

[KUNYARARA HAKUSI KUTAURA] The role of The Sunday Mail and The Sunday News in fostering inter-ethnic violence, peace and tolerance in Zimbabwe 1987-1990.

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES



**[KUNYARARA HAKUSI KUTAURA] THE ROLE OF THE SUNDAY MAIL
AND THE SUNDAY NEWS IN FOSTERING INTERETHNIC VIOLENCE
,PEACE AND TOLERANCE IN ZIMBABWE 1987-90.**

TSOKOTA GAMUCHIRAI

R142358B

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SUPERVISOR: DR Z.E MUGARI

Declaration

I **Gamuchirai Tsokota (R142358B)** do hereby sincerely declare that this dissertation is my own original work that has not been submitted to any other university or faculty in the university. In writing this work I appropriately complied with ethical issues and laws governing academic property.

Dissertation Title: [Kunyarara hakusi kutaura] The role of The Sunday Mail and The Sunday News in fostering inter-ethnic peace and tolerance in Zimbabwe 1987-1990.

Signed

Gamuchirai Tsokota

Date

Certification of Supervision

I do hereby certify that I personally supervised this dissertation in accordance with Department Regulations and University General Regulations.

On that basis, I confirm that this dissertation is examinable

Name of student : Gamuchirai Tsokota

Title of dissertation: [Kunyarara hakusi kutaura] The role of The Sunday The Sunday News in fostering inter-ethnic peace and tolerance in Zimbabwe 1987-1990.

Name of supervisor : DR Z. E Mugari

Supervisor` signature ;

Date/...../2017

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Dedications

This dissertation is dedicated to my Mother N. Tsokota for all your hard work.

Abstract

This dissertation is an exploration of the controversy on media silence on interethnic discourses in the media of Zimbabwe. It draws its case study to the years immediately after the signing of the Unity Accord 1987 with the assumption that the media of that time was most likely to report discourses of inter-ethnic discourses as it was the period of national healing. It analyses two weekly newspapers under the Zimpapers stable *The Sunday Mail* and *The Sunday News*. *Kunyarara hakusi kutaura* is a term derived from the book by the famous Zimbabwean author Charles Mungoshi with the argument that silent is part of communication. Media texts should be analysed not only from the text that is provided but also from that which is absent. This study acknowledges that there is a body of literature on *gukurahundi* and unity however, this study is unique as it dwells more on the role of the media after the ethnic violence and analyses the discourse that emerged and the use of silence in the frame. This research hypothesised a theory towards the use of silences in the media drawing from theories and sketch theories in order to inform the study. The study applies qualitative methods for research, archival collections and interviews were used to collect data. The data collected was then purposively sampled. A critical political economy of the Zimpapers organisation was carried out as the two newspapers under study are under its stable hence the relationship between the organisation and content was important to evaluate. A critical discourse analyses was used to draw out finding which were then thematically presented. The study found out that the two newspapers used silence as a technique to repress inter-ethnic differences while at the same time agitating for peace and tolerance through the lenses of national and political peace. Silence was also used to propagate ZANU PF hegemony.

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Acronyms

| | |
|---------|---|
| RPPC | Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company |
| ZANU PF | Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front |
| ZAPU | Zimbabwe African People’s Union |
| ZMMT | Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust |
| ZPRA | Zimbabwe People` Revolutionary Army |

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Discourses of ethnicity are largely marked by inclusions and exclusions, othering the other in which the discourses of ‘us’ and ‘them’ are rife. Discussion of ethnic differences is often criminalised in most African public spheres as tribalism (Mhlanga 2009). In the 1980s Zimbabwe witnessed a conflict that is popularly known as ‘Gukurahundi’ which is a Shona word that translates to the early rains that washes away chaff before the spring rains (Cameroon 2017 ;Ndlovu 2003;Ncube 2014). It is potent to point out that there is no reached consensus as to what really incited the violence and why. The conflict received many connotations which include ‘genocide’, ‘ethnic cleansing’, ‘disturbances’, ‘massacres’ , ‘atrocities’ to mention but a few of these (Muzondidya and Ndlovu – Gatsheni 2007;Mhlanga 2009;Nyambi 2014;Ncube and Siziba 2017;Ndlovu 2003;Muchemwa 2015). On one hand some scholars condense that Gukurahundi was an attempted genocide that was targeted to clean out the Ndebele people (Ndlovu Gatsheni 2003, Mhlanga 2013;Ncube and Siziba 2017;Nyambi 2014). On the other hand President Mugabe claims equality on the massacres and prefers to call the events of the 1980s ‘disturbances’ than ‘genocide’ (Nyambi 2014, Ellis 2006).

