcher in coming up with the best of results in the study.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter largely spoke to the research methodology employed in the study beginning by giving the theoretical background that shaped the research design, the choice of methods, the sampling techniques as well as the subsequent choice of research instruments. The case study approach, research instruments, population and data collection method were specified, identified and justified in the study. The chapter also touched on ethical considerations for the study to be successful. The next chapter focuses on the political economy and organisational analysis of *H-Metro* newspaper.

Chapter 4

Organisational Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the research methods and methodology used in conducting the study. Building onto to research methods and methodology is a critical analysis of the organization under study. This chapter discusses the structure of *H-Metro* where a critical analysis of ownership, control and funding patterns of these organizations and how these patterns affect content will be conducted. The chapter also explores these organisation's objectives, core business and how it relates with other organisations. A critical political economy approach is deployed in discussing these issues. This helped in trying to figure out why certain stories are reported the way they are being presented. This becomes a milestone in understanding sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro*. Historical background of Zimbabwe Newspapers (Zimpapers) and that of *H-Metro* were also explored in this chapter. The editorial policy for *H-Metro* was also examined in this chapter.

4.2 Zimpapers background

4.2.1 Formative Stage

The organisation under study is a subsidiary of Zimpapers. It is imperative to discuss the historical background and trends at Zimpapers so that a clearer picture of *H-Metro* is brought out. It is in appreciating the historical background of Zimpapers that helped the researcher to have a clear grasp and understanding of ownership, control, and funding patterns of H-*Metro*. *The Herald* is the oldest newspaper within Zimpapers and the flagship for the organisation after opening shop in 1891 during the colonial era. The paper was started William Ernest Fairbridge, a friend of Cecil John Rhodes for the Argus Printing Press (APP) of South Africa. Argus successfully established *The Mashonaland Herald* and later on *The Zambezi Times* – a weekly. *The*

Mashonaland Herald began as a weekly that was handwritten but upgraded to printed press in October 1892 before changing name to *The Rhodesian Herald* that same year. *The Herald* Chief Sub-Editor Rosenthal Mutakati said;

> *This newspaper has come a long way, starting in late 1890s when it was still white controlled until now in the hands of blacks. From the literature available and oral history, The Herald has been successful.*

The Herald chief sub-editor said *The Zambezi Times* was later changed to *The Chronicle*. There was now *The Rhodesia Herald* and the *Chronicle* together with their sister weeklies *The Sunday Mail* and *The Sunday News* as well as *The Financial Gazette*.

4.2.1.1 Discussion

Gale (1962) argues that under the tutelage of Francis Joseph Dormer, the Argus Print Press was a very successful and a linchpin in the development of the Zimbabwean press. *The Mashonaland Herald* began as a weekly that was handwritten but upgraded to printed press in October 1892 (Gale, 1962; Saunders, 1999). The two scholars advance that *Mashonaland Herald* changed its name to *The Rhodesian Herald* in the same year. This marked the beginning of Zimbabwean press with the laying of the foundation by the Argus Press. *The Zambezi Times* was later on changed to *The Chronicle*. Mukasa (2003) advances that *The Rhodesia Herald* and the *Chronicle* together with their sister weeklies *The Sunday Mail* and *The Sunday News* as well as *The Financial Gazette* propagated white ideology and their interests. This is in line with part of Zimpapers Mission Statement that asserts that the organisation is there to uphold and propagate the ruling government's interests.

This can be explained in the notion of hegemony where the ruling elites use the "media as tools to perpetuate their power, wealth and status by popularising their own philosophy, culture and morality" (Boggs 1976: 39). The journalistic character during the colonial ear was to uphold European cultural values while belittling African culture and political anxiety as the antagonist of western civilization and Christianity (Saunders, 1999; Mukasa, 2003; Mandava, 2006). Mukasa (2003) further asserts that

stories published about Africans were largely, if not exclusively, negative and demeaning.

4.2.2 Post independence Zimpapers

Zimpapers came into being in 1980 when the Zimbabwean government bought the majority shares from South African Argus Press. It marked the takeover of *The Herald* and its sister publications. The government bought shares for US$6 million where Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) was then formed to promote the interests of the masses in the national media. There is an agreement within scholarship that the amount used to purchase shares was donated by the Nigerian government led by then president Shehu Shagari.

Shamu advances that Zimpapers has managed to sustain itself since independence;

> *I stress this point because there is quite a disturbing misconception – politically self-serving in some respect – to suggest Zimpapers gets money from Government. It does not. It has never got money from Government since its transfer from the South African Argus Group following a take-over donation from the Federal Republic of Nigeria at Independence.*

The Trust was to be governed by an independent board of individuals with the aim of ensuring that the Trust fulfilled its mandate. ZMMT effective control over Zimpapers (1980) Ltd formerly known as the APP, ZMMT was established to handle tax payer's money and to protect the public's shareholding in the newspaper and protect the papers from political interference. Multimedia Investment Trust (MIT) replaced the ZMMT in December 2001 taking over ZMMT's 51 percent ownership shares at Zimpapers. Other Zimpapers shareholders also included Old Mutual Life Assurance who had 23.80 percent shares, Intermarket Nominees (3.38 percent), National Social Security Authority (3.10 percent), Zimpapers Pension Fund (2.28 percent), EFE Securities Nominees (1.53 percent), Munich Reins, Co of Africa Ltd (1.04 percent), Edwards Nominees Private Ltd (11.36), NNR& FCA (0.91 percent), Shara Sheperd (0.82 percent), Glenhazel Investments (0.69 percent). Farayi Munyuki, Tommy

Sithole, Willy Musarurwa and Bill Saidiwho became the first black editors of *The Herald*, *The Chronicle*, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Sunday News* respectively.

Zimpapers also owns a broadcasting station, Star FM that started operating on 25 June 2012 on free to air commercial basis as well as community radio station Diamond FM operating in Mutare. Zimpapers also runs a joint operation with Kingstons in running other community radio stations CapiTalk in Harare and Nyaminyami in Kariba. The group was also granted a licence to start a television station called Zimpapers Television Network which has begun working on content. It will start operations when the national broadcaster ZBC digitises. The then Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Deputy Minister Thokozile Mathuthu said government was committed to digitisation in January 2016;

> *Government was in the process of meeting the technical side of digitisation, it was the content side that mattered most. Broadcasting is not about technicians or engineers, but it's about content. If we've no content to show on our television channels, then we may just as well forget about broadcasting. The solution isn't to look for content beyond our borders. No! The solution is to produce our own local content which is beyond reproach and matches international standards, if not better.*

4.2.2.1 Discussion

Chuma (2004) argues that the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust's main thrust was to protect the public's shareholding in the newspaper as well as protecting the papers from political interference. The model taken by Zimpapers after independence however is just like that of former owners where there was much government interference in contrast to what it purported to represent. In 1980 the white editors serving Zimpapers titles were relieved of their duties with black editors taking over so that they propagate the ruling government's ideology. Mukasa (2003) argues that the new government suspected white editors of being saboteurs and not loyal to the ruling party. He adds that Nkala made no secret of government's suspicion that the white editors may have given favourable coverage to the opposition ZAPU party and its ZIPRA military wing. In maintaining its hegemony, the government made sure that it relieves Willy Dzawanda Musarurwa of his duties who was said to be a Zimbabwe African People's Union (Mukasa, 2003). In Musarurwa's dismissal we see government's control in pursuit of maintaining hegemony again. The Zimbabwean

government stands accused of inheriting the Smith regime names for public owned media as well as ways of gagging the press. Mukasa (2003) argues that due to this syndrome of inheriting such patterns and media laws from their colonial masters, the African media has always remained repressive.

4.3 Control

With the coming of Associated Newspapers' Daily News in 1998, gagging of media became more pronounced with the introduction of Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act which has sections on operations of media organisations and media practitioners. The Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) of 2002 gave the minister of information the powers to publicity appoint Zimpapers board members who then make editorial appointments to all media houses under Zimpapers. The then Minister of Information Professor Jonathan Moyo used to appoint Mduduzi Mathuthu, the editor of *The Chronicle* and Edmund Kudzai the editor for *Sunday Mail.*

There are several cases of editors being dismissed or suspended for publishing stories that were deemed anti-government. In the 1980s Geoffrey Nyarota was the editor of the *Chronicle* when the infamous Willowgate Scandal was published exposing top government officials of underhand dealings in the buying and selling of cars at Willowvale Mazda Motor Industry where they bought cars for reduced prices and later selling them for a fortune. This saw him being transferred and later being given a less influential role in the running of the newspapers in the Zimpapers stable. He later left Zimpapers.

A senior *The Herald* staffer who spoke on condition of anonymity said;

> *The way Herald dismisses people is just like how Zanu-PF dismisses its members. One morning you are a darling and the next day you are the most hated. They make you feel the heat when they use you. The case of Nyarota was a sad one.*

Tommy Sithole was the other editor of *The Herald*, who published an editorial condemning the way police tear-gassed peaceful demonstrators against food price

increases. He was later relived of his duties as the editor of Zimpapers' flagship was later relieved of his duties as the editor. He was replaced by Charles Chikerema.

Edmund Kudzai landed the top post as the editor of *The Sunday Mail* where he was short-lived after being fingered as the Facebook character Baba Jukwa who slammed the ruling ZANU-PF in the run up to the 2013 elections. He was initially suspended for a case of banditry, treason and terrorism. When the three months' notice jobs issue swept across Zimbabwe, Kudzai was given marching orders. His *Chronicle* counterpart Mduduzi Mathuthu finally resigned after being transferred to a smaller paper – *The Southern Times* – in Namibia. There was suspicion that he was to no good in the government controlled paper after previously running an online website *New Zimbabwe.com* which was sometimes skeptical of government policies.

4.3.1 Discussion

Mandava (2006) asserts that the government introduced communication policies presupposed to be geared towards establishing a pro-people communication system. He further argues that this was to be done through decolonization of the media and democratisation of the flow of information in the country (Mandava, 2006). This saw the pro-government papers singing for their supper; they praised government policies religiously. Considering Edmund Kudzai and Mduduzi Mathuthu's appointments one can argue in the lines of critical political economy which is holistic in approach. A Foucauldian approach to critical political economy sees power as not wielded by individuals and institutions but negotiated and constructed through discourse. It goes beyond political economy when journalists are said to be inclined to certain individuals rather than serving the interests of all the ruling elites. It is imperative to note that after the appointments of Mathuthu and Kudzai who were deemed anti-government, the powers to appoint editors of newspapers in the Zimpapers stable were stripped from the responsible ministers. Professor Moyo's move to undermine the provisions of AIPPA by making editorial appointments was ironic considering that he was the author of the policy. The power is now in the hands of the office of the President. There were also power struggles with the information minister having a hand in promoting individuals with the ministry's permanent secretary George

Charamba also making his appointments. The power struggles were not only confined to the ministry but also to the newsrooms.

Presently, there is a feeling that Professor Jonathan Moyo feels betrayed by his appointees Caesar Zvayi (*The Herald* editor) and Mabasa Sasa (*The Sunday Mail* editor) who have now turned against him in the war to succeed President Mugabe. The editors in the publications are deemed to be pro Team Lacoste – a grouping deemed to support Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa's ascension to be the next President at the expense of G-40 grouping which has Professor Moyo and others.

