

# **MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES**

**REG NUMBER R 145350E**

**DISSERTATION TITLE:**

**Press Coverage of the Zimbabwe Men's National  
Football Team and Re-imagining the Nation**

**2017**

**A dissertation submitted to the Midlands State University in partial fulfilment  
with the requirements of Master of Science degree in media and society  
studies**

## Abstract

Discourses framing football reflect dominant, possibly, contesting ‘truths’, which themselves are linked to power relations and struggles within a given society. This study analyses the framing of the Zimbabwe men’ national football team (popularly known as The Zimbabwe Warriors) in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and the *Daily News on Sunday* from March 2015 to April 2016. The three newspapers were purposively selected for being weeklies with a national coverage. A comparative analysis of the three newspapers sought to bring out what the papers made salient, silent and selected when framing news about the Warriors. It was concerned with finding out the frames of reference, factors influencing such frames and the most likely implications of these frames on the imaginations on Zimbabwean national identity. The rationale was that framing has always been about certain power and ideological positions, hence this study will help in unveiling the forces pushing for such imaginations by the press. Literature reviewed in this research are scholarly debates that make contribution to the concepts of representation, nation, nationhood, national identity and sports. Theories that informed the research were nationalism, national identity and discourse, power and framing. The research assumed the qualitative paradigm and employed qualitative techniques in gathering, analysing and presentation of data. It applied the critical paradigm or cultural studies perspective approach. Findings of the research concluded that language was tactically employed in the framing of the Warriors and relating the team to the aspirations of the nation as a whole. The strategic use of language in the coverage of the warriors in the mentioned newspapers can be understood as aiding in the nation building project specifically in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*. The research established that the representation of the Zimbabwe’s men national football team can be understood within the context of nationalism and patriotism. These concepts reveal the relationship that exist between football and notions of nationhood and national identity

## **Dedication**

Life is not about the amount of breath that one takes in, it is the breath taking moments of one's life. (Will Smith, Hitch 2005). I dedicate this dissertation to my children, my family and friends, the jewels that take my breath away

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor Nhamo Antony Mhiripiri for the continuous support of my dissertation, for his patience, motivation, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this dissertation. I could not have imagined having a better supervisor and mentor for my study. Nobody has been more important to me in the pursuit of this dissertation than the members of my family. I would like to thank my mum, whose love and guidance are with me in whatever I pursue. She is the ultimate role model. Most importantly, I wish to thank my loving and supportive wife, and my wonderful children, who provide unending inspiration. Finally, there are my friends. We were not only able to support each other by deliberating over our problems and findings, but also happily by talking about things other than just our studies. Thank you very much, everyone!

<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>Page</b>
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
Table of contents	v
<b>CHAPTER ONE: Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1:1 Introduction	1
1:2 Background to the study	2
1:3 Statement of the Problem	5
1, 4 Research Questions	5
1:5 Research Objectives	6
1:6 significance of the study	6
1:7 Assumptions	7
1:8 Delimitations of the study	8
1:9 Limitations	8
1:10 Structure of the study	8
1:11 Conclusion	9
<b>CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>10</b>
2:0 Introduction	10
2:1 Literature Review	10
2:1.1 Representation an integral element in linking sports to notions of Nation, Nationalism and National Identity	10
2:1.2 The Nation an embodiment of National Identity, Nationalism & Patriotism: Media representation and sports taking centre stage	17
2:1.3 Reflections on Football as an identifier of nation in nation building and setting parameters in identity	25
2:2 Theoretical Framework	29
2:2.1 Re-imagining Nationhood and National Identity	30
2:2.2 Discourse, Power and Framing	34
2:2.3 Conclusion	41

<b>CHAPTER THREE Theoretical framework</b>	
3:0 Introduction	42
3:1 Research Methodology: A Qualitative Research Approach to the study of Press coverage of Zimbabwe Men’s National Football Team	42
3:2 Research Paradigm	43
3:3 Unit of Analysis: <i>The Daily News on Sunday, The Sunday Mail</i> and <i>The Patriot</i> newspaper’s research population	44
3:4 Sampling Size	45
3:5 Sampling Methods	46
3:6 Purposive Sampling of Newspaper articles, Editors, Journalists and Football Experts	47
3:7 Data collection methods: Archival Research and in- depth interviews	48
3:7.1 Archival Research	48
3:7.2 Interviews	49
3:8 Methods of Data Analysis	50
3:8.1 Content Analysis	50
3:8.2 Content Analysis	52
3:8.3 Critical discourse analysis	53
3:9 Methods of Data Presentation	54
3:10 Research ethical considerations	55
3:11 Conclusion	56
<b>CHAPTER FOUR Organisational Analysis</b>	<b>57</b>
4:0 Introduction	57
4:1 Zim-papers Historical Background	57
4:1.1 Colonial History	57
4:1.2 Zim-papers in Post independent Zimbabwe	59
4:1.3 Vision	60
4:1.4 Mission	61
4:1.5 Core values	61
4:1.6 Shareholding structure	61

4:1.7 The Sunday Mail Historical background	62
4:2 The Patriot	65
4:2.1 Historical background	67
4:2.2 Reasons for the formation of The Patriot:	68
4:2.3 corporate objectives	68
4:2.4 The patriot’s organogram	69
4:2.5 Structure of “The Patriot”.	70
4:3 Daily News	70
4:3.1 Historical Background	71
4:3.2 Management and Editorial Policy	73
4:3.3 Structure of the Daily News	75
4:3.4 Daily News Organogram	76
4:3.5 Group Editor	77
4:3.6 Commercial Viability Aspect	77
4:3.7 Association with other Institutions	78
4:3.8 Conclusion	78
<b>CHAPTER FIVE Data Presentation and Analysis</b>	<b>79</b>
5:0 Introduction	79
5:1 The Bearers of the National Flag	79
5:2 Warriors: Victims of ZIFA Management Incompetence	84
5:3 A Team Worthy of Praise and Vilify	88
5:4 Accurate and Objective reporting	95
5:5 Conclusion	95
<b>CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion and Recommendations</b>	<b>100</b>
6:0 Introduction	100
6:1 Conclusion	100
6:2 Recommendations	104
6:3 Further areas of research	104
6:4 Conclusion	105
Bibliography	





# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1. 1. Introduction

Football is by all accounts Africa's most popular sport (Chari, 2010) and Zimbabwe is no exception. Football coverage in newspapers is both an arena for and a mirror of the political discourses within a society (Mehler, 2006; 3). Discourses framing football reflect dominant, possibly, contesting 'truth', which themselves are linked to power relations and struggles within a given society (Mehler, 2006; 3). This study seeks to analyse the framing of the Zimbabwe men's national football team popularly known as The Zimbabwe Warriors, who are the torch bearers of the country when it comes to representing the nation in the football world, in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and the *Daily News on Sunday* from March 2015 to April 2016.

The three newspapers have been purposively selected because they are weeklies with a national coverage. Being weekly newspapers they are expected to have depth and analysis in their framing of issues. A comparative analysis of the three newspapers should bring out what they make salient, silent and select when framing news about the Warriors. This study is premised on the assumption that, the coverage of football in newspapers draws a large number and wide range of readers in many African countries. Sport coverage can thus support a particular discourse on politics and societal issues (Mehler, 2006; 3).

This is possible because, the mass media have a strong impact on the construction and understanding of social reality by framing images of a perceived reality in a predictable and patterned way (McQuail, 1994; 331; Scheufele, 1999; 105). Thus media frames organize the story line in ways that provide meaning to an unfolding strip of events, in the process suggesting what the controversy is about, and the essence of the issue (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987). Therefore frames, both unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world for both the journalists who report them and in some degree us, the audiences who rely on their reports (Gitlin, 1991; 7).

This study is devoted to finding out the ways in which the selected newspapers have framed the Warriors in post 2010 Zimbabwe. This study stems from the standpoint that football has always been racially segregated in pre-colonial Zimbabwe and historian Terence Ranger further argues

that sport was an important arena for racialized identity construction among the whites with racial integration first in football around the 1970s. However, modern sport in Southern Rhodesia was more than just play; it was also about power. Sports for Whites especially cricket was a symbol of racial and national qualities; a ritual of affirmation at which Africans were mere spectators or adjuncts. Football provided a rare leisure space in which whites were permitted by an increasingly repressive security to interact with Africans.

Thus the framing of sport- football as an inclusive sport in the colonial era has had implications in the post colony. While studying the framing of the Warriors, I use Anderson's (1991) conception of a nation as an imagined political community to see how the Zimbabwean nation has been re-imagined in these newspapers through their framing of the Zimbabwe Warriors. I argue that like other forms of popular culture, football offers opportunity for imaginations about national identity. Like other identities also, football identities are characterized by inclusions and exclusions (Ncube, 2015) and the frames used by these press also include and exclude specific communities.

## **1.2. Background**

Media's contribution in society cannot be undermined as it informs, educates and entertains the society. Borrowing from Hall (1997) the media through their news coverage are a part of the everyday life. In other terms media representations mirror the status of society, yet it can be contested that such a mirror is subjected to the constraints of power and ideological battles. In Chari (2010: 205) terms football is a "site for serious hegemonic contestations" Essential to the research is the aspect of media coverage of the country's men football team in the mentioned newspapers and how it reflects on ideological battles, in trying to understand the spirit of nationhood, those who qualify and those who do not qualify and those who contribute to achieving the dream of nations.

A look at a brief background of the media landscape as influenced by political forces is relevant in understanding the nature of representations that characterise the mentioned newspapers. The media in Zimbabwe can be argued to have fallen to the dictates of polarisation due to political and ideological influences, which can be traced back to the late 1990's. To borrow De Fina

(2003:352) statement the mentioned newspapers “by telling stories, they are not only able to represent social worlds and evaluate them but also establish themselves as members of particular groups through interactional linguistic, rhetoric and stylistic choices”. It can be argued that the research guided by this statement aims to enquire on how ideological underpinnings influenced the framing of Zimbabwe men's national football team, by *The Sunday Mail* given its record of being ideologically inclined towards Zanu-PF. An account of events which characterise the early 2000's shall not be given as that has already been done elsewhere.

*The Sunday Mail* has been explained to have “declared its full support to the ruling party, Zanu-PF”, (Willems; 2004:1768). *The Patriot* explicitly supports the revolutionary party that is Zanu-PF, and its framing of sports is important in revealing how it views happenings in the game of football in relation to its political stance. In other instances, it has been argued that *The Sunday Mail* was a propaganda tool for the Zanu-PF led government before the Government of National Unit (GNU) and during the GNU. On the other hand, the *Daily News* has been identified as representing the views of the oppositional political parties MDC-T and MDC-M.

It is also equally important to take into consideration the goings on at ZIFA (Zimbabwe Football Association) a body which governs the game of soccer at national level. Following the Asia-gate (allegations of match fixing for games involving the Zimbabwe national men's team mostly in Asia) exposed them. ZIFA was also embroiled in a comic like administration game pitying board members and the former President Cuthbert Dube. In all these squabbles the men's soccer national team was involved with some players being fingered in the Asia-gate and with the warriors being financially assisted by the then president Cuthbert Dube to attend matches. The period also saw ZIFA being at loggerheads with FIFA (Federation of International Football Association), the international governing body over former warrior's coaches who were fired and not paid by ZIFA. Such activities at ZIFA do have a direct bearing in the performance of the national team thus they are worth taking into consideration.

In demonstrating media importance through representation Seleti (1997:48) suggests that the media regardless of their colour, shape, size and form participate in the construction of identities through representations. Echoing the same sentiments Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) and Chiumbu,

(2004) argue that cultural artefacts and significant events are important in representations that shape and ascribe political identities. However, it has to be suggested that this whole process of representation as mentioned earlier is subjected to a rigorous process of selection. Salience in representation aids in shaping views and perceptions that the audiences generate as they engage with the media. This enables the media to come up with a basis upon which they inform our world and societal views and public opinion.

In explaining how *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday* reported on the country's men football team, the study will also take a closer look at the employment of language and the ideological standpoint embedded in such representations. Jovchelovitch (2007) describes representations as having an ideological component and the presence of power is evidenced through particular frames adapted. The use of language is also explained by Willems, (2004: 1769) who suggests that “the roles or subject positions which grammar constructs for the participants have ideological meaning”. Thus ideology is embedded in language which is part and parcel of representation. In this case the study will also dwell on providing an understanding on the workings of ideology through language used in the coverage of the Zimbabwe Warriors by the mentioned newspapers.

Articulating the importance of media representations in football and politics, Chari (2010) and Ranger (2005) suggests that the media become a conduit through which political identities are ascribed. With reference to political terms such as “sell out”, “gallant son of the soil” and “running dogs of imperialism” Ranger (2005) articulates on how media representations are a crucial component in politics and how what he terms “Patriotic Journalism” was employed in the construction of these identities. Given the knowledge that football in Zimbabwe is a cultural artefact or activity that enjoys much support from many citizens in the country, and in other terms it can be described as a sphere that has a huge subscriber base apart from major political parties, the research seeks to establish how the mentioned newspapers constructed the team in light of the spirit of nationhood and how they problematize their failures and celebrated their successes. It also has to be noted that *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot*, and the *Daily News on Sunday* all enjoy wide readership and are popular among the Zimbabwean population and one is compelled to question the implications of their contribution in terms of shaping societal views and perception through representation.

### **1.3. Statement of the Problem**

Football coverage in newspapers is both an arena for and a mirror of the political discourses within a society (Mehler, 2006; 3). This study seeks to find out how *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *The Daily News* on Sunday frame the Zimbabwe Warriors. It is concerned with finding out the frames of reference, factors influencing such frames and the most likely implications of these frames on the imaginations on Zimbabwean national identity. The rationale is that framing has always been about certain power and ideological positions, hence this study will help in unveiling the forces pushing for such imaginations by the press.

### **1.4. Research Questions**

#### **Main Research Question**

How have Zimbabwean journalists and editors of the newspapers under study framed the Zimbabwe Warriors in the press?

#### **Sub-research Questions**

What factors influence the way Zimbabwean journalists and editors use to frame the Zimbabwe Warriors?

What are the specific discursive frames that Zimbabwean journalists and editors use to refer to the Zimbabwe Warriors?

What kinds of frames influence the Zimbabwean audience's perceptions of the Zimbabwe Warriors?

### **1.5. Objectives**

- To find out what has been reported about the Zimbabwe Warriors by the newspapers under investigation.
- To find out how journalists and editors of these newspapers have framed news stories about the Zimbabwe Warriors.
- To find out the implications of these frames of reference on the Zimbabwean society.

## **1.6. Significance of the Study**

The study interrogates perception and opinions of the media in Zimbabwe in their representation of the Zimbabwe men's national football team. Such representations in other terms assist in gaining a broader understanding of how the mentioned newspapers construct football discourses that embodies the spirit of nationalism.

As the research develops an understanding into the power dynamics that shape and reinforce such representations will be brought out. In essence apart from identifying issues such as ownership and proprietors influence the research will provide an understanding into the interlink between football, the spirit of nationhood, and audiences perception on such coverage given that football is one of the most popular facet of Zimbabwe and in Chari (2010) terms "secular religion".

The period understudy, that is from March 2015 to April 2016, is of significance to the research given that during this period there was a change in ZIFA leadership and the coming into the scene of Wicknel Chivayo who offered to assist the warriors. The period also saw the resurfacing of match fixing scandals. Thus the period is important as it allows the research to interrogate the framing of warriors and to establish the ideological underpinnings informing such framing. Apart from that the period also saw Phillip Chiyangwa being crowned ZIFA president, which is also relevant in tracing the transformation of discourse given that Phillip Chiyangwa is a supporter and member of the ruling party Zanu-PF.

The research also aims to interrogate how selection and attribution of salience contributed towards the representation of events that in turn shape the performance of the men's soccer team representing the country. As the research progresses deeper knowledge on the power dynamics that shape such framing will be sought and provided by the research. In general, the research will try to provide an analysis on the various issues that inform selection and salience in the process of constructing representations that society is subjected to, and how this in turn shape society's views and perception of the warriors.

The research seeks to highlight and explicate on the selective use of language and diction, headlines and source selection which are part of communicative mechanisms that exist at various levels in the meaning making process. Through interrogating the framing of the warriors team in

light of the spirit of nationhood, the research is going to highlight on the transformation of discourse and transitional processes in media institutions when ideological and commercial pressures are revolutionised. Apparently the research seeks to interrogate *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*, framing of the men's national soccer team as two of the three papers (*The Sunday Mail* and *Daily News*) are the major weekly papers in the country that enjoy a great number of market share and readership profile. Apart from that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* on the one hand and *Daily News*, on Sunday the other hand, have been suggested to be from different ideological standpoints, and this has enticed the research to question how these varying ideological views influenced their framing of the warriors.

Apart from that the research seeks to provide a deeper understanding of interlink and interlocking relationship that exists between cultural activities such as football and the bigger picture of the country as a nation. In addition, the research also aims to provide deeper knowledge on the workings of selection and salience in the process of producing discourse that constitutes representation.

### **1.7. Assumptions**

This study assumes that football by all accounts the most popular sport in Africa (Ndela 2010) receives 'hegemonic' coverage in the media than any other sport. Journalists and editors actively set the frames of references that readers use to interpret and discuss public events (Tuchman, 1978). They also give the story a spin and take into account various factors that range from individual, social, cultural, professional, political and organizational in framing news events (Neuman, Just and Crigler 1992). The framing of the Zimbabwe Warriors is also affected by these and other factors and has implications on the imaginations on the Zimbabwean nation.

### **1.8. Delimitations**

This study will be carried out in Harare, Zimbabwe where the newspapers under study are geographically located. I will study *The Sunday Mail*, *Daily news on Sunday* and *The Patriot* newspapers' framing of the Zimbabwe Warriors in post 2010 Zimbabwe. These newspapers have been chosen because they have a wide national coverage and geographical reach. Being weekly

newspapers they have depth and analysis. The study also interviews editors and journalists of the three newspapers as well as conduct a participant observation of some matches played in Zimbabwe to get a feel of the match and how it will be framed.

### **1.9. Limitations**

The study interrogates framing of Zimbabwe men's national football team and how such representations embody the spirit of nationhood. Objectives and research questions are to be met and answered through narrowing the study to print media only. Other mediums such as broadcast, online and social media are not included in the research yet they can offer another angle in understanding how football has been appropriated in defining the people of Zimbabwe as a nation. The research could have also explored on the aspect of Editorial cartoons and the coverage of the Zimbabwe's national football team in respect of radio commentaries and discussions.

### **1.10. Structure of the Study**

Chapter one introduces the research through offering a detailed historical background informing the study, objectives and research questions that the research seek to provide answers for. Chapter Two presents and discusses literature that is related to the research and the theoretical framework that informs the study.

Chapter Three dwells on research methods and methodology which in essence are qualitative due to the nature of the research. Chapter Four discusses on the political economy of the newspapers understudy and how operational dynamics informed their representation of the country men's football team in the context of nation and nationhood. Chapter Five is dedicated to the presentation of data and gives a detailed discussion of the research findings. Chapter Six wraps up the research and provides recommendations.



### **1.11. Conclusion**

The chapter has given a detailed discussion on the purpose of interrogating the framing of the men's team representing the country in regional, continental and international football matches. The research explores such representations in the context of nationhood and how this is manifested through the use of selected discourses, headlines, images, editorial comments and audiences' comments. The subsequent chapter dwells on discussing related literature and the theoretical framework of the research.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter is dedicated to the reviewing of scholarly debates that are closely related to the concepts of representation, sports, nation and national identity. Theories that inform the research are to be outlined and evaluated so as to provide a well-grounded and informed research. Of significant importance is the relationship that exist between theories presented in this section of the study and how they are to inform and shape the research outcomes. Such a correlation exist so as to provide the link that exit between research methodology and research outcomes.

### **2.1 Literature Review**

Literature reviewed in this research are scholarly debates that make contribution to the concepts of representation, nation, nationhood, national identity and sports. Central to this chapter is Matthes (2012: 250) understanding that “different news outlets frame political issues in quite different ways” as a result of power and ideology. Such a scenario entails examining representation and the nation within the context of sports as concepts which mutually reinforce each other in the construction of meaning and generation of truth regimes in society. Elements to be discussed include discourse, stereotypes, othering, nationalism and patriotism among others, with specific reference to how they are an object of observation in framing the men’s National Football team, in *The Patriot*, *The Sunday Mail* and *Daily News on Sunday*. In highlighting these debates a thematic approach is to be employed in order to pick up critical elements that will aid in understanding the nature of coverage that pervades the mentioned newspapers.

#### **2.1.1 Representation an integral element in linking sports to notions of Nation, Nationalism and National Identity**

Representation as a concept is critical. Stuart Hall defines it as the practice of representing. He understands representation as having “no fixed meaning until it has been represented”, (Hall, 1997). Moscovici (1973: xiii) explores representation and describes it as “a system of values, ideas and with a twofold function: first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it”. In essence Moscovici

(1973: xiii) understanding of representation brings forth the notion of how representation provides members of a social group with a code “for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying...” (Moscovici 1973: xiii). In exploring representation the research seeks to decipher how *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*, constructed and re-imagined the concept of nation through coverage of the men’s national football team. In other words a thorough investigation of representation and how it works in linking sports, the citizens and the notion of nation is to be offered.

A critical appraisal of representation as aiding in the production of meaning, which can either be hegemonic or ideologically inclined, entails interrogating the role and function of language as an integral element of representation. Sports especially football, as a cultural artefact is presented to the public and understood within the confines of language. This can be supported by the works of scholars such as Chari (2010); Topic and Coakley (2010) and Ncube, (2014) among others, who explore language use and manipulation in sports representation in the media for political hegemonic struggles. It is against this backdrop that the research seeks to explore how *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*, which are all weekly strategically make use of language and how they manipulate it in re-imagining the nation through their framing of the Zimbabwean men’s national football team.

The discussion on language shall begin with an analysis of how “all narratives contain an ideological project that they promise to tell the truth about something” (Althusser, 1969). Given our understanding of sports as one of the site where hegemonic struggles are fought, (Ncube, 2014; Chomsky 1988), and the existence of the interplay between football, media and society, the research aims to highlight how narratives obtaining in the mentioned newspapers are an ideological project that exists to foster a particular reality, truth and version of Zimbabwe as a nation. Additionally, Hoijer 2013: 3) contends that “representations specifies a number of communicative mechanisms explaining how ideas are communicated and transformed into what is perceived of as common sense”. Thus we can talk of how language is an instrument that is made use in generating and naturalising myths about nations and national identity through cultural artefacts such as football.

Attributing importance to language in the production of meaning and struggle for hegemonic domination are Habermas, and McCarthy (1988:124) who state that “language is a medium of

domination and social force. It serves to legitimise relations of organised power”. Such an explanation can be supported by Chari (2010) who in his discussion on press coverage of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa in *The Standard* and *The Sunday Mail*, reveals and explicates on how the two rival newspapers adopted different frames and strategically manipulated language use in their bid to promote a particular version of reality with regards to the proximity of the mega-event to the country. Language use in relation to sport coverage can be argued to be advancing and naturalising particular truth regimes and myths in a pseudo manner, which when critically analysed tends to reveal political hegemonic struggles. It is against this background that the research seeks to question the manipulation of language in the mentioned newspapers and how it was strategically employed in relation to sports in order to foster or rebuke the spirit of Zimbabwe as a one nation worth deserving a single, homogeneous national identity.

In her discussion on language use in representation Willems, (2004: 1769) is of the view that “The choice of vocabulary also constructs particular ideological representations of events ..... words express views and attitudes .....” With specific reference to sport coverage such an observation assists in providing meanings of how language use is critical, given that the “world’s most popular game” and “football is interwoven with culture and identity.” (Chari 2010: 215 and 216 respectively). Chari (2010: 207) earlier suggests that football offers a “therapeutic expression” which implies that it occupies a crucial role in organising society, accumulation of cultural capital and power in society as a cultural artefact. Thus one can talk of the careful use of vocabulary in sport representation.

Talking about language use as observed by Willems, (2004), Jones (2014: 36) in Chari and Mhiripiri (Ed) (2014), argues that “language used within relationships that occur around sporting context can produce certain truths...” and how these “truths became normalised and an accepted parlance, of regardless of their ‘quantifiable’ merit or tangible record.” Jones observation is important as it brings out the centrality of language in sport representation and the power it wields in society. In this regard Mhiripiri and Chari, (2014: 1) also view football as a “mediated discourse imbued with potent symbolic meanings that permeate ordinary life” and football as a “potent social signifier”. This then implies that strategic language use is employed in football representation so as to achieve the desired goal given Mhiripiri and Chari’s (2014: 1) observation

that sport is a “site upon which identities are imagined, constructed, reconstructed and deconstructed.”

Carter, (2013: 2) in his understanding of language notes that “language serve as a defining aspect of humanity, ability to communicate through symbolic objectification.” Adopting Mhiripiri and Chari’s (2014) view that football is a “potential social signifier”, the research seeks to interrogate how the national men’s football team, as “teams represent the nation symbolically” Hyde-Clarke, et al (2014: 16), was used in re-thinking the spirit of nation, nationhood and national identity in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*. Given that these terms have been a subject of scholarly debate, with Anderson (1983: 6) defining a nation as an “imagined political community” and Hall and Du Gay (1996) view on identity as fluid and not fixed. It is against this backdrop that the research seeks to interrogate football and the concept of nation and national identity through the lenses of language use and its signifying power.