Gukurahundi culminated to the signing of the unity accord in 1987 between the ZANU PF and the PF ZAPU under which the circumstances led to the formation of a one party state ZANU-PF (Nyambi 2014). In a speech by Mugabe who was the prime minister of the country by that time it was made clear that they had to let bygones be bygones creating national amnesia to the ‘ugly history’ (Nyambi 2014).

Mano (2005:58) argues that the news media work to “reproduce and reinforce the existing ideological or value system in a given society at a given time”. This study seeks to analyse and problematize the issue that media silences are not part of communication thus the use of the title *Kunyarara hakusi kutaura* that I drew from the book by Charles Mungoshi. The basic argument is that silencing can be part of the communication process what is unsaid can hold as much value or even more than what is said. In this regard it seeks to explore how the two newspapers framed and reported on the issues to do with inter-ethnic differences in a context where discussion of the cause of the tensions were proscribed.

1.2 Background of the study

Zimbabwe is a multi-ethnic society that is comprised of the Shona who accumulate approximately 80% of the population and they inhabit the Northern provinces (Giulianotti 2004). The Ndebele are the second predominant group and they comprise at least 16% of the population and they occupy the southern parts, there are a number of ‘minority’ groups such as the Venda, kalanga, Nambya and Tonga (Raftopolous and Mlambo 2009, Ncube 2014). The relationship between the two major ethnic groups the Ndebele and the Shona has never been smooth (Muzondidya and Ndlovu Gatsheni (2007). In principle colonialism is blamed for ethnic conflicts in Zimbabwe but scholars like Muzondidya condense that ethnic conflicts started way before colonisation during the time of the Ndebele-Shona raids (Muzondidya and Ndlovu –Gatsheni 2007). However, the division of Rhodesia into ‘ethnicized’ administrative units with the zezuru on their own, the manyika and so on only worsened the animosity that already existed amongst the people (Ncube 2014, Beach 1984).

After independence Zimbabwe lived a short ‘honeymoon’ before ZANU -PF and ZAPU conflict enacted what is considered to be the worst ethnic conflict in Zimbabwe although political the concept immediately gained ethnic connotations (Muzondidya and Ndlovu Gatsheni 2007; Muchemwa 2015). The conflict began when ZANU PF and ZANLA joined forces and attributed themselves as the actual liberators of Zimbabwe while side lining and labelling PF ZAPU as dissidents and sell outs (Ndlovu Gatsheni 2003). In January 1983 ZANU PF launched a North Korean trained army known as the fifth brigade to cast out a few ‘insurgents’ in the Matabeleland region (Muzondidya and Ndlovu Gatsheni 2007). An operation which was meant to silence a few protesters swept away at least 20000 Ndebele civilians while thousands were beaten, raped and tortured.

The military operation became bizarre combination of random killing, abduction and torture of ZAPU supporters and Ndebele speaking civilians, raping of women and girls cultural imperialism, conducted through attempts to force Ndebele speakers to speak Shona and indoctrination aimed at forcing people to support ZANU PF (Muzondidya and Ndlovu Gatsheni 2007, 285-286).

In the Matabeleland people accused Mugabe, the government and the “Shona” in general of killing the Ndebele’ (Lindgren 2005:158). In the eyes of the Ndebele public, what was revealed as an operation to stamp out ‘insurgents’ became an anti-Ndebele movement that

deliberately conflated Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU and every Ndebele-speaking person into a 'dissident' (Ndlovu 2003). This was largely because the fifth brigade incorporated mainly of the Shona –speaking soldiers which justified both the political and ethnic terms (Muzondidya and Ndlovu –Gatsheni 2007). Silence by the government on finding an all-inclusive approach on addressing the tension between the Shona and the Ndebele further aggravated the situation. Robert Mugabe merely dismissed it as “a moment of madness” (Ellis 2006 :40). Attempts by the government to equalise the blame to both groups further aggravated the trauma and hatred.

The tendency in the state's account of the Gukurahundi to water down the humanitarian consequences as well as the ethnic and regional antagonism widened by the Gukurahundi atrocities best manifests in President Mugabe's attempts to claim equality of impact of the massacres on both Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups. (Nyambi 2014:2)

At one time when President Mugabe spoke about Gukurahundi he said:

It was an act of madness, we killed each other and destroyed each other's property. It was wrong and both sides were to blame. We have had a difference, a quarrel. We engaged ourselves in a reckless and unprincipled fight. (Kostelac p. 11).

Further exacerbation of the tension between the Ndebele –Shona relations is noted in the equation of the national identity of Zimbabwe to Mugabe and the Shona. A good example is that Mbuya Nehanda is celebrated as the grandmother of the nation through her necessitation of the first chimurenga while wilfully turning a blind eye to those from the Matabeleland (Mhlanga 2009).