4.4 The birth of *H-Metro*

The audiences are not always passive or tabularasa. They interpret news according to their own lived experiences. It is against this background that newspaper sales in the Zimpapers stables started to dwindle at the height of economic depression in 2008. The newspapers in the stable were largely regarded as propaganda mouthpieces by readers who yearned for regime change. For Zimpapers to continue realising revenue, the idea of starting another paper came out. It is imperative to note that the idea of a non-political newspaper was born. It was named *Harare Metro* but appearing as *H-Metro* but when it went national it ceased to be *Harare Metro* to be simply called *H-Metro*. The then Minister of Information and Publicity Webster Shamu, while officiating at the launch of the paper on September 11, 2009 said the newspaper would be a winner on the market. Said Shamu on the launch;

> *From the editorial focus and the quality of journalism which the dummies promise, I have no doubt in my mind that H-Metro will be a winner. Zimpapers has identified a niche which this popular tabloid is set to occupy and, I am sure, set to dominate when competition eventually comes. It is a niche to do with the popular in our townships, encompassing the full gamut of popular activities (politics, social and cultural issues, sport, etc, etc), all treated for easy and light reading but from a position of hard facts, honesty and human sympathy.*

H-Metro was born out of *city.com* an inset for *The Saturday Herald*. Ruth Butaumocho was the founding editor of city.com but when she went for maternity leave, the paper was given to Lawrence Moyo to edit. On Butaumocho's return the

paper had become viable with new sections which saw Moyo continuing as the editor. However, Butaumocho feels betrayed when she came back from maternity leave to find out that her city.com could no longer be given to her. Butaumocho said (during this study's interview);

> *We started publishing city.com on March 23, 2007 and a few months later I went for maternity leave. And being a woman on my return I was floating in the newsroom as I never got back my paper. Until now I do not know why I did not return as the editor for city.com. My guess is as good as yours why the paper was given to someone else.*

H-Metro was upgraded to be a stand-alone paper in the wake of competition and the general outcry by readers who were increasingly against political news. It was then decided that there was need to have a newspaper that was apolitical. *H-Metro* started publishing human interest stories on September 7, 2009 replacing the now defunct *city.com* the paper grew from strength to strength gaining popularity to become the second best-selling daily paper from the ZAMPS survey of August 2017 behind *The Herald*. The paper started with five journalists; Lawrence Moyo who was and still is the Editor, this researcher Tatenda Chipungudzanye as the Senior Reporter responsible for lead stories (now News Editor), Trust Khosa who was writing Entertainment and Sub-Editors – Washington Gwanzura (Chief Sub-Editor) and Thomas Chidamba (Senior Sub-Editor). This researcher also doubled as a Senior Sub-Editor to beef up the production team in order to meet deadlines.

Minister Shamu urged the paper to be professional and truthful in its coverage of stories and not being sensational like many other tabloids the world over;

> *The great temptation with this niche in the publishing industry is to push for sensation at the expense of truth, accuracy, fairness and balance. Always remember that beneath the sleaze and sensation is a human being susceptible to hurt, injury and suffering.*

The information minister was, in a way, quick to warn the newspaper to exercise caution in reporting. It can be viewed as a way of trying to gag the press when he implored H-Metro to be developmental while improving the society and not expose

ills in the society. Shamu's argument was that exposing decadence would result in ruining personalities;

> . . . *always remember that beneath those circulation statistics and healthy sales are lives that are either edified or ruined. Journalism cannot be about any sales, any stories, any slant, and still claim the status of a whole Fourth Estate counterbalancing the three other Estates which have to do with the way our society is organised and run. Journalism – when all is said and done – is about serving our societies with vital information and values necessary to save and improve them. It cannot be a vehicle for profitable decadence and ruination of personalities.*

Here there is an attempt at seriously warning the paper against writing stories which expose the ruling elites. Shamu says the paper should not focus much on profit but have respect for the ruling class when he advances in his speech that it had to take into cognizance how the society is organized and run.

H-Metro's founding chief sub-editor Washington Gwanzura said when the paper was introduced in 2009, it was a way of trying to capture some readers who had become increasingly disinterested in how *The Herald* and its sister publications were reporting. Said Gwanzura, in an interview with this researcher;

> *People were no longer interested in The Herald stuff. Interest in political stories especially those coming from The Herald was fading and people wanted something new. People wanted the lighter side of life.*

Charles Mushinga who is the Deputy Editor for the paper said Zimbabwe had no real tabloid over the years to tackle sensational issues. He advances that *H-Metro* came in as an alternative to serious news.

> *All papers catered for family reading in the Zimpapers stable as well as those not in the stable. There was therefore need to fill the market niche by coming up with a new newspaper to cater for that (Mushinga in an interview)*

The paper started as a mid-morning paper borrowing from western model, but the paper was heading for a still birth. The market was not ready for a mid-morning newspaper in the harsh economic conditions. The paper then resorted to being a morning one publishing from Monday to Friday. Starting with a workforce of five, the

paper now has 12 permanent staffers as well as six sit-in correspondents. *H-Metro* has also become training ground for journalist trainees drawing most of the students from the Midlands State University. Currently (as of August 1, 2017) the paper has 22 students drawn from media training institutions in the country but the bulk coming from the Midlands State University which has 17 students.

4.4.1 Discussion

The theory of political economy applies to the formation of *H-Metro.* Golding and Murdock (1973) advance the political economy of mass communications as an understanding of the basic features that underpin and shape the economic context and political consequences of mass communications. The view here is that the media are profit based entities which operate like any other business in a capitalist setting in any epoch but with control from the ruling class. Thus, *H-Metro* can be deemed to have been born out of need to make profit like many other business entities. While many might think that *H-Metro* mainly came about as an alternative to family newspapers, some of those who were there at the inception and privy to the goings-on suggest otherwise. The suggestion here is that the paper was introduced to cover up for the family papers in the stable which were facing serious resistance when it came to buying by readers. The political terrain saw the other papers in the stable having decreased sales. *H-Metro* then came up to fill the gap – the gap to realise profit as well as the political gap by bringing an alternative to political news.

The advent of *H-Metro* can also be perceived as the ruling class' continued hegemony. On realising market resistance from the market there was need for continued hegemony and hence the introduction of this new paper to sway people from political issues that were besieging the country. The formation of the paper analyses power relations in legitimising the existing society and its ways of life. Strinati, 1995: Gitlin 2003; Stevenson 1995 posit that hegemony centres on cultural and ideological means through which the dominant or the ruling class retain their dominance on subordinate classes by building spontaneous mass consent.

Golding and Murdock (1997) also posit that hegemony is concerned about the social construction of reality through certain dominant ideological institutions, practices and

discourses. Hegemony hence involves the social transmission of certain preconceptions, assumptions, notions, and beliefs that structure the view of the world among certain groups in a specific society (ibid). Golding and Murdock further argue that hegemonic ideology is translated into everyday consciousness that serves as indirect rule that is a powerful force for social cohesion and stability. It is against this background that this researcher can theorise the advent of *H-Metro* in hegemonic terms so that Zimpapers keeps control of audience by bombarding them with a new terrain of news away from volatile political situation brewing post 2008.

4.5 The editorial policy of *H-Metro*

H-Metro's editorial policy is just like that of other publications in the stable. The policy might have slight difference from those of the broadsheets – *The Herald, The Sunday Mail* and *Chronicle* but they are similar is some ways. *H-Metro* editorial policy is the one that guides the newspapers in gathering, processing and dissemination of information.

H-Metro editorial policy states that the newspaper should deliver accurate content to its readers. The paper is supposed publish comprehensive content on local, national and international events**.** *H-Metro* has a full spectrum like other newspapers in the Zimpapers stable except that it does not cover political issues. The paper however leads with scandals and human-interest stories.

4.5.1 Discussion

Barret and Newbold (1995) argue that there are objectives that direct their processes of news gathering, processing and dissemination. The further define editorial policy as the institutionalisation of objectives. In light of this, there can be concluded that there is patriarchal role in *H-Metro* editorial policy sometimes not written down since there is an attempt at maintaining the patriarchal ideology. Chari (2009) advances that men's roles are consolidated by the media because of masculinity which gives them mastery over women.

The concept of political economy when looking at ownership and control comes into play. The power relations which mutually constitute the production, distribution and

consumption patterns of stories in *H-Metro* where sexual vilification of women has taken centre stage appearing like part of the editorial for the tabloid. Political economy has a hand in the representation of women in the newspaper.

4.6 *H-Metro* editorial structure

4.6.1 The Editor

Lawrence Moyo is the editor of the paper and supervises the newsrooms budget and ensures that the editorial policy is adhered to. He sets the strategic plan for the newspaper with the help of senior staffers such as the chief executive officer Pikirai Deketeke. The editor liaises with other departments such as the advertising department to see to it which adverts appear in the paper and the newsroom on what should be included and excluded in the newspaper. Lawrence Moyo ensures that the budgets are followed in liaison with the finance department and that production times are met with the production department which prints the newspaper.
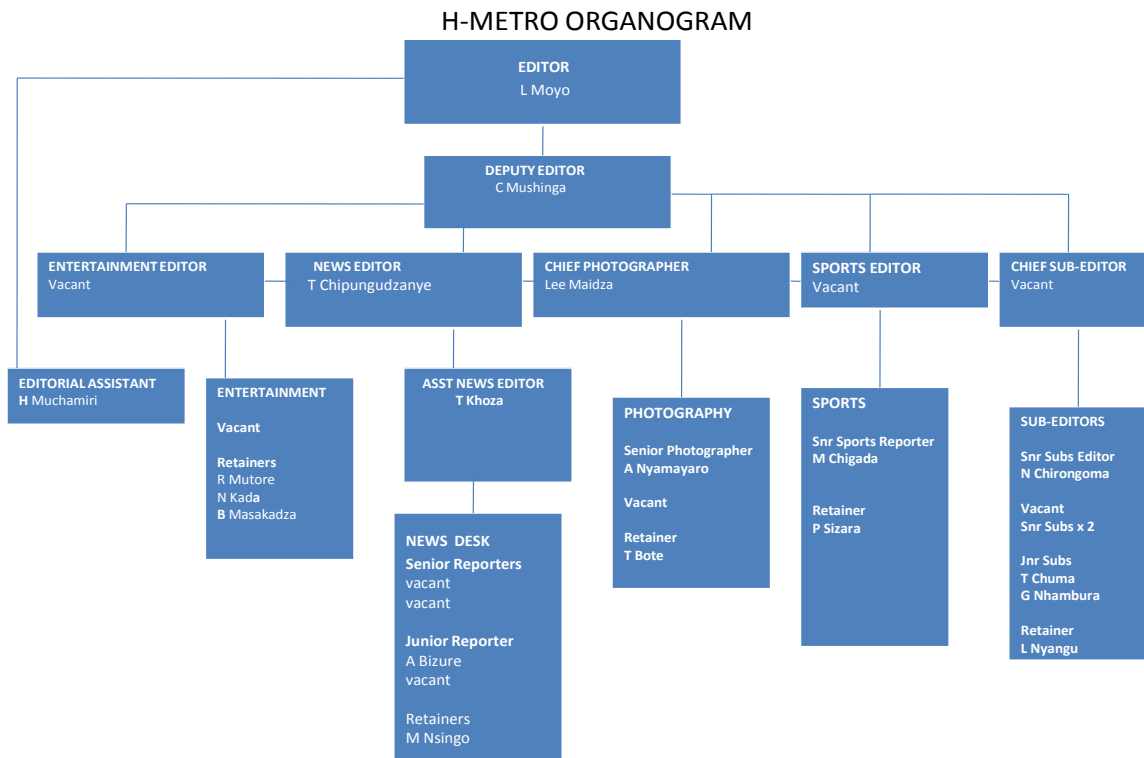

Fig 4.6.1(a) *H-Metro organogram*

When the paper has a hot selling story, the editor engages the circulation department to come up with the number of newspapers that should hit the streets on a particular day. The editor works hand in glove with the human resource department for the welfare of journalists in the newsroom while it is not the role of the human resource department to select journalists to work for the paper. The editor selects the journalists while the human resource department facilitates contracts for the journalists as well as their packaged. Lawrence Moyo is also involved in rotating journalists to cover different genres in liaison with the deputy editor and news editor. Moyo however refused to contribute to this study saying he had nothing to say since was not much into commenting on issues. Moyo said;

> *I cannot comment. This is not my area of speaking issues*

4.6.2 The Deputy Editor

Charles Mushinga is the deputy editor and does most of the administration work involving management meetings. The roles of the deputy editor are not very much different from those of the editor. Mushinga says;

> *My duties are to edit stories, check for libel, cast headlines, write editorials as well as deciding on lead stories among other things.*

4.6.3 News Editor

The main duty of the news editor is to ensure hands on the day to day running of the newspaper. This researcher Tatenda Chipungudzanye is the news editor of *H-Metro*. The news editor gives reporters assignments and continuously monitors the journalists to ensure that the daily targets are met. The daily targets involve meeting deadlines for submitting stories as well as cleaning copy of grammatical errors and ensuring that the stories submitted are factually correct. The news editor liaises with reporters on how to angles the stories assigned. It is also the duty of the news editors to approve or disapprove a story. The news editor also chairs the diary meeting which involves reviewing the newspaper as well as deliberations on housekeeping issues. The meetings are done every Monday morning. Drivers transporting reporters are also supervised by the news editor when assigned in the newsroom.

4.6.4 Assistant News Editor

The assistant news editor Trust Khosa assists the news editor in the day to day running of the newspaper. He assumes the roles of the news editor in the absence of the office holder.