Moving on to a radical perspective on language, Derrida (1967: 148) argues that “every historical language carries within it an irreducible conceptual moment and therefore a certain violence...” Such an understanding of language as violent and the reference to the “original violence” Frazer and Hutchings (2011: 10) of naming, drawing distinctions in language, implies that the use of language in itself is an act of violence. Language as violent can be witnessed in Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri (2014: 180) when they state that “There were expectations on the African continent that the World Cup would help reduce dehumanising discourse, stigma.....” Such an observation assists in bringing out the centrality of language as possessing the capability of brutalising, dehumanising and ascertain the ‘self’ through portrayals of the perceived ‘other’.

In this case language as violence can be appreciated in Frazer and Hutchings, (2011: 48) sentiments that “writing and language invokes difference, classification and the system of appellation.” For the research this entails highlighting how coverage of the warriors in the mentioned newspapers carried within it a degree of violence, given that issues of nation and national identity have been linked to extreme patriotism and at times characterised by physical violence as witnessed during the 2016 UEFA European Championship. This can also be evidenced in Mhiripiri and Chari (2014) who argue that stereotypical representation of the African continent as a “basket case continent” (Brookes 1995: 465 quoted in Ngamba 2014: 233)

were to be debunked by the continent's hosting of the 2010 Football World Cup tournament in South Africa.

Our next subject of discussion on representation focuses on differences as suggested by Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri (2014: 186) that "...sport is equally implicated in the reproduction and perpetuation of racial and cultural differentiations". It is this differentiation which we can argue to be necessitating the imaginary nation and construction of national identities through sport. Hall (1997: 234) suggests that difference is "essential to meaning without it, meaning could not exist ..... difference signifies, carries a message." Thus we can talk of the centrality of difference as it allows us to "construct meaning through dialogue with the other". As Hall (1997) and Dyer (1977) suggests, differences tend to draw the distinction between 'social types' and 'stereotypes'. In relation to sport and notions of nation, differences are also important as they allow us to distinguish and establish ourselves as a team signifying a nation.

Gripsrud (2011: 107) opines that "different languages imply significantly different perceptions of the world". The same can be said of the coverage the warriors received from the mentioned newspapers, given that they are from different ideological standpoints and advance different ideological meanings. It is difference that the research seeks to interrogate, as in how the mentioned newspapers tried to promote different versions of the nation through their representation of the warriors. For Foucault (2000: 327) we are constituted through "dividing practices through which we are classified and assigned to social category." Thus one can talk of differences as working to establish boundaries of who belongs and who does not belong. In this case we can talk of differences as providing and ascribing boundaries.

Differences in relation to sport as presented by Giulianotti (2011) and Kassing (2014: 132) suggests that "events like the world cup have the potential to unify fans across cultural differences, as such, should be appreciated for that capacity. Generally this is contrary to scholars who analyze difference as necessitating boundary creation, stereotypical representations and othering the other. For Kassing (2014) and Giulianotti (2011) football tends to unify and embrace differences without prejudice. Various scholarly works have pointed out the role of sport especially football in unifying the nation under one banner of national identity, doing away with differences (Ncube, 2014; Topic and Coakley 2010; Giulianotti 2011).

Thinking along Kassing line is Young, (1997: 119) who argues that a “heterogeneous public .... In which persons stand forth with their differences acknowledged and respected, though perhaps not understood by others.” Such an observation calls for an analysis of football as a game that elites drive and support in order to “enhance the status of the Nation state.....” (Alegi 2010: 129 – 130). For Ortmann (2009: 25) sport acts on “behalf of elites in generating a communication culture that is supportive of the political system”. When sports assumes such a role it then draws attention to how the media are a conduit through which the elites negotiate and renegotiate hegemonic domination in society.

An analysis of language and differences subsequently leads us to a discussion on meaning as generated and facilitated through representation. Hall (1997: 15) defines representation as “an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged ...” in his later definition, Hall (1997: 17), states that representation “is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language.” In this regard, meaning is derived from various forms of representation that society is subjected to through the operations of the media. Football cannot escape the discussion on meaning as Lin, et al (2009: 30) suggests that “sports can take so many different meanings that it can be all things to all people ..... at all times depending on the needs of those people, societies and governments.” Hyde-Clarke, et al (2014: 15) note that “... sport supposedly signifies something greater than itself, reflecting and reinforcing emotions about the nation as a whole.” Looking at the topic understudy meaning as a component of representation is important as identity construction centres around narratives.

Mhiripiri and Chari (2014: 10) discussion on how media representation of the world cup generated “moments of National Identity cohesion, moment of intense group, national and pan-African identification were floating and fraught with contradiction and suspicion..”, points to how media representations of sport generate specific meanings and contradictory meanings which at times cannot be reconciled. For the research this implies deciphering the meanings, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*, were trying to generate, with regards to the notion of nation and national identity. Additionally Bloomfield (2010) suggest that all “over the world football never occurs in a vacuum. In Africa, it is often adapted to further a political agenda.” In relation to the meaning this implies interrogating the struggle for meaning generation through the lenses of football that is the warriors in particular.

Again a look at meaning will lead to a critical appraisal of meaning within the context of myth. Barthes, (1972) argues that myth promote a particular meaning through the use of language. O'Sullivan et al, (1994: 70) discussion on myth points to the idea of how representation privilege certain ideological perspectives in a bid to attain the level of naturalness and a reality. Barthes, (1957) suggests that a myth is a social construct and has attained a level of naturalness and appears common sense. Relating the concept of myth and myth making to national identity and football, Hyde – Clarke, et al, (2014); Chari (2014); Horky and Grimmer (2014), Ngomba (2014) and Chikafa (2014) focus on media narratives and their frames of how South Africa's hosting of the world cup would debunk "negative and mortifying coverage of Africa in western mainstream media", (Ngomba 2014: 231).

Looking at these scholarly works will reveal how their works point to a myth creation in the media of Africa rising to the occasion, Africa rising, African Renaissance and how media narratives envisioned the event as "an occasion to expunge negative stereotypes that have held back the continent for a long time...." On close analysis these negative stereotypes can be understood as myths which took centuries to entrench in the minds of the people and have reached a level of naturalness. Additionally the whole nation of the media attributing power to sport as "providing occasions for the public expression national values, beliefs, pride, collective unity and identity", (Topic and Coakley 2010: 374; Allison, 2004; Hogan 2009), can be viewed in light of the concept of myth.

An investigation into the coverage of the Zimbabwean men's national football team and re-imagining the nation can be discussed in light of the concept of "othering" in sport representation. Othering as a concept that is embodied in representation also manifests itself in sports coverage. In their discussion on Foucault and Derrida, politics, discourse and meaning, Frazer and Hutchings (2011: 8) suggest that "Foucault identifies the emergence of 'us' versus 'them'", which entails the existence of the 'self' and 'other' respectively. Football as a sport can be viewed as a game that borders along discourse of 'self' and 'other'. This is so as the game is characterised by rival teams competing to outsmart each other.

In his discussion on othering, Hall (1997: 225) suggests that othering as concept is a factor that is normally linked to the concept of representation. Such as view can be linked to his latter assertion that "we can only construct meaning through a dialogue with the other" (Hall 1997:



235). Dyer (1977) is of the view that representation and identities work in constructing a sense of who belongs and who does not, who is 'in' and who 'is not', can be viewed in light of the coverage of the warriors and how such coverage was meant to 'other' the perceived outsider, who does not qualify to be a Zimbabwean and the qualities of Zimbabwe as a single united nation.

### **2.1.2 The Nation an embodiment of National Identity, Nationalism and Patriotism: Media representation and sports taking centre stage**

A discussion on the coverage of the warriors and re-imagining the nation cannot be discussed outside the context of nationalism, patriotism and national identity. The ensuing discussion is to focus its lenses on the concept of nation and the identified pointers, which will enable one to comprehend fully the operations of the media in society and how it seeks to promote particular versions of truth. Such an angle has been necessitated by the need to develop a grounding understanding of how the term 'nation' is a broad term, and as such, it needs clarification, especially when looking at how it has become a major area of focus in representation in the era of globalisation and multiple identities. Media representations in their own right tend to reflect on the concept of nation as they seek to identify and justify their not so explicit ideological lining.

To begin with, the concept of nation can be interrogated within the context of sports representation in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*. The discussion on the concept of nation as an embodiment of national identity, nationalism and patriotism is going to dwell on the concept of 'nation' as "imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1983: 6). Another scholarly definition of nation which has courted academic controversy is propounded by Smith (2002: 15) which states that a nation is "a named community possessing a historic territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs." The discussion on nation for the research is going to zero in on interrogating how *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday* through their representation of the men's national football team runs parallel to any above mentioned definitions, in what ways and with which ideological intended meaning.

An analysis into the concept of identity suggests that identity has been a contested terrain and attracted more controversy within the academic circles and real political debates. Hall (1996) elaborate on identity through two major concepts that assist in defining and problematising the concept of identity. Identity as a term has come to be associated with issues such as exclusion and inclusion, othering the other and ascertains the self, differences, representation and the collective self. The term has also seen negative and positive connotations attachments terms such as patriotism, nationalism, national identity project and representation which reinforces the above.

The term identity has come to be linked to two specific schools of thought, which are the Essentialists/ Primordial and the Modernists/ Postmodernists approach, (Hall 1996; Honson, 1998). The essentialists approach views identity as fixed and God given. According to Hall (1990:393) essentialists thinking of identity is based on “terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’, hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed ‘self’.....” It is along the lines of sameness or shared cultural practices that identities in the essentialist approach are rediscovered. The concept implies no change in identity and rejects the fluidity of identities. In its right sense essentialism maintains a concept of identities being static, fixed and God given.

The second approach which is the modernist approach dismisses the notion of identities being fixed and God given. Identities in the modernist view are multiple, constantly under erasure and constructed within the framework of a particular discourse. For Hall (1990: 394) identity “is a matter of becoming as well as of being..... It is not something which already exists ... But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation.” In simple terms Hall (1996:2) states that “identity is such a concept operating under erasure.....constructed .....” this however, renders the idea of identities being fixed as argued by the essentialists a flaw. It is along the practices of representation and difference that identities are constructed and derive their meaning, (Hall 1996). In this case identities can be argued to be a social construct, which also include the mass media as they are the conduit through which representation and difference are exposed.

Anderson (1983: 6) definition of a nation as “imagined political community” can be argued in line with Hall and du Gay (1996: 4) sentiments that identities are “never unified and in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured, never singular but multiple constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourse, practices and positions.” In simple terms Hall and du Gay (1996: 4) view on identity is that of identity as a social construct, identity as fluid, multi-dimensional and more about “coming to terms with our routes” and not roots, (Hall and du Gay (1996: 4). In this case the research seeks to question the dynamics and parameters within which the mentioned newspapers covered news articles to do with the men’s national football team.

Smiths’ (2002: 15) view of the nation as a “named community possessing an historic territory shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs”, runs nothing short to be referred to as an essentialist or primordial conception of the ‘nation’. Such an understanding has been criticised by Guibernau (2004: 134), who envisions nations without states. In his criticism of Smiths’ definition and understanding of a nation Guibernau (2004: 131) hints on the aspect of the “political significance of being recognised as a ‘nation’”. This evokes notions of the relationship that exists between the nation and state. This brings us to exploration of the nation state and national identity which is to be our next subject of discussion.

Guibernau (2004) distinguishes between the ‘nation’, ‘state’ and ‘nation-state’ which is important in comprehending the nation as an ‘imagined political community’. Guibernau’s triangulation of these terms results in his view of the ‘nation-state’. by nation-state Guibernau (2004: 132) argues that it “is a modern institution, defined by the formation of a kind of state which has the monopoly of what it claims to be legitimate use of force within a demarcated territory and seeks to unite the people subject to its rule by means of cultural homogenisation”. Such an analysis also hints on nations without states, which he categorises as “defined by the lack of its own state and by an impossibility to act as a political institution on the international scene”. Such an observation is also supported by the works of Mashingaidze (2013) in his analysis of the Tonga people and their struggles for restitution, which resulted in what qualifies to be the development of a nation without a state. This is due to the unity forged between the Tonga people on both sides of the Zambezi River which also acts as a border between Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Interrogating the notion of nation subsequently leads us to a discussion on 'national identity'. Topic and Coakley (2010: 372) are of the view that national identity is a "shared sense of nationhood grounded in the images and stories associated with an identifiable nation-state or longstanding ethnic population." Such an understanding embraces the central role of communication which in this case is the media which acts as a conduit through which nations and national identity is imagined and constructed.

Additionally the definition of national identity given by Topic and Coakley (2010: 372) resonates well with the aspect of nation as an imagined political community and nations without states. National identity has been argued to be a concept that is subjected to struggle for domination by differing ideologies. Ortmann (2009) suggests that "rulers considered the national press one of the principal instrument with which to promote national identity and support for the political regime." In Foucault (1980) terms this can be understood as the working of discourse through power and strategy.

Chew (2009: 29) suggests that national identity politics "only comprised of the ruling party because opposition parties are inconsequential and civic society weak" which can be attributed to the uneven political terrain. Central to sentiments of national identity is the element of othering which Inac and Unal (2013: 223) describe in the following terms, "Identity is a social phenomenon which starts with the identity formation process by means of interaction with the 'other' or against the 'other'". For Derrida, (1992: 129) "all identities can possibly exist with their 'differences'. There is no culture or cultural identity which does not have its 'other' of the 'self'". All practices of sustaining the 'self' and outlining differences which categorises and qualifies the 'other' have been argued to have resulted in the development of stereotypes and myths explored by scholars such as Hall (1997); Dyer (1977); Lippman (1998) and Barthes (1973) among other scholars.

The nation can be viewed as a product of nationalism, which has been argued to be a force that "invents nations where they do not exist" (Gellner 1964: 169) .such observation entails the need to question the role and place of nationalism in understanding the nation. The much obscured role of nationalism is documented by Kedourie (1970: 29) who states that "nationalism is a doctrine accepting the necessity of organising the people within the realm of nation-states."

Thus we can understand nationalism as playing a sophisticated role of creating a national culture, which in essence fosters and sustain national identity.

Closely related to nationalism is the aspect of ideology which Ergil (1983: 73) suggests that nationalism “is a kind of ideology .....” Such an observation parallels earlier discussions on ideology and ideological struggles which seeks to control the nation building project. Sports and cultural industries have been identified to be avenues through which the ruling elites advance, negotiate, gain, renegotiate and reproduce their ideology and subsequently domination of society, (Ncube 2014, Althusser 2009; Storey 2002).

Nationalism and patriotism have of late become a constitutive of identity and national identity. Apparently these elements have gone to the extent of setting the parameters and framework within which national identity is understood. At the centre stage is the politics of giving meaning to nationalism and patriotism is the politics of exclusion and inclusion. In its ideological constructedness nationalism has been implicated with assuming collective identities. Collective identities in nationalism and patriotism can be traced to the works of Du Bois (2004) and Crummel. Both scholars designed the concept of an all-encompassing definition of identity and national identity based on race, with specific reference to the Negro race. This however, is not a creation of Du Bois or Crummel alone, it also saw the contribution of Europeans such as Hulme (1753), Scattergood (1792) and Estwick (1772) who assumed a collective identity of the whole Negro race as brainless and thoughtless individuals basing on racist assumptions and racist ideological standpoint.

However, Mama (2001) objects and criticizes the notion of an all-encompassing concept of identity. She argues that nationalism tended to fight for collective identities failing to consider the diverse ethnic groups characterized in some Negro communities. Chiumbu (2004) in line with Mama (2001) argues that the media under the banner of culture constructs and maintains collective identity. Post 2000 Zimbabwe is argued to be characterised by collective identity which took on a new dimension embracing elements of exclusion and no longer inclusive, (Chiumbu 2004). For the research this entails conducting a thorough investigation into how representation of the Warriors in mentioned newspapers incorporated elements of inclusion and exclusion in the nation building project and national identity. Chiumbu (2004) goes on intimate that through the media the nation state embarked on an exclusive and selective nationhood

project through television programs such as National Ethos, Nhaka Yedu and Madzimbahwe, which seek to offer justification for exclusion from the collective identity.

Spirit of unity and belonging have been incorporated in constructing the myth of nation building and national identity project by different ideological proponents. In expressing their views on the issue of belonging Du Bois (1930) and Blyden (1887) took a race stand point. They argue that Africa has to be for Africans. Blyden (1887) argued that Africa was the permanent home for the Negro race. Belonging and belongingness can be noted to draw on the concept of imaging or constructing within specific modalities, (Hall 1996). This also provides a fixed framework in which identities are to be constructed. It is through the work of discourse that belonging is expressed. Belonging also carries the question of who is to be part of the group which Du Bois simply give as marked by biological racial characteristics.

Criticizing the two, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) argues that nationalism has tended to define who should belong to the nation so as what colonialism did. This is to be achieved through revisiting the memory bank. Sharing the same sentiments, Mbembe (2006:152) contends that nationalism has employed “various discourse of belonging – the longing for black freedom, beauty and unity” so as to interpolate the individual as belonging to the national project. This has also seen the government of Zimbabwe under ZANU-PF aided by the Ministry of Information revisiting the national Archives for footages. The celebration of national events such as Independence and Heroes construct a citizen who thinks in line with the nationalist’s project. Thus one is prompted to interrogate the inclusion of football matches in commemorating such holidays and the hype given to the matches in the media. In simple terms the research seeks to understand how and to what end media framing of the warriors in relation to the spirit of nation and national identity seeks to interpolate the citizens as belonging to a single entity which is the national identity.

Nationalism has been defined by Ranger (2003: 1) as a “movement or set of movements,” and as a constructed ideology. Again Ranger (2003) goes on to give another definition of nationalism as an imagination, construction and constituted. Defining nationalism in ideological terms signifies the constructed nature of nationalism as a weapon or ideological consciousness to naturalise the identity of the ‘other’ it is along these lines that Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) borrows the Althusserian concept of Interpellation of the individual as a subject. It is not only the

interpellation of individuals as citizens of a single national entity, but it is a process that involves the othering of the other.

To view nationalism in ideological terms has its own weaknesses. This stems from the notion of ideology being criticized by Strinati (1995) as linked to the political economy of the mass media. To simply explain nationalism as an ideology without talking of economic determinism in the interpellation of the subject by Ranger (2003) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) provides a narrow description of the concept of nationalism as ideological. In other words Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ranger were not clear as they left the Economic Base aspect of it and failed to point the role of the privately owned media in the construction of identities in Zimbabwe. Rather they were mainly focusing on the state controlled media and ZANU-PF as if there are no other forces and factors which were also at play.

Nationalism and pan-Africanism have been noted by Appiah (1992) as owing their existence to the discourse of race differences championed by the colonial discourse. The colonisers sought to construct and define identity in essentialists' terms basing on race as the differentiating factor. It was only through the othering of the native Africans that nationalism sprang in order to fight the differences and exploitative nature of racism. In its 1963 policy ZANU-PF however, rejects race and racism in its nationalistic quest. This is noted through their envisioning of the republic of ZANU - PF being based on the principles of non-racialism. To echo the same sentiments Sithole (1952:23) argues that "African nationalism is directed against European domination" or supremacy and not against the white man. Such an all-encompassing identity by the nationalists renders Appiah's (1992) notion of nationalism owing its existence to race differences and racism valid. In this case the identity of Black Nationalism derived its identifying characteristics from extreme white nationalism.

However, Tendi (2010:36) reinforces Appiah's, sentiments when he argued that nationalism and patriotism "conceptualization of nations as based on race depicted the world as made of two competing races black and white". Chiumbu (2004:32) further notes that "unlike the earlier process the current national identity project is not inclusive" as it has biological race differences as its defining factor. This has seen the construction of what one can refer to as patriots black Africans and racists and sell-outs (who happen to be whites and liberal blacks respectively). This again drags the debate on as it now involves the unleashing of differentiation in identity politics

of nationalists among black citizens. This brings out the element of identity and national identity being based on the play of differences and it is also important to note that race has been implicated in identifying true Black Nationalist.

In fully achieving its end results nationalism and patriotism have been noted by scholars such as Cheru (2008) as linked to history or the past experiences. In calling for the African national project (construction of a collective African identity) Cheru (2008) argues that “a society that ignores its past, gets lost in its future endeavours.” The role and contribution of history in shaping and constructing identities is brought out by the author. This also suggests the relationship between history (lived experience) and the meaning making process, as individuals are not free agents as suggested by Hall (1996). One can also talk of Hall’s three reading paradigms in the reading of texts being linked to the concept of individuals being clothed in social, economic and cultural orientation in decoding texts.

The centrality of history to nationalism and patriotism in its nation building and national identity project has been criticized by Ranger (2003) as leading to the creation of patriotic history which is political. Patriotic history has been identified by Ranger (2003) as offering a narrow sense of the definition of nationalism and being masked by exclusion and inclusion. This has seen the inclusion of the colonizers atrocities during the second Chimurenga, which are kept at the National Archives in the form of videos and photographs being broadcast and published in the state controlled but publicly owned media in identity construction. Apart from the state controlled media had also developed a tendency of screening and airing national event such as galas to commemorate national holidays such as Heroes day, Independence and National Unity day which Chiumbu (2004) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) refer to as cultural artefacts (Chiumbu (2004) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009). History has also seen the construction of an identity of the warriors as true and patriotic. Another aspect that characterizes nationalism has been noted by Ranger, (2005) as patriotic journalism. Ranger (2005:10) defines patriotic journalism as “narrow and divisive – a substitute for ideology and analysis.” In his attacks on patriotic journalism Ranger (2005:14) argues that “in this journalism, Zimbabweans are divided into patriots, the rest of the world is divided into supporters and imperialists.” Apart from that one can notice the binary logical form which is evidenced in patriotic journalism, which excludes, defines and identifies the other as traitors. Not only does Ranger, (2005) decry the growth of patriotic



journalism, sharing the same views is Tendi (2010) who argues that patriotic history saw the engagement of intellectuals to “churn out patriotic history via government owned media.” This positions the mass media as a site of contestations in identity construction. Moyo (2012) also asserts that the ZANU-PF government tightened its hold on the publicly owned media so as to maintain its dominant position. This reinforces Seleti (1997) ideas of the mass media being involved in national identity politics regardless of their shape, size, colour and form.

### **2.1.3 Reflections on Football as an identifier of nation in nation building and setting parameters in identity**

Football as a sporting activity has been suggested to be “intricately interwoven with politics, economics and culture.” (Chari 2010: 26). For the research this indicates the nature of relationship that exists between sports and politics. It is this relationship that can be argued to be at the centre of nation building and national identity Ncube (2014: 1) suggests football as one of the cultural spaces which falls under popular culture is a “formative site for the play of power, where identities are negotiated and contested in people’s everyday lives.” It is against this backdrop that the main thrust of this section of the research is to interrogate how the portrayal of the men’s national football team in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*, subtly reveals elements of football as a nation building project. Again the research seeks to provide an understanding of how the mentioned newspapers which are from different ideological standpoint strategically use football in rallying support for their ideological thinking.

To begin the discussion on football as an identifier of nation and strategically used as a nation building instrument through the use of media, the research will highlight on football as cultural artefact. Football is described as qualifying to be one of the crucial cultural spaces which accommodates the articulation of identity, (Edensor and Koodaruth, 2004; Ncube 2014). In essence football falls under popular culture as it has the ability to mobilise and draw a large crowd of individuals from different cultural backgrounds.

It is argued to be possessing a “mesmeric, captivating quality that allows us all to escape” as suggested by Jones (2010: 29). Thinking along the same lines Chari (2010) is of the view that “football in Zimbabwe.... almost attain the status of secular religion”.

In essence football qualifies to be a cultural artefact that is crucial in the accumulation of cultural capital. Apart from that the game also offers a therapeutic experience which enables spectators to drift away into another social realm. For the research this entails questioning how the mentioned newspapers make use of this aspect in advancing their view and understanding of nation and the nation building project.

Due to its therapeutic experience and ability to draw a large crowd football and sport in general has been argued to be an instrument of hegemony, (Chomsky 1988; Ncube 2014; Chari 2010; Lin et al 2008). For Cuttman (2003: 374) sports is a “subtle means of social control”. Sports has been used and implicated in ideological struggles and battle for domination in society. Chari (2010: 221) articulates football as “an arena within which meanings are generated, reproduced, sustained, negotiated and contested and that is intricately linked with politics, economics and culture.” Various scholars make use of Gramsci’s theory of hegemony in understanding how sport as cultural artefact is used in the struggle for domination, which subsequently leads to the formation of national identities. Such sentiments are captured in Lin, et al (2008) who proposes that sport is a form of political propaganda that is employed to generate support for the political elites”.

Apart from advancing and configuring ideological linings sport has been articulated as a site that offers counter hegemonic sentiments. Chari, (2014) in Mhiripiri and Chari, (2014: 166) argue that “sport has been deployed by states, elites and counter hegemonic movements”. Chari, (2014: 163) in his discussion on the 2010 FIFA world cup in South Africa, states that the “re-imagining and re-imaging of South Africa through positive symbolic signification constitutes a counter hegemonic narrative to discourse on Africa as a dark continent.” Efforts of counter-hegemonic views are argued to be given their voice by the media which has been argued to be a catalyst in ideological struggles. Through exploring more on the aspect of counter hegemony, the research seeks to provide an understanding of how the mentioned newspapers act as catalysts, stealthily advancing hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourse on the aspect of nation and national identity through their representation of the men’s national football team.