Her prophecy of the liberation struggle is re-narrated and granted an appropriated meaning of events at independence. This re-narration of memory had a bearing in the consolidation of Zimbabwe as a successor state and in keeping with Shona nationalist ideology in which Mugabe gained psycho-spiritual connection to the Munhumutapa state. On the other hand, Joshua Nkomo, the leader of ZAPU was denigrated as the dissident father of the dissident party (Mhlanga 2009)

To further this Ranger (2003) argues that within Zimbabwe, “patriotic history” has seems intensely narrow, “dividing the nation up into revolutionaries and sell-outs”. The state controlled media are in the business of writing and re-writing history and writing national monolithic history which attributes Mugabe as the unquestioned liberator (Ranger 2003; Chiumbu 2004). “Mugabe is therefore Zimbabwean history and Zimbabwe is therefore

Mugabe!” (Chiumbu 2004 :33). This development made the Ndebele to feel segregated from the country thus increasing the tension between the two ethnic groups.

There was initial hope that Zimbabwe was going to integrate us into their state as full citizens with equal rights to all opportunities, and thus over the years Mthwakazians have learnt that Zimbabwe is not their home and Zimbabwe will not accommodate Mthwakazians into their community. The time is now opportune for Mthwakazians to reclaim their country irrespective of the expected howling that would be generated by this demand...our people have endured suffering, pain and shame since November 4, 1893, up to date and need to extricate themselves from the injustices they are experiencing today from Limpopo up to Zambezi and from Plumtree up to Battlefields (Paul Siwela 2012,4)

Ethnic polarisation has not just developed between the Shona and the Ndebele, but also among the various Shona groups – the Karanga, the Manyika, the Zezuru, the Korekore and the Ndau, which have accused and counter-accused each other of ethnic favouritism. Minority groups like the Shangaan, Kalanga, Tonga and Venda, located in the marginal borderlands with little economic development and less physical and social infrastructure, have felt marginalised from both the economy and society and have complained of political and cultural domination by both Shonas and Ndebeles (Muzondidya and Ndlovu Gatsheni 2007, 298).

An unity accord was signed in 1987 between ZANU PF and ZAPU that effectively turned Zimbabwe into a one party state (Ncube and Siziba 2017).After the signing of the accord the discussion of Gukurahundi became proscribed as such debates threaten national unity. “If we dig up the country’s history this way we wreck the nation and tear up our people apart into factions” (Mugabe as cited by Weatherall 1997).Christiansen bemoans that the unity was founded on the state’s strategic plan to insert national amnesia to the massacres “... memories of the violent past could be turned into an obligation to forget” (Christiansen 2005). The unity gave the state a chance to stifle the voices of the subaltern. Mugabe said

If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and an ally with the same national interests, loyalty, rights and duties as me. If yesterday you hated me today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, in these circumstances that anybody should revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten. (Huyse 2003:37).

Muchemwa (2015) argues that the unity was a top down approach which united two political parties while leaving those who are at the grass roots traumatised. In as far as outside influence was concerned it must be noted that

US Government demonstrated concern for the victims of Gukurahundi and placed a focus on the development of strategies and policies designed to challenge the state sponsored violence being perpetrated by Fifth Brigade so to end the suffering of the black Ndebele. This was contrary to the approach of the UK government who wilfully turned a 'blind eye' to the victims of these gross abuses (Cameroon 2017 :2).

It is important to point out that the Zimbabwean media are said to have kept total silence over this issue it was only after 10 years that the Catholic Commission For Peace (CCJP) and the Legal Resource Foundation (LRF) published a document which was titled 'breaking the silence' in a bid to address the atrocities of the 1980s. It is in this context that this study seeks to interrogate whether silence was used as a technique to maintain peace and tolerance.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The prevalence of inter-ethnic conflicts though non-confrontational has been a concern in the society and the nation at large. Ideally in a country with two dominant ethnic groups for national unity to hold both ethnic groups would expect equal treatment. The Unity Accord was supposed to end the hatred between different ethnicities in Zimbabwe and offer a conducive environment where the media was ought to act a public sphere where there would be free interaction of ideas. The focus of this study is on what The Sunday Mail and The Sunday News understood as their role in fostering inter-ethnic peace and tolerance post Unity accord.