Said Khosa;

> *My duties are of assisting the news editor in his roles in his presence or absence as well as writing stories for the newspaper.*

4.6.5 Chief photographer

The chief photographer Lee Maidza is responsible for heading the photographic department and liaises with photographers on the pictures needed for the newspaper. The chief photographer assigns photographers in consultation with the news editor. All the pictures that are published in the paper. The chief photographer photographers do not necessarily have a desk where they are limited to but they take pictures that are used in all desks in the newsroom.

> *We have been often attacked because no one wants to be exposed of evil deeds. The entire team of photographers has been attacked one way or the other with most of the cases getting into courts. Photographers are being attacked in the line of duty (Maidza in an interview).*

4.6.6 Chief Sub-Editor

Washington Gwanzura was the founding chief-sub editor before being promoted to become the group chief designer. He is now back working as the chief-sub editor for the paper again. His duties involve assigning sub-editor pages to sub and edit copy. He however has his own concerns calling for professionalism in the running of the newspaper. Gwanzura believes it is not professional to let students do most of the work in gathering and writing of stories. He advances;

> *I can say H-Metro is run by students because they constitute the bulk of the work force for the publication. There needs to be professionalism because students cannot be relied upon for investigative stories. This can be detrimental. I have followed closely on one story which resulted in the crumbling of a marriage because of lack of professionalism. A picture was recycled and then used in the newspaper when the woman had already married and it exposed her to her husband as a prostitute and*

the marriage collapsed. In this case relying on students on such stories could lead into lawsuits for the paper.

4.6.7 Sub editors

Sub editors' duty is to craft catchy headlines which help in selling the paper to the consumers. They also lay the pages using Indesign CS4 software as well as clean pictures for use on the pages. They also check for errors and clean the copy before the paper is published. Tinashe Chuma a sub-editor said;

> *This is where all the newsroom processed stories end up at. We check for accuracy of facts as well as have a critical eye to avoid libelous stuff in the newspaper.*

4.6.8 Reporters

Reporters are very important for the survival of the newspaper. They are the ones who bring story ideas and develop them into stories. The reporters at *H-Metro* all report to the news editor since there are no entertainment, sports and features editors. At *H-Metro* there is only one senior reporter Mugove Chigada and senior photographer Arron Nyamayaro who also writes stories. Adoration Bizure is the junior reporter completing full time staffers. Senior reporters are seasoned journalist who have been in the industry for some time and are usually trusted in news gathering and writing. They are guided by the editorial policy in writing stories. There are also sit-in correspondents who are paid a fixed amount per month who help in writing stories. Gwanzura said;

> *Correspondents constitute the bulk of news contributors at H-Metro together with interns drawn from several media training institutions in the country and the neighbouring South Africa. It is difficult to talk to the success of H-Metro without mentioning the reporters and students who come up with the stories.*

4.6.9 Photographers

H-Metro has two full time photographers in Lee Maidza and Arron Nyamayaro. Tawanda Bote is a correspondent while Nyasha Chawatama is an intern. They all help in taking pictures that are used in packaging the newspaper. These photographers tell stories through photographs. They are usually assigned together with reporters and they sometimes cover stories on their own bringing either captions or stories.

4.6.10 Cartoonist

H-Metro cartoonist is a correspondent Knowledge Mushohwe who is a lecturer at Chinhoyi University of Technology. He designs the cartoons in relation to stories that would have been published the day before or on that particular day.

> *Cartoons help tell a story. The cartoons on their own represent a story in that they usually summarise a number of words for a story that would have been written.*

4.6.11 Discussion

Kamath (2003) advances that in any news organisation, the editor lays down the editorial policy and the subject of the editorials. Hubbard (1999) concurs with Kamath asserting that an editor is a person employed by a newspaper, whose core business it is to separate the wheat from the chaff and to see that the chaff is printed. As posited by Rucker and Williams (1955), the editor has the final voice on all the stories across all desks within the newsroom and allocates stories in the newspaper through determining stories to be used as lead stories. When a reporter breaches the code of conduct, it is the duty of the editor to consult with the human resource department on whether to retain the journalist or to fire. The former assistant news editor Nigel Pfunde was fired for being absent for five working days in a year without valid reason. When the hearing was set, it was well known that Pfunde was heading for exit which happened. The scholars define how Moyo operates as the editor of the paper.

The roles of *H-Metro* staffers have been outlined as well as the challenges they face in the line of duty. From the submissions it can be noted that a lot is involved in running the newspaper ranging from being attacked physically by news sources or threatened by the powerful people. This is a serious threat to freedom of expression as provided for by Zimbabwe's Constitution as well as international conventions such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

4.7 Distribution of *H-Metro*

H-Metro is printed in Harare and distributed around the country from Monday to Friday. Harare constitutes the bulk of the newspapers while others are distributed to other cities such as Mutare, Bulawayo, Gweru and Masvingo. Other towns also get the paper which is distributed simultaneously with *The Herald*. *H-Metro* prints 15

000 copies a day and is the second widely read daily paper in the country after *The Herald.* It is also found on the internet for consumers in and outside the country who prefer soft copy.

4.8 Vision

The vision of *H-Metro* is encompassed in the Zimpapers' vision to maintain its hegemonic status as the leading incorporated media, commercial printing and packaging company in Zimbabwe (http://www.herald.co.zw/about-zimpapers/). Zimpaper's vision is "To be the leading newspaper, publishing, printing and packaging company in Zimbabwe and beyond." It is this vision that guides the day to day operations of the business units in the group. Zimpapers is ranked a leader in printing a packaging the group publishes company publishes 12 newspapers which are *H-Metro, The Herald, The Sunday Mail, Chronicle, Sunday News, Manica Post, Umthunywa, Kwayedza, B-Metro, Suburban, The Business Weekly* and a regional paper *The Southern Times* which is jointly owned by The New Era of Namibia and Zimpapers in what is called NamZim. The group's magazines which include *Trends, Zim Travel* and *The Bridal Magazine* have since folded in the wake of economic hardships. There are radio stations which include *Star FM, Diamond FM* (wholly owned by Zimpapers) and *Nyaminyami and CapiTalk* (co-owned by Kingstons Limited).

Beats covered in *H-Metro* include issues of the personal experiences of celebrities, they expose taboo, uncover strange sex encounters, domestic disturbances and family disputes, hard news, sport, crime, features, education, health, tourism and entertainment among others. Below is an excerpt from a story done by this researcher which was on the features page on 7 June 2017 to show the full spectrum covered by the newspaper;

Fig 4.8 (a) The late wav veteran and musician Dickson Çde Chinx'Chingaira

Chinx a beacon of decolonisation

. . "To Cde Chinx music was a friend, comforter and guardian for freedom fighters"

By Tatenda Chipungudzanye

It was one chilly 1975 night when fired-up youths, among them young Dickson Chingaira, left the comfort of their homes to join the liberation struggle. It was generally concluded that they had crossed to Mozambique to fight for their country; some had to fight from without for battles and war to be won.

H-Metro has a website which allows an alternative to the traditional hard copy but readers always bemoan when it gets available. The news is loaded on the website some 12 hours after the hard copy hits the street. This was necessitated by the need to push hard copy volumes before offering the cheaper internet version. The publication also has a twitter handle, WhatsApp feedback platform as well as Facebook page.

4.9 Mission

Zimpapers is not mutually inclusive in serving the interests of the general public as a publicly owned company. Part of the mission statement reads that it is there to serve and propagate government interests of the day. The company is profit oriented, thus its mission involves publish newspapers, magazines and books, produce print and packaging products as well as offer broadcasting services of the highest quality at competitive prices that add value to stakeholders (http://www.herald.co.zw/about-zimpapers/). Rather than serving the public the organisation mainly serves the powerful ruling (politically and economically) elites.

Herald news editor said;

> *Unlike The Herald and other newspapers under Zimpapers stable, H-Metro was specifically established with a view of profit making as its content proves.*

4.10 Core Values

According to *The Herald* website, Zimpapers' core values include customer success or satisfaction, equal opportunity employment, good corporate governance, profitability, quality products and services, continuous innovation and efficiency (http://www.herald.co.zw/about-zimpapers/).

4.11 Funding mechanism

Zimpapers is a publicly owned company that is listed on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange. The business units within the group are after making profit. *H-Metro* gets some revenue from advertising and sales.

Shamu at the launch of the paper praised Zimpapers as running professionally and not dependent of the government. Shamu says;

> *Elsewhere on the continent, newspaper enterprises in which governments have a stake have not done well. Not so in Zimbabwe where Zimpapers continues to rule the roost. I hope Zimpapers maintains its market leadership founded on commercial soundness and the need to serve all with information while defending the national interest.*

Shamu says the founding Minister of Information of Independent Zimbabwe, Dr

Nathan Shamuyarira, had worked hard to ensure that Zimbabwe Newspapers remained a public company quoted on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange.

> *Through the dominant shareholding in a public quoted company whose core business is printing and publishing, Government sought the rigour of the market as a funding formula.*

4.11.1 Discussion

Chandler (2011) posits that media owners or the capitalist elite use their media outlets to propagate the ruling class ideology**.** At one time the paper was not taking adverts from Econet since it was argued to be against ruling government ideology. *H-Metro*'s news coverage does not cross the path of the ruling party ideology; the paper rather is silent on political issues and concentrates on human interest issues. Potential advertisers might be chased away by stories again for instance financial institutions do not want to advertise with *H-Metro* because they argue that the paper thrives on sex scandals which is not proper for their clientele. This also the case with banks. Funding companies which are mainly advertisers play an important role on news production distribution and consumption negatively portraying big companies that are bringing in revenue becomes a problem even if the story is of public interest.

4.12 Advertising

H-Metro, unlike other titles in Zimpapers group does not necessarily rely on much advertising for survival. The newspaper mainly survives on circulation. For instance, at one time when the paper was printing 15 000 copies, around 14 900 copies could get sold. The paper usually has few adverts. In September 2016, advertising revenue was US$3 000 while sales for hard copies was US$119 630 (the figures came out of a meeting attended by this researcher). Advertising however also contributes meaningfully towards total revenue for Zimpapers which goes in line with the company's objectives of running the business for profit.

4.12.1 Discussion

Chomsky (1988); Picard, (1989); Napoli, (2003) all agree that media organisations survive on advertising revenue but this has not been the case with *H-Metro.* In 2010, the paper wanted to publish a story on a cockroach that had been found in a pie bought at OK Zimbabwe and the latter threatened to pull out adverts for the Grand

Challenge Jackpot Promotion that were to be published in *The Herald* if the story was to see the light of the day but the paper published the story. OK then pulled out the adverts but on realising the importance of *The Herald,* the retailer still went on to advertise.

4.13 Linkage with other organisations

Zimpapers has built reputation for over a century as one of the leading printing and publishing organisations in Southern Africa. Its publication *H-Metro* contributes greatly in informing the locals and those abroad. The general public prefers the paper because it tell the Real Life, Real Drama away from political issues. The paper has cordial relationships with other papers published under Zimpapers in that it shares stories with sister publication in the convergence. The paper shares the same editorial policy so content from papers such as *The Sunday Mail*, *The Chronicle, The Sunday News* and also the tabloids*, Kwayedza, Umthunywa* and *B Metro*. The organisation also has a link with sister radio station Star FM where stories from the publication are usually taken as news and topical discussion points during the Tilder Moyo Show and 326 Show hosted by Pathisani and KVG. Besides the local linkages the paper gets some stories from The Daily Mail and Kick-Off among other sites. Our senior reporter Mugove Chigada once joined our radio station as a sports reporter and he says;

> *Convergence is very important at equipping one with necessary skills in light with ever changing media environment. It is because of the link with other organisations within the group one gets to know many things. It is necessary for one's development*

4.14 Overall Discussion

McChesney (2008) posits that media are central part of the capitalist political economy, the centre of marketing system, and the source of profit. This explains the operations of *H-Metro* in that the paper aims at making profit in the capitalist system. Issues of ownership, funding and control play a vital role for the survival of the biggest tabloid in the country. The roles of the journalists have been defined in the organogram and these keep the organization going daily. For instance, Rucker and Williams, 1955; Fink, 1988 advance the duties of the deputy editor as that of assisting

the editor in decision making like on which stories to get the preference. Part of the editorial policy of *H-Metro* is not written down but the seniors staffers just determine what sells most and women who are skimpily dressed as well as sex scandals carry the day after establishing that the genres sell better from the sales figures compiled daily. Herman and Chomksy (1988) argue that the media should not be controlled their patterns should be flexible; they maintain that there should be free market in order for the media to function properly. This, to some extent, is true with *H-Metro* in that the paper once wrote a story on Minister Samuel Undenge who wanted to pay US$30 per month maintenance for his child. Undenge was a board member for Zimpapers but the story saw the light of the day. And it was argued that there should not be interference with the operations of the newspaper.