Football is observed by Hyde-Clarke, et al (2014: 15 – 16) when he argues that sport offers an opportunity for the nation building project to be successfully embarked. In the following remarks Hyde-Clarke, et al (2014: 15-16) argue that sport is used to “express the brotherhood

and sisterhood of humanity..... Sports may obscure ..... divisions that would otherwise threaten national stability.” Echoing the same sentiments Topic and Coakley (2010) suggest that sports “athletes and teams are linked with national habitus, social integration ...” Guibernau (2004: 130) argues that the “process of nation building promoted by state which are closely connected to the rise of modern nationalism”

Nation building through sports is a task which can be said to be achieved through the unifying effects of sports, (Kassing 2014; Guilianotti 2011; Ncube 2014; Alegi 2010). In advancing the national project elites are described as making use of the unifying power of sports, so as to negotiate and renegotiate the nation building project. As a mesmerising cultural artefact, football is reckoned by Kassing (2014: 132) as “having the potential to unify fans across cultural differences”. In essence sports offers a euphoric experience in which fans despite their differences tend to embrace each other. It has been noted that the euphoric moment offers an opportunity that the elite, through the media, seize in advancing their nation building project. Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri, (2014: 187) are of the view that sport as an identity formation tool tends to “coalesce people around South Africaness”, which can be argued to be an act designed to foster unity among the citizens.

It is this aspect of national unity which can be argued to be crucial in the construction of National Identity through sports representation. Sports and especially football as a social signifier tends to promote or “influence attitudes towards national identity.....” (Ismer 2011). In his description and analysis of the FIFA 2010 World Cup Sewpoul (2008: 34) intimates that “the World Cup offered a chance for South Africa to take hold of the consciousness of people and imbue them with a sense of national pride and identification”. Jones (2014: 34). Thinking along the same line Alegi (2010:129-130) suggests that “the 2010 world cup became a massive national project designed to enhance the status of the nation state.....” From this it can be gathered that sport do really play a crucial role in constructing, imagining and re-imagining a particular geographical area as a nation with a –unique national identity. Such an understanding entails the research how the mentioned newspapers advance or foster a feeling of nationhood and national identity, and how they strategically make reference to the aspect of national pride and raise awareness to issues of national consciousness.

To question the role of sport and the catalyst role of the media in invoking attitudes, emotions and feelings of national identity implies providing a timeline of events characterising the modern African football terrain and its relationship to politics. Having been critically explored by scholars such as Alegi (2010); Zenenga (2012) and Ncube (2014) among others, football is argued to have “ended up as an alternative public sphere that provided a platform through which counter hegemonic forces against colonial rule flourished”, (Ncube, 2014: 5; Alegi 2010). A look at discourse as explored Foucault (1980) reveals the working of power, strategy and the discursive formation which can be used in explaining what characterised the encounter between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’. The ‘self’ being the colonial masters who Fabian (2006: 814) argue “embarked on a political, economic and scientific appropriation of Africa ... based on denial of recognition and therefore on suppression of memory.”

It is this denial that led to football being invented as a site for the native Africans to express their displeasure of the colonial rule. All this can be viewed in light of what Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri, (2014: 184) refers to as the failure to incorporate “mutual respect of differences”. Such a practice by the colonial masters and use of football as a socialising agent in difficult times during colonial rule period resulted in Africans using the available cultural space as a platform through which they can imagine and re-imagine their nations and it also qualifies Guibernau, (2010) view of nations without states. With the advent of independence Ncube (2014: 6) notes that the “close relationship between football and political power was also reproduced in post independent Zimbabwe.” Such an observation entails interrogating how post independent Zimbabwe media is still entangled in the colonial era in terms of its representation of men’s national football team.

A look at the relationship between sports and national identity, Topic and Coakley (2010: 374) are of the view that “sports ... provide occasions for the public expression of national values, beliefs, pride and collective unity and identity”. For Cho (2009) and Rowe (2003) fans view sporting and victories as occasions to celebrate national pride and affiliation”. A critical view of this analysis reveals notions of national identity and national pride as a myth, which is constructed within the parameters of nationalism and patriotism. The concept of myth as advanced by Barthes (1957) who is credited for pioneering the work on Myth. Nothias (2014: 287) advances that a myth is “a construct, it is immediately accessible and appears as natural”. An understanding of myths reveals how particular social practices attain the truth status and

common sense level. What is apparent is how this common sense status is achieved, which can be said to be the working of discourse, which Whisnant (2012: 6) observes that “certain discourses in certain contexts have the power to convince people to accept statement as true”.

In this scenario reference can be made to the work of Onwumehili (2014: 145) who reflects on how “during the nationalist, days, local Nigerian sports framed the country as a strong Nigerian sporting nation....” The role of the media in the myth construction process cannot be ignored as Jones (2014: 283) suggests that “journalists must realise that their framing of events has wider ramifications ... The effect and legacy of an event .... Is prolonged by news media’s coverage”. Thus we can understand the central role occupied by cultural industries in constructing the myth of nations and national identity. Such an analysis will enable the research to provide a well-grounded understanding of the works of media institutions and the construction of the national identity myth and how the media subtly contribute in various ways though the strategic use of language.

Football coverage and the nation building and national identity myth can be argued in line with patriotism and nationalism which have been explored earlier. Hyde-Clarke et al (2014: 17) argue that sports tend to unite the “nation under the banner of sports, creating a platform for further nation building based on patriotic favour”. Central to patriotism and nationalism are elements such as national values and beliefs among other aspects which evokes the nation as a single entity with a set of unique characteristics which identifies it. Chiumbu, (2009) also suggests that cultural artefacts such as the national anthem, national flag and national events are used in invoking national identity sentiments. In this case patriotism and nationalism are concepts which the research seek to interrogate as elements which aid in constructing the national identity myth. A deeper understanding is also sought with regards to the manner in which the concepts are employed in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*, in their coverage of the Warriors.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

The research advances the research problem that football act as a signifying instrument of nations through the catalyst role of media representation. In essence the research seeks to

interrogate the nature and pattern of media representation of the Warriors and how such coverage invokes feelings of nationhood, national pride and national identity. Focusing on *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News* the research will make use of Discourse, Power and Framing and Re-imagining nationhood and national identity as theories informing the research. Corbin, and Strauss, (2008:39) observe that the theoretical framework “provide a conceptual guide for choosing the concepts to be investigated, for suggesting research questions, and for framing the research findings.” In Kellner, (1995: 24) terms “Theories ..... illuminate social realities and help individuals to make sense of their world.” These theories will provide an understanding of the nature of representation that characterised *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*.

### **2.2.1 Re-imagining Nationhood and National Identity**

Nation and national identity are concepts which have been subjected to academic interrogation and scrutiny. To begin the discussion on nations three major definitions are to be provided, the first one which is provided by Smith (2002: 15) states that a nation is a “named community possessing an historic territory, shared myths and memories, common public culture and common laws and customs. The second definition is provided by Anderson (1983: 6) who states that a nation is “an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”. Lastly Guibernau (2004: 132) views the nation as a “modern institution, defined by the formation of a kind of state which has the monopoly of what it claims to be the legitimate use of force within a demarcated territory and seeks to unite the people subject to its rule by means of cultural homogenisation.” From the above definitions it can be understood that a nation is a social construct as in Anderson (1983) terms is imagined. Thus we one can talk of cultural industries as facilitating the formation of nations through the nation building project. It has to be understood that the nation building project as alluded to earlier makes use of cultural spaces and artefacts which are deemed relevant in advancing various political sentiments.

A thorough investigation into nationhood and national identity shall begin with an analysis of the concept of identity. This is so as notions of identity pervades various discourses in society and comprises of everyday lived experiences. In essence notions of identity are the hallmark of every form of communication be it political, economic and cultural. As alluded to earlier differences are what make everyday practices mean thus the need to analyse the concept of identity.

The research is guided by Hall (1996) understanding of identity and who provides two concepts of identity. Identity has been associated with aspects such as exclusion and inclusion, othering the other and ascertains the self, differences, representation and the collective self. The term has also seen negative and positive connotations attachments terms such as patriotism, nationalism, nation building and the national identity project and representation which reinforces the above.

Identity as a concept has been linked to two specific schools of thought. These schools of thought are the Modernists/Postmodernists and the Essentialists/Primordial approach, (Hall 1996; Honson 1998). The essentialists approach views identity as fixed and God given. According to Hall, (1990:393) the essentialist view on identity is based on “terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’, hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed ‘self’.....” Such an observation entails interrogating aspects of sameness or shared cultural practices that identities in the essentialist approach are rediscovered. The concept implies a rejection on the notions of the fluidity of identities and no change in identity. In its right sense essentialism maintains a concept of identities as being static, fixed and God given.

Contrary to the essentialist approach is the modernist approach which dismisses the notion of identities being fixed and God given. The modernist perspective views identities as multiple, constantly under erasure and constructed within the parameters of a particular discursive formation. For Hall, (1990:394) identity “is a matter of becoming as well as of being..... It is not something which already exists, but like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation.” Simply put Hall (1996:2) states that “identity is such a concept operating under erasure.....constructed .....” such an observation dismisses the idea of identities as fixed and static a point advanced by the essentialists. Media representation and difference tend to aid in the construction of identities and national identities and meaning is constructed, (Hall 1996). This entails arguing for the notion of identities as a social construct.

Exploring and interrogating the contested nature of identity and African identity in particular Appiah, (1992) argues for the emergence of a particular and specific African identity which is not yet present. Concurring with Appiah, Achebe cited in Appiah, (1992:173) states that “it is of course true that the African identity is still in the making. There is not a final identity that is African .... But at the same time, there is an identity coming into existence.”

Simply put Africa as a continent is still grappling with the idea of establishing an identity that can identify the continent.

One of the elements explored by Appiah (1992) in his interrogation identity is the aspect of race and racism. These elements are argued to be aiding in the construction of identities Appiah, (1992:176) suggest that “race and history ....do not enforce an identity.” African identity as defined by Du Bois, Crummel and Blyden as based on race has been challenge. Appiah (1992: 176) contends that identities grow out of a changing response to economic, political and cultural forces....” This draws the concept of identities being constructed within the play of differences, (Hall, 1996; Bhabha 1994). These differences originate in shared characteristics within a particular group. In this case we can talk of biological views on race as signifying the differences in the construction of identities. It is through differences that identities get meaning and sustain themselves. For the research this entails interrogating how differences are appropriated in sport representation in the mentioned newspapers. Additionally an understanding of differences will assist in establishing a concrete basis upon which a conclusion can be reached on the role and place of differences in imagining the nation, nation building and national identity myth.

Schopflin (2001) talks of boundaries which can be referred to as difference (2001) to be constructed and maintained. Identification as a result of difference “operates across differences, it entails discursive work, the binding and making of symbolic boundaries...” Hall (1996:3). In other words difference establishes the self through identifying that which is left outside as giving meaning. Not only does difference give meaning but it also fixes premises on which identity is to be constructed.

Making his contribution in the discussion on identity, Mamdani (1996) zero in on explaining identity struggles that characterised the African continent, as the native Africans struggled to ascertain their unique identity. Through the establishment of the Bifurcated state which had Citizens (civilized white) and Subjects (uncivilized native Africans) the aspect of identity during the colonial period was constructed. As the bifurcated state sought to define identities in the primordial sense basing on identity and civilization the element of exclusion and inclusion comes into play. Exclusion and inclusion are characteristics of every identity which have established mechanisms to attain it, (Schopflin, 2001). Such exclusions and memory denial led to the native African taking the football field as a platform through which they could establish their nations



without states and continue with their struggle against white hegemonic rule. In this case Africans were excluded from the citizen class of civilized individuals. It also has to be understood that through exclusion identities tend to sustain themselves, (Schopflin 2001). Through the use of football and other sporting activities the native African was interpellated as subjects.

Talking of representation and ideology and the mass media in identity politics also draws Foucault's concept of the discursive practice. In emphasizing the relationship between identity and the discursive practice Hall, (1996:4) argues that identities are "constructed within, not outside discourse ..... specific discourse formations and practices." The discursive practice itself has been developed by Foucault (1972) as involving the play of power. Power is argued by Foucault (1972) to be implicated with knowledge to establish a truth regime through the discursive formations. Aided by institutional apparatus the discursive formation and practice are a mechanism which act to achieve conformity through language regulation of what is thinkable/unthinkable and what can be regarded as common sense and not.

In this case the research sought to establish the work of representation, differences, exclusion and inclusion in identity construction and the role of the media in expressing these aspects. It is against the practice of aspects that the framing of identity in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday* can be argued to be informed by the primordial or modernist approach. In addition the role of the media in the construction of what Anderson (1991) refers to as the "imagined political nation" will be established as politics is involved in the construction of identities through power, knowledge and regulation brought out by discourse. Hall (1996:4) puts in a simple way when he states that identities "emerge within the specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of making of difference and exclusion.

In their analysis n national identity politics Gilroy (1993) argues that the social imaginary that informs this notion of national identity is a narrowly defined notion of history that provides a defense of the narratives of imperial power and dominant culture. Of course, national identity, like nationalism itself, is a social construction that is built upon a series of inclusions and exclusions regarding history, citizenship, and national belonging. As the social historian Benedict Anderson, (1983) has pointed out, the nation is an 'imagined political community' that can only be understood within the intersecting dynamics of history, language, ideology, and

power. In other words, nationalism and national identity are neither necessarily reactionary nor necessarily progressive politically (Anderson 1991: 13). National identity is always a shifting, unsettled complex of historical struggles and experiences that are cross-fertilized, produce Güvenç defines national identity as a kind of socialization manner processing that takes part in the individual within any certain community, or, it is a feeling of the state of belonging to any group by means of acculturation (Güvenç 1985: 27). It is the ‘we feeling’ which is shared by all individuals living within the certain geographical frontiers, in governing of the nation–state and with the creation of a national culture dependent on the historical and cultural perspective” (Ibid.:29). National identity is perceived inevitable for every community within the process of nationalization as the guarantee and base of the national existence. Yurdusev argues that the process of nation building or the construction of a nation can be comprehended within two levels. First of all, the rise of nation-state and second one is the dominance of the national ideology (Yurdusev 1997: 22).

On the other hand, nation-state performs a functioning tool of the self – realization of the national ideology. Connor defines the term “nation” as a mass-based community of belonging and interest, whose members share a back–ward looking sense of common genealogical and geographic roots, as well as forward-looking sense of destiny. As a community of belonging, members typically view the nation as an extended family related by common ancestry, although this belief in a common ancestor is based more on myths and legends than on an appraisal of the nation’s history (Connor 1978: 377-400). Most nations are products of inter-ethnic integration. The myth of common ancestry is critically important and the myth reduces the likelihood that nations can be unmade. It makes nations appear as primordial communities that are both natural and eternal. The primordialist depiction of national identity is emphasized by nationalists in order to explain the back-ward looking character of the national identity.

### ***2.2.2 Discourse, Power and Framing***

Discourse, power and framing are concepts interlinked and mutually reinforce each other in their operations. These concepts in simple terms reinforce each other in the social practice of representation. An understanding of these concepts as assisting in nation building and imaging of national identity through cultural industry representation justifies an observation by Hall

(1997:4) that media representations are “constructed within not outside discourse”. The relationship between these concepts can be viewed in light of discourse assuming the centre stage role as it has the power and ability to generate knowledge, truth and power. A look at these concepts entails analysing them separately in the research so as to provide an understanding of the nature of the relationship that exists between these concepts and how they can be strategically be used in the in the production of representative artefacts that seek to promote notions and particular version of the nation and national identity in the media. It is from these concepts that the research aims to identify how the media were instrumental in the production and stratification of information through representation. More emphasis is going to be placed on how these concepts were strategically used and how they are evidenced in the framing of the warriors in the mentioned newspapers.

Discourse as a social practice can be argued to be a social construct, (Pedersen 2009). Scholarly work on discourse is credited to the tireless efforts of the French scholar Michael Foucault, who sought to provide a broad understanding of relations within society and social processes. Hall, (1997:37) identified the term as a “system of representation” that has the ultimate goal of promoting a particular version of truth and the production of knowledge and regulate the process of meaning production. Arguing along Pedersen (2009) opinion that discourse is a social construct, the research aims to question how discourse has been employed in the representation of the Warriors in relation to notions of nation in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot and Daily News on Sunday*.

Hall, (1997: 44) defines discourse as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about.....a way of representing knowledge the knowledge about .... a particular topic at a particular historical moment.” Additionally Foucault (1980: 49) is of the view that discourses are “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak”. For the research this entails advancing the argument that discourse is about the construction of nations, national identities and shape reality through the production and circulation of knowledge and truth. A well-grounded empathetic of discourse and its practices implies questioning the modalities within which interpretation, meaning, identities and reality are constructed. For the research this implies interrogating how discourse as a regulatory practice aided in the coverage of the men’s national football team in the mentioned newspapers and with what intentions.

For such a task to be achieved the research has to question and critically explore more on the concept of discourse and come to a conclusion as to how its application can be a subject of analysis, which in a way provides an understanding on the framework within which one can understand the portrayal of the Zimbabwe men's football team and how such representations can be viewed in light of nation and national identity. Additionally an analysis of discourse as a social practice or social construct seeks to provide an understanding of the framework within which news articles about the warriors and subtle hints on the notion of nation can be discussed. An understanding of such contestations is necessary, given that the newspapers are coming from different ideological backgrounds with distinct characteristics and standpoints.

As a social signifying construct, it has been argued that discourse is actively involved in the construction of topics. With the construction of topics, comes the aspect of regulation as to how such topics can be meaningfully discussed, (Foucault 1977; Hall 1997; Tryson 1999; Faubian 2000; Whisnant 2012). Hall (1997: 44) observes that discourse "governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about". Meditating on discourse Storey (2012: 128) is of the view that "language, for example is a discourse, it enables me to speak, and it constrains what I say....." This suggests that representation of reality, construction of meaning and identities, which in general we can refer to as our understanding of the symbolic world, are constructed within the modalities of discourse.

Through exploring more on discourse the research seeks to gain an understanding of the regulatory nature of discourse is revealed and reflected in *The Sunday Mail*, *The patriot and Daily News on Sunday*, in their portrayal of the warriors and imagining of the nation. In essence the research interrogates the regulatory frameworks within which the media construct a reality of Zimbabwe as a nation state with a unique national identity. In Whisnant 2012: 5) terms, the research aims to establish how discourse as a "set of rules that governs a specific style of language" shapes the construction of nations and national identity and the social processes within the political realm.

The central of discourse in the production of meaning and construction of reality cannot be discussed outside the confines of specific historical context. Hall (1997: 46) observes that "things meant something and were true ... only within a specific historical context." Thinking along the same lines, Carter (2013: 2) also observes that "time and immediacy affect the construction of

news” and “how stories are (or are not) placed within a historical context.” Apparently the idea that discourse achieves the intended goal within specific historical context. The research aims to critically explore the mentioned newspapers made use of this aspect in their production of cultural artefacts that reflected on the notions of nation and national identity. It is through exploring more on the specific historical context that the research seeks to gain an understanding into the differing and similarities in the portrayal of the warriors as a symbolic signifier of the nation in *The Sunday Mail, The Patriot and Daily News on Sunday*.

The discussion on the coverage of Zimbabwe’s men’s football teams *The Sunday Mail, The Patriot and Daily News on Sunday*, as a social practice, entails focusing on how discourse construct subjects. Thus we can talk of individuals in these representations as constitutional subjects, (Storey 2012). Hall (1997:80) observes that “discourse itself produces ‘subjects’ – figures who personify the particular forms of knowledge which the discourse produces.” The main thrust of the research is to map out how discourse as a language system and a social construct constitutes subjects through its operations. With the idea of identities being multiple, fluid and constantly under erasure as advanced by Hall (1997), the research aims to explore and critically interrogate how discourse facilitates for the fluidity and transformation of identities. The aspect of fluidity is to be understood in light of media representations which shape and transform reality according to certain precepts.

As a social practice discourse has also been argued to lead to the construction of knowledge that will go on to attain truth status, through what Foucault terms the discursive formation. The discursive formation is when cultural artefacts “appear across a range of texts, and as forms of conduct, at a number of different institutional sites within society, share the same style and support a strategy...” (Cousin and Hussain 1984: 84-85). Such a practice can be described as facilitating for the generation of knowledge and truth. The main thrust of the research is to question and explore how *The Sunday Mail, The Patriot and daily News on Sunday*, facilitates the appearance and discussion of Warriors within the context of nation and national identity, in a discursive formation pattern.

As a social practise that produces knowledge as its main goal can also be analyses in relation to regimes of truth. Hall (1997: 49) suggests that the “discursive formation sustain a regime of truth”. Foucault (1980: 131) critically explores and outlines how the discursive formations of

certain discourses in a particular context attain a truth status. Foucault (1980: 131) is of the view that “the types of discourse which, it accepts...” function to attain a truth status in society. Arguing along the same lines Whisnant (2012: 6) clearly states that “... all knowledge is organised through the structures, interconnections, and associations that built into language.” Again he goes on state that “certain discourses in certain contexts have the power to convince people to accept statements as true.” What is apparent here is that the discursive formation generates knowledge and truth in society.

From such an understanding, the research argues that the generation of knowledge and truth is practice that is subjected to ideological struggles. This is premised on the notion that discourse is a social construct that circulates in order to achieve certain desired goals. Again the research in another dimension aims to generate an understanding of how knowledge and truth generation in society results in processes of political change and political identity formation. Apparently the research seeks to interrogate how *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *daily News on Sunday* relate to the aspects discussed above and their contribution to developmental processes in the society.

The research again seeks to explore more on the element of transformation of discourse. Whisnant (2012: 8) outlines how according to Foucault discourse is never static but is always in a transformative mode. The transformative mode of discourse entails discourse assuming different forms at different times. Thus the research aims to interrogate transformation of discourse in the coverage of the Zimbabwe men’s football team in the mentioned newspapers, and its central role in the construction of reality. Basing on Whisnant (2012: 8) assumption that “once transformation in a given discourse happen, the new rules can spread, infiltrate their way into new areas of life and even transform older discourses or forcing them out of practice”, the research seeks to reflect on how the coverage of the men’s national football team *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *daily News on Sunday* is subjected to the transformation of existing discourses in a bid to generate new forms of knowledge and truth.

Power is another element that has been incorporated in the interrogation of discourse. Power as an element of strategy has been explained as “implicated in the questions of whether and in what circumstances knowledge is to be applied or not.” (Hall 1997: 48). Whisnant (2012: 7) argues that “discourse is intimately involved with social networks of power...” which leads to “certain types of discourse enabling specific types of individuals to speak the truth ..... which

individuals' degrees of social, cultural and possibly political power." This entails the research interrogating how power can be witnessed in the representation of the Warriors in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *daily News on Sunday*. Basing on this understanding the research seeks to provide an understanding of how power shapes or reinforce language use in the representation in the articulation of the nation and national identity in the mentioned newspaper.

Power has been implicated in the discussions of knowledge and it has been argued to be assuming "the authority of the truth" and as having the capacity to make itself true", (Hall 1997: 49). Power having been linked with knowledge is argued to be have the effect of organising and Foucault (1980) defines power as politics. For the research this entails critically exploring on how power is implicated in the use of language to generate knowledge through the subtle articulation of the nation through the representation of the Warriors in the mentioned newspapers.

In his explanation of power Foucault (1976: 88) argues that "we are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth". This implies the research not only interrogating the "effects of truth that this power produces and transmits"., in another way the research's main thrust is to reflect on how this truth is constructed through the workings of power. Within the academic circles power is also understood as "politics acting on power" by Sluga (2011: 72). The central role of power in representation in the generation of truth and knowledge to a discussion on relations of power which is to be our next subject of discussion.

Relations of power as critically explored by Faubion (2009: 332) entails power "bringing into play relations between individuals". Of equal importance is the aspect of the relations power being a social construct, which come into effect and existence as a result of the workings of discourse. The specific intended effects of power relations can be understood as the production of meaning through the production and circulation of cultural artefacts in any given society. In other terms power relations subject individuals to its own demands through the production of power structures, and politics is understood as "the array of strategic relations", (Sluga 2011: 78). Sluga (2011: 74) in his description of the intersection between politics and power relations suggests that "politics has to be understood, in other words as a system of nested strategic

relationships”, (Sluga 2011: 74). Weir (2009) is of the view that the link between knowledge and power has in most cases resulted in the shaping of modern identities.

It can be argued that through power relations one can safely conclude that identities are the effects of a deepening and strengthening of hegemonic domination in society. Basing on this understanding the research aims to reflect on how relations of power can be reflected in *The Sunday MAIL*, *The Patriot and Daily News on Sunday* articulation of the concept of nation and national identity through their coverage of the Warriors. Another important element is the regulatory nature of power and power relations. For the research this entails exploring on how the coverage of the warriors and articulation of the concept of nation can be well understood within the framework of the regulatory nature of power and power relations.

Framing as a theory can be understood as offer a well-grounded understanding in how the research can reflect on the coverage and articulation of the men’s national football team and the nation respectively in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot and daily News on Sunday*. Selection and salience having been singled out as the main concepts that constitute of framing (Entman 1992), this entails the research aiming to provide a framework in which we understand how information is ordered in attaining relevance and importance. To gain an understanding of such an observation this demands the research to interrogate how discourse was strategically employed in the coverage of the men’s national football team in the mentioned newspapers.

Entman (1993: 52) argues that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” Simply put framing serves four major purposes which are to be highlighted in this discussion and these include problem identification, diagnose of cause, a judgement based on moral grounds and possible/alternative solutions. This implies exploring on how representations of the men’s national football team in the mentioned newspapers were constructed within the boundaries of the above four mentioned aspects of framing. In other words the four mentioned aspects can be argued to be offering a regulatory framework within which the notions of nation and national identity were to be portrayed and later on discussed.



Critically exploring framing, Reese (2001:11) is of the view that “frames are organising principles that symbolically work to structure the social world”. According to Carter (2013: 4) this entails that frames “add up to something bigger than an individual story, because previous reports of events are usually in reference to previous or similar episodes”. As representations of social events are done within certain historical contexts, one can link this to Foucault’s concept of discourse producing regimes of truth within specific historical contexts and being subjected to transformation. The central role the above issue, can be reflected through interrogating how coverage of the Warriors in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *daily News on Sunday* within specific discursive practices. In addition to that the, the research also aims to question and explore on how the strategic adaption of certain particular frames can be understood within the context of them offering a regulatory framework in the construction of reality.

It is against this backdrop that the research assumes a specific dimension within the academia in its quest to reflect on how discourse, power and framing interlock and reinforce each other in their operations in the coverage of the Warriors in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *daily News on Sunday*. The fact that these are socially constructed entails that they occupy and play a central role in society in the production of meaning. For the research this implies interrogating how discourse, power and framing as social practices provided a context within which language used to reflect on the nation and national identity within the context of the warriors was to be used.

### **2.2.3. Conclusion**

The main thrust of this section was to highlight and review related literature in the providing a critical appraisal of the representation of the Zimbabwe’s men’s national football team within the context of nation and national identity in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *daily News on Sunday*. Under this discussion major theories that inform the research were discussed. The subsequent chapter shall critically explore on the research methods and methodologies employed in the research.

## **CHAPTER 3: Research Methods and Methodology**

### **3.0 Introduction**

The chapter highlights on research methods and methodology employed in the execution of the research. It is at this stage that the research informed by theories and related literature, explores on ways of gathering, analysing and interpretation of data gathered. It is of significant importance to mention at this stage that the research is to adopt a qualitative research approach. As such methods employed are to fall under qualitative methodology.

### **3.1 Research Methodology: A Qualitative Research Approach to the study of Press coverage of Zimbabwe Men's National Football Team (Zimbabwe Warriors)**

The research interrogates the coverage of Zimbabwe men's national football team in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News*. In order to address research questions raised, the research adopts a qualitative research approach. Hammersley (2011: 32) defines methodology as "concerned with studying the methods employed in carrying out some of form of enquiry". According to Haralambos and Holborn (1990:698), "any academic subject requires a methodology to research its conclusions; it must have ways of producing and analysing data so that the theories can be tested, accepted or rejected". Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. It is a science of studying how research is done scientifically. In essence the approach adopted will allow for a more refined understanding of the nature of portrayal characterising the mentioned newspapers. Headlines, frames adopted, article length, choice of vocabulary, sources used editorial comments and pagination are some of the components the research is going to reference to.

For Krauss (2005: 758) research methodology involves the "particular practices used in attaining knowledge.", apparently it is important to highlight that the selection of news articles was based on accessibility and their potential to offer a broader understanding of how *The Sunday Mail*, *The patriot* and *Daily News*, reported on the men's national football team within the context of nation and nationhood. In other terms as the research critically explores on the coverage of the Warriors, sampling methods to be used entail the study selecting articles that offer relevant and accurate information.

The researcher will be able to get thick description (Denzing 1894) of media frames chosen and used as well as numerical scientific evidence. This study will however not claim objectivity even if numbers are used rather it will acknowledge the limitations of academic enquiry and does not aspire to know all (Ruddock 2001; Bryman 2012) because it is investigating peoples subjective construction and understanding of social reality.

### **3.2 Research Paradigm**

The research is to assume the qualitative paradigm and shall employ qualitative techniques in gathering, analysing and presentation of data. With the main thrust of the research being the interrogation of the coverage of the Warriors within the context of nation and nationhood a qualitative approach is more relevant as it “is concerned with meaning and interpretation”, (Stokes 2003: 3). Despite the fact that the labels qualitative and quantitative paradigm having been argued to be unnecessary distinctions in research and stereotypical, (Stokes 2003; Krauss 2005; Bryman 2005; Blanche 2006), the research is more interested in explaining and describing experiences in human terms rather than quantification.

Under the qualitative research paradigm the research is to apply the critical paradigm or cultural studies perspective approach, which Gunter (2000) views as an alternative approach. For Gray, (2009:25), the critical paradigm is a “meta-process of investigation which questions currently held values and assumptions and challenges conventional social structures”. In other words the Critical approach can be understood as an alternative approach that allows for the questioning of currently held values. The Critical approach is understood to be a continuous debate with origins from Karl Marx, Louis Althusser right up to Stuart Hall and other emerging scholars. It is from this approach that elements of ideological traits are to be fully comprehended in the representation of the man’s national football team within the lenses of the nation, in the mentioned newspapers. Again as argued by Seleti (1997) that the media regardless of their shape and size among other facets are actively involved in identity politics, the qualitative approach can be identified as a suitable approach that offers such a perspective. The approach also enables the research to understand how the concept of nation is understood and perceived in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News*

The research is also mindful of the criticism of employing qualitative research methods. Among such criticism is the idea that results from qualitative research methods tend to be subjected to the influence of the researcher's personal bias and idiosyncrasies. Additionally qualitative methods have under the barrage of consuming time and the generation of theories and not testing them. In order to circumvent such criticism the research aims to do its utmost best to provide credible findings based on neutral analysis and evaluations on the manner in which the mentioned newspapers critically conceptualised the warriors as a signifier of the nation.

Additionally the qualitative approach as a research method can be understood as a research method that will enable the research to interrogate and provide a comprehensive understanding of how the media are a conduit through which reality is constructed and they are an active participant in the identity politics (political identities) as argued by Seleti (1997).

### **3.3 Unit of Analysis: *The Daily News on Sunday, The Sunday Mail and The Patriot* newspaper's research population**

Bryman (2004:87) defines research population as "the universe of units from which the sample is to be selected. The term 'units' is employed because it is not necessarily people who are being sampled". According to Fourie (2007) the term population in academic research should not be taken as lightly to use it as used commonly in the layman's world. In academic circles it should be taken to mean the bigger pool from which a sample for a research study is derived from. In this research, the term population will be used to refer to purposively sampled newspaper articles from the three purposively selected newspapers, *The Daily News on Sunday, The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail*. This research will make use of all articles in the mentioned newspapers that covered the man's national football team. Apparently sample articles for the research are to be derived from this population. The population of this study will also constitute the newspapers' sport in particular football journalists and editors.

The assumption of this study is that each newspaper has at least a single sports editor and an average of two journalists or three. This study will gather views from three people, an editor and two journalists per newspaper making them nine respondents for all three newspapers. This study is not a reception analysis, therefore it will not extend the population to citizen readers of these

newspapers rather it will only strive to gather expert views from media (representation) analysts (experts) and sport experts in Zimbabwe.

These will comprise of sports (football) commentators. At least four football commentators or analysts will be consulted for this study. This being a qualitative research to some extent is not so much concerned about the actual numbers of interviewed people as it is not concerned about replicating the study but generalizable subjective findings. This subjectivity is however to be reduced because there is some element of quantification that will be incorporated in this study.

### **3.4 Sampling Size**

This research sample size will consist of 60 purposively selected newspaper articles from the three newspapers, 20 newspaper articles per each newspaper. The stories will be selected based on their reference to football content and the subject being that of the Zimbabwe Warriors in particular. 60 articles are then to be my sample size. Dominick and Wimmer (1994) define sample size as the number of elements found in a sample (provided everything is equal) the more comfortable one is with the idea that it represent the whole population. An important factor in research when selecting the sample size is the idea of limiting generalisation of finds, which can be achieved through selecting a large sample size so as to obtain results that are consistent with what is found in the articles.

A large sample size shall enable the research to identify consistence in frames adopted by *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News*. O' Leary (2010) contends that a large samples offers the research an opportunity to avoid errors in establishing characteristics of the population. In addition the sample size is to be 20 articles for each newspaper so as to have a clearly representative of the nature of representation of the Warriors that pervades *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*. The desired sample size will also assist in establishing credibility for the study, basing on a wide range of articles from which findings are to be derived. For the research to offer a broader understanding on the coverage of the Warriors, the research also had to make use of larger sample size so as to reflect on the embedded ideological and power games that characterised the representation and conceptualisation of the notion of nation

in the mentioned newspapers. Apart from that the large sample size will assist the research in reaching saturation levels which are necessary in any research so as to produce credible results based on an in-depth analysis, (Morse 2000).

The study sample size will also consist of at least nine editors and journalists from all three newspapers will be interviewed on how they frame and represent their stories based on the Zimbabwe Warriors. Three respondents that is two 2 journalists and a single editor will be selected per newspaper. The study sample will also include at least four football experts who will act as key informants for this study. Their views will be helpful in exposing the political, economic, social and cultural factors that could have contributed to the framing of the newspapers stories about the Zimbabwe Warriors the way these newspapers do.

### **3.5 Sampling Methods**

Sampling techniques to be used by the research fall under the category of non-probability. The need to apply non-probability sampling has been necessitated by the fact that the research falls under the qualitative paradigm. Krippendolf (2004) views sampling as the selection of a portion to directly study in a research. O’Leary (2010; 162) defines sampling as the “process of selecting elements of a population for inclusion in a research study.” Sampling techniques to be employed in this research are to be discussed in the ensuing discussion and a justification of their inclusion in the research will be given. The use of non-probability sampling in the research, findings.

Cochran (1953: 5) suggests that non-probability sampling helps in providing greater accuracy in research. The research also considered the pitfalls of using non-probability sampling, which includes its inability to provide a representative sample. Henry (1990: 7) provides another weakness when he states that “probability samples can be rigorously analysed to determine possible bias and likely error.” In order to manoeuvre its way through these drawbacks the research had to make use of a large sample size which to a certain extent act as a representative of the views, opinions, ideological and power games that shaped the framing of the Warriors in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*.

### **3.6 Purposive Sampling of Newspaper articles, Editors, Journalists and Football Experts**

From the onset purposive sampling was the principal sampling technique used in this research. The purposive sampling technique used by this study should be seen as another method of the non- probability sampling method. The purposive sampling method as its name suggests is the art of selecting research participants based on criteria of fitting well into and fulfilling the purpose of the study. This means that the sample chosen for this study will be the most typical because it knows the most or says the most about the study subject area (Fink and Kosecoff in Latham 2007; 3).

Automatically this means that there is no chance of selection for all study elements since the selection is based on some criteria of being the most knowledgeable. Therefore to begin with not all newspapers and not all published stories about the Zimbabwe Warriors stood a chance of being selected for this study. Only those that addressed the research questions more than others were selected. Apart from the use of this method to select newspapers and newspaper stories for analysis, this method was used to select football editors and journalists.

Again not all newspaper editors stood a chance of being selected but only sport and in particular football editors and journalists where consulted for research. Again these criteria were used to choose those journalists and editors who know the most about the coverage of football news, in particular those relating to the Zimbabwe Warriors.

The purposive sampling method was also used in the selection of at least four local football experts who will act as key informants in helping to analyse and interpret the findings of this study. These football experts will be consulted because this study seeks to find out from them how they think the particular stories and news angles chosen by the newspapers are derived from. It is these factors that influence the journalists and editors to come up with their news stories and story angles about the Zimbabwe Warriors that this study will explore. These expert communities will help this study make an informed and near objective analysis. This study does not claim objectivity and freedom from bias. As a researcher, I will bring to this study my own sets of bias and subjectivity which I will need to be reflexive of. As a researcher into Zimbabwean men's football, there is some degree of reflexivity that should be explained which

will help me to appreciate my relationship and connection with the research population as well as for readers of this text to understand and appreciate where I was coming from to arrive at this conclusion.

### **3.7 Data collection methods: Archival Research and in- depth interviews**

For the purposes of collecting data for this research, this study is going to rely on conducting archival research on published materials on Zimbabwe Men's Football team in the press. The research will also rely on the use of in- depth interviews with editors, journalists and football experts.

#### **3.7.1 Archival Research**

Archival research methods include a broad range of activities that are applied to facilitate the investigation of documents and text based materials that are produced by and about organizations. They also involve the study of historical documents created at some point in the relatively distant past, providing us with access that we might not otherwise have to the organizations, individuals, and events of that earlier time (Ventresca and Mohr 2001). This study will use archival research to study the characteristics of records in their social and cultural contexts; how they are created, used, selected and transferred through time (Gilliland 2011).

This study will make use of archives; that is secondary sources of material that have been written and published about the Zimbabwe Warriors in the three purposively selected newspapers. The researcher will visit the respective libraries of these newspapers and extract newspaper articles that answer the research questions. This will act as the first point of reference to the study questions. Archival research is used in this study because it can help supplement other research strategies (Ventresca and Mohr 2001). Not only do they supplement other methods, but in this study they inform the choice of research strategies that will be used to get a deeper insight into the framing and representation of the Zimbabwe Warriors by these selected newspapers.

In mapping up, how the framing of the Warriors can be critically analysed and linked to its historical context, the use of archival research will provide such an opportunity. Such an analysis



is to be attained through getting hold of early representation of the Warriors in the mentioned newspapers and deciphering whether there are any transformations in the discourse employed and manner in which the newspapers framed the Warriors. Essentially archival research offers the research an opportunity to compare and contrast, trace and provide a link on how the notions of nation through the Warriors were earlier framed in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*.

Lentz (2012) argues that archival research offers a broader view of trends, thus allowing the research to interrogate and analyse the developments in the representation of the Warriors in the mentioned newspapers. This can be identified as one example that characterise archival research as a qualitative method of gathering data. Weaknesses have been identified in the application of archival research. One of the challenges is the aspect of its failure to indicate on causality, (Kothari 2001; Hageman 2015). In order to circumvent this pitfall the research is to employ interviews as another form of data gathering.

### **3.7.2 Interviews**

After the researcher has gathered newspaper articles in these newspapers which will be subjected to critical discourse analysis, the researcher will also complement archival research by conducting in- depth interviews with newspaper editors, journalists and football experts to find out how the factors and forces that they imagine have been influencing the framing and representation of the Zimbabwe Warriors in the press. An interview is a conversation that has the intent of gaining insight into a specific subject (Kvale 1996). The researcher will interview four football experts, 3 editors and six football journalists. The idea will be to find out from editors and journalists how they frame football news and the reasons why they frame and represent their news stories the way they do.

From the football experts this study hopes to gain an insight into broader social, economic and political among other factors that are likely to have been and continue to influence the representation of the Zimbabwe Warriors in the selected press. For this study interviews will be found useful in order to get an in- depth view and of issues under investigation as well as allowing for probing and clarification of views (McNamara 1999). This study will not rely on the use of interviews of an unstructured nature for conducting interviews because I want to have an

informal and conversational approach to the investigation of the representation of the Zimbabwe Warriors. The informal interview approach will allow the researcher to build a rapport with respondents, gain their trust and then be able to extract from them salient issues under investigation.

Shrivastava (2008) also argues that the informal conversational interviews have no predetermined set of questions, so the conversation remains as open as possible to both parties allowing both parties to just go with the flow. While I will go with the flow I will keep to the back of my mind the direction of the interview so that it answers research objectives.

This flexibility of interviews is regarded as its advantage by this study. Another important aspect of interviews is identified by Stokes (2003: 114) who contends that interviews are “primary means by which we use people as sources of evidence in our research.”

### **3.8 Methods of Data Analysis**

Basically data analysis involves discovering patterns among the collected data, so as to identify trends that point to theoretical understanding (Babbie, 2004: 284). This is the assembling, cleaning and examining of the data (Polonsky and Waller, 2005).

#### **3.8.1 Content Analysis**

This study will rely on employing content analysis to analysis of the selected newspaper articles that have been published and the Zimbabwe Warriors. Content analysis will be used in this study because it is concerned with large amounts of data, where there may be a need to actually do a physical counting of the appearance of certain phenomenon in these communicative texts. For example repetitions of certain phrases and discourses will be important. Researchers regard content analysis as a flexible method for analysing text data (Cavanagh, 1997). Berelson (1952) cited in Deacon et al (2007:118) defines content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”. Content analysis involves the systematic classification and description of communication content according to certain categories that are usually predetermined

The specific type of content analysis approach chosen by a researcher varies with the theoretical and substantive interests of the researcher and the problem being studied (Weber 1990). Although this flexibility has made content analysis useful for a variety of researchers, the lack of a firm definition and procedures has potentially limited the application of content analysis in academic inquiry (Tesch 1990). Initially, researchers used content analysis as either a qualitative or quantitative method in their studies (Berelson 1952). Later, content analysis was used primarily as a quantitative research method, with text data coded into explicit categories and then describing using statistics.

It may be necessary for this study to also generate some quantification of the stories under study and assign codes to them. These will be used to give meaning to phrases and words used in these stories and these codes will mean something as assigned by the researcher. There are two content types of analysis, the qualitative and quantitative approaches. Both of them will be used together one to count the appearance of certain words and the other the subjective meanings to these recurrent words and phrases. This type of content analysis may as well be used to analyse data obtained from interview scripts by the researcher (Kondracki & Wellman 2002).

As will be used in this study the qualitative content analysis will go beyond merely counting words to examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber 1990). These categories can represent either explicit communication or inferred communication. The goal of content analysis in this study will be to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study (Downe-Wamboldt 1992). Qualitative content analysis is thus defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns. It is a good method for dealing with subjective data where meaning needs to be interpreted and arrived at with a sort of bias.

The advantages that are coupled with the use of content analysis in this research are that the method is unbiased and there is no use of assumptions as all the material will be available for the researcher to study and analyse. Content analysis looks directly at communication in texts or transcripts hence it gets the social aspects of interaction. However, content analysis is time consuming and subject to increased error particularly when relation analysis is used to attain

higher levels of interpretation. It is devoid of a theoretical base or attempts to liberally draw meaningful inferences about the relationship and impacts implied in a study.

It is flawed as there is no way of measuring the results obtained from analysing texts. In this study I therefore used other methods of data analysis so as to overcome the weaknesses of content analysis.

### **3.8.2 Content Analysis**

This study will rely on the use of semiotics to study the signs and texts used to talk about the Zimbabwe Warriors in the selected newspapers. Semiotics is the study of how meaning occurs in language, pictures, performance and other forms of representation (Tomaseli 2009; 29). Using this definition semiotics can be used to study pictures produced and circulated about the Zimbabwe Warriors. These are seen as having meaning which can be unpacked. Pictures produced and circulated about the Zimbabwe Warriors will be treated as systems of representation that on their own can tell a story. It is these stories that these pictures tell that this study will unpack.

Another perspective views semiotics as concerned with uncovering the hidden meanings that reside in texts (Bryman 2004:393). It is further argued that: “A semiotic approach is concerned with uncovering the processes of meaning production and how signs are designed to have an effect upon actual and prospective consumers of those signs” (Bryman 2004; 393). Semiotic analysis was used to explore how various advertisements were packaged so as to appeal to the voters.

This study will use semiotics to see images of football players as texts which can be interpreted for meaning. This study will also be interested in seeing how specific groups of people make sense of and ascribe meaning to the respective social, mental and physical worlds into which they are born (Tomaseli 2009; 29). This study seeks to make the investigation into representation a cultural phenomenon. This study can therefore look at how specific groups of people attach meaning to these pictures.

Semiotics, the science of signs (Pierce 1839-1914; de Saussure 1857-1913; Tomaseli, 2009) will be used in the interpretation of the various signs associated with the Zimbabwe Warriors. To clarify this, for example this study will treat the Zimbabwe Warriors as a semiotic text that has meaning which can be unpacked. Images of the warriors will be interpreted and understood to mean something for this study. The representation of the Zimbabwe Warriors in the press is treated as multiple signs and texts. A sign therefore is something which can be used to stand for something in some respect (Berger 2004). It is what the images and signs of the Zimbabwe Warriors mean that this study is interested in.

Semiotics as used in this study will be used to analyse things such as the pictures used to talk about the Zimbabwe Warriors. Not only the pictures, but the manner and positions in which they are placed in the newspapers. This study will also consider things such as the picture quality and sizes which can all be used to tell a story about the importance each newspaper places on the Zimbabwe Warriors. The study will seek to unpack the reasons why these newspapers use the pictures they use and give the pictures the sizes and colours they use. This will of course be a result of the factors that control the production and circulation of news in these organizations that this study will explore. Whatever the meanings arrived at this study will argue that these meanings are culturally and contextually relevant since signs mean something to the community of people they are used for which people also use the same signs.

Semiotic analysis strength lies in the fact that it sees beyond and beneath the obvious. However the disadvantage is that the way the study interprets the portrayal of the Warriors might not be precisely the same way the targeted audience read the same information; hence a wrong conclusion might be reached. The use of interviews as method of data gathering and semiotic as a method of data analysis was also considered as a countering mechanism of semiotic weaknesses.

### **3.8.3 Critical discourse analysis**

Discourse analysis is concerned with the manner in which language is used and deployed in relation to cultural and social produced set of ideas and values O'Sullivan (2003). According to Punch (2011) discourse analysis looks above the words, sentences and linguistic features of a

text. Of significant importance is the attention given on how language in a text is used, serving what purpose and the social context in which it is created and used.

Foucault (1970) clearly reveals that discourse creates knowledge and truth. Apparently he highlights discourse used as a move towards the establishment of knowledge and a truth regime. One then begs the question how this apply to the framing of the Warriors in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*? This can be argued to be the question the research seeks to provide an answer for.

Exploring discourse, Gunter, (2000) is of the view that discourse is a form of critical linguistics as it attempts to assess the meaning of language in terms of its implicit ideology. Such an observation can be juxtaposed to the concept of ideology by Althusser.

### **3. 9 Methods of Data Presentation**

A qualitative thematic approach is to be used in outlining research findings. Thematic approach is a method that can be used to present and analyse data in primary qualitative research (Harden, 2006). The researcher will make use of thematic approach because it will allow me to synthesis the findings from qualitative research that addresses questions about peoples' perspectives and their subjective experiences to social reality (Harden 2006). From the data obtained from the field, the researcher will bring together like ideas and discuss them under each theme- each theme will therefore carry similar findings different from the next theme.

This method calls for the use of quotations or field notes in presenting data as pointed out by Dancin and Lincoln (2003). In this case identified themes are going to be supported by quotations from the unit of analysis and interviews conducted with respondents on how *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday* covered the Warriors within the context of nation and nationhood. To guide the formulation of themes a reference is to be made research objectives and the theoretical framework.

### **3. 10 Research ethical considerations**

Like any other research study, the current research will strive to conduct ethical research. While making reference to film ethics Tomaseli (2009; 25) argues that ethics refer to the nature of the relationship that develops between observers and the observed community. They deal with the control of the abuse of power by filmmakers. While this study is about football, his ideas can be used in this study by the researcher to limit abusing power both in gathering data and presenting the study findings.

This researcher will be an outsider from his study community. As an outsider the researcher will reveal his identity as an academic researcher who is conducting academic research which does not have a profit making agenda. The researcher will thus have to produce identification to research communities and where possible produce a letter from the University commissioning this study. This means that the researcher will have to be cleared by the University to conduct research.

The researcher will also have an obligation to seek the consent of research participants to partake in this study. No one will have to be forced, bribed or induced to give their views and opinions regarding the issues under investigation. The researcher will also where possible seek permission to record footage and records of interviews on his camera. These will be a point of reference when putting together the final copy. Even while making the final copy of the research the researcher must be careful to not miss- represent the study findings.

This study will also seek to benefit the research community as argued by Onyango- Ouma (2008) that, even the researched and the observed community should benefit from the study. Therefore an effort will be made by this study to deposit a copy of his work to these organizations. This may help them rethink their news angles, and framing of football stories for the better or for the worst. The researcher will also practice some degree of reflexivity. He will expose his personal background and other things about himself that may or may not have an influence on the way and manner he will conduct this study.

### **3.11 Conclusion**

This chapter was on the research methods and methodologies that will guide and inform this study. This chapter discussed the research methodology to be used in this study and justified its use and appropriation in this study. The chapter also discussed the methods of data collection, data analysis and data presentation and analysis that are going to be used in this study. This chapter also dealt with the ethical considerations that will be used in this study. The next, Chapter four will discuss the political economy of the newspapers under study.



## **CHAPTER 4: Organisational Analysis**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter is to illuminate on the organizational structure of the newspapers under study which are *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News on Sunday*. More emphasis is to be given to pertinent issues such as the historical background, funding mechanism and their mission statements, values and vision among other things. The discussion will adopt a critical political economy theoretical perspective, which is crucial in understanding the operations of any given media institution. Such an understanding will enable the research to comprehend on the interlink that exist with regards to issues of ownership, funding and control patterns of the mentioned newspapers and how it impacts on their coverage of the Warriors who happen to be a signifier of the nation and national identity as a whole.

### **4.1 Zim-papers Historical Background**

Zimpapers (1980) was inherited by the newly independent government of Zimbabwe in 1980 from the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company. So this section expands to cover on the colonial and post-colonial history of Zimpapers.