Despite the few adverts in *H-Metro,* the newspaper operates in a dual market as it does not only sell capitalists' products but sells readers to the advertisers (Chomsky 1988, Napoli, 2003). Titles within Zimpapers stable get most of their adverts from government institutions as well as parastatals. A full page in *H-Metro* US$700 to advertise while the paper sometimes sells promotional pages for entertainment for US$112 as of September 2017 while *The Herald* full page costs US$3 000. However, because of the volatile economic patch the country is going through some advertising rates are negotiated for. There has also been an increase in adverts coming from the private sector with major advertisers being TM Pick and Pay, wholesalers which include N Richards, Mohamed Mussa, Econet Wireless, Kwese TV and OK Zimbabwe among others. In light of control, Zimpapers at one time would scrutinise Econet adverts before they were taken in because the mobile telephone service owner Strive Masiiwa was deemed to be politically incorrect. He was touted to be an agent for regime change. Econet pays tribute to the late Vice President Joshua Nkomo in its adverts because he was the one who gave the company a licence when President Mugabe was on his annual leave. There has been a new trend of jacketing the newspapers with adverts then stories starting on the second page in all Zimpapers titles. As discussed earlier on *H-Metro* the second most read daily in the country after *The Herald* according to ZAMPS survey results of August 2017. Zimpapers business units enjoy a symbiotic relationship with advertisers. Picard (1989) argues that

advertising is the lifeblood of any newspaper organization (Pichard 1989). Advertising at Zimpapers account for 70 percent of the total revenue.

4.15 Conclusion

The Chapter looked at the structure of *H-Metro,* the historical background, political economy, evolution and current status of the organisation. Using *H-Metro,* the chapter also discussed operations at Zimpapers. Findings of the research are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Data Presentation and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter gave a detailed account on political economy of Zimpapers which owns *H-Metro* which is the paper under study. It was discovered that ownership structure as well as finding played a role in making certain representations in the newspaper. This chapter presents research findings, data analysis, and discussion of the findings in accordance with the research objectives in order to determine the sexual vilification frames of women in *H-Metro*.

5.2 Overview

This study analysed a total of 50 stories which dealt with sexual vilification of women and the stories were published between January 2015 and August 2017 in *H-Metro*. Interviews were also conducted where 10 respondents comprising journalists and some people were from pressure groups took part. Data from these articles was qualitatively analysed in bid to understand the sexual vilification stereotypes of women in *H-Metro*. This chapter answers the research questions that were developed in chapter one linking them with the three theories which include the objectification theory, tabloid theory and picture theory discussed in chapter two, the methods and methodology in chapter three as well as the organisational structure in chapter four. The case study design was important in coming up with findings as well as archival material and interviews. As discussed earlier on, the study took a qualitative approach so the data was thematically presented. Several themes were employed in the study to explain and present information. Emerging themes from the gathered data were identified and linked to the study. The researcher used direct quotations from participants. Pie charts, tables, graphs, pictorial presentations as well as description and narrative opportunities were used in data presentation. Textual analysis, discourse analysis and hermeneutic of interpretation were employed to analyse the data.

From the archival and interviews research findings it has been found out that women are mainly framed differently when it comes to sexuality but it can just be different

words that all zero in to one conclusion of loose morals. Words such as hookers, prostitute, ladies of the night, thigh vendors, sex and nude pictures have been intermittently in the discourse to do with women's sexuality. Some interviewees in this study saw the representations as what really transpires on the ground while other looked at the sexual vilification in the negative.

From the 50 sampled news stories it was discovered that the stories used the word hooker 42 times accounting for 59% of the total usage in the stories sampled in this study while women were represented as thigh vendors 9 times which accounts for 13% of the stories in this study. In 7 instances women were represented as ladies of the night which translates to 10%, 8 times as prostitutes equaling 11 percent while in 5 instances they were reported as side chicks which accounted for 7%. The table, bar graph and pie chart below show how many times women have been vilified using different words.

5.3 Sexually vilifying words

Sexually Vilify Word	Number of times the word was used
Hooker	42
Thigh Vendor	9
Ladies of Night	7
Prostitute	8
Side Chick	5

Fig 5.3.1(i) Framing of women in *H-Metro*
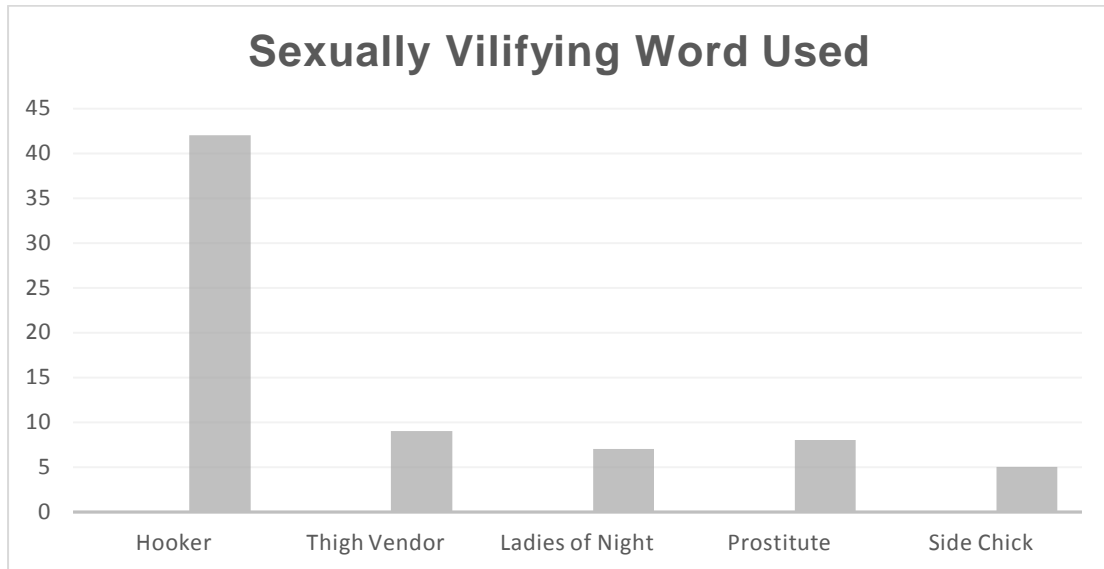
Fig 5.3.1(ii) Framing of women in *H-Metro*
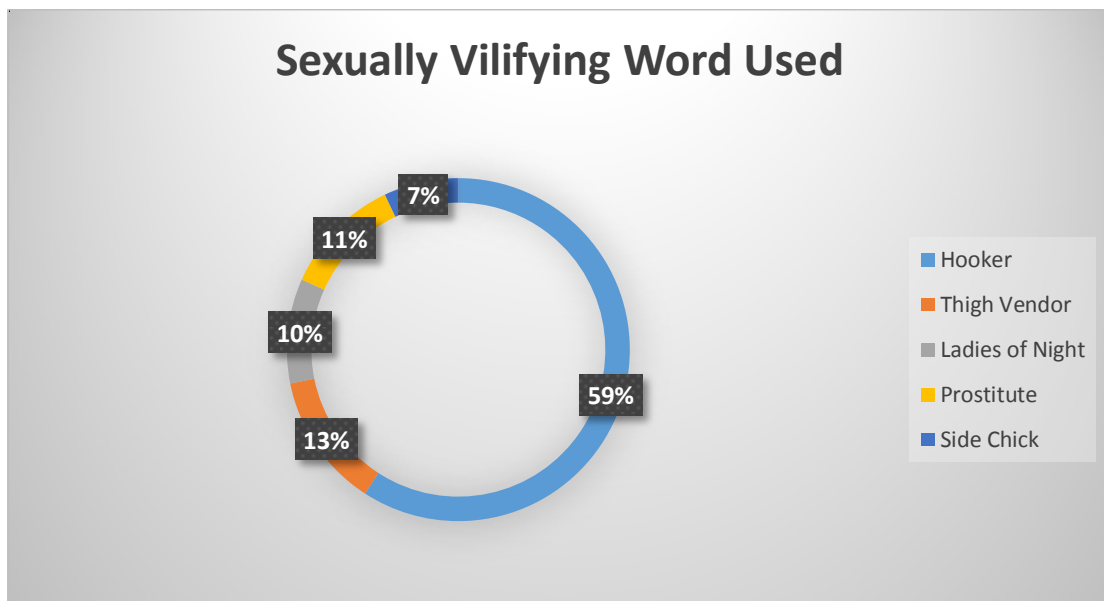
Fig 5.3.1(iii) Framing of women in *H-Metro*

5.3.2 Sexually vilifying pages

In the findings, different pages were used in the sexual vilification of women with some of the stories getting the front page space as well as full pages inside the newspaper. Space allocation to sexually vilify women has been in the form of stories, pictures and cartoon. There were 23 front page headlines accounting for 46% of representations which sexually vilified women from the sample of 50 selected articles

in this study while 22 full pages equating to 44% of the sample were allocated to represent women as hookers, prostitutes, ladies of the night, side chicks and thigh vendors.

Fig 5.3.2(i) The table below show the stories which sexually vilified women and the number of pages they were allocated.

Pages	Number of Articles
Front Page	23
Full Page	22
Picture Page	1
Double Page	1
Cartoons	3
Stories with Pictures	50

There was also a full page (2%) of skimpily dressed women and 3 cartoons translating to 6% which all represented women in the frames discussed earlier. A double page sexually representing women accounted for 2%. All the stories that sexually vilified women, had two or more pictures accompanying while more pictures of women were slotted on the front page with superimposed structure.
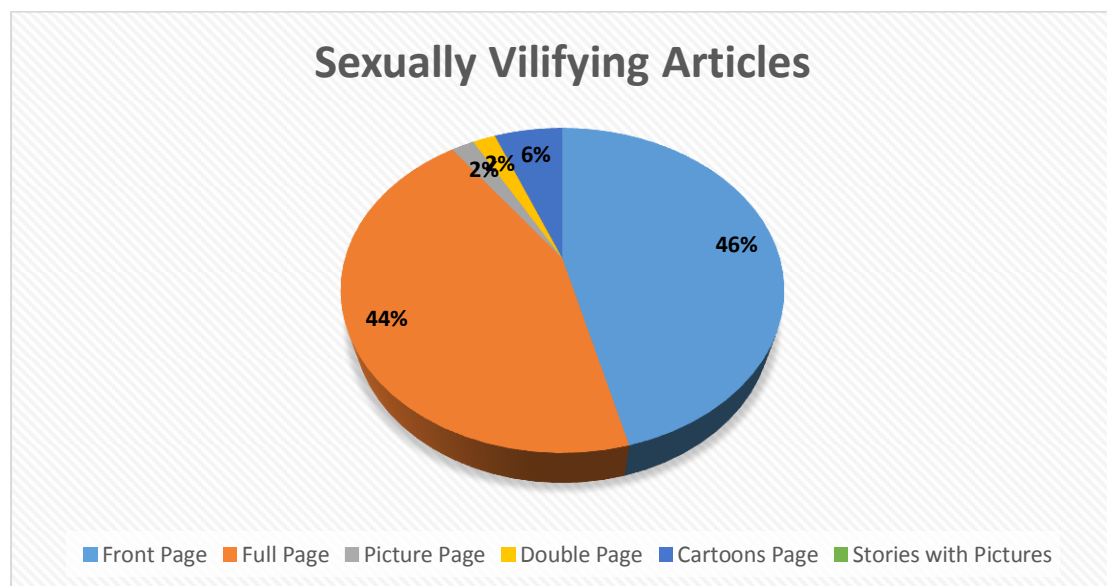

Fig 5.3.2(ii) Pie chart presentation of pages devoted to sexual vilification of women

5.3.3 Some of the stories sexually vilifying women

Hookers, thugs assault landlord	*8 February 2017*
Hookers accept bank transfers	*16 July 2017*
Hookers fight over man	*28 March 2017*
Wives demand sex roster	*2 March 2015*
Bindura sexcapade	*1 July 2015*
Small manhood wrecks marriage	*20 May 2015*
I'm sex starved	*30 March 2016*
Sex with 11 men	*1 June 2016*
Man beds mother, daughter	*11 January, 2016*
WhatsApp wrecks marriage	*24 March 2016*
Man catches wife in act	*18 March 2015*
Teenager offers sex present	*23 March 2015*
Side chick brutally attacked	*31 March 2016*
Prison officer in nude pix storm	*4 April 2017*
Hubby denies me sex	*6 January 2017*
Free sex at thief's funeral	*17 July 2017*
I'm sex starved	*28 March 2015*
Madzibaba better in bed	*4 May 2017*

5.4 Professional hookers

From the archival finding conducted in the 50 samples, women have been framed as hookers 42 times. These frames have been used on the front page as well as inside the newspaper in both the headlines and the text. This accounts to 59% of the total usage in the stories sampled in this study. Some of the stories where women were portrayed as professional hookers include those listed below;

> *Hookers, thugs assault landlord (8 February 2017) – SELF-CONFESSED hookers and suspected thugs assaulted a landlord when he demanded rentals for an apartment they are using to extort clients at Trekkerel Court.*

In this story the women are said to have beaten the landlord while the story confirms that confirms that they are professional hookers.

> *Hookers accept bank transfers (16 July 2017) – "Whatever, a rand or dollar I receive it makes me going vamwe vatinavo vari kunyepera hama dzavo kuti vari kushanda*

South Africa isu tichirara usiku hwese tinavo saka vatiza camera yenyu. ...we are on Ecocash, Telecash and accept bank transfers as well since we have to catch on with technology handisati ndava kuswiper chete (Some hookers lie to their relatives that they are based in South Africa while we hook up with clients here...we are on Ecocash, Telecash and accept bank transfers).

5.4.1 Discussion

Chitando (2011) argues that the terms for sex workers are totally negative because they carry connotations of immorality and aberrant behaviour. While it takes two to tango in prostitution, it has been women in all cases who have been referred to as hookers in the articles while men have only been framed as cheaters. The discourse in the representation here is centred on the word hook which means to catch. So women are portrayed as catchers – those who are always there to hook up with men. It can either be by consent or force that they catch men. Being portrayed as hookers, women are portrayed as not having permanent partners as they hook like a fish hooker which catches and releases the fish while the hook preys for more catch.

Hermeneutically, the concept of hooking can be traced back into the bible when some of Jesus' disciples were fishmongers. They used to catch fish for survival. Though for a good reason the concept over time got to be used refer to any form of hooking or fishing. Jesus told his disciples to leave fishing telling them that he would make them fishers of men. As such hookers can be interpreted as fishers of men. Women in this case are represented as fishers since they fish men for their survival.

Tinashe Chuma, a sub editor with *H-Metro* argues that the representation of women as hookers was natural since it was the way the society was arranged. He said there was nothing extraordinary because Zimbabwe was a patriarchal society which is expected to behave in men-centred behaviour.

Chuma argues;

It is difficult to make a representation on what is on the ground. The media, among them H-Metro, are there to make a representation of what is happening in the society. Some of the women are self-proclaimed hookers and they even confess to that. We cannot portray them as saints when they say they are hookers. We paint a picture of

what really is on the ground and the women shout out that they are hookers and many other names for prostitutes. This the society we live in.

Chuma further argues that the headlines on the stories are put to capture readers who are predominantly men.

Journalist Blessing Masakadza echoed with Chuma when he said that sometimes women were their own fighters since *H-Metro* is there to report what is on the ground.

Truly sometimes women are their own enemies. They take nude pictures on their own and share them with friends and men. So, when the pictures leak in the public domain the media will just represent what is on the ground.

Photographer Lee Maidza said there were different views on women but all point out to sexual vilification;

Some people see women as hookers and many other images but we should know that women are sexually vilified when only women steal limelight when we know that it takes two to tango. Where are men in all this prostitution discourse?

However, Maidza goes on to blame women on their dressing saying it was one of the major reasons why women get represented as hookers.

5.5 Thigh vendors

The other frame for women used in the representation of women is that of thigh vendors. There are 9 instances where women have been framed as thigh vendors in the stories which were sampled in this study. The framing of women as thigh vendors accounts for 13% of the stories in this study.

Hookers fight over man (28 March 2017) – Two self-confessed thigh vendors clashed over a married man for sexual favours at Fran Court along Josiah Chinamano on Good Friday.

This story confirms the women as in the trade of selling sex.

Fig 5.5.1 (a) *H-Metro front page on hookers*

The above edition of *H-Metro* of July 16, 2017 reinforces the commodification of women and sex. Women who are into sex work in Harare are now accepting bank transfers in the wake of cash shortage in the country. One woman is quoted in the story saying;

> *Competition forces us to accept any rand or dollar for a short time session since every note counts much when you are away from home. Some ladies use South African mobile (phone) lines to communicate with their relatives or husbands in other towns lying that they are in South Africa when they spend nights warming legs here.*

5.5.1 Discussion

Chiweshe (2016) advances that the patriarchal society is partly responsible for the commodification of women by making people pay for lobola. She argues that when traditions are commercialised there are negative implications for women yet the same lobola practice retains support from many people. Chiweshe (2016) posits that when women's bodies are commoditised they become the site of complex interactions of patriarchy, power and politics.

Media Insitutute of Southern Africa acting director Thabani Moyo said newspapers and the society should firstly realise that all people are human beings before ascribing roles. Moyo argues;

Society should be cautious and not stigmatise women as prostitutes or hookers or any other denigrating names. We have rights and we should not stigmatise along gender lines because this is against the essence of human progression and development.

5.6 Ladies of the night

Women are referred to as ladies of the night 7 times in the stories that were selected in this study. These representations range from the headlines as well as in the body of text (discussion – night is evil. From this representation the frame of ladies of the night accounted for 11% usage. It is associated with darkness. In the story titled *Hookers accept bank transfers* the introduction to the story begin by identifying women as ladies of the night;

Ladies of the night are setting up fire to warm themselves up as they wait on streets to lure men for sex in Dulivhadzimu suburb, H-Metro has learnt.

5.6.1 Discussion

Swedenborg (1958) asserts night in the spiritual sense signifying a state of shade brought on by falsity from evil (AR 1712, 2353). He adds that that obscurity of night in the world is natural obscurity but the obscurity of night in the other life is spiritual obscurity. The discourse of ladies of the night can be hermeneutically looked at in the sense of darkness. In light of this women are sexually vilified being looked upon as thriving to work under the cover of darkness. Night is symbolism is used to emphasise deeper meanings. Darkness is often used to communicate negativity, evil or death. Using the hermeneutics approach the ladies of the night can be explained biblically with the assertion from the bible that evil is dark while good is light. So, by portraying women as ladies of the night, there is an attempt to depict them as evil and up to no good. In the African traditions, animals which travel at night like owls are deemed evil. It is this allegory that women are also framed in. Conversely there is nowhere where male thieves have ever been called by vilifying names with the word 'night' involved. A representative from Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights said despite the landmark ruling not when they are alone for being suspected to be ladies of the night the State was still doing so and worrying, and the newspapers were doing no good about it.

The press has never done much to erase the stereotypes. Women continue being called by names such as hookers etc. It was proved in the courts of law that for one to be

called a prostitute there should be a male partner in her presence. This society leaves men to go away with it.

5.7 Prostitutes

The word prostitute was used 8 times in the stories to either refer to women who had been found cheating as well as their general representation in stories where there are problems involved be it marital or social issues. The stories and headlines which framed women as prostitutes constitute 10% of the total sample. On 3 August 2016 *H-Metro* carried a story whereby a pregnant married woman left home on the pretext of a trip to South Africa when she was holed in the Avenues area of Harare prostituting. The story which was headlined Married woman fakes trip to prostitute partly reads;

> An expecting Glen Norah married woman is alleged to have faked a trip abroad to engage in prostitution before clashing with a hooker in the Avenues over a client.

In another story a man was caught in the company of a woman who was framed as prostitute in a story headlined *Hubby caught with prostitute (20 August 2016).* The story reads;

> *There was drama at corner Nelson mandela and Innez Terrace in Harare on Thursday when a married woman caught her husband in the company of a prostitute…After receiving a tipoff, the woman tracked her husband from the time he picked up the prostitute.*

5.7.1 Discussion

Chitando (2011) posits that a prostitute is a deviant woman who is undeserving of respect. Chitando further argues that the woman of undeserving respect is measured against celebrated patriarchal womanhood best defined by the Shona proverb 'musha mukadzi' (literally translating into 'a home is a woman'). Barkan (2009) puts prostitution as the world's oldest profession. Its roots trace from the ancient Greece (p. 445). He also adds that prostitution existed in ancient Mesopotamia and in Greece where legal brothels (houses of prostitution) were common. Prostitution also then became the in-thing in ancient Rome. However, Barkan also argues that prostitution is a sensitive social issue in most contemporary societies.

In Zimbabwe it had to take human rights lawyers to challenge some provisions of prostitution at law and a landmark ruling was passed not to arrest women alone for

being suspected to be prostitutes. It was argued that arrests had to be done when a man was involved. All along the law had been protecting me while women could be arrested for walking alone at night during the Operation Chipo Chiroorwa where women were being arrested in the early 1990s for merely being suspected of loitering for the process of prostitution. Women's economic dependency on men is a fundamental property of gender relations in all industrial societies (Barrett 1980; Delphy 1984; Hartman 1976). The Operation Chipo Chiroorwa can be seen as a way to flush out women who solicit for sex in the streets but there could be deeper meaning in the discourse. The discourse of dependency is clear in Chipo Chiroorwa (Chipo get married) as it assumes that women are dependent on men. It is no doubt that women are objectified in this notion since they are seen not to prosper in the absence of men.

The discourse of prostitution can be hermeneutically analysed in what has come to be known as the oldest profession in the world. Prostitution could have started since the time of creation of the earth when Adam's wife Eve ate of the forbidden fruit with the snake. The forbidden fruit is often argued as sex. Throughout the bible, prostitution is mentioned several times and there were even laws to deal with prostitutes. While it took two to tango, women were punished in the bible for having sex with men outside marriage but men were treated with kid gloves. The society saw it natural for men to have sex with women. When a prostitute was caught at her shenanigans in the bible and brought to Jesus, the bible is silent on who the woman was having sex with but the society was quick to condemn the woman. It had to take Jesus' wit to save the woman when she was brought before him with people wanting to stone her to death as per their law and cultural beliefs. Jesus then tasked anyone who had never sinned to cast the first stone and everyone chickened out.

Journalist Blessing Masakadza said while women's images were usually battered in *H-Metro,* to a larger extent it was a representation of what is on the ground. Masakadza said there was an argument in parliament when Member of Parlaiament Mutseyami was asked to withdraw the word 'hure' – meaning prostitute.

> *Do we have replacements for words such as 'hure' that was shouted in the parliament? What shall we call them? The newspaper is sometimes there to report*

> *what is on the ground. We cannot change that because the moment we want to change then we are not being truthful or being a mirror for the country.*

5.8 Women as side chicks

Women have been framed as side chicks 5 times in the sampled stories. This frame can be loosely translated ad as 'spare wheel' in the African context where one is considered to be there as temporary and helper. Women have been referred to as side chicks for 9% of the stories. In a story headlined *Side chick brutally attacked (31 March 2016)* the story reads that;

> *A Glen View woman was stripped naked in front of her co-workers after news of her alleged affair with her married boss leaked to his wife.*

5.8.1 Discussion

Moore (2017) identifies three factors that make women side chicks which are power, rewards and little effort. From the framing of women as side chicks there is a deliberate attempt to sexually objectify women. The discourse here is that women can be content in getting into a polygamous relationship such that they end up being called side chicks. According to Moore (2017) Women love the idea of power and over time the love for power manifested into something that is devious and destructive. She argues that women have the power to grab someone husband and consent to whatever happens next. Moore (2017) argues that sometimes women are aware of the side-chick and tend to have a mental breakdown over the fact that their man is seeing another woman. The usage of side chick in the stories confirms the existence of the other woman. There are patriarchal beliefs that if a man has many wives then it is a sign of power. The more the women the more can be regarded as a real man in historical set up.

Moore (2017) argues that women can never be side chicks for nothing. There are rewards that come with being a side-chick for a man where monetary gain is the most popular form of reward. Money is probably the most popular form of reward for a side-chick. Moore further argues that all a side chick needs is toy with a man's emotions. In exchange for her time, the side chick is rewarded but the man can always return to his wife.