#### **4.1.1 Colonial History**

The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company came into being in 1926 after the colonial government in conjunction with Argus Media Group (Saunders 1999). The newly established company was tasked with overseeing the production of newspapers in Rhodesia. These papers included *The Rhodesian Herald*, *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Umtali Post* and *The Sunday News*. It is worth noting that the first paper to be published in colonial Rhodesia was *The Rhodesian Herald*. The paper was started by William Fairbridge. Its first name before changing to *The Rhodesian Herald* in September 1892 was *The Mashonaland Herald* and *Zambesian Times* (Gale 1962). The paper provided neutral content but the Rhodesian settlers thought the newspaper was a mouthpiece of the British South Africa Company. When the newspaper changed to *The Rhodesian Herald* ownership also changed, which saw the newspaper being published on newsprint (Gale 1962). The change in ownership saw Fairbridge being given

the post of Local Managing Director and Editor of *The Rhodesian Herald*, whose headquarters had now moved to the capital that is Salisbury.

Saunders (1999) notes that after the launching of *The Rhodesian Herald*, *The Bulawayo Chronicle* followed. *The Bulawayo Chronicle* was to cover the southern region of the colony that is Bulawayo. This development also led to the establishment of *The Sunday News*, *The Umtali Post* and *The Sunday Mail*. *The Umtali Post* was once known as *the Umtali Advertiser* which first appeared in 1893 (Gale 1962). Below is the list of newspapers whose responsibility was under the RPPC,

*The Rhodesian Herald*

*The Bulawayo Chronicle*

*The Sunday News*

*The Umtali Post (formerly Umtali Advertiser)*

*The Sunday Mail*

By the beginning of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1947 southern Rhodesia had two daily newspapers and three weekly newspapers (Gale 1962).

It is argued that just like today where advertising is regarded as the life blood of the mass media (see Picard 1989; McChesney 2000; Mosco 2006), advertising also dominated newspaper sections during the colonial era. The media therefore were business entities from the onset in the then Southern Rhodesia. To suggest this assertion Gale (1962) suggests that the front page of *The Rhodesian Herald* was devoted to advertisements. Advertising as a major source of revenue for media institutions was also evidenced in the establishment of *The Umtali Advertiser* which later on changed to *The Umtali Post*. This brings out the element of the media besides informing, educating and entertaining they do also engage in selling the audience to the advertiser (Albarran, 1996). This element of funding during the colonial period also brings out the idea of the media being an instrument of the ruling ideology (Strinati, 1995) as advertisements that were in the colonial newspapers were to do with auctions, meetings and notices from the colonial government. This development that is of relying on advertising funds and government notices literally saw publications by RPPC being strongly aligned with the capitalist white class

ideology. One could argue that the situation obtainable today mirrors the colonial situation. Perhaps Kwame Anthony Appiah (1992) could be brought in here. Appiah contends that, the colonial era is far from being dead in Africa. The conditions in Africa are shaped by the colonial experiences (Appiah, 1992).

Scholars like Stanford Mukasa submits that during the colonial period the printing press was a vehicle through which colonial discourses meant to psychologically disarm Africans were disseminated (Mukasa, 2006). Appropriating Gramsci, this was a site where hegemony was negotiated, won and re-won (Gramsci, 2006). As further argued by Mukasa (2006) the colonial terms were instruments of and for the colonial masters. It is imperative to note that in this colonial discourse European settlers were given much coverage and construction of a feeling of Pan African in the settler mind (Mukasa 2006; Gale 1962). Contrary to this African culture was denigrated and described as lacking civilization and received negative coverage (Mukasa 2006). Representations are always a game of power (Foucault 1980).

In the context of colonial struggles (Saunders 1999) notes that during the years of unrest and liberation struggle, the RPPC was under siege from the Rhodesian Front. The Rhodesian Front introduced laws which were strict and this subsequently led to the RPPC being a government mouthpiece. These laws were meant to censor the media and closely align the press to the government and its ideology. This led to the deportation of *The Sunday Mail* news editor John Parker (Saunders 1999) by the colonial government. All these drastic measure by the Rhodesian Front were designed to sustain the self or the identity they had constructed which was under threat from the liberation war fighters. The close monitoring of content was a measure to counter forces which threatened European identity in Rhodesia. The labelling of the liberation war fighters as ‘terrorists’, which the researcher presumes led to the term Gandanga, which was a term used by the local people to refer o the freedom fighters. The term ‘Gandanga’ can be argued to be an identity which the freedom fighters assumed and accepted during the liberation struggle as it came to symbolise their experiences. This evidently brings the power and centrality of the media in identity construction.

#### **4.1.2 Zim-papers in Post independent Zimbabwe**

After Zimbabwe gained its independence it renamed the RPPC to Zimpapers Limited in 1980, but it was still owned by the Argus Media group (Saunders 1999). Munyuki (2005) suggests that

share ownership changed from Argus Media group in 1980 when the government of Zimbabwe through a \$6 million loan facility from the Nigerian government bought the major shares.

These shares were then handed over to the newly formed Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) to oversee the running of the print press in Zimbabwe. This was also viewed and criticized as a move that was aimed at establishing a national ethos of identity construction. In this case it was now African or Afro-centric identity. Saunders (1999) suggests that it was only through the buying of shares from Argus Media Group that the government sought to do away negative international publicity. It was only a more liberal way of ushering in an era of new and multiple identities.

The post independent Zimbabwe also saw the coming in of the first black editors at Zimpapers (Mukasa 2006, Saunders 1999). This saw journalists like Farayi Munyuki being the editor of *The Herald*, Tommy Sithole as the editor of *The Chronicle*, Geoff Nyarota editor of *The Manica Post*, Bill Saidi for *The Sunday News* and Willie Musarurwa for *The Sunday Mail* (Saunders 1999). Over the past years production has increased at Zimpapers with the establishment of *Kwayedza* in 1986, H-Metro in 2009 and B-Metro in 2011, (<http://www.herald.co.zw/about-zimpapers>)

The establishment of Zimpapers also saw the institution formulating or coming up with a new mission statement, vision and core values. The vision, mission statement and core values are highlighted and discussed below. It is in the Zimpapers Vision, Mission statement and Core values that *The Sunday Mail* borrows from its own Vision, Mission Statement and Core Values.

#### **4.1.3 Vision**

The vision of *The Sunday Mail* is captured and displayed in their newsroom as “To be the leading newspaper, publishing, printing and packaging company in Zimbabwe and beyond”

It can be argued that this vision to be the leading institution has seen Zimpapers embarking on a product development in terms of design layout and website up grading. This can be viewed as a move to attract more readers (Albarran 1996). More readers also entail the newspapers having a wider base upon which it can disseminate its ideology and frame identities as Seleti (1997) argues that the media do participate in national identity politics.

#### **4.1.4 Mission**

The mission of *The Sunday Mail* is captured and displayed in their newsroom as “To produce newspapers, print and package products and offer publishing services that adds value to our customer, employees and shareholders”

The idea of packaging products can be viewed in light of Herman and Chomsky (1988) view of the media as manufacturing consent. It is this notion of packaging that the research draws critical analysis of how Tafataona Mahoso frames African identity.

#### **4.1.5 Core values**

The core values of *The Sunday Mail* are “Customer satisfaction, Good corporate governance, Equal opportunity employer, Profitability and Quality products and services”

From the core values the researcher selected the profitability value of Zimpapers. This aspect entails the media operating in a dual market place, where it sells the newspaper to the audience and the audience to the funders. Herman and Chomsky (1988) in their propaganda model identified Size, ownership and profit orientation and Sourcing mass media news which leads to bureaucratic affinity as having a direct impact in media content. In other words this entails content being in line with the funders or source line of thinking. In the case of Zimpapers the government as the major shareholder through MIT content published might reflect the motives and intentions of the government.

#### **4.1.6 Shareholding structure**

The part provides a view of who the major shareholders at Zimpapers are which relates to the nature of content disseminated in the press particularly *The Sunday Mail*. Chiumbu, Minnie and Bussiek (2009:7) notes that the “government of Zimbabwe owns the majority shares of 51,09%, followed by Old Mutual which has 23,80%” and the remaining 25,11% being owned by other private institutions.

#### **4.1.7 *The Sunday Mail***

##### **Historical background**

Gale, (1962:168) notes that *The Sunday Mail* started as “The Weekly Reviewer written, edited and published by Charles Olley”. The Weekly Reviewer was later on sold to RPPC for £1,750 and then renamed *The Sunday Mail* in June 1935. Its first editor as noted by Gale (1962) Eric Howse. The first issue of *The Sunday Mail* is said to have been containing twenty pages. Much content in the newspaper was in the form of feature articles by writers who were specialist’s writers who dedicated all their time to produce content producing specific feature articles for the various sections of the paper. Some of these sections as noted by Gale (1962:169) included “Since Sunday Last” which was a gossip feature, “comment section on local affairs”, “African Digest”, “From Agulhas to the line” which Gale (1962) identifies as a section that was aimed at promoting Pan-African ideas and the “Around Rhodesia” column.

*The Sunday Mail* is noted by Gale (1962:170) to have placed more “emphasis on informative articles rather than news”. This then brings out the central role the weekly paper had as an ideological tool that was used to promote European identity on the continent. This can be noted through the “From Agulhas to the line” column which Gale (1962:169) notes as a section which was designed and aimed at promoting Pan-African ideas. However, it is important to note that the Pan-African idea being referred to had nothing to do with native black Africans but they were directed towards the whites as the newspaper was for Europeans and targeted the European community.

##### **Editorial policy**

An editorial policy can be defined in simple terms as a guideline or framework of operation of the media industry. Anderson (2011) defined a policy as a “course or patterns of actions followed over time” to assist in attaining the institutions objectives and goals. This section aims to explore the editorial policy of *The Sunday Mail*. However, it has to be noted that its policy has also been noted by Gales (1962) as to major in providing Feature news to the population of Rhodesia particularly white population.

## ***The Sunday Mail Editorial Policy***

To be the Leading Family Newspaper

*The Sunday Mail* Editorial policy is to be the “Leading Family Newspaper”, (*The Sunday Mail*, October 2013). On its masthead the newspaper is printed the words “Leading Family Newspaper”. This implies that the paper is popular among the population of Zimbabwe of different age groups. To achieve this the paper has different sections which include children’s corner, teenage and school going section, bride and baby of the year competition section and the major one feature sections which deals in various social aspects and issues. The idea of the paper providing mainly feature content can be viewed to be reflecting its colonial editorial policy of providing feature news as noted by Gale (1962).

### **Structure of “*The Sunday Mail*”**

A look at *The Sunday Mail*, newspaper in August to September 2013 revealed that the newspaper contains 52 pages. This is a significant increase compared to the 20 pages it contained during the colonial period (Gale, 1962). Below is a breakdown of the sections within the paper and the number of pages they occupy:

<i>The Sunday Mail</i> , Main Section	- 16 pages
<i>The Sunday Mail</i> In-Depth	- 14 pages
<i>The Sunday Mail</i> Business	- 14 pages
<i>The Sunday Mail</i> Leisure	- 8 pages
<i>The Sunday Mail</i> Sports	- 4 pages

### ***The Sunday Mail Organogram***

The Organogram of *The Sunday Mail* shows the hierarchy that exists at the production house, in terms of content gathering and processing. It has to be taken into consideration that management in a newspaper producing house occurs at various stages of production (Albarran, 1996). The Organogram reveals this and also discusses on critical issues such as appointment of editors and politics of content generation.

### **Editor Mabasa Sasa.**

The editor is the one who has vested powers in him to oversee the production of the newspaper. He is responsible for ensuring that the editorial policy is followed and management of space in the newspaper (Albarran, 2006). In this case he is the one who decides whether a story is newsworthy or not. It has to be taken into consideration that his decision is also his opinion in terms of content to be published. As *The Sunday Mail* is a strategic business unit of Zimpapers, it has to be noted that it also falls under the direct influence of the major shareholder of Zimpapers which is the government. Such interlinks has led to the government actively participating in the appointment of editors (Saunders, 1999). In other words it implies that ideological forces will be at play as there will be direct influence from funders. In this case the government of Zimbabwe through its Ministry of Media Information and Broadcasting Services as its representative in the media landscape is involved in the appointment and firing of Editors basing on the ideological standpoint of the government.

### **Sub-Editor**

The sub-editor partly assumes the roles of the editor. In some sense he is the one who is close to the editor or he seconds the editor. The sub-editor is key in the production of content as he also sees to it that content generated is in line with the organizational editorial policy. It is also important to note that just like the appointment editor he is also appointed in line with the major shareholder wishes and desires, to meet specific ideological targets. Just like the editor the Sub-editor is also subjected to the ideological views and perspectives of the major shareholder which is the government. This implies that he can also be hired and fired by the Editor in conjunction with the government department of Ministry of Media Information and Broadcast Services.

### **Assistant Editor Levi Mukarati.**

The assistant editor liaises with the editors in the production of news content. He is the one who is responsible for dealing with complaints from clients or co-workers. Apart from that he ensures that copyright permissions are secured for publications in the newspaper. This can be noticed in the case of *The Sunday Mail*, as it also features articles written in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

In most cases these articles are a point of reference to a particular point in history and serve the purpose of satisfying the editorial policy



## **News Editor**

The news editor conducts proof reading of articles and ensures that news articles are in line with the editorial policy. In this case one can say he checks on whether views and opinions are in line with the ideological stand point of the newspaper. He also works hand in hand with the Deputy News editor in conducting a thorough proof reading of news stories before they are published.

## **Desk Editors Makomborero Mutimukulu, Mtandazo Dube and others.**

This group includes editors from various departments such as Sports, In-Depth, Business, Entertainment and Current affairs. These editors deal with specific areas and are appointed by the editor in conjunction with the Human Resources department. The appointment of editors has to be noted in the case of *The Sunday Mail* to be a matter of the Editor and the major shareholder which happens to be the government (Saunders, 1999). This is so because the desk editors are the ones responsible for delegating duties to reporter and the angle that a particular news story is to assume.

These desk editors also have to ensure that they provide content which is in line with the funder's ideological views as they are the ones who have a close link with reporters. In other words they become a representative of the view in the execution of reporters' duties.

## **Cartoonist**

The cartoonist is crucial in any newspaper. In most cases the cartoonist and his section represent a more explicit ideological standpoint of the newspaper. The cartoonist of *The Sunday Mail* directly reports to the editors and not to the Desk editors. Apparently the cartoonist has to be in line with funder's views and perspectives for him to maintain and return his job.

## **Funding Mechanism**

Funding plays a crucial role in the functioning of the media. This is so because the media rely on funds to operate and execute their duties (Albarran, 1996). The major source of revenue for the media industry has been noted to advertising revenue (Herman and Chomsky, 1988, Albarran, 1996). A critical look at *The Sunday Mail* reveals that the paper generates more revenue from advertisements. Advertisements occupy more than half of the newspaper content. Adverts ranged from full page adverts, half page adverts to classifieds. Due to its voluminous nature, the paper

attracts many readers as it is packed with adverts and its feature articles. Of interest is the location of the classifieds section which is the In-Depth section of the newspaper. It is in this section that we also locate the African Focus column. Thus one can also talk of the pagination of the paper as being influenced by funding. However, relying on advertising revenue has been noted by Herman and Chomsky (1988) to compromise with content to be published but this has never been the case with *The Sunday Mail* as the paper does not change its ideological standpoint due to advertising revenue. The government also chips in as the major shareholder. This has seen the government having a say in the day to day running of the press through its Ministry of Information and Publicity.

### **Link with other organizations**

For media institutions to fully function they have to establish links with various organisations, (McQuail, 1996). Herman and Chomsky (1988), Curran and Gurevitch; (2005) argue that the mass media do rely on other organisations to operate in a profit oriented market.

### **Government of Zimbabwe**

*The Sunday Mail* through Zimpapers has established good relations with various institutions including government institutions and advertisers. Relations with government can be argued in Herman and Chomsky's terms of bureaucratic affinity, stemming from sourcing of mass media news. Government offers an authoritative and credible voice when it comes to content generation. Such relations have been suggested by Briggs (2002) as centring on the activities of the elites as they are the ones who make news. This has seen *The Sunday Mail* getting news from government sources before other media institutions get to know of various issues happening in the government. Apart from that the newspaper also enjoys cordial relations with the government facilitated by the ownership structure that exists between Zimpapers and the government. This again brings in the idea of content being shaped by the credible sources who Herman and Chomsky (1988) also argue to exert a great influence in the gate keeping process.

## **Other Key Institutions**

*The Sunday Mail* also enjoys good and friendly relations with institutions such as the Advertising Media Association (ADMA) and the Postal Authority, (*The Sunday Mail* 2013). A friendly relation with ADMA is crucial to the existence of the newspaper as it will enjoy certified circulation. Of importance is the role of ADMA as it is one of the key institutions in the survival of newspapers. This is because ADMA officiate ZAMPS surveys to rate newspapers, which in turn rating is employed by newspapers in the search for advertising revenue. The newspaper is registered with the Postal Authorities as a newspaper. This justifies its free operations in the media landscape without fear of lawsuits and being banned. Apart from that the newspaper is also registered with the Zimbabwe Media Commission which also regulates the operations of the media which implies certified circulation.

In addition the newspaper has also cultivated strong good relations with institutions such as the National Blood Service Zimbabwe (NBSZ), the police forces, religious groups and motor car industries. This has seen specialists in the above mentioned fields providing specialist content. This can be witnessed through columns such as Crime/Fraud Alert which features contributions from ZRP personnel. NBTS also has a column in which it discusses issues of blood donation and its importance. Motivational Talk and Religious Issues are also some of the columns that feature contributions from various specialists. Even institutions of higher learning such as Universities and colleges are of importance to the newspaper as they provide sources of news through events, analysts and commentators.

## **4.2 *The Patriot***

### **4.2.1 Historical background**

*The Patriot* Newspaper is a subsidiary of the Zimbabwe Heritage Trust, which (ZHT) is a non-profit-making organization that was founded by patriotic Zimbabweans and was registered as a Trust in September 2010. The organization has its headquarters in Harare and has offices in all 10 provinces. *The Patriot* Newspaper is a weekly newspaper, published every Friday and distributed in all the major centres in Zimbabwe, publishing well researched scholarly articles from a purely Zimbabwean perspective and celebrating being Zimbabwean.

As the name implies, the newspaper focuses on patriotic Zimbabweans, with particular emphasis on building a body of knowledge in the various areas of the country's heritage and disseminating this knowledge to all interested Zimbabweans. The rationale for establishing the newspaper was based on the realisation that our history is replete with misinterpretations of the colonial era. Before colonisation, Zimbabwe had achieved a lot in the areas of agriculture, mining, medicine, education, art, architecture, governance, trade and international relations but these achievements were minimised, misrepresented and almost erased for colonial political reasons. By articulating the totality of our heritage, the organization seeks to project the country's tangible and intangible heritage and put history in its proper context.

#### **4.2.2 Reasons for the formation of *The Patriot*:**

- i. To write latest and past news, stories, books and publish them from a true Zimbabwean perspective
- ii. To actively engage national discourses while contributing meaningfully to the Zimbabwean identity in all spheres.
- iii. To help people understand what it means being Zimbabwean.
- iv. To help Zimbabweans understand their identity, their history, future and to be proud of their identity.

#### **4.2.3 corporate objectives**

- To raise the awareness of what Zimbabwe has in terms of its tangible and intangible resources.
- To conscientise Zimbabwean on threats to their heritage so that they can formulate their own ways of protecting it.
- To bring to the fore the riches of Zimbabwe's history in all spheres so that it can be fully appreciated and respected.
- To research into all aspects of Zimbabwean heritage and publish the findings through a weekly tabloid.

- To bring to the fore the colonization process of Zimbabwe and the subsequent struggles against it as represented by the Anglo-Shona and the Anglo Ndebele wars known as First Chimurenga and thereafter leading to the era of nationalism that gave birth to the Second Chimurenga.
- To mould a Zimbabwean child who is proud of his or her heritage by sponsoring schools and colleges to visit places of heritage interest in and outside Zimbabwe.

#### **4.2.4. *The patriot's organogram***

##### **The Editor Prof Charles Pfukwa**

At the helm of the organisation is the editor, Prof Charles Pfukwa. The editor is the one who has vested powers in him to oversee the production of the newspaper. He is responsible for ensuring that the editorial policy is followed and management of space in the newspaper, (Albarran, 2006). In this case he is the one who decides whether a story is newsworthy or not. It has to be taken into consideration that his decision is also his opinion in terms of content to be published. As for the patriot, being a privately owned paper, the editor represents the interests of the owner and sponsor, Supa Mandiwanzira. It will follow his thinking belief, business and political affiliation.

##### **Deputy Editor Christian Mutseyekwa**

The Deputy-editor partly assumes the roles of the editor. In some sense he is the one who is close to the editor or he seconds the editor. The sub-editor is key in the production of content as he also sees to it that content generated is in line with the organizational editorial policy. It is also important to note that just like the appointment editor he is also appointed in line with the major shareholder wishes and desires, to meet specific ideological targets

##### **Assistant Editor Knowledge Teya**

The assistant editor liaises with the editors in the production of news content. He is the one who is responsible for dealing with complaints from clients or co-workers. Apart from that he ensures that copyright permissions are secured for publications in the newspaper.

### **News Editor Evans Mushawevato**

The news editor conducts proof reading of articles and ensures that news articles are in line with the editorial policy. In this case one can say he checks on whether views and opinions are in line with the ideological stand point of the newspaper.

### **Chief sub-Editor Nyasha Chabururuka**

This group includes editors from various departments such as Sports, In-Depth, Business, Entertainment and Current affairs. These editors deal with specific areas and are appointed by the editor in conjunction with the Human Resources department.

These are then followed by Sub-Editor Ireen Nyarambi, senior reporters Golden Guvamatanga and Margret Kamba. These are then followed by reporters, photo journalists, the cartoonist and the Marketing and distribution team.

#### **4.2.5. Structure of “*The Patriot*”.**

The Patriot, Main News Section	- 3 pages
The Patriot In-Depth	- 2 pages
The Patriot Business	- 3 pages
The Patriot leader page	- 1 page
The Patriot feedback	- 1 page
The Patriot eyewitness account	- 1 page
The Patriot Arts/ games/ education	- 3 pages
The Patriot sports	- 2 pages
The Patriot, Your Health	- 1 page

### **4.3 Daily News**

*The Daily News*, is a privately owned tabloid newspaper, published by the Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe, (ANZ). ANZ according to Munyuki (2005) was registered in 1998, and started publishing on the 31st of March 1999, (pendula website). Its entrance into the media

market marked the end of *The Herald's* monopoly in terms of providing content on a daily basis. The paper has also fallen foes with the government of Zimbabwe due to its content and editorial stance which reads 'Telling it as it is. Without Fear. Without Favour'.

#### **4.3.1 Historical Background**

##### ***African Daily News of the Colonial Era***

A look at the current *Daily News*, will not be good enough without providing a brief synopsis of the *African Daily News*, which can be argued to be sharing the same characteristics with the current *Daily News*, in various aspects. The fore runner of *The Daily News*, *The African Daily News*, was under heavy attack from the Rhodesian Front due to its content which was deemed unfit for public consumption (Wason, 1976). *The African Daily News*, was finally banned in 1964, as it was a pain for the Rhodesian Front led government. Due to its popularity among black Africans, *The African Daily News*, was at odds with the Rhodesian government, which viewed the paper as supporting the cause of the nationalists. Just like the current *Daily News*, *The African Daily News*, was contributing to the broadening of democratic spaces in Rhodesia. The closure of *The African Daily News*, and the post independent *Daily News*, can be viewed as an indicator of how democratic spaces in authoritarian regimes are limited and tend to shrink due to frustrations caused by various laws.

##### **Post Independent Daily News**

According to Munyuki (2005) the first copy of the *Daily News*, hit the streets on the 31st of March 1999. Its first editor was Geoffrey Nyarota, a veteran journalist. Geoffrey Nyarota and Wilf Mbanga are noted by Munyuki (2005), to be the founding editors of the *Daily News*, and establishing the ANZ. The two veteran journalists together with African Media Investment (AMI) launched *the Daily News*, and four other provincial newspapers. The paper which is a tabloid can be argued to be a paper that captures the attention of the public through its headlines which emphasis scandals and news articles that were neglected and never included in broadsheet

### *The Herald.*

At its launch Moyo Dumisani (2005: 112) suggests that the paper was well resourced and it also broke Zimpapers monopoly in the daily newspaper market, in terms of dissemination of news. Due to the papers ability to focus and articulate critical issues or issues of critical political economy affecting the general public, the newspaper's circulation and print run increased remarkably within a few months. *Daily News*, sales and circulation increased from 35 000 to 90 000 and it was "commanding up to 30, 6 per cent of the total readership" (Moyo, 2005: 113; Willems 2004; pressreference website). Due to its ability to critically expose rampant corruption, mismanagement and rising inflation among other things led to the paper being at odds with the Zanu-PF led government. In a democratic society the paper can be understood as a platform that was designed to offer a voice to the voiceless and promote meaningful development, both democratically and economically. Tension between *the Daily News*, and the Zanu-PF led government let to the paper being labelled an unpatriotic newspaper and a purveyor of western regime change agenda.

Not only did the paper had to deal with negative criticism from the government of Zimbabwe and its rival *The Herald*, but it had its paper art gallery bombed in 2000, (pendula website). Moyo, (2005: 118), Mutanda (2012: 265) argue that on January 28 2001 *the Daily News*, printing press was bombed, due to its politically incorrect content as argued by Zanu-PF. After reopening events turned for the worse as *the Daily News*, was forced to shut down on September 12 2003 due to MIC's refusal to issue the paper a licence to operate, (Maruziva 2009: 109; Mutanda, 2012: 265; Moyo, 2005). In his analysis on the framing of the 2000 elections Chuma (2008) points out how polarisation in the print media manifested itself in how *the Daily News*, viewed 'The State as Villain and The Opposition as Victims'. This was apparently the opposite of how the state run *Herald*, framed the same issues.

After its closure in 2003, *The Daily News*, latter on resumed publication in March 2011, during the GNU era (Mutanda 2012). Its comeback never brought joy to the Zanu-PF party as it was under constant attack from the Zanu-PF party and *The Herald*, and labelled an unpatriotic paper. In terms of readership ZAMPS results for 2014 rated *the Daily News*, second from *The Herald*. For the research this entails interrogating how the paper framed disputes within the Zanu-PF party given its record of being at odd with the party and Zanu-PF led government. Frustration on



the part of the paper also saw the paper being linked to the former vice president Joice Mujuru, who was claimed by the first lady Grace Mugabe, to be owning 10 per cent stake in the newspaper (pendula website).

#### **4.3.2 Management and Editorial Policy**

##### ***Daily News Charter***

*The Daily News*, is an institution that is run using a charter. According *the Daily News*, website the Charter “embodies the spirit, policies and principles upon which the group’s titles are edited and managed”. Below is part of the Charter that guides the way *the Daily News*, as a public space that is aimed at fostering a well-informed citizen, is to operate:

##### **Declarations:**

1. The Board of Directors and management affirm their commitment to the principle of a free media and editorial independence.
2. Directors and management acknowledge the responsibility of editorial to report and comment on the affairs of Zimbabwe and the rest of the world fairly, accurately and regardless of any commercial, personal or political interests - including those of shareholders, directors, management and staff.
3. The right to appoint and dismiss editors resides with the Board of Directors and its appointed management. Subject to this, full control of newspapers is vested in the hands of editors – who, alone shall determine all content, including advertising, and appoint, dismiss, deploy and direct editorial staff.
4. Editors will, at all times, carry out their duties in a way that ensures the independence and integrity of the group’s titles.
5. In the event that any party, including but not limited to shareholders, directors, management and editors of the company cannot agree on the interpretation or implementation of this Charter, the following dispute-resolution mechanisms shall apply:

6 The parties must, without prejudice to any other rights they may have, explore whether the dispute cannot be resolved informally using techniques such as discussion or agreement to arbitration.

7 If the matter is not resolved informally, the executive committee of the Board will attempt to deal with it.

8 If the matter is still not resolved, it must be referred to a full meeting of the Board of Directors to deal with it.

9 If the matter is not resolved by the Board of Directors, external arbitration and mediation should kick in, and the decision there from will be final and binding on all parties concerned.

**Editors further commit to the following:**

1. Upholding the highest standards of professional, independent, honest and responsible journalism.
2. Adhering to the constitution of Zimbabwe and working to deepen the country's democracy, as well as engendering a culture of respect for human rights and clean governance in both the public and private sectors.
3. Recognising that editorial independence and commercial viability are closely linked.
4. Abiding by the Press Code and adhering to the highest ethical standards.

(Source: *Daily News* website; [www.dailynews.co.zw/about](http://www.dailynews.co.zw/about))

A closer analysis of the Charter reveals how the *Daily News*, is a newspaper designed to promote a well-informed political and economic citizen. In view of Moyo (2011) the *Daily News*, in light of its Charter, can be argued to be an ideal public sphere that does not bow down to commercial and political pressures. Additionally, the charter provides for an environment in which the editors take “full control of the newspaper” (*Daily News* Charter). Such a stance can be linked to Doyle (2013: 38) discussion on managerial theories in the media industry. To ensure a commercially viable media institution but at the same time serving the cultural – political relevance of the media, Doyle's (2013) discussion points out on the role of managers in this case editors who have the desire to promote profitability of the media institution yet at the same time

serving the public in terms of content provision. Such a scenario reveals how media institutions are not always at the mercy of owners and funder who wish to advance their own agenda as advanced by scholars such as Herman and Chomsky (1988); Mosco (1996); Golding and Murdock (2000). Apart from that the Charter also calls for the editor's to "uphold the highest standards of professional, independent, honest and responsible journalism."

*The Daily News*, editorial policy can be viewed in its statement which reads, "TELLING IT LIKE IT IS...WITHOUT FEAR. WITHOUT FAVOUR." Such sentiments reflect on how the *Daily News*, is to be viewed as a balanced paper, that strives to offer a balanced reportage on daily events. In other words, the paper does not consider any outside interference in the discharge of its duties. It is against this background that the research seeks to interrogate how the *Daily News*, framed the Zanu-PF disputes, given that it strives to inform the audience without fear and favour and providing an honest account of events.

#### **4.3.3 Structure of the *Daily News***

The *Daily News*, has an average of 24 pages on a daily basis, with various sections making up the whole paper. Such a significant number reveals that the newspaper is voluminous as compared to other tabloids and for a daily newspaper. In terms of content mix, below is a list of the major sections of the *Daily News*:

News – 6 pages

Opinion – 1 page

Editorial – 1 page

Letters to the Editor – 1 page

Daily health – 1 page

Business Daily – 3 pages

Entertainment – 6 pages

Sports – 4 pages

The research interrogates the framing of the Zanu-PF political disputes in the *Daily News*, as such the research is to focus on the News, Opinion and Editorial pages which make up the first

pages of the newspaper. It is also equally important to note that these sections are the most important sections of the newspaper as they provide critical political economy stories that equip citizens with information. Apart from that the Opinion and Editorial Section of the newspaper also speaks volumes of the newspapers stance in terms of how it represents issues. Apparently, these sections reflect on the newspaper ideological standpoint with regards to various issues that it covers and the dynamics of its operations. As such the research will make use of these sections to question and provide an understanding on how the *Daily News*, socially constructed a particular view of the disputes within Zanu-PF.

#### **4.3.4 *Daily News* Organogram**

The *Daily News*, organogram reveals the relationship that exist at the institution with regards to who reports to who and who is responsible for delegating duties. The following is the organisational hierarchy of the *Daily News*:

##### **4.3.5 a) Group Editor**

The current Group Editor of the *Daily News*, is Stanley Gama. Responsibilities of the group editor includes leading the various editorial departments of a newspaper. In other words, he is the one who is responsible for overseeing and taking charge of the operations of any media institutions, (IOD website). In this case the group editor is responsible with the coordination of all departments that make up the newspaper, conducting thorough research on the performance of the institution and maintaining relations within the institution.

##### **b) Executive Deputy Editor**

The executive deputy editor of the newspaper is Chris Goko. In essence the executive deputy editor seconds the group editor. He is the one who is responsible with maintaining a close link between the groups other editors and the group editor. The executive deputy editor in most cases is responsible for ensuring that the newspapers output is in line with the organisational gals and aspiration.

##### **c) Senior Assistant Editor**

Guthrie Munyuki, is the senior assistant editor of the *Daily News*. He in most cases is close to the group editor and the executive deputy editor. In terms of responsibilities the senior assistant

editor assists the executive editor in running the institution and overseeing that the institution maintains its cultural – political relevance in society.

#### **d) Managing Editor**

Eric Chiriga occupies the role of the managing editor of the newspaper. To ensure the commercial viability of the newspaper, the managing director directly supervise the day to day operations of the institution. Delegation of duties in terms of assigning articles and keeping the staff on schedule are some of the responsibilities the managing editor is tasked with.

#### **e) News Editor**

The news editor of the *Daily News*, is Gift Phiri. He is the one tasked with preparing, rewriting and editing news articles so as to improve readability. In other words, he is responsible with proof reading news articles before the newspaper goes for publishing. Allocation of space for story that is headline selection is done by the news editor. To successfully carry out such a daunting task, the news editor, has to be well versed in the institutions policy and aspirations. The news editor also has to verify facts and develop story ideas for the publication so as to maintain relevance of the institution in the society.

#### **f) Cartoonist**

The *Daily News*, cartoon section is also found on the Editorial Page. Just like any other newspaper the cartoon section of the paper, can be argued to be reflecting on the political perspective of the newspaper.

### **4.3.6 Commercial Viability Aspect**

Just like any other institution engaged in the provision of services and goods, the *Daily News*, also thrives to be a commercially viable institution. Media industries are argued by scholars such as Albarran (1996); Fourie (2001); Doyle (2013) among others to be relying on advertising revenue to continue operating. Advertising revenue provides the much needed revenue in the operations of any media organisation. It also accounts for over 60 per cent of revenue generated by many various media institutions (Albarran, 1996). Among adverts the *Daily News*, publish include adverts from institutions such as Delta beverages, Econet Wireless, nettcash, OK and Barclays Bank among others. Adverts by these institutions vary as some are full pages will

others are quota page adverts. The newspaper also generate revenue through selling classified adverts and print circulation though print circulation provides a relatively significant amount.

#### **4.3.7 Association with other Institutions**

Despite the frosty relations the *Daily News*, has with the Zanu-PF led government, the newspaper enjoys cordial relations with various institutions. Among these are institutions such as OK, Delta beverages and Econet Wireless. It has to be noted that at one point Econet founder Strive Masiyiwa had shares in ANZ through his company, Meditation Investments (Munyuki, 2005). Civil society institutions such as the VMCZ, MISA, Crisis Coalition Zimbabwe and MMPZ are some of the institutions that the paper enjoys cordial relations with. Such relations were cultivated on the basis of the paper's ability to articulate democratic and human rights issues, which some newspapers deliberately chose to omit. To reveal its commitment to promoting democracy the newspaper "submits to a Code of Conduct that promotes truthful, accurate, fair and balanced news reporting." (*DAILY News* 2015). Under its Letters to the Editor section the paper openly declares its support for the promotion of audience views and comments. The newspaper went on to provide conduct details of VMCZ in case audiences are not satisfied with its content.

#### **4.3.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has highlighted the organisational structure of *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News*. Emphasis has been given to historical backgrounds, editorial policies and the commercial viability aspect of the newspapers under study. These aspects can be argued to be providing a framework within which the mentioned newspapers discharge their duties as public spaces. The subsequent chapter will focus on the presentation of data gathered during the research.

## Chapter 5: Data Presentation and Analysis

### 5.0 Introduction

The chapter is dedicated to the presentation and analysis of the research findings. Data is to be presented in a thematic manner, with major themes being identified and explored in relation to the Press Coverage of the Zimbabwe Men's National Football Team and Re-imagining the Nation, in the mentioned newspapers.

### 5.1 The Bearers of the National Flag

The representation of the Zimbabwe's men national football team can be understood within the context of nationalism and patriotism. These concepts which have been explored in the previous chapter, can be said to be part and parcel of how the mentioned newspapers viewed the Warriors as representing the country, through symbols such as the flag. In its January 31 2016, issue *The Sunday Mail*, in reporting on the failure by the Warrior to put up an impressive performance, notes that "If money and the need to defend the flag don't inspire our players ....." Such a statement reveals the relationship that exist between football and notions of nationhood and national identity.

The same article also had the following statement, "..... yes we love football and some claim we are a football nation.....". In essence the article can be said to be in line with observations by scholars such as Mehler, (2006); Chari, (2010); Ncube, (2013); Mhiripiri and Chari, (2014) who observe that sporting activities have been co-opted into the nation building project. For *The Sunday Mail*, the National football team, popularly known as the Warriors, is a team that represents and carries the citizens' aspirations and expectations when it comes to the sporting field.

In their representation of the National Men's football team, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* explicitly make reference to the notion of patriotism, which is an important element in fostering the spirit of nationhood and the nation building project. For the two mentioned newspapers the Warriors in their endeavours are supposed to be patriotic and exhibit elements of patriotism. *The Patriot*, in its 11 June 2015 article titled, "Malawi versus Zimbabwe: ADCON Qualifier", states that "Calisto is a patriotic man", following a delivery from the coach and his team, against all odds. In the same story the article also heaps praises on the Warriors coach for "performing

miracles” despite the unpatriotic behaviour exhibited by ZIFA officials, the paper clearly appreciate Calisto Pasuwa in the following words, “Thank you Pasuwa for being Patriotic”. The same paper also hints on the aspect of patriotism in its article titled “KING PETER HURT, Proud of the Boys” (June 14 2015). The newspaper states that “Nsukuzonke or the Flying Elephant as Ndlovu used to be called during his colourful career, was a dedicated Warrior who sometimes used his personal finances to fly in for national assignments.”

Such a statement by both newspapers can be viewed in light of Barthes (1972) concept of myth. Explained by Barthes (1972) myth implies the promotion of a particular version of reality, through the use of language to attain the appearance of “being ‘natural’, inevitable and ‘common sense’ so that it is not questioned”, (O’Sullivan, 1994:71). Statements in both *The Herald* and *The Patriot*, which reflect on the warriors as the bearers of the flag can be said to be a symbol of patriotism. Making a distinction between the denotative and connotative levels of meaning and advancing Freud’s concept of socialisation process, Barthes, (1973) suggests that “media communicators depend on connotative meaning to influence our thinking”. Basing on this argument the research can establish that both newspapers reference to the warriors as the bearers of the national flag is a sign that reveals how the paper evoke patriotism on the part of the reader. Bearing in mind that connotative meanings are the major focus points relied upon by the media, the research can argue that *The Herald* and *The Patriot* manipulated connotative meanings that exist within the minds of the views so as to advance and naturalise a myth of the Warriors as patriotic citizens.

In their representation of the Warriors, *The Sunday Mail*, likens the Warriors to national heroes through the following statement, “Calisto Pasuwa, hailed his Warriors as Patriotic boys who are ready to die for their motherland after watching them pull off a classic smash and grab in a 2017 Afcon qualifier at Kamuzu stadium..” Such a juxtaposition can be argued to be symbolising patriotism, nationalism and the nation building project. The use of these words can be understood in light of language use and choice of words. In her meditation on the representation of land in the Zimbabwean press, Willems (2004: 1769) argues that “the choice of vocabulary also constructs partial or ideological representation of events ..... words express views and attitudes.” In light of her argument, the research can establish that language use by both newspapers, had an ideological incline as advanced by Tomaselli, (1996: 39) when he argued



that “paradigms chosen by the media or academics depend on whose interests in society they are serving – capital, a specific political party or academic constituency, the poor and so on.” In this the vocabulary choice by the two newspapers can be understood within the context of Tomaselli’s (1996) observation. The statements entails how the *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, newspapers take the aspect of football and the nation building project to another dimension. For the newspaper the Warriors as a team that represent the country in terms of the “beautiful game” are supposed to be patriotic and contribute immensely to the nation building project and advancing the spirit of nationalism.

For *The Sunday Mail*, framing of the Warriors is also done within the boundaries of spiritualism. The newspaper carried articles that linked the Warriors to elements of religion and patriotism. Despite the fact that in some progressive nations, religion has been dismissed as brainwashing citizens, *The Sunday Mail*, maintained its position of linking the National team to religion. The paper clearly states that “Pasuwa and Soul Chaminuka members of the Jahanne Masowe Echishanu ..... Both are combining their technical acumen for the national cause .... The major talking point in football today as the nation celebrates 35 years of independence”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 19 April 2015). The idea of linking the Warriors to religion and patriotism can also be viewed within the context of myth. In exploring the concept of myth Storey, (2008: 119), states that “myth means ideology understood as a body of ideas and practices, which by actively promoting values and interests of dominant groups in society, defends the prevailing structures of power.” In other words, the titles aim was to bring about the idea of the Warriors as God ordained citizens of the nation and to naturalise the idea of the Warriors as the true patriotic citizens of the nation state.

In another Opinion article titled “VaSHAGARE: Pray for us too Prophet Magaya”, *The Sunday Mail*, (May 17 2015) points out that “..there is so much wrong with our football the only way out is prayer.” Even after the warrior crashed out of the AFCON tournament of 2016, *The Sunday Mail*, carried a headline titled “VaSHAGARE: Sorry Warriors need anointing oil”, (January 31 2016). The article was characterised by sentiments of religion and patriotism in which the author blasted the Warriors for their failure to patriotically represent the country and be dedicated to the national cause.

History has also been pointed out to be one of the major elements that the media use in their quest to ascribe national identity and enhance the nation building project. Both *The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail*, make reference to historical accounts in their representation of the Warriors. *The Patriot*, of April 16 2015 carried an article titled, “Sports before independence,” which chronicled the history of football in the country. Thus one can make reference to Foucault, (1980) sentiments that knowledge meaningfully exists or is produced within specific historical and cultural specifics. The article though providing a historical synopsis of sports in colonial Africa, did provide a political dimension to the development of football in the country. This can be evidenced in the following statement which appeared in the article, “Before independence, the world’s most loved game became a basis for African Independence and political change to a larger extend”. The idea of making use of historical context is explored by Tomaselli, (1996, 38) when he argues that “all signs occur within cultural, material and historical contexts.” Thus context as argued by Hall, (1998) is an important element in the production of texts as it assists in the meaning making process.

The article went on to highlight how football “was introduced at mission schools as a way to promote good behaviour, sobriety and cooperation among blacks.....”. From the article one can safely conclude how the newspaper and other media institutions employ or make reference to historical accounts in their quest to use sport as an avenue through which national identity is ascribed. In another article titled, “Zambezi derby to be CHAN” *Opener*, (15 January 2016), *The Patriot*, states that, “Geographically Zimbabwe is situated south of Zambia, and the two nations share a long standing history which goes back to the days of the liberation struggle, to the days before the federation of Northern, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.” Which one can argue that such brief historical accounts cannot be viewed in isolation and as innocent, but are drawn and relied upon to ignite patriotism among the fans.

In its use of history *The Sunday Mail*, made reference to the Dream Team which was a team under the guidance of Reinhard Fabisch a German coach. The team comprised legends of Zimbabwe's football history such as Peter Ndlovu, Rahman Gumbo, Henry McKop, Bruce Grobbelaar, Adam Ndlovu, Benjamin Nkonjera, Agent Sawu, Vitalis Takawira, Norman Mapeza, Francis Shonhai just to mention a few. It was under the leadership of Fabisch that the Warriors under the banner “The Dream Team” were ranked number 40 in the FIFA World

Rankings. In an article titled, “The rebirth of Dream Team?” (September 6 2015). In another article titled, “#GoWrrriorsGo: Class of 2014 – Where are they now?” (17 January 2017), *The Sunday Mail*, makes use of historical accounts in trying to make sense of the current trends in the Warriors camp. Such manoeuvres are designed to bring back old memories of the fans in their quest to rally support for the national team. Apparently such strategies by these newspapers can be argued to be designed to build up patriotism on the part of the fans, as they will be able to identify with past glories of the Warriors.

The *Daily News*, also made use of historical accounts in its representation of the Warriors. However, its reference to history can be argued to be one that hinges on its political ideological linings of nothing good comes out of Zimbabwe. The *Daily News*, of 15 July 2015 carried an article titled, *Pasuwa recounts* “NSS Horror: Players drank from toilet bowl”. The article ridiculed how the country’s football governing body and the political leadership failed to ensure the safety of players, fans and their failure to honour victims of the stampede. “Pasuwa ..... feels the country needs to do more to commemorate those 13 lives lost”, the newspaper states.

The newspaper went to quote Pasuwa in his reference to the economic meltdown that has bedevilled the country, “I know the current economic situation might hinder us from supporting their families financially but just honouring those 13 people will go a long way in making the loss easy.....”, thus one can argue in line with how the *Daily News* is a politically charged newspaper that is bent on advancing its own political agenda via sports. It does not stop there but went on to make reference to how other African countries commemorate lives lost in the sporting sphere, “Look, other countries like Zambia are doing it.” (*Daily News*, 15 July 2015). At this point one can call upon Ranger’s (2005) sentiments in his argument on how history is employed to serve certain political and ideological agendas in patriotic journalism. Even Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2009) also hints at how historical accounts were employed in the media by the Zanu-PF party in its quest to retain power.

The above mentioned articles can also be understood within the language of Tomaselli, (1996: 41) sentiments that “groups in power discredit their enemies by mobilising dominant discourse against what they define as ‘deviant’ discourse.” In this case the *Dailynews*, can be said to be generating discourse that seeks to align the failures of the soccer body to the failures of the government as well. In this case one can also point out to the idea of how “a produced text is a

site of struggle for meaning, in that it reproduces the differences between the producers and readers of the text, as well as between groups and individuals.” (Tomaselli, 1996: 34). Even Foucault, (1980), in his discussion on discourse argues that discourse offers the downtrodden power to speak to authority, thus one can argue that the position assumed by the *Daily News*, sought to speak back to authority.

Such aspects being evidenced in the coverage of sports cannot be viewed as innocent co-option but strategies that are used by the newspapers understudy in their bid to advance the spirit of national identity, nationhood and nation building project. For the *Daily News*, the reference to historical accounts is not part of the nation building project, but a strategy to discredit the Zanu-PF led government through linking these historical accounts to the economic and political meltdown characterising the country as a whole.

As the bearers of the national flag, the Warriors, have been represented as a team which ordinary citizens look up to when it comes to representation of the country in the beautiful game. In an interview with the *Daily News* reporter, Goddie, he indicated that “the warriors appeal to every citizens include women and children.” For Alvin Madzivanzira, of *The Patriot*, the Warriors are “a national brand. They represent us though the world's most loved game soccer and as media we have no choice but do national duty like our soccer players and coaches do.” The reporter went to highlight that their coverage of the Warriors is driven by the idea to ensure that the “public knows more about their flagship team.” Such an observation entails much coverage being given to the Warriors as they can be equated to a brand that is doing the country a great service.

## **5.2 Warriors: Victims of ZIFA Management Incompetence**

All the three newspapers can be argued to have achieved fair and objective representation of the Warriors in relation to how they covered the national team as victims of ZIFA’s poor management. Even though the aspect of fair and objective reportage has been argued by the likes of Golding and Murdock, (2000: 84) who state that “discourses are seldom available for public consumption in their raw state. They are reorganised and recontextualised to fit the particular expressive form being used.” For the research this entails looking at the aspect of warriors as being victims of ZIFA management incompetence, with a critical eye as the goings on at ZIFA did attract the attention of the world football governing body FIFA. Thus the research choose to

argue that all the newspapers did try to achieve fair and objective reporting as their views converged in one way or the other.

The Zimbabwe Football Association, (ZIFA) is the local football governing body and is responsible with ensuring that the Warriors are well catered for, in terms of salaries, transport logistics, accommodation and gate takings during matches that involve the Warriors. The newspapers did their best in exposing the shenanigans at ZIFA and its implication on the beautiful game. In its attack on ZIFA, *The Patriot*, (11 June 2015) state that “Pasuwa is a patriotic man..... A cocktail of problems are part of his day to day business.” The same article went to express its displeasure in emotional terms in the following words, “Shame on you ZIFA! It’s sad how we treat even our kith and kin and yet expect them to perform miracles. Thank you Pasuwa for being patriotic.” One can note that the governing body is being labelled as being unpatriotic and can be viewed in Marx’s terms as the petite bourgeoisie, who for reasons best known to themselves would rather enjoy the comfort of their wealth rather than work towards the nation building project. In this case one can also make reference to Tomaselli’s, (1996: 41) argument that groups in power through the media, “discredit their enemies by mobilising dominant discourse against what they define as ‘deviant’ discourse.” In this case the actions of some ZIFA officials were characterised as deviant actions and unacceptable.

One aspect which the three newspapers hint on which affected the Warriors performance and ill-treatment by ZIFA, is the issue of salary payment. *The Patriot*, newspaper points out that “The country’s soccer governing body ZIFA owe Pasuwa salary and allowances close to US\$10 000”, (*The Patriot*, July 30 2015). In its earlier issue the same newspaper explicitly reveals how the “national team had boycotted the Thursday flight..” to Malawi for a match, “as they wanted their US\$500.00 appearance fee.” For the newspaper this is a sign of how ZIFA is sabotaging the nation and the most beautiful game which should be an important instrument in the nation building project. Even the choice of words by the newspaper, which can be viewed in light of Storey, (2008: 113-114) opinion on the aspect of langue, which is the “system of language, the rules and conventions that organise” language, sought to produce a myth structured in terms of binary opposites of ZIFA on the one side and the nation on the other side.

The *Daily News*, (18 June 2015), also hinted on how the Warriors, “refused to travel to Blantyre on Thursday as they demanded their match fees and allowances which resulted in them missing

their flight.” Another article by the *Daily News*, again hints on the not so rosy relationship between the Warriors and ZIFA. The article reveals how there was a mutiny “in the camp owing to disagreements over bonuses.” (*Daily News*, 12 July 2015). Even *The Sunday Mail*, also hinted on the salary and allowance situation that has befallen ZIFA and the Warriors, but then took on a pacifying stance. This can be noted in its article which contains the following statement “There is something about us Zimbabweans, we still manage to do well when we are cornered with problems. I think it is something to do with our resilience and we just have to show our resilience and forget about any challenges we had,” Chaminuka said.” (*The Sunday Mail*; 17 May 2015). Another article by the same newspaper which appeared on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June 2015 centres on how Pasuwa relegated payment issue as secondary and national duty as primary,

“I think I gave you all the time to settle your money issues with the responsible authorities and now it is time for serious business “Once we are on that field, all those off field issues cease to matter because we are judged with our performance. Anyone who is afraid of the game or is not physically ready for Sunday’s (today) battle should say so now,” Pasuwa could be heard bellowing at his charges.