The issue of side chick can be explained hermeneutically in that these side chicks were the ones referred to as concubines in the bible years ago. There are several cases in the bible when men were said to have concubines;

> *Rehoboam loved Maacah the daughter of Absalom more than all his other wives and concubines. For he had taken eighteen wives and sixty concubines and fathered twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters (2 Chronicle 11:21).*

This is one of the verses where a man had many a concubines or side chicks in the bible. This notion spread to the modern day but with the change of name from concubine to side chick. One can argue that the framing of women as side chicks is traditionally rooted coming from the ancient people in the bible. There was deliberate differentiation from the real wife and those who came into existence without the proper rites being followed. Moore further argues that women can volunteer to be called side chicks because the task is not too demanding. A side chick's only role is that of pleasuring a man. If a side chick feels the relationship is too demanding she moves on to another man. The lack of seriousness in the relationships could have brought up the term side chick showing that it is usually temporary. Moore argues that the term side-chick is degrading and dehumanising to womanhood. She points at society's norms and values as responsible for sexual vilification of women.

5.9 Page softeners

Charles Mushinga argues that women issues make light reading and they are followed by many especially sex issues.

He asserts;

> *There is deliberated bias towards stories on women. Women soften the pages in as much as they are also soft. They (women) make interesting reading. Statistics has proven that sex sells that is the reason we play around with women's sex stories on the front page like any other story. The last time we had a story on nudity by a man we received a backlash from readers.*

5.9.1 Discussion

Murdock and Golding (1997) state that the media are industrial and commercial organisations which produce and distribute commodities they are after profit. In light of this we can note that sexual vilification is there to stay for now since the newspaper

thrives on selling sex issues. From the interviews from *H-Metro* staffers it was noted that some of the women are not even ashamed of prostitution while the newspaper has managed to thrive by selling sex issues.

5.10 Patriarchal effect

As alluded to earlier on, patriarchy plays a big role in the sexual vilification representation of women in the media. In light of this journalist Ruth Butaumocho says sexual vilification of women is historical where women have always been sexually objectified.

> *Socialisation in the patriarchal setting has been largely to blame for the representation of women as sex machines who can be called by any names that might suit males depending on their needs. Socialisation from birth can remove the sexual vilification stereotypes in the media and society at large.*

Journalist Chuma argues that the society has not been kind to women because when they cheat or suspected to be doing so, they are sent away by their husbands or husbands' relatives.

Chuma asserts that;

> *Women are marginalised in sexuality. It is however the society that we live in. Crimes involving women are crimes of passion.*

Cartoonist Knowledge Mushohwe is of the view that the patriarchal society has either labelled a woman a professional when she is gainfully employed or sex objects when they are depended on men.

> *The society views women in sexual manner. When women are skimpily dressed they are easily sexually vilified by having their pictures in the media. The pictures are sometimes placed in the newspaper without accompanying stories to leave the society to judge and this has more often than not resulted in sexual vilification of women.*

Fig 5.10 (a) *H-Metro front page with woman parading her sex life*

Using textual analysis, this can to some extent ends up with the society labelling women as always craving for sex therefore the representations they have in the media. In the article above a woman circulates her nude pictures and argues that she did so because she was sexually starved.

Butaumocho asserts that;

> It is easier to call a woman a slut than calling it to men. What can a woman be rather than having sex? Sex is associated with womanhood. Sex has a feminine face the reason why H-Metro sexually vilifies women for financial gains.

Fig 5.10(b) Women warring over sex

Textual analyzing this article, women appeared in *H-Metro* warring over sex from an ailing husband. The man is alleged to be 'centrally locked' – a sickness which comes when a man engages in sexual activity with another man's wife and some juju would have been used on a woman not to have sex with any man besides her husband. In these articles we see two women craving for sex from a visibly sick man who cannot have sex with them. The society in this case can conclude that that women want sex and therefore the sexual vilification representation.

An ethnographic appreciation of sexual vilification of women in print media: Case of *H-Metro*

H-Metro EDITORIAL

DO SOMETHING

YESTERDAY we carried a story headlined 'Tsikamutandas raping girls' in which a cabinet minister said bogus witch hunters better known as Tsikamutandas are raping girls and women in Marange.

Information, Media and Broadcasting Minister, Dr Christopher Mushowe said he was surprised that Marange area and some parts in Manicaland province continued to be infested by Tsikamutandas who are taking school children as their wives and stopping them from going to school.

The cabinet already announced a decision to stop the illegal operations of Tsikamutandas and called on traditional leaders and law enforcement agencies to decisively act to stop the menace. Tsikamutandas are fleecing villagers of their livestock and other investments nationwide and it is high time something is done to punish them.

The minister is right in saying some traditional leaders are getting bribes for allowing these rogue elements in their area
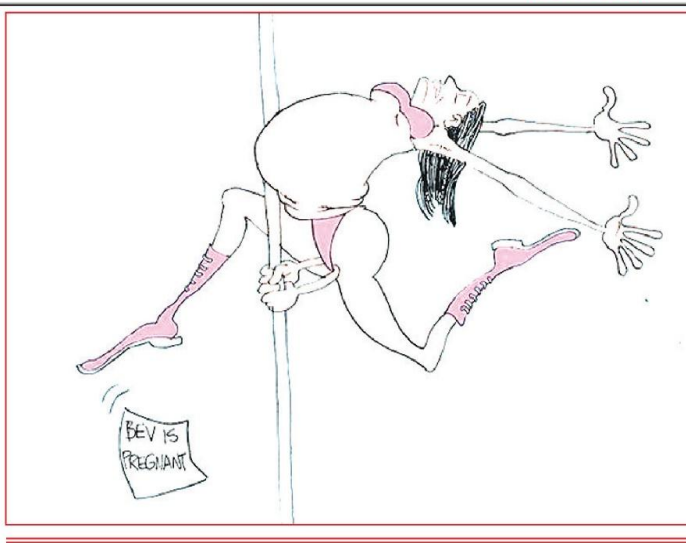
Fig 5.10 (c) Cartoon showing strip dancer Beverly Sibanda

From the archival material there is a cartoon of raunchy dancer Beverly Sibanda – real name Junior Zinhu – who represented in the semi-naked fashion in a follow up story that she was pregnant. The cartoon seems to suggest that Beverly cannot settle down for conventional marriage as she is likely to continue walking around semi-naked while patronising beerhalls where she frequents dancing to men. The cartoon also insinuates that she is prepared to give birth while in the bar since there are a child's hands protruding from her vagina while holding a pole that Beverly uses in her pole dance as she dances for men. The basic assumption here is that women are there to please men with their naked bodies. Cartoonist Knowledge Mushohwe argues that his job is to represent reality saying there was no way he could portray Beverly as decent since this would be wrong representation of reality. Mushohwe argues;

> *Women are the voice of reason in my cartoons and I cannot change the way they are. My only job is to represent reality. I cannot change Bev and neither can I change the way people think about her. What is important to me is to amuse readers.*

H-Metro Deputy Editor Charles Mushinga argues;

> *The framing of women is deliberate so as to have sales for the paper. He says there is a bias towards stories on women because they have proved to be doing well on the market than any other beat. Mushinga also argues that H-Metro being a tabloid there has to be a tendency for light reading.*

Journalist Masakadza said it is business which has proven that women's stories sell more than those involving men only. He argued that *H-Metro* consumers preferred

stories on sex involving women and nude, semi-nude and skimpily dressed women. He however argues that the representation was a bit unfair calling for changes to be made.

> *Women's images are sexualised and women suffer most when they are caught with men. The representation in the media sexually vilifies them and it has done them no good which has left many being self-proclaimed prostitutes. Many people want to see women in the nude and when H-Metro runs a story on a nude woman or sex tape the office is inundated with calls by men looking for the video. Some even offer money to buy the videos while some look for the woman's phone numbers.*

Masakadza further argued that without selling the woman on the social scene pages the paper does not perform well on the market. He said skimpily dressed women appeal more to readers.

5.11 *H-Metro* control

With reference to political economy of the media, control has a toll on how representations are made. Management at *H-Metro* is entirely composed of men while the paper only has one full-time female employee who is the editorial assistant. Men control and have a final say on what is published every day in the newspaper such that the patriarchal grooming can have a toll in what carries the day as news values. What is included or excluded is entirely in the hands of men. Lawrence Moyo (Editor), Charles Mushinga (Deputy Editor), this researcher Tatenda Chipungudzanye (News Editor), Lee Maidza (Chief Photographer), Washington Gwanzura (Chief Sub Editor) and Trust Khosa (Assistant News Editor) make up the decision making line up for the newspaper.

Washington Gwanzura argues that sexual vilification can only continue if there are no women in decision making at *H-Metro*. He says;

> *There are no women in position of command in H-Metro and this can largely account for the sexual vilification of women in the newspaper. Sexual vilification does not need to be solved but fixed once for all so that the representations are changed.*

5.11.1 Discussion

Bhasin 2006:3 argues that patriarchy is "the male domination, to the power relationships by which men dominate women, and to characterise a system whereby women are kept subordinate in a number of ways." This is self evident by merely

looking at the decision making structure at the tabloid. It is all composed of men and as such the influence of patriarchal effect is seen in the sexual vilification of women while men are excluded. In a story headlined *Hubby denies me sex (*6 January, 2017*)* where the woman approached the courts of law for recourse to compel her husband to have sex with her. The patriarchal society does not condone going public about private sex life and it is the reason why *H-Metro* could have published that story. The patriarchal society wants people to approach relevant relatives concerning sexual life rather than the courts of law. The paper never went into detail on why the woman had approached the courts but went on to portray her as one who wanted sex to an extent of going public over sex. There are no divergent voices since the management is male comprised.

5.12 Language use

It has been discovered that language use has had its effect in sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro* in the period under study.

Below are some of the stories sampled in this study and their language was analysed.

- ***Bindura Sexcapade (*16 August 2015*)***

In this story there is a woman who was having sex with several men and she was featured in the newspaper as of loose morals and to one extent brought her boyfriend home in the presence of her husband.

- ***Woman beds 11 (*1 June 2016*)***

In the story a woman's phone is confiscated and her love affairs with 10 men are exposed. The eleventh sexual partner is her husband who gets hold of the messages between the lovers in the woman's phone. It came out that the woman was having sex with all those men.

- ***Free sex at thief's funeral (*20 June 2017*)***

A well-known thief died in this story and he was known to be a womaniser who would even take home two women to have sex with. He would in addition have sex with his wife again. When the thief died prostitutes were offering free sex and the funeral wake became a hive of activity as people took turns to have sex in parked cars. The story reads;

An ethnographic appreciation of sexual vilification of women in print media: Case of *H-Metro*

There was FREE sex galore in Mbare on Monday and Tuesday nights as prostitutes mourned a serial thief. They described the late thief, who succumbed to tuberculosis, as a sex maniac.

Fig 5.12(a) Shows scenes at the thief's funeral where women were offering free sex

5.12.1 Discussion

Foulcault (1986) argues that language and power work together to create the social meaning that the powerful want to maintain. He further advances that the society is guided by language and it is guided by various sources of power, it recreates and reshapes ideas. Language affects how women are represented in *H-Metro*. While the story dwells on the sex shenanigans between the married woman and her several husbands, it is the framing that glorifies the act. The word sexcapades suggests a frivolous or overactive sexual act. The word seems to suggest an adventure. The paper leaves the story at the adventure level and never attempts to suggest solutions to the

social ill. The woman is condemned in the story and objectified as wanting nothing but sex in her life.

Adams (2003) argues that there is a huge relationship between language and media on representation of women. The language used in one of the stories above portrays the woman as a sex maniac who is not easily satisfied sexually that she needs a whole football team to have sex with her. The story however does not have solution or leads to helping the woman but the language used puts the woman as a sex maniac or a superwoman. The newspaper seems to be adding more to the stereotypes with this portrayal that all women want is sex. Both the tabloid theory and objectification theory explain this scenario. The woman has been objectified as a sex machine and the tabloid theory explains how the story is represented or rather sensationalised such that one ends up paying particular attention to detail when reading the story. The language that the paper uses sexually stereotypes women and the relationship between the language and media has shaped the society to believe in those stereotypes. representation of women Language in this case naturalises specific identities and phenomena.

5.13 Use of pictures to sexually objectify women

In one story of 12 January 2017, *H-Metro* carried a story of a man who was being stalked by her husband. The man went to an extent of framing love affairs between the woman and several men. The story however went on to be packaged with pictures of the woman who was skimpily dressed drawing attention to the woman's dress rather than her as a victim of stalking by her husband.