In another article *The Sunday Mail*, can be quoted stating that “After a false start to preparations, which saw the team refusing to train demanding their dues, the coaches have since managed to impress on the players to look at the bigger picture.”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 25 October 2015). Such quotes indicate how the newspaper tries to brush aside issue of salaries and allowances, which ZIFA was failing to settle owing to the poor state of the economy and its failure to secure sponsorship due to international isolation. Such a position assumed by the newspaper can be said to fit well in Foucault’s (2000: 346) definition of strategy as “the means employed to attain a certain end” or as a “question of rationality functioning to arrive at an objective”. It can also be argued that this strategy by *The Sunday Mail*, brings out Spivak’s (1988: 81) observation with regards to texts when she argues that “what is important in a work is what it does not say”. This then brings the discussion to adopt Foucault’s (1978: 27) view on silence, what is relegated or what is not mentioned that “silence itself, the things one decides to say or is forbidden to name, the discretion that is required between different speakers – is less the absolute limit of discourse the other side from which it is separated by a strict boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said with them and in relation to them within overall strategies”.

This also qualifies Schudson's (1989: 263) view that "there is occasional bias, occasional sensationalisation, occasional inaccuracy" in the process of news making.

Salaries and allowances are not the only issues which have been raised as contributing to the disagreement between ZIFA and the Warriors, but poor preparation tactics. The governing body has been slammed in the media for contributing towards the Warriors poor performance in some instances due to their failure to ensure that the Warriors report for national duty on time. All the newspapers acknowledge and covered extensively on this aspect. In its 3 September issue, *The Patriot*, states that "It seems as if all games for the national teams are faced with myriad of problems, key among them, poor planning and lack of funding." Again the same newspaper in its support of Pasuwa and appreciation of his efforts went on to argue that the "Warriors dismal performance..." should be blamed on "..... poor preparations."

In its July 5<sup>th</sup> issue *The Sunday Mail*, again demonstrate how poor preparations are the order of the day in the Warriors camp as a result of poor ZIFA management. The newspaper quote Pasuwa "It's always nice to win but winning without preparations like we are doing will not do us any good. This issue of arriving for such an important tie just a few hours before kick is unacceptable." Pasuwa was quoted in *The Sunday Mail*; (5 July 2015). The same paper in its bid to instil patriotism again quotes Peter Ndlovu, once the WARRIORS Captain, "What made me a better person is I knew once I put on that No. 12 jersey and looked at the badge, I had to forget all the surrounding circumstances and perform as I knew I would be judged on it," said Ndlovu.", (*The Sunday Mail*; 14 June 2015). Such an observation can be argued to be revealing how the newspapers exposed poor management and poor preparations by ZIFA which resulted in the Warriors reporting for national duty late, but *The Sunday Mail*, decided to assume a constructive criticism. Such a stance by *The Sunday Mail*, can be argued to be out in the woods as the other two newspapers decided to be more explicitly and offer an objective reportage on the problems bedeviling the Warriors as a result of poor management by ZIFA officials.

Lack of proper planning by ZIFA and corruption has seen the Warriors being expelled from the 2018 World cup. All the newspapers understudy covered extensively on the ban and offered their views. In its March 12 2015 article titled, "Breaking: Zim expelled from World Cup 2018", *The Sunday Mail*, newspaper went on to highlight how poor planning by ZIFA officials cost the Warriors an opportunity to compete so as to qualify for the World Cup tournament. Reasons for

the expulsion was failure by ZIFA to settle Jose Cladinei Georgini salary. “The official FIFA website reports that “The FIFA Disciplinary Committee today, 12 March 2015, notified the Zimbabwe Football Association that it was expelled from the preliminary competition of the 2018 FIFA World Cup in Russia.” (*The Sunday Mail*, 12 March 2015). The article went on further to provide a full report from FIFA which barred the Warriors from competing.

In another article *The Sunday Mail*, went on to reveal how ZIFA was struggling with settling its debt which had amounted to “over US\$4 million”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 22 March 2015). The same issue went on to highlight how ZIFA also owed another coach his dues, “Stung by the 2018 World cup qualifier’s ban as a result of its failure to pay former Warriors coach Valinhos his dues, ZIFA appears to have awoken from its slumber and is engaging Belgian Tom Saintfiet, whom it owe US\$150 000”.

ZIFA’s legacy debt due to poor management by ZIFA officials is highlighted extensively in *The Patriot*, newspaper which state that “Zimbabwean football has hit rock bottom a long time ago ..... Football is a very lucrative venture, but in Zim poor management has seen the world’s most loved sport becoming a loss making entity.” (*The Patriot*, 5 November 2015). The newspaper went on to reveal the debt to be a staggering US\$6million which is a figure much higher than the one given in *The Sunday Mail*. From this observation one can safely argue that *The Patriot*, provides a bitter representation of the shenanigans at ZIFA, while *The Sunday Mail*, tries to pacify the reader and gloss over the negative implications of ZIFA’s poor management and corruption on the Warriors performance.

### **5.3 A Team Worthy of Praise and Vilify**

Representation of the Warriors in the newspapers understudy can be understood as falling within the dictates of a team that deserves credit and team that can be vilified at any moment depending on their performance. The following discussion can be viewed in light of the transformation of discourse as observed by Foucault, (1979), in which he argues that discourse tends to assume a new dimension at any particular given time depending on the con-text. From observations made from data gathered and analysed, it can be argued that coverage of the Warriors reveals a relationship that at times is rosy and turn sour depending on the Warriors output in any match.



Such an observation has been reached through an analysis of the Warrior's performance in various qualifier matches' and competitions.

To begin with, the national team enjoys a cordial and good relationship with the media when they put up a splendid performance. The research can argue that such an observation pervades all the newspapers understudy. A case in point can be the following title, "Warrior: Heroes of Blantyre", (*The Sunday Mail*, 14 June 2015). The article praised the Warriors for winning the match against Malawi in Blantyre against all odds, such as poor preparation and no allowances from ZIFA. A detailed account of the Warriors performance is given in the paper, to such an extent that they are placed at par with liberation war fighters, "These boys are heroes and they are ready to die for Zimbabwe,....." (*The Sunday Mail*, 14 June 2015).

In other words the statement by newspapers, are a true reflection of Storey's (2008) observation of how heroes are created or are a product of myths. In this case we can talk of how the nation building project or the national identity brand is linked to the hero status and a myth of the Warriors as heroes is being advanced. The whole idea of likening the Warriors to heroes as myth can also be explained in the following terms "myth means ideology understood as a body of ideas and practises, which by actively promoting the values and interests of dominant groups in society, defends the prevailing structures of power." Apparently the whole idea of likening the warriors to heroes can be understood as ideological in its own way.

Articles that featured in *The Sunday Mail*, in the build up to the CHAN Tournament in Rwanda had the following headlines, "Zimbo flavour..... Warriors through", (*The Sunday Mail*, July 5 2015); "Warriors in their own words, fans wish Warriors well", (*The Sunday Mail*, 6 September 2015) "#GoWarriorsGo," (*The Sunday Mail*, 10 June 2016); "#GoWarriorsGo: Class of 2014 – Where are they now?"; "#GoWarriorsGo: Warriors opponents round up"; "#GoWarriors: Warriors speak on CHAN", (*The Sunday Mail*, 17 January 2016). All these titles were allocated more space and praised the Warriors for the sterling performance they displayed in qualify for the CHAN tournament. Another aspect is the use of the hash tag sign in these headline which can be argued to be a symbol employed in drawing attention to the reader. Given that the hash tag sign borrowed from social media especially tweeter is a sign that is used in giving any social phenomena or event more attention and make it trending.

Additionally the national team in *The Sunday Mail*, of 17 January 2016, has the back page of the newspaper being dedicated to their meeting with Vice President Mnangagwa. “#GoWarriorsGo: Mnangagwa rallies Warriors”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 17 January 2016). The article portrayed the Warriors as a team that deserves the attention of leaders of the country as they are representing the motherland. “speaking on behalf of President Mugabe, Vice President Mnangagwa, who briefly assumed the role of Warriors technical advisor-also took his time to impart some few tips to the Warriors defensive players.”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 17 January 2016). The article was framed in such a manner that it sought to align the Warriors to the nation building project and the ideological identity of the ruling party, Zanu-PF.

More space was also allocated to the voices of the Warriors during the build up to the CHAN Tournament. *The Sunday Mail*, carried articles that were wholly dedicated to the Warriors thoughts with regards to their CHAN assignment, (*The Sunday Mail*, 17 January 2016). Even more space was also given to fans to express views and support to the Warriors. Such a move can be understood as revealing the magnitude with the Warriors are viewed as a national brand in the media. Even more space was also allocated in detailed analysis of other teams and their opponents. Space which in media economics is understood as important and more valuable, Albarran, (2010), Picard, (1989). According to Picard, (1989) the media accord more space to news items of more value and that attracts more readership, thereby boosting sales. In *The Sunday Mail's*, terms it can be said that the aspect of national identity is important as the Warriors who have been likened to heroes earlier and as patriotic citizens have to be accorded more space as this will assist in the nation building project.

*The Sunday Mail*, in its support and praise of the national team carried articles detailing fans views, thoughts and support on the Warriors qualification for CHAN championship Tournament in Rwanda. In its 6 September 2015 issue titled, “Fans wish Warriors Well”, *The Sunday Mail*, (6 September 2015) had the whole article dedicated to reader views and thoughts, wishing the Warriors well in their encounter with Guinea for the AFCON cup qualifying match. In another incident, a fan was allocated half of the whole page describing his journey to Rwanda by road in support of the Warriors in their CHAN tournament. Titled “Warriors’ fan road trip to Rwanda #GoWarriorsGo”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 January 2016), the Warriors supporter, Alvin Harry Jnr Zhakata, offers a well detailed account of his 3000km journey by road to Rwanda in support of

the Warriors. Categorised as extra contributor, the text of and by Alvin Harry Jnr Zhakata's account symbolises patriotism. The co-option of the long feature article in the main newspaper and how it is allocated the whole page, is a sign of how strategic *The Sunday Mail*, is in its nation building project and evoking feelings of national identity on the part of the reader.

Additionally the use of images in which the fan is photographed wrapped in the national flag can be understood in semiotics terms. The use of the flag and co-option of images of the flag can be viewed in light of Pierce, (1958) categorisation of signs. In this case one can argue that the use of the national flag sought to draw the reader's attention to the idea of the fan being patriotic and proud to be associated with the country and its immediate internationally recognised symbol which is the national flag. In this case one can draw upon Tomaselli's (1996: 31-32) argument that "words alone are of limited value in sense making unless they are connected in a necklace of words (signifiers) which build up a coherent meaning through linking the words together in terms of socially agreed rules." To arrive at the meaning the strategic use of language is also employed in the article as the article evoked emotions, feelings of belonging, fear and love for the motherland. This can be evidenced in the following statement from the article, "I have passionately followed my national team ever since I started to understand that the 22 men chasing a ball did what they did as a matter of life and death." In the following statement the fan can be argued to making reference to bravery, "The Zimbabwean and Zambian immigration officers celebrated me as if I had carried the world's torch for all to see.....But there was a look of sadness from one elderly woman who said, "I wish you well son, but why enter the lions' den just to trap a mouse?" "It was a journey that tested my resolve. But I am prisoner of my passion, the lover of Zimbabwe and our football. I would do it again if need be." (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 January 2016).

In his article the fan also makes reference to how many people he encountered along the way liked his courage and asked a lot of questions about the country's president, President Robert Mugabe, "They asked a lot of questions about President Robert Mugabe." Not only does he describe the journey as life threatening but as fun and exhilarating as well. Patriotic elements were also stirred up in the article, the fan makes reference to issues to do with the President and in the following statement, "It was a journey that tested my resolve. But I am prisoner of my passion, the lover of Zimbabwe and our football. I would do it again if need be." Colourful

pictures were also part of article. In all the pictures that were used in the article by the writer, who happens to be a supporter of the Warriors, he is presented donning the national flag. Juxtaposing the fan with elements such as the President, love of the country and the life threatening journey itself can be argued to be speaking a lot with regards to issues of patriotism, national identity and the nation building project. Here *The Sunday Mail*, goes an extra mile to reveal how it links the Warriors and the fans to national identity, unity and patriotism. Thus one can argue how the love of the national team can be equated to patriotism as well.

Not only does *The Sunday Mail*, embark on such endeavours but *The Patriot*, newspaper also dedicated more space to the analysis of player form, thoughts and opponent analysis. In an interview with Alvin Madzivanzira a prominent Sport Reporter of *The Patriot*, he expressed the following thoughts, “My coverage is one of the best pieces mainly dwelling on analysis, previews and reviews of the team's matches. We analyse the head-to-head statistics with the team to be played, previews of the probable starting 11. We analyse the current player form and how they might be used visa-vis the probable formation and the opponent's type of play. We also do stories on the Warriors rankings.”

The *Daily News*, which is often critical of the Zanu-PF led administration and its various bodies, also heaped praises on the Warriors in their glorious performances. In one of its articles titled, “Warriors ‘shame’ ZIFA...rise in rankings amidst chaos”, (*Daily News*, 11 June 2015). The article clearly express the following sentiments, “Zimbabwe Warriors blighted by financial woes and often chaotic preparations for big matches, yesterday rose seven places on the FIFA rankings to make a mockery of the country’s current status.” The article went on further to state that “the warriors moved 119 to 112 on the back of impressive showings in the last two months.” A thorough analysis is given in the article which seeks to glorify the Warriors performance against a myriad of challenges ranging from poor planning on the part of the governing body and lack of remuneration among other challenges. Of notable interest is how the article went on to elaborate on the country’s global political isolation, “defeated Malawi who enjoy a lot of government sponsorship and an endorsement deal with global brewing giant Carlsberg....” Such manoeuvres by the newspaper can be argued to be dragging the political standing of the newspaper into Football reporting so as to appeal to its sport readership.

For *The Sunday Mail* and *Daily News*, the tide of a colourful reportage changes when the Warriors fail to put a splendid performance. In its article titled, “Warriors Crash Out”, (*Daily News*, 22 May 2015) describes how the national team “crashed out of the COSAFA Cup when they put on a shambolic display against Namibia.....” In another article the same newspaper reveals how it can change its tone and language use when it was criticising the Warriors for an “Unconvincing Win” (*Daily News*, 22 June 2015). The newspaper does not mince words but make use of words that paint the Warriors in a bad picture, a team worthy of no praise and at times underserving of any respect. This also highlights how discourse can transform and change at any time as argued by Foucault, (1979). This transformation of discourse is important as it highlights how the media seek to generate more revenue through sensationalising news items as argued by Golding and Murdock, (2000).

*The Sunday Mail*, drives its point home clearly in its titles and headlines. In one of its headlines the newspapers used the following words, “Rubbish from Rubavu.....Warriors bow out of #CHAN 2016”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 January 2016). In the article the reporter reveals how the national team missed golden opportunities and failed to qualify for the quota finals. The paper carried the following statement,” ZIMBABWE coach Kallisto Pasuwa says the Warriors learnt the hard way as they crashed out of the African Nations Championships yesterday after missing chances to defeat Mali at Umuganda stadium here.” In another column article titled, “VaShagare: Sorry Warriors need anointing Oil”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 31 January 2016), the columnist clearly states that “If money and the need to defend the flag don’t inspire our players then we might as well request for gallons of anointing oil..... After conceding from a set piece against Zambia in the first game what did Pasuwa and his men learn? Nothing!”

The Warriors are now being categorised as unpatriotic and not eager to learn as they failed to learn one or two lessons from their first defeat. One then wonders how the warriors are now being vilified after being referred to as heroes earlier. The same newspaper also gave space for readers to air their views on the dismal performance by the Warriors, in an article titled “Pasuwa under the spotlight” which appeared in *The Sunday Mail*, of January 24 2016. The article mainly consist of readers’ comments which include the following statements,

“Cleopas Taguma Neuso – To me the coach did not play his cards very well on both games on the starting eleven and substitutions. He is a poor tactician. For the sake of continuity, Pasuwa has to be retained and hoping for better preparations.

Witness Mapamba Guzhumbwe – If this is the man that we are trusting with our Afcon qualification then we are in deep trouble. To me, Pasuwa is not Warriors material. Zifa please bring back Mapeza

HKD Mafia – Can Pasuwa still afford to demand \$ 7000 a month after this rubbish? I doubt it very much. The guy is poor tactically while his team selection leaves a lot to be desired. Omega Sibanda was right after all. This guy must be fired pronto.” (*The Sunday Mail*, January 24 2016)

A sharp contrast can be witnessed in the following statements which sought to support the Warriors before the tournament,

“Riimz Balo Timothy: Go Warriors Go

Mudhara Munhumumwe: In Pasuwa we trust zvakaoma kudaro. Arubi, Jaure, Chipeta, Costa, Katsande, Chitiyo, Khama, Milton, Zvirekwi, Mushekwi and Musona, 3-5-2

Andrew Kaseke: Batai basa vakomana . . . Arubi, Hardlife, Erick, Costa, Jaure, Khama, Mushekwi, Musona, Malajila and Katsande.

Collin Divala: Arubi, Zvirekwi, Chipeta, Jaure, Nhamoinesu, Katsande, Khama, Malajila, Milito, Musona, Mushekwi. We need to be smiling come Sunday 5pm. Go warriors Go.

Carlton Joe Nkomo: Go warriors Gooooooooo! We are behind you all the way.

Elia Ngolomi: Arubi, Jaure, Costa, Chipeta, Jangano, Katsande, Phiri, Billiat, Malajila, Musona, Mushekwi

Wilfred Chipere: The Warriors squad that is in camp is the best crop of players that the nation have. I believe in this generation and I wish we were also participating in World Cup qualifiers. The stars are there and we are now leaving it to the technical team to play their cards right. I am now appealing to the fans to rally behind the boys regardless of their club affiliations. Supporters sometimes have a tendency to turn against our own because so and so plays for such a team and I am fully behind whoever will be given a chance to don that Zimbabwe Jersey and represent our country.” (*The Sunday Mail*, 6 September 2015)

The Warriors lost to Mali and Zambia in the first round of the tournament, Zimbabwe lost both games with Mali and Zambia as the Warriors conceded a goal from each team. In an opinion article titled “VaShagare: Sorry Warriors need anointing oil” the writer states that “Three games played, two lost and one drawn. And a single goal scored, three conceded. That – ladies and gentlemen, comrades, friends and others – is the sad story of a team nicknamed the Warriors and a coach whom some of us love so much we don’t see anything wrong in everything he does.”

In another hard news article titled “Rubbish from Rubavu. . .Warriors bow out of #Chan2016” (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 January 2016), the writer states that “ZIMBABWE coach Kallisto Pasuwa says the Warriors learnt the hard way as they crashed out of the African Nations Championships..... Pasuwa attributed the defeat to inexperience in key stages of the game and said “football’s cruel side” had manifested itself on his charges”. It is equally important that these hard news articles about the Warriors defeat sought to demonstrate how the Warriors failed to defend the national flag. The prominence given to fans contribution can be understood in terms of the public sphere role of the media in a democratic nation, (Defleur and Everette, 1994). The idea of the fans being given space to comment on the Warriors, can be viewed as a move to make the ordinary citizens who happen to be the fans identify with the nation state and their voice being recognised given that the games attracted much attention on the continent.

Thus one can argue along Chiumbu, (2009) and Tendi, (2010), observation that the media in Zimbabwe, especially publicly owned but state run can construct an identity of selected individuals as sell outs. In this case one can safely conclude that after their crush out from the CHAN tournament the Warriors are being blamed yet the same newspapers fail to take into consideration poor management by ZIFA officials, which saw the coach Pasuwa being fired and returned after a public outcry, creating confusion in the camp.

#### **5.4 Accurate and Objective reporting**

Framing of the national team can be argued to be guided by the need to achieve the highest standards of professional journalism. This can be evidenced in how all the newspapers understudy employed aspects such as accurate, objective and most of the hard news from all the newspapers assumed a similar angle with little or without the reporter’s personal opinions included.

Accurate figures in terms of goals won and conceded were given, “Zimbabwe 0 Mali (0) 1” (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 January 2016), “The Warriors 1 – 2 away victory over the Flames of Malawi in the 2017 Afcon qualifier.....” (*Daily News*, 12 July 2015). More accurate figures were also given in various hard news articles which include the following, “A total of 25 713 people paid their way into the stadium, a figure that translated to US\$88 542,” (*The Patriot*, 10 September 2015), “The Warriors moved from 119 to 112 on the back of impressive showings in the last two months.” (*Daily News*, 12 July 2015), “The next president should be someone who understands football. He or she should be a strategist ready to jumpstart the association so riddled by a US\$6 million debt.” (*The Patriot*, 5 November 2015). The use of figures and facts by all the newspapers can be argued along Schudson’s (1996), observation that the news media do their utmost best to offer credibility to their news stories through the use of facts, figures and official sources.

Sources used in all the newspapers include coaches from different teams, “.....coach, Djibril Drame acknowledged that his side had played second fiddle but noted that luck and precision had worked for them. “Zimbabwe is a tough team and we have always struggled to beat them. Football changes all the time.” Drame said”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 January 2016) as the newspaper quotes the Mali coach. Warriors coach Pasuwa and the players themselves were also some of the sources that *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News*, relied upon in their reportage. This can be witnessed in the following statements, .were also quoted in most of the articles and appropriate images were also used. The research can safely conclude that of the newspapers understudy, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* with regards to the issues of objective and accurate reporting, did their best and deserve due credit. Although the *Daily News*, though claimed to be objective however, it had a tendency of adopting a nothing good comes out of Zimbabwean sport.

Asked about accurate and objective coverage of the Warriors, in an interview the *Daily News*, reporter suggested that their coverage of the Warriors during the period understudy was “objective and accurate. Our editorial policy demands so.” For *The Patriot*, senior sports reporter Alvin Madzivanzira, their reportage “has been spot on and objective. There are rare occasions where last-minute changes will be made and never get a chance to correct by the time of going to print.” The discussion also takes into consideration observations by Golding and Murdock,



(2000: 70) when they argue on how institutional dynamics shape media representations. This is evidenced in their definition of critical political economy which, “shows how different ways of financing and organising cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of discourse and representation in the public domain and for audiences’ access to them.” (Golding and Murdock, 2000: 70). Such an observation can be argued to have a bearing on the aspect of objectivity and accuracy.

The discussion on objective and accurate reporting, will commence with an analysis of language use in all the newspapers. Saussure, (1979: 16) defines “language as a system of signs that express ideas, and is therefore comparable to a system of writing...” Concurring with Saussure, (1979), Hall, (1997: 16) argues that things derive their meaning through language and it enables us to “make sense of the world of people, objects and events...” such an understanding enabled the research to pin point the kind of language that was used in various frames which were adopted by the newspapers under study.

The idea of media’s claim to objectively represent the world can be problematic as argued by Peter, (2011). Peter, (2011) argues that “so much of the media has become immature, sensationalist and polarising..... having a bias means you have a ready-made audience. It means you can be controversial and sensationalist. These things sell. In a world of hyper-capitalism truth is measured in money.” His observation can be evidenced in the following headlines, “Another Circus”, (*Daily News*, 12 June 2015); “Pasuwa recounts NSS Horror: Players drank from toilet bowl”; (*Daily News*, 15 July 2015), “Pasuwa snubs Mugabe”; (*Daily News*, 31 July 2015); “Rubbish from Rubawu” (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 January 2016). All these are hard news articles which one can say sought to attract the attention of the reader through a careful selection of vocabulary. In another column titled “VaShagare: Sorry Warriors need anointing oil” (*The Sunday Mail*, 31 January 2016), the writer states that “Now our God given coach – ably assisted by his God fearing Madzibaba assistants – claims they took a young team, a team that learnt a lot during their miserable Chan dance..... I knew Eric Rosen, knew him well. They say you become a saint the moment the chariots of heaven come for you hence I will not bother you with the stories of the “shop” he used to run or the weakness he had of calling anyone with a darker skin by a silly name each time he got angry.” In another column titled, “VaShagare: Warriors need a Dr, not ambulance driver” (*The Sunday Mail*, 24 January 2016) the

writer also states that “A man who went to a medical school, a man who can be trusted with the health of our beloved team. Va Shagare is yet to meet Mudariki but from the events that unfolded in Rwanda, yours truly is tempted to charge that he behaved more like an ambulance driver than a doctor.” All these statements can be argued to parallel to what the media has been saying before the tournament and this is a sharp contrast of what the media has been reporting. In other words the media’s claim to objectivity can be questioned.

However, more on the positive side can be said with regards to accurate and objective reporting in the mentioned newspapers under study. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers, carried articles that provided a well detailed analysis of the Warriors team members that is their position skills and even experience. More articles were also dedicated to the analysis of the Warriors opponents’ teams at various stages of the qualifier tournament. Among these articles one can look at the following titles, “Nigeria keen on Warriors friendly”, (*The Sunday Mail*, December 13 2015) “#GoWarriorsGo: Warriors opponents round up”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 17 January 2016). In the majority of the article that appeared, official sources from the opponents teams were also used in buttressing their arguments. Such dedication in covering the Warriors opponents can be understood as trying to gunner support for the Warriors and provide an upper hand to the supporters on the weaknesses and strengths of the teams the warriors will be against.

Flowery language was also used in decorating the Warriors in their various endeavours. Headlines such as “Warriors: Heroes of Blantyre, Zimbo flavour: Warriors through”, all from *The Sunday Mail*, reveals how carefully and strategically word selection was employed. Even the use of the hash tag (#) by *The Sunday Mail*, newspaper exposes how the paper made careful use of language so as to gunner support for the flagship team of the country. Additionally hard facts were also in conjunction with the strategic use of language. All these techniques employed by the newspaper were aimed at generating a particular version of reality about the Warriors centred on the spirit of patriotism, nationhood and national identity.

The *Daily News*, had the following titles, “Warriors charm Mangwiwo, Warriors can reach CHAN Finals, In Katsande: Zim can achieve greatness”. The research can establish that the bulk of the *Daily News*, headlines employed language that sought to paint a gloomy picture of the Warriors. Some of the headlines that can be pointed out include the following, “Warriors hit new low”, (*Daily News*, 23 May 2015); “Unconvincing win”, (*Daily News*, 22 June 2015); “Warriors

at crossroads”, (*DailyNews*, 7 August 2015); and “Warriors Accommodation Shocker”, (*Daily News*, 4 September 2015). From such headlines and language use in these articles one can argue how the newspaper was on a fault finding mission to discredit the warriors and the governing body ZIFA.

News sources used by the newspapers under study also contributed to the manner in which the newspapers framed articles to do with the Warriors. On this aspect the research established that all the newspapers relied on official sources of information. Sourcing as explained by Mabweazara, (2011: 108) is “entrenched in the dynamics of the political context as journalist selectively refer only to those sources that consolidate their newsroom political positioning”. On this aspect all the newspaper can be given credit and be praised for relying on official sources in their coverage of the Warriors.

Asked about their sources of information a senior reporter at *The Patriot*, hinted that “ZIFA have been very accessible in terms of information on the national team. Xolisani Gwesela, ZIFA spokesperson is always reachable on phone, email, whatsapp, facebook and twitter platforms to respond. They also allow media to access the team's training sessions and hold press conferences.” The *Daily News*, reporter had the following to say with regards to issues to do with sources, “The warriors’ camp is accessible. They give media briefs and press conferences. They grant face to face or telephone interviews.” Even in their articles all the newspapers made references to ZIFA officials, players themselves and even the responsible Ministry and other interested parties. For this newspapers can be argued to have been practicing good journalism guided by the principle of objectivity and accuracy.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

This section of the research has highlighted on the presentation of findings of data gathered during the research. The chapter zeroed in how the newspapers under study framed the Warriors in light of their political ideological lining with the research establishing that *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, assuming a pro patriotic stance, while the *Daily News* adopted a nothing good comes out of ZIFA and tried to link every aspect of football to the decaying state of the economy.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

### 6.0 Introduction

The research sought to interrogate the nature and character of portrayal of the Zimbabwe National Men's soccer team, the Warriors, within the context of national identity. This chapter is dedicated to identifying and summarising on the major themes and concerns developed in the research and provide a critical evaluation on the findings. Of much interest is the aspect of recommendations and further areas of research which this section of the research seeks to highlight.

### 6.1 Concluding Discussion

The research sought to interrogate the press coverage of the Zimbabwe Men's National Football team within the context of national identity and nationhood. The study zeroed in on investigating how *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and the *Daily News on Sunday*, framed articles to do with the Warriors and sought to construct a reality of national identity. This is however, achieved through the working of representation which Hall (1997: 7) understood as entailing, “using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully to other people”. Simply put the study reflected on how the mentioned newspapers strategically employed language in their construction of a reality of the Warriors as the honourable bearers of the national flag, as the decorated patriots and as the reflecting on the worst political leadership of the country.

Theories that informed the research were nationalism, national identity and discourse, power and framing. As framing entails the use of language which Foucault (1979) referred to as discourse, one can conclude that language was tactically employed in the framing of the Warriors and relating the team to the aspirations of the nation as a whole. The strategic use of language in the coverage of the warriors in the mentioned newspapers can be understood as aiding in the nation building project specifically in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*.

Interrogating the representation of the Warriors within the perspective of discourse, power and framing, gave the research an opportunity to understand and explore more on the major themes the newspapers highlighted in their portrayal of the Warriors. Additionally this also enabled the

study to highlight and explore more on frames adopted by the mentioned newspapers within the context of ideological and commercial imperatives.

The research established that the representation of the Zimbabwe's men national football team can be understood within the context of nationalism and patriotism. These concepts have been linked with elements such as history, patriotism and religion in a bid to reveal the relationship that exist between football and notions of nationhood and national identity. For *The Sunday Mail*, the National football team, that is the Warriors, is a team that represents and carries the citizens' aspirations and expectations when it comes to the sporting field. However, on this aspect the *Daily News* maintains a neutral coverage, characterised by not aligning the Warriors Team to any nation building project. *Daily News*, assumed a more subtle frame which promoted an anti-nationalist discourse which sought to discredit state running narratives.

*The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* in their coverage of the Warriors, explicitly make reference to the aspect of patriotism, which is an important element in fostering the spirit of nationhood and in the nation building project. For the two mentioned newspapers the Warriors in their endeavours are supposed to be patriotic and exhibit elements of patriotism. For the two newspapers the Warriors are part and parcel of the nation building project. The newspapers maintain an apologetic stance over such an assumption. This can be demonstrated in their representation of the Warriors in *The Sunday Mail*, likening them to national heroes. Such strategic use of language and juxtaposition can be argued to be taking the nation building project to another sophisticated dimension. For the two newspaper the Warriors is a team that represent the country in terms of the "beautiful game" are supposed to be patriotic and contribute immensely to the nation building project and advancing the spirit of nationalism.

For *The Sunday Mail*, framing of the Warriors was also done within the boundaries of spiritualism. The newspaper carried articles that linked the Warriors to elements of religion and patriotism. Apart from that history has also been pointed out to be one of the major elements that the media use in their quest to ascribe national identity and enhance the nation building project. Both *The Patriot* and *The Sunday Mail*, make reference to historical accounts in their representation of the Warriors. In its use of history *The Sunday Mail*, made reference to the Dream Team which was a team under the guidance of Reinhard Fabisch a German coach. The team comprised legends of Zimbabwe's football history. The newspaper's reference to the Dream

Team can be understood as a way to garner support for the national Warriors and deliberately ignore the extent of the rot at ZIFA and its long term effects on the game.

In other words such a strategy by the newspaper can be understood as trying to bring back old memories to the fans in their quest to rally support for the national team. Apparently such strategies by these newspapers can be argued to be designed to build up patriotism on the part of the fans, as they will be able to identify with past glories of the Warriors. The *Daily News*, also made use of historical accounts in its representation of the Warriors. However, its reference to history can be argued to be one that hinges on its political ideological linings of nothing good comes out of Zimbabwe. This can be viewed in light of Ranger's (2005) meditations on how history is employed to serve certain political and ideological agendas in patriotic journalism. Even Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) also hints at how historical accounts were employed in the media by the Zanu-PF led government through the publicly owned media in its quest to retain power.

Information gathered in the research revealed that *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and *Daily News*, understood the Warriors as a team that is worthy of both praise and vilification. However, on this one *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, took the praise singing to a whole new level as the Warriors were accorded hero status and hero worshipped. From observations made from data gathered and analysed, it can be argued that coverage of the Warriors reveals a relationship that at times is rosy and turns sour depending on the Warriors output in any match. Some of the articles that featured in *The Sunday Mail*, made use of the trending hash tag sign to ascribe prominence and draw attention to the Warriors. Given that the hash tag sign borrowed from social media especially tweeter is a sign that is used in giving any social phenomena or event more attention and make it trending.

To show the rosy relationship that the Warriors enjoyed with *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, one can talk of the space that was dedicated to the coverage of the Warriors and their exploits. Such a move can be understood as revealing the magnitude with which the Warriors are viewed as a national brand in the media. Even more space was also allocated in detailed analysis of other teams and their opponents. *The Sunday Mail*, in its support and praise of the national team carried articles detailing fans views, thoughts and support on the Warriors qualification for CHAN championship Tournament in Rwanda. Here *The Sunday Mail*, goes an extra mile in revealing how it links the Warriors and the fans to national identity, unity and patriotism. Thus

one can argue how the love of the national team can be equated to patriotism as well. Not only does *The Sunday Mail*, embark on such endeavours but *The Patriot*, newspaper also dedicated more space to the analysis of player form, thoughts and opponent analysis.

The *Daily News*, also heaped praises on the Warriors in their glorious performances and when they fail to impress the newspaper went to link the poor performance to the state of the country's poor political leadership in subtle ways. In its praise of the Warriors the newspaper also looked at aspects such as the Warriors world ranking. In their reportage of the Warriors the *Daily News*, also glorifies the Warriors performance against a myriad of challenges ranging from poor planning on the part of the governing body and lack of remuneration among other challenges. However, for the *Daily News*, the country's poor political climate global isolation are some of the topical issues the paper reflects on in most of its reportage. Such manoeuvres by the newspaper can be argued to be dragging the political standing of the newspaper into Football reporting so as to appeal to its sport readership.

Not only do the mentioned newspapers divert from the normal but they do try by all means to adhere to the principles of best practices in journalism. This can be noted in their claims to accurate and objective reporting with interviews. Again it can be evidenced in how all the newspapers understudy employed aspects such as accurate and objective. Accurate figures were given, official sources were also quoted in most of the articles and appropriate images were also used. The research can safely conclude that of the newspapers understudy, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* with regards to the issues of objective and accurate reporting, did their best and deserve due credit. For the *Daily News* the newspaper though claimed to be objective it however, had a tendency of adopting a nothing good comes out of Zimbabwean sport.

To show their dedication to accurate and objective reporting *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot* newspapers, carried articles that provided a well detailed analysis of the Warriors team members that is their position skills and even experience. Additionally, official sources from authorities were used in buttressing their arguments. Sourcing as explained by Mabweazara, (2011: 108) is "entrenched in the dynamics of the political context as journalist selectively refer to only to those sources that consolidate their newsroom political positioning". On this aspect all the newspaper can be given credit and be praised for relying on official sources in their coverage of the Warriors.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

All the newspapers studied in the research proved to be objective in some way, but however a deeper analysis of their language use indicates that the newspapers also had ideological undertones in their framing of the Warrior's. In their coverage of the men's national team *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and the *Daily News*, assumed patriotic and oppositional journalism framework. For a critical reader, such a stance tends to jeopardise the quality of content as it is mixed with political elements. This entails all the newspapers understudy desisting from using language which has particular ideological undertones, as doing so tends to distort the whole idea of sports as a unifying factor in society.

Additionally the mentioned newspapers have to make a closer reflection on their use of certain types of words in their articles. To be specific the researcher is of the view that the newspapers understudy should make a careful look at some of the vocabulary that they use in their headlines and titles. As newspapers are the major contributors in the opinion formation process, it is important that they use language which befits national newspapers. As they are the leaders and platforms through which every citizens mirrors the state of their society, careful and proper use of language is a priority of the newspapers. The newspapers should be careful of sensationalising events for the sole purpose of driving sales up as this has a detrimental effect in how society views the bearers of the national flag in the sporting world. In essence the need to increase sale through sensationalism tends to offer a distorted version of reality to the readers.

## **6.3 Further areas of research**

More research can be dedicated to interrogating the aspect of multiculturalism in the sporting field and how Zimbabwe as a nation has fared well in incorporating and embracing this aspect. In essence such a research can be dedicated to investigating how sports tend to embrace multiculturalism as opposed to political ideological views and opinions. Such an area of research can assume aspects such as race and national identity in sports, race and political identities in sports as well and ethnic identities in sports within the context of national identity. Additionally, more research can be dedicated to interrogating the role of political and economic dynamics in the reporting of sporting events. In this case the research can be devoted to providing an analysis



of how politics and economic tends to exert a force in the newsroom and the framing of sporting events in the media

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

The study has recognised that the reportage of the Zimbabwe national men's soccer team in *The Sunday Mail*, *The Patriot* and the *Daily News* was within the borderlines of patriotic and oppositional journalism. For the *Daily News*, the mediocre performance displayed by the Warriors was a reflection of the country's state of political governance. Additionally, the corruption scandal which rocked ZIFA, for newspaper can be understood as the order of the day in a country that has lost the moral lustre. For *The Sunday Mail* and *The Patriot*, this is a different story. These two newspapers viewed the Warriors as the bearers of the national flag and when they put up a splendid performance, they are decorated as real heroes of the motherland. When they fail in their national assignments, the Warriors are labelled unpatriotic elements, who deserve the worst vitriol that language can provide. The need to boost sales also saw all the newspapers understudy dedicating more space and time to the coverage of the Warriors and their national assignments.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, B. (1997) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*; London: Verso: New Left Books.

Anderson, J. E. (2011) *Public Policy Making*; Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Appiah, A. K. (1992) *In My Father's House: Africa in The Philosophy of Culture*; New York: Oxford University Press.

Ashonoft, B and Ahluwalia, P. (1999) *Edward Said*, London Routledge.

Babbie (2004) *The Practice of Social Research*; Belmont: Thomson Wadworth.

Beach, D. N. (1994) *A Zimbabwean Past*; Gweru: Mambo Press.

Bhabha, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture*; London: Vintage

Brotz, H. (Ed) (1966) *Negro Social and Political Thought*; New York: Basic Books.

Bryman, (2004) *Social Research Methods*; New York: Oxford University Pres

Bryman, A. (2005) *Social Research Methods*; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carter, M. J. (2013) The Hermeneutics of Frames and Framing: An Examination of the Media's Construction of Reality, accessed on <http://www.sagepub.com> (accessed on 30 September 2015)

Chari, (2009) Ethical Challenges Facing Zimbabwean Media in The Context of The Internet, *Global Media Journal*, (African Edition) 13(1):

Chari, T. (2009) Salience and Selection: Representation of the Zimbabwean Crisis in the Local Press, *Journal of African Identities*, 8(2): 131–150.

Chiumbu, S., Minnie, J., Bussiek, H. (2009) *On Air: Zimbabwe*; Johannesburg: Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa.

Chuma, W. (2005) Zimbabwe: The Media, Market Failure and Political Turbulence, *Ecquid Novi*, 26, (1): 42 – 62

- Chyi, H. and McCombs, M. (2004) Media Saliency and the Process of Framing: Coverage of the Columbine School Shootings; *Journal of Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81, (1), 22-35
- Clough, P. And Nutbrown, C. (2008) *A Student Guide to Methodology*; London: Sage Publishers.
- Crummell, A. "The Relations and Duties of Free Coloured Man in Africa To Africa" In Brotz, H. (Ed) (1966) *Negro Social And Political Thought*; New York: Basic Books. (171 – 180)
- Decreus, T. (2012) Beyond Representation? A Critique of the Concept of Referent; *Representation*, 49: 1, 33 – 43
- Denzin, K. N. And Lincoln, S. Y. (2003) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*; California: Sage.
- Dominick, J. R. And Wimmer, D. R. (1994) *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, 4th Ed; California: Wadsworth Publishers.
- Doyle, G. (2013) *Understanding Media Economics*; London: Sage publisher.
- Dyer, R. (1999) *The Role of Stereotypes*, in Marris, P and Thornham, S. (1999) *Media Studies: A Reader*, (2nd Ed); Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Entman, R. (1992) Framing Toward Clarification of Fractured Paradigm; *Journal of Communication*, 4.
- Entman, R. M. (1989) How the Media Affect What People Think: An Information Processing Approach; *Journal of Politics*, 51, (2): 347 – 370.
- Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*; Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (2003) *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*; London: Routledge.
- Faubian, J. (2000) *Power: Michael Foucault*; New York: The New Press.
- Foucault, M. (1970) *The Order of Things*; London: Tavistock.

- Foucault, M. (1972) *Archaeology of Knowledge*, New York: Pantoon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge*; Brighton: Harvester.
- Foucault, M. (1988) *The Core of the Self*; Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. 1970) *The Order of Things*; London: Tavistock.
- Frazer, E. and Hutchings, K. (2011) Avowing Violence: Foucault and Derrida on Politics, Discourse and Meaning; *Journal of Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 37 (1): 3 – 23
- Freedman, D. (2009) ‘Smooth Operate?’ The Propaganda Model and Moments of Crisis; *Westminster paper in Communication and Culture*, 6 (2): 59 – 72.
- Gale, D. W. (1962) *The Rhodesian Press*; Salisbury: Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company.
- Gilroy, (2002) *There Ain't No Black Race in the Union Jack*; London: Routledge.
- Goffman, E. (1920) *Frame Analysis*; Middlesex: Penguin.
- Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis*; News York: Harper Calaphon Books.
- Gray, D. E. (2009) *Doing Research in The Real World*; California: Sage.
- Gripsrud, J. (2010) *Understanding Media Culture*; London: Bloomsbury Publishers.
- Grossberg, L. (1996) *Identity and Cultural Studies*’ in Hall, S and Du Gay, P. (1996) *Question of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage.
- Gunter, B. (2000) *Media Research Methods*; London: Sage.
- Hailey, L. (1936) *An African Survey*; London: Oxford University Press
- Hall, S. (1991) ‘*The Local and The Global: Globalisation and Ethnicity*’ in King, A. (Ed) *Culture, Globalisation and The World System*; London: McMillan (Pg.) 19 – 39
- Hall, S. (1997) *Cultural Representation*; London: Sage.

- Hall, S. (1997) *Representation, Cultural Representation and Signifying Practises*, London: Sage.
- Hall, S. And Du Gay, P. (1996) *Question of Cultural Identity*; London: Sage.
- Hall, S. And Du Gay, P. (1996) *Question of Cultural Identity*; London: Sage Publisher.
- Hammersley, M. (2011) *Methodology Who Needs It?* London: Sage Publishers.
- Hans-Jorg Trezn, (2006) *Mediation and Democratisation in Europe*; accessed on <http://www.arena.uio.no> Last accessed on 13 October 2015
- Hoffman, M. (2007) Foucault's Politics and Bellicosity as a Matrix for Power Relations; *Journal of Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 33, (6): 756-778
- Hoijer, B. (2011) Social Representation Theory; *Nordicom Review*, 32, (2): 3 – 16
- <http://www.dailynews.co.zw/about> Last Accessed 19 October 2015
- <http://www.herald.co.zw/about-zimpapers/> Last Accessed 19 October 2015
- Hughes, D. M. (2010) *Whiteness in Zimbabwe: Race, Landscape and The Problem of Belonging*, New York; Palgrave McMillan
- Iskandar, A. And Rustom, H. (2010) *Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation*; California: University of California.
- Krippendorff, K. (2004) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*; London: Sage Publishers.
- Laclau, E and Mouffe, C. (1985) *Hegemony and Socialists Strategy: Towards A Radical Democratic Politics*; London: Verso.
- Lippman, W. (1998) *Public Opinion*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers (first published in 1922)
- Lucas, G. (2004) *An Archaeology of Colonial Identity*; New York: Plenum.
- Mabweazara, H. (2011) News Making Practices and Professionalism in the Zimbabwean Press; *Journal of Journalism Practice*; 5, (1): 100 – 117

- Mansfield, C. H. Towards A Definition of Editorial Policy for The Review; *The American Political Science Review*; 56, (1)
- Matthes, J. (2012) Framing Politics: An Integrative Approach, *Sage Online Journal* Last accessed 09 September 2015
- Mayring, P. In Flick, U., Vankordoff, E. And Steinke, I. (Ed) (2000) *A Companion to Qualitative Research*; London: Sage.
- Melsenhelder, T. (2003) African Bodies: ‘Othering’ The African in Precolonial Europe; *Journal of Race and Gender Class*, 10 (3): 100-113
- Miles-Tendi, B. (2010) *Making History in Mugabe’s Zimbabwe: Politics, Intellectuals and the Media*; Bern: Peter Lang.
- Mosco, V. (2009) *The Political Economy of Communication*; London: Sage Publishers.
- Moscovici, S. (1988) ‘Notes Toward a Description of Social Representation; *European Journal of Social Psychology*; 18: 211-250
- Moyo, (2011), The CNN Defect; *Journal of International Communication*, 17, (2): 121 – 138
- Mukasa, D. S. *Press and Politics in Zimbabwe* Available On <http://www.africa.ufl.edu> Last Accessed 3 October 2015
- Munyuki, G and MISA (2005) *Media Ownership in Zimbabwe* on <http://www.kubatana.net> last accessed 17 October 2015
- Mutanda, D. (2012) The Local Media and Zimbabwe’s Land Reform Program; *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*; 14, (3)
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S and Willems, W. (2010) Re-invoking the Past in the Present: Changing Identities and Appropriation of Joshua Nkomo in Post – Colonial Zimbabwe, *Journal of African Identities*, 8, (3): 191 – 208
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2009) *Do Zimbabwean Exist*; Oxford: Peter Long.
- O’Leary, Z. (2010) *The Essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project*; London: Sage

Publishers.

O'Sullivan, T., Duttan, B. and Rayner, P. (2003) *Studying the Media*; London: Arnold.

Onslaw, S. (2011) *Zimbabwe and Political Transition, London: The London School of Economic and Political Science*

Pickering, M. (2001) *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation*; Houndsmills: Palgrave.

Punch, K. F (2011) *Introduction to Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*; London: Sage Publishers.

Ranger O. T. (2013) *Writing Revolt: An Engagement with African Nationalism 1957 – 1967*, Harare. Weaver Press.

Ranger, O. T. (2003) *History, Patriotic History and The History of The Nation: The Struggle Over The Past In Zimbabwe*, October 2003

Ranger, O. T. (2005) The Rise Of Patriotic Journalism In Zimbabwe And Its Possible Implication, *Journal Of Westminster Papers In Communication And Culture*, Special Issue November 2005, Pg. 8 – 17

Ricoeur, P. (1983) *Hermeneutics and The Human Sciences*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robson, C. (2007) *How to Do a Research Project*; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Sachikonye, L. (2012) *Zimbabwe's Lost Decade: Politics Development and Society*; Harare: Weaver Press.

Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*; New York: Vintage.

Salwen, B. M and Matera, F. R. (1997) Setting the news Agenda with an Ethnic Relevant Topic: Public Saliency of Illegal Immigration; *Howard Journal of Communication*, 8, (4): 329 – 341

Saunders, R. (1999) *Dancing Out of Tune*; Harare: Edwina Spicer.

Scheuffle, A. D. and Tewksbury, D. (2007) *Framing, Agenda Setting and Priming: The*

Evolution of Three Media Effects Models; *Journal of Communication*, 57: 9 – 20

Schopflin, G. (2001) *The Construction of Identity* accessed on

[http://www.oefg.at/text/veranstaltungen/wisesensechaftag/Beitrag\\_Schopflin.pdf](http://www.oefg.at/text/veranstaltungen/wisesensechaftag/Beitrag_Schopflin.pdf) last accessed on 2 October 2013

Schudson, M. (1989) The Sociology of News Production; *Sage: Journal of Media, Culture and Society*, 11: 263 – 282

Seleti, Y. (1997) The Transition to Democracy and the Production of a New National Identity in Mozambique, *Journal of Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, 11, (1-2): 46 – 62

Sharma, C. S. (2005) *Journalism Communication Management*; New Delhi: Anmol.

Silverblatt, A, Ferry, J. and Finan, B. (2009) *Approaches to Media Literacy*; London: M. E. Sharpe.

Silvermen, D. L. (2010) *Doing Qualitative Research*; London: Sage.

Sluga, H. (2011) Could you Define the Sense You Give the Word Political? Michel Foucault as a Political Philosopher, *Journal of the Human Sciences*, 24, (4): 69-79

Smith, I. (2008) *Bitter Harvest: Zimbabwe and The Aftermath of Its Independence*, London: John Blake.

Somekh, B. And Lewin, C. (2005) *Research Methods in The Social Sciences*; London: Sage Pub

Stokes, J. (2003) *How to Do Media and Cultural Studies*; London: Sage Publishers.

Strinati, D. (2004) *An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture*; London: Routledge.

Taylor, D. (2003) Practicing Politics With Foucault and Kant, *Journal of Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 29, (3): pg. 259-280

Tendi, B. (2008) Patriotic History and Public Intellectuals Critical of Power; *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34, (2): 379 – 396



- Thomson, A. (2010) *An Introduction to African Politics*, London: Routledge.
- Trochim, W. M. K. (2006) *Philosophy of Research*. Available At <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/philosophy.php> last accessed on the 14 October 2013.
- Veit-Wild, F. (2006) *Writing Madness*; Harare: Weaver Press Publishers.
- Wa Ngugi. M. (2003) *Conversing with Africa: Politics of Change*; Nairobi: Kimaathi Publishing House.
- Waldahl, R. (2005) *Mediated Political Cleavages, Zimbabwe's 2000 Election Seen Through the Media*; Unisa Press; Carctricalarts 19 (1 and 2).
- Wasan, E. (1976) *Banned. The Story of the African Daily News: Southern Rhodesia*; London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Watson, J and Hill, A. (2003) *Dictionary of Media and Communication Studies*; London: Hodder and Arnold.
- Weir, A. (2009) Who are We? Modern Identities Between Taylor and Foucault, *Journal of Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 35, (5): 533 – 553 accessed on <http://www.sagepublications.com> Last accessed on 2 September 2015
- Whisnant, C. (2012) *Foucault and Discourse*, HIS Handout
- Willems, W. (2004) Peasant Demonstrators, Violent Invaders; Representation of Land in the Zimbabwean Press; *Journal of World Development*; 33, (10): 1767 - 1783
- Willems, W. (2004) Selection and Saliency: Contesting Meanings of Land in Zimbabwean Media; *Ecquid Novi*, 25 (1) 4 – 24
- Young, R. (1995) *Foucault on Race and Colonialism* on <http://www.robertjyoung.com/Foucaultpdf> last accessed on 3 October 2015
- Zaller, J. R. (1992) *The Nature and Origin Of Public Opinion*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.