Fig 5.13.1(a) Pictures of a woman who was being stalked

5.13.1 Discussion

While Wittgensten (1968) claims that there is an unbridgeable gap between what can be expressed in language and what can only be expressed in non-verbal ways, the pictures in the story were ill-timed in that they went on to sexually vilify the woman as of loose morals by the way she is dressed in the African culture. The picture theory is considered as a correspondence theory of truth but in this case it is the man who was at fault but the pictures on the story suggest that the stalked woman was at fault. The pictures sexually objectify the woman in the representation. There is a possibility that much attention is not given to the husband since women have been argued to sell more than men in representation. The patriarchy has done a disservice here to the woman who is both a victim of stalking as well as victim of sexual vilification by the publication. Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) advance that women are sexually objectified and treated as an object to be valued for its use by others. The sexual

objectification is clear in how the patriarchal society views women from the findings from interviews as well as the content in the newspaper articles sampled.

5.14 Women and virility

There are two other stories *Madzibaba better in bed (*4 May 2017*)* and *Small manhood wrecks marriage* (20 May 2017) where two women sacrificed their marriages because of too much craving for sex and consideration of the man's penis.

Fig 5.14 (a) Shows two articles where women sacrificed marriages because of sex.

5.14.1 Discussion

Jonas Liliequist (2007) however asserts that virility is not necessarily sexual potency but includes the physical characteristics and abilities that are a fundamental measure of masculinity. He furthers argues that virility includes everything from body language, tone of voice and physiognomy, to musculature and sexual potency.

While *H-Metro* can be accused of sexually vilifying women, it is imperative to note that women are sometimes to blame for the representations. From the two stories the suggestion is that the two women are obsessed with sex such that they can sacrifice their marriages. Liliequist (2007) posits virility as materialisation or embodiment of postulated male qualities that make bodily appearances, organs, essences, nerves, musculature and anatomy the essential signs and sites of masculinity. Virility is mainly used to refer to male strength, especially in sexual terms.

With the two women setting the precedence, they can act as a standard followed by other women. The newspaper then portrays women in their natural state as they are in the society. The representation is that women accept virility.

Padare Men's Forum representative said men should strong in be so that their marriages remain intact;

> The reason we group as a men's forum is to try and educate and empower men on several things. From private life to economic things. We educate men how to handle families so that they are not torn apart.

5.15 Researcher's personal experience

In this study, the researcher was hands on with the day to day running of the newspaper which included packaging of stories as well as the final outcome of the stories in the newspaper. Most of the frames sexually vilified women because they are the stories which sell most. An attempt to package a newspaper without sex issues would have its detrimental effects in that the paper did not do well on the market and *H-Metro* offices would sometime be inundated with calls from reads questioning why the paper did not have stories with sex issues. This researcher attended several meeting where key stakeholders who are vendors would bare it all that readers shunned an edition without sex stories. With the need to make profit this researcher and other staffers in decision making would then ensure that sex stories are regularly carried in the newspaper as the lead stories. This was mainly done so as to please funders and controllers. In this case the funders would be readers while the controller is the editor who has the final say over the story which should be on the front page. The editor would sometimes not accept a story that did not have sex issues on the front page opting for sex which many readers wanted.

5.15.1 Discussion

Genzuk (2000) asserts that the extent to which it is possible for a researcher to become a full participant in in an observation depends partly on the nature of the setting being observed.   The personal experience showed that sometimes unwritten editorial policy as well as political economy is at work at *H-Metro* when it comes to the choice of stories to be published. The editorial policy affects the way the newspaper is packaged and how the stories are written. From the above findings it is also imperative to note

that the way the women are sexually vilified is exactly what is on the ground. The newspaper could be held to ransom for only having a bias towards the stories which sexually vilify women. For the financial benefit of the company, sex has been deemed to sell more than any other frame. Baylies and Bujra (2002) advance that if literature in Africa is gender-blind in its failure to recognise women's existence then it has failed to analyse men's relations with women.

5.16 Overall discussion

The representation of women in this sample can be viewed in lines of political economy where the issue of funding, ownership and control play a major role in the way representations are done in newspapers. Murdock and Golding (1973) define political economy of mass communications as an understanding of the basic features that underpin and shape the economic context and political consequences of mass communications. It is imperative to note that *H-Metro* is in business and like any business entities in any capitalist epoch it aims at making profit. Market research was conducted in filling the gap of news and the marginalised audiences where *H-Metro* was identified to fill in the gap. Zimbabwe is a patriarchal society as discussed earlier on and it is against this background that the representation of women is not the same as that of men. *H-Metro* being a tabloid like many others the world over found a gap which sells most and sex has proved to be selling more than any other news beats. Newspapers editions with sex issues and women on the front page have sold well at *H-Metro*. city.com could have been pushed out because of being a gender activist to some extent when the organization needed revenue from selling sex news and women's bodies. Tabloids sensationalise issues while also looking at issues lightly and it is against this background that the tabloid theory comes in to explain how women are represented or rather sexually vilified.

The findings show that *H-Metro* sexually objectifies women in that they are portrayed as where men can get solace. The grieved can easily pass their grief by having sex and women are the sex objects in this case. The newspaper does not look at marriages involved and neither does it look at risks of contracting sexually transmitted diseases. The picture theory also explains this scenario when pictures are used to capture readers in scenes during the funeral. The funeral in this case is used to sexually vilify

women as of loose morals and sex objects. Rather than focusing on the funeral of the thief that had wreaked havoc in the community, the newspaper shifts attention to sex where women take centre stage.

The frames used to sexually vilify women can be traced with its roots in the work of Goffman (1974). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) refer to framing as modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to portray information in a way that resonates with existing underlying primary schemas among the audience. From the archival and interviews research findings it has been found out that women are mainly framed differently when it comes to sexuality but it can just be different words that all zero in to one conclusion of loose morals. Words such as hookers, prostitute, ladies of the night, thigh vendors, sex and nude pictures have been intermittently in the discourse to do with women's sexuality. Some interviewees in this study saw the representations as what really transpires on the ground while others looked at the sexual vilification in the negative.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter explained and analysed findings from *H-Metro*'s sexual vilification of women representations. Several findings were done and these findings were thematically analysed using hermeneutics of interpretation, discourse analysis as well as textual analysis.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the data gathered and analysed the findings on sexual vilification of women in the media. This chapter serves as the conclusion to the study as well as making recommendations based on the findings of the research that were presented in the previous chapter. The study explored sexual vilification of women in *H-Metro*.

6.2 Evaluation and conclusions reached

Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle, and Karen Ross (1996) assert that women they are usually critical of their media coverage which trivialises their work. The interface between women and media analysis has been subjected to vast academic interrogation. However, a lot of grey areas still exist as communities continue to advance technologically. Goldscheid (2005) advances that feminist theory's insights into the ways in which sex based inequality have been critical in advancing reform but have often found themselves in a serious cycle that could cause low sexual assault as well as the feeling of discontent. Several African scholars have researched about women exploring where the patriarch discourse places women in the society. In Zimbabwe these scholars have to a larger extent excluded explicit media analysis in sexual vilification of women.

Drawing from Naples (2003), the central research question dealt with in this study is academically significant to the discourses of sexual vilification of women in the media. This study intended to give a scientific analysis to understanding frames and discourses used by *H-Metro* in sexually vilifying women. *H-Metro* is a Harare based newspaper which is supposed to cover the whole country but it mainly covers stories in Harare and the surrounding areas. The paper has a full spectrum save for political news. The study combined the tabloid theory, picture theory as well as the objectification theory to explore sexual vilification frames of women in *H-Metro*. Sexual objectification theory explains most of the findings in this study where

woman's body or body parts were singled out for males' sexual desire (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997). The tabloid theory helped in appreciating the findings in that *H-Metro* is a tabloid newspaper which sensationalises some of the issues it reports on while the picture theory helped as the researcher extracted some meanings in embedded in the pictures. It is against the background the *H-Metro* sexually vilifies women that the study sought to ethnographically explore the sexually vilifying frames in the newspaper. Bender and Leone, 1989; Gati, Givon & Osipow 1995; Mutekwe, 2007; Nhundu, 2007 have revealed that literature available on women only reinforces the gender roles ideology where women are sexually vilified.

The researcher analysed 50 sex involving articles newspaper articles which were purposively selected from January 2015 to August 2017. A qualitative research was conducted where archival research method of data gathering as well as interviews were used. The researcher was also a participant observer. Textual and discourse analyses were utilised to analyse data as well as hermeneutics appreciation.

6.3 Recommendations to *H-Metro*

The power of the media in influencing public opinion should not be underestimated and can come coupled with it some devastating effects. *H-Metro* can be held responsible for sexually vilifying women through its framing of stories involving women. The paper should serve as a standard to other tabloids that would open shop as well as other emerging media houses. *H-Metro* should desist from using inflammatory language on women. There should be an approach used for recourse rather than concentrating on making profits lest the sex vilification beat becomes a tired beat one day. With the use of words such as thigh vendors and hookers, this can lead to crime committed by victims in revenge of being tagged with such labels.

There is also need for women involvement in decision making at *H-Metro* so as to bring a balance in the way women are framed in the paper. Although sex stories have made the paper realise commercial capital there should be fair coverage of the stories as well as following journalism ethics and the law for the common good of the society and the newspaper. Fair coverage can become a cornerstone in women's advancement

in all sectors of the economy. Removal of sex stereotypes can oil the society in the positive way. To counteract these reporting problems the researcher suggests that campaigns be done to conscientise the media on reporting on women. Pressure groups have to lobby for policies to tackle issues of sexual vilification of women. Campaigns and awareness programs should be introduced by the government and civic groups on bringing balance in the representation of women in the media.

It is also recommended that *H-Metro* changes its approach when dealing with women's issues especially those that have to do with women's sexuality. *H-Metro* should report its stories taking into cognizance that the paper shapes society's views.

6.4 Areas for further studies

Social science scholars have shown great appreciation to women studies through their academic contributions. Most of these studies have focused on gender and domestic violence in both the developed and developing world and other obvious facts of history of a phenomenon affecting women and its implications in the cultures of societies. In conducting this study, I realised that more needed to be done to contribute to the body of knowledge by researchers on women's issues. There is need to place sexual vilification of women on a broader collective perspective. This study noted that that there are reportage problems when it comes to women's issues.

There is need for another study on media and sexuality so as to influence policy in Zimbabwe to have teeth. Different methods of data collection might be used to reach different conclusions.

6.5 Conclusion

This is the last chapter of the study and it includes recommendations made to the organization studied – *H-Metro.* I hope that other social science researchers will continue informing the society by continuing to further develop this social investigation from where I have left so that gaps left in this study are filled.

References

Abrams, D., Viki, G.T., Masser, B. & Bohner, G. (2003). Perceptions of stranger and acquaintance rape: The role of benevolent and hostile sexism in victim blame and rape proclivity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.

Alat, Z. (2006). News coverage of violence against women: The Turkish case. Feminist Media Studies.

Alexander, S. (2005). The Role of the Media in Attaining the MDGs. Local/Global Encounters

Anderson, I. (1999). Characterological and behavioral blame in conversations about female and male rape. Journal of Language and Social Psychology

Asamoah, G. (1994). Women in the news: A comparative stuy of the coverage of women in two Ghanaian weeklies in 1986 and 1993. Unpublished M.A. Dissertation submitted to the School of Communication Studies of the University of Ghana

Ashcraft, C. (2000). Naming knowledge: A language for reconstructing domestic violence and systemic gender inequity. Women and Language

Australia Department of Social Services. (2014). Second action plan 2013-2016 of the national plan to reduce violence against women and their children 2010-2022. Canberra: DSS

Barnett, B. (2012). How newspapers frame rape allegations: The Duke University case. Women and Language

Bavelas, J. & Coates, L. (2001). Is it sex or assault? Erotic versus violence language in sexual assault trial judgments. Journal of Distress and the Homeless

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995, p. 99 (http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/ beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf).

Bell, A. (1991). The language of news media. Oxford: Blackwell

Benedict, H. (1992). Virgin or vamp. How the press covers sex crimes. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Berns, N. (1999). 'My problem and how I solved it': Domestic violence in women's magazines. The Sociological Quarterly

Berns, N. (2004). Framing the Victim. Domestic Violence, Media, and Social Problems. New York: Aldine de Gruyter

Berberick S N (2010) The Objectification of Women in Mass Media: Female Self-Image in Misogynist Culture, University at Buffalo. The New York Sociologist, Vol. 5, 2010

Besova, A. A., & Cooley, S. C. (2009). Foreign News and Public Opinion: Attribute Agenda Setting Theory Revisited. Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies

Bhabha, H. (1994). The Location of culture. London: Routledge.

Bhasin, K. 2006. What Is Patriarchy? Women Unlimited: New Delhi

Bograd, M. (1990). Feminist perspectives on wife abuse. An introduction. In K. Yllö & M. Bograd (Eds.), Feminist perspectives

Bohner, G. (2001). Writing about rape: Use of the passive voice and other distancing text features as an expression of perceived responsibility of the victim. British Journal of Social Psychology

Bograd (Eds.), Feminist perspectives on wife abuse, pp 28-50. London: Sage Publications

Brecklin, L. R. (2002). The role of perpetrator alcohol use in the injury outcomes of intimate assaults. Journal of Family Violence

Bullock, C. F. (2010). Framing domestic violence fatalities: Coverage by Utah newspapers. Women's Studies in Communication

Bullock, C. F., & Cubert, J. (2002). Coverage of domestic violence fatalities by newspapers in Washington state. Journal of Interpersonal Violence

Burns, L. S. (2013). Understanding journalism (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Carline, A., & Easteal, P. W. (2014). Shades of grey: Domestic and sexual violence against women: Law reform and society. New York, NY: Routledge.

Carll, E. K. (2003). News portrayal of violence and women: Implications for public policy. American Behavioral Scientist

Cheater A. P. (1986). The Role and Position of Women in Pre-colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe Department of Sociology, University of Zimbabwe

Carll, E.K. (2003). News portrayal of violence and women. The American Behavioral Scientist

Chitando, A., 2011, 'Narratng gender and danger in selected Zimbabwean women's writings on HIV and AIDS', PhD thesis, Dept. of English Studies, University of South Africa, South Africa.

Chiweshe, M, K (2016). Wives at the market place: Commercialisation of lobola and commodification of women's bodies in Zimbabwe. The Oriental Anthropologist

Chomsky, N., (1988). Language and problems of knowledge: The Managua lectures (Vol. 16). MIT press.

Clark, K. (1992). The linguistics of blame. Representations of women in The Sun's reporting of crimes of sexual violence. In M. Toolan (Ed.), Language, text and context. Essays in stylistics, pp. 208-224. London: Routledge.

Coates, L., Beavin Bavelas, J. & Gibson, J. (1994). Anomalous language in sexual assault trial judgments. Discourse and Society, 5, 189-206.

Conboy, M. (2007). The Language of the News. London: Routledge.

Conboy, M. (2006) Tabloid Britain: Constructing a community through language. London and New York: Routledge.

Council of Australian Governments. (2011). National plan to reduce violence against women and their children: Including the first three-year action plan. Canberra: FAHCSIA.

Comas-d'Argemir, D. (2014). News of partner femicides: The shift from private issue to public problem. European Journal of Communications, 30(2), 121-136.

Couldry, N. (2004). Theorising media as practice. Social Semiotics, 14(2), 115-132.

Crofts, T., & Tyson, D. (2013). Homicide law reform in Australia: Improving access to defences for women who kill their abusers. Monash University Law Review, 39(3), 864-893.

Custers, K., & Van den Bulck, J. (2013). The cultivation of fear of sexual violence in women: Processes and moderators of the relationship between television and fear. Communication Research

Donlon, M., Pascale, P., & Kanhema, N. (2010). UN Summit Concludes With Adoption of Global Action Plan to Achieve Development Goals by 2015. New York: United Nations: We Can End Poverty. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/mdg/

Drabsch, T. (2007). Domestic violence in NSW. Sydney: NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service

Easteal, P. (2003). Violence against women in the home: Kaleidoscopes on a collision course? Queensland University of Technology Law and Justice Journal

Easteal, P., & Judd, K. (2008). 'She said, he said': Credibility and sexual harassment cases in Australia. Women's Studies International Forum, 31(5), 336-344. Eaves, End Violence Against Women Coalition, Equality Now, & OBJECT. (2012). Just the Women. Retrieved from http://www.endviolenceagainstwomen.org.uk

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. Journal of Communication

Exner, D., & Thurston, W. E. (2009). Understanding 'passion killings' in Botswana: An investigation of media framing. Journal of International Women's Studies

Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and social change. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press

Fairclough, N. (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis. London: Longman

Foucault, M. (1978) The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction, Vintage Books*:* New York, New York Press

Flood, M., & Pease, B. (2009). Factors influencing attitudes to violence against women. Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 10(2), 125-142. Gans, H. J. (2003). Democracy and the news. New York: Oxford University Press

Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. Psychology of Women Quarterly

Frey, L., Botan, C., & Kreps, G. (1999). Investigating communication: An introduction to research methods. (2nd Ed.) Boston: Allyn & Bacon

Gaidzanwa, R. B. (1985). Images of women in Zimbabwean Literature. Harare: College Press

Gaidzanwa, R. B. (1981) Promised Land: Towards a Land Policy for Zimbabwe (The Hague, Institute of Social Studies, unpubl. M.Dev.Stud. thesis)

Gee, J.P. and Green, J.L., 1998. Chapter 4: Discourse analysis, learning, and social practice: A methodological study. Review of research in education

Gender Sensitive Reporting on Sexual Violence: Some get it Right While Other Get it Woefully Wrong: www.zwla.co.zw

Gilboa, E. (2005). The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations. Political Communication

Goffman, E. (1974). Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Golding, P. and Murdock, G., 1997. The political economy of the media. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Goldscheid, J., 2005. Domestic and Sexual Violence as Sex Discrimination: Comparing American and International Approaches. T. Jefferson L. Rev

Gomm, R. (2009). Key concepts in social research methods. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Grabe, M. E., Zhou, S., & Barnett, B. (2001). Explicating sensationalism in television news: Content and the bells and whistles of form. Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media

Gunter, B. (1986). Television and Sex Role Stereotyping. London: John Libbey

Haralambos and Holborn (2004) Sociology Themes and Perspectives. London: Harper Collins Publishers Limited

Hatch, J A (2002) Doing Qualitative Research in Education, Settings Albany: SUNY Press

Herman, E. and Chomsky, N. (1988). Manufacturing Consent: A Political Economy of the Mass Media, New York: Pantheon

Herman, E.S. and Chomsky, N., (2010). Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media. Random House.

Johansson, S. (2007) Reading tabloids. Tabloid Newspapers and Their Readers. Published PhD thesis. University of Westminster, Media Research Institute

Kaseke, E., Gumbo, P., Dhemba, J. and Kasere, C. (1998). The State and Dynamics of Social Policy Practice and Research in Zimbabwe. Journal of Social Development in Africa

Laing, L. (2004). Risk assessment in domestic violence. Sydney: Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse

Lempert, L.B. (1996). Language obstacles in the narratives of abused women. Mid-American Review of Sociology

Lewis, K. (2001). Pluralism in the Australian print media. In R. Harding-Smith (Ed.), Media ownership and regulation in Australia. Sydney: Centre for Policy Development.

Matakaire, T (2003). Analysis of Coverage of Women Politicians by the Print Media in Media in Zimbabwe. Women in Politics Support Unit

McChesney, R.W., 2008. The political economy of media: Enduring issues, emerging dilemmas. NYU Press

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. Public Opinion Quarterly

McLaughlin, L. (1991). Discourses of Prostitution / Discourses of Sexuality, Critical Studies in Mass Communication.

Mooney, A. (2007). When rape is (not quite) rape. In J. Cotterill (Ed.), The language of sexual crime, pp 198-216. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moore A (2007). Why Do Black Women Consent to be Side-Chicks? (Paper)

Muroyi, L., 2016. Media representation of men and women on issues of domestic violence: The Herald and H-Metro January 2015-May 2016

Muwonwa N (2009) in Okiriguo, W., 2016. Discourse Analysis of Nigerian Feminism (Doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville)

Naples, N.A. 2003. Feminism and Method: Ethnography, Discourse Analysis, and Activist Research. New York: Routledge

Nyambi, O., 2015. Re-framing the prostitute identity in Zimbabwe: An approach to Virginia Phiri's novel Highway queen (2010). Literator: Journal of Literary Criticism, Comparative Linguistics and Literary Studies

Palmer, R. E. (1969) Hermeneutics. Evernston: Northwestern University Press

Picard, R. G (2004) Commercialism and Newspaper Quality Newspaper Research Journal, 25 (1):54-65. Publications. Qualitative Health Research

Ptacek, J. (1990). Why do men batter their wives? In K. Yllö & M. Bograd (Eds.), Feminist perspectives on wife abuse, pp 133-157. London: Sage Publications

Rakotsoane, F.C.L., and Rakotsoane, M.A. (2006) The ABC of Research Project, Dissertation and Thesis Proposal Writing. Roma: Choice Publishing Company

Reah, D. (1998). The language of newspapers. London: Routledge

Richardson, J.E. (2007). Analysing newspapers. Basingstoke: Palgrave

Richardson, J. (2007). Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan

Rusike.E, T (1990). The politics of the mass media: A personal experience. Harare. Roblaw Printers.

Schudson, M. (2011). The sociology of news (2nd ed.). New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Semino, E. (2009). Language in newspapers. In J. Culpeper, F. Katamba, P. Kerswill, R. Wodak & T. McEnery (Eds.), English Language. Description, variation and context, London: Palgrave

Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. and Ross, K., 1996. Women MPs and the media: Representing the body politic. Parliamentary Affairs.

Swedenborg, E., 1958. Heaven and hell. The Swedenborg Society.

Waisbord, S. (2006). Where is communication in the Millennium Development Goals? Media Development

Wood, J. T. (1984). Who cares: Women, cure, and culture. Carbondale,IL: Southern Illinois University Press

Yeboah, A. A. (2010). Improving female news source visibility: Does the work of the "enterprising" female journalist matter? Unpublished paper delivered at the 2010 Faculty of Social Studies Colloquium, University of Ghana.

UNICEF - UNICEF Home. (2011). Retrieved August 18, 2017, from http://www.unicef.org/index.php

United Nations. (1993). Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, UN Resolution 48/104 (444). Paper presented at the proceedings of the 85th plenary meeting, United Nations General Assembly, Geneva

World Health Organization. (2013). Global and regional estimates of violence against women: Prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and nonpartner sexual violence. Geneva: WHO.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997) Gender and nation, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Newspaper articles

Chipungudzanye, T (2017). *Chinx a beacon for decolonisation. H-Metro 17 June 2017*

Dheka, B, (2017). *Caught pants down. H-Metro 3 July 2017*

Hunye, M. (2015). *Teenager offers sex present, H-Metro 23 March 2015*

Hunye, M, (2015). *Woman fights want away lover. H-Metro 2 July 2015*

Khosa, T, (2015). *Wives demand sex roster, H-Metro 2 March 2015*

Malinganiza, B (2017). *Madzibaba better in bed, H-Metro 4 May 2017*

Mubaiwa, M & Nyamayaro, A, (2016). *Side chick brutally attacked, H-Metro 31 March 2016*

Mubvumbi, T, (2015). *Bindura sexcapade, H-Metro 1 July 2015*

Musoko, S (2016). *Sex with 11 men, H-Metro 1 June 2016*

Mutetwa, T, & Hove, H (2016). *Man beds mother, daughter, H-Metro 11 January 2016*

Mutore, R (2015). *Man catches wife in act, H-Metro 18 March 2015*

Nyamayaro A (2015). *I'm sex starved, H-Metro 28 March 2015*

Nyamayaro A (2015). *Small manhood wrecks marriage, H-Metro 20 May 2015*

Nyamayaro A (2016). *Hookers fight over man. H-Metro, 28 March 2016*

Nyamayaro A (2016). *I'm sex starved, H-Metro 30 March 2016*

Nyamayaro A (2016). *WhatsApp wrecks marriage, H-Metro 24 March 2016*

Nyamayaro A (2017). *Hookers, thugs assault landlord, H-Metro 8 February 2017*

Nyamayaro A (2017). *Hookers accept bank transfers, H-Metro 16 July 2017*

Nyamayaro A (2017). *Hookers fight over man, H-Metro 28 March 2017*

Nyamayaro A (2017). *Prison officer in nude pix storm, H-Metro 4 April 2017*

Nyamayaro A (2017). *Hubby denies me sex, H-Metro 6 January 2017*

Nyamayaro A (2017). *Free sex at thief's funeral, H-Metro 17 July 2017*

Nyamayaro A (2017). *Madzibaba better in bed. H-Metro 4 May 2017*

Nsingo, M, (2016). *Man stalks ex-wife. H-Metro 12 January 2016*