1.4 Significance of the study

While many studies have been carried out about Gukurahundi this study seeks to depart from the literary studies that have merely analysed the political and ethnic issues that have catalysed Gukurahundi. The study rather focuses on the role that was played by the media after the unity accord was signed in a bid to promote inter-ethnic peace and tolerance in an era where the discussion of the reasons that brought about the conflicts and hatred had been proscribed. It also problematizes the generalisation that the media was totally silent on ethnic issues; it argues that there were textual silences that were used as part of

communication. The research seeks to interrogate the framing type that was employed by *The Sunday News* and *The Sunday Mail* in reporting about the nation building project and the consolidation of unity and peace amongst ethnic groups.

1.5 Objectives of Study

By the end of this study I hope to be able to:

- ❖ Identify the frames used by The Sunday News and The Sunday Mail in reporting inter-ethnic differences.
- ❖ Establish how the newspaper frames repressed discussion on ethnic differences while promoting ‘national identity’
- ❖ Explore how silence was used to communicate

1.6 Main Research Question

- ❖ What were the reasons behind the use of deletion and silence on Gukurahundi in The Sunday Mail and The Sunday News?

1.6.1 Sub Research Questions

- ❖ What discourses emerged from The Sunday Mail and The Sunday News reporting of national unity?
- ❖ How did the newspapers repress discussion on ethnic differences while promoting peace and tolerance?

1.7 Scope of the study

My study will focus on framing by The Sunday News and The Sunday Mail and thus will be restricted to textual analysis and will not delve into whether the particular framing resulted in change in public opinion. The study will focus on the framing of front page news reports covering ethnicity and unity during the period 1987-1990.

1.8 Limitations

Since the study focuses on two newspapers, The Sunday News and The Sunday Mail findings may not be generalised to other media houses. While meticulous care will be

taken to lessen bias, I acknowledge that the nature of qualitative research makes it very possible for researchers to reach different interpretations of the same articles.

1.9 Assumptions of the study

- ❖ That conflict resolution and peace messages in the media will lead to inter-ethnic peace and tolerance.
- ❖ The research assumes that the two papers will frame news differently even though they are both under the same company because of ethnic differences.
- ❖ The issue of inter-ethnic peace and tolerance is still being cultivated Zimbabwe.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the study while clearly stating the background that gave rise to the study and stating the objectives the study seeks to achieve at the end. The chapter clearly state the research gap and the main research questions that will guide this research.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

McKinney (2008:1) “a literature review summarises, interprets, and critically evaluates existing "literature" (or published material) in order to establish current knowledge of a subject.” This chapter reviews the literature that is currently available and closely linked to the study of inter-ethnic conflicts, peace and tolerance within and outside the context of media reportage in Zimbabwe. To find these themes I researched online, Midlands State university e-library and visited the physical library ,my main research key terms where the role of the media in ethnic conflicts ,the role played by the media in Zimbabwe during and after gukurahundi to mention a few of these.

2.2 Nature of state owned media in Zimbabwe

There is an inter-relation between politics and the media. In the 1980s a tame press emerged that was headed by the government appointed editors who were Interested in serving the ruling party (Mukasa 2003).In support of this Ranger bemoans that the media in Zimbabwe became prejudiced and propagandistic in nature (Ranger 2005).The argument is that since the people won their independence through blood and sweat it is imperative that they think and act like Africans thus in order for the mass media to function effectively the government must appoint editors and senior staff (Mukasa 1990 cited in Mukasa 2003). This view of the media supports the view that the elite minority know that the news media “provide the ‘stuff’ from which we build our sense of self identity, our perceptions of the world, social ties with others” (Winseck and Jin 2011:12).It is in this regard that professional journalism becomes elusive. Professionalism became questionable in the 1980s when the voice of Willy Musarurwa was ignored ‘voice in the wilderness’ (Mukasa 2003). Musarurwa believed that the greatest service to the nation is to write both positive and negative news (Mukasa 2003).

Ranger (2004) is of the view that the state controlled media in Zimbabwe have been mobilised to promote ‘monolithic history’ that attribute ZANU PF and Mugabe as the liberators of the country and any opposition as traitor and shadows of the Rhodie. In the state controlled media ‘the Zimbabwean history is therefore Mugabe and Mugabe is therefore Zimbabwean history .To further this argument Ranger bemoans that Zimbabwe is now experiencing ‘patriotic journalism’ which divides the nation into ‘citizens’ and ‘sell outs’ ,patriots and traitors (Ranger 2005). Mutanda (2012) allude that the state controlled

media verbally attacks all the people against the country's land reform programme and brands them enemies of the motherland. Ranger further argues that the patriotic journalism is flexible where pop in and out of the pantheon of heroes and traitors (Ranger 2005). Ranger denotes that patriotic journalism started in the 1960s when a ZANU PF broadsheet castigated the ZAPU for being allies of the west, it castigated them as recanting and revisionist (Ranger 2005). "The ruling party has been able, through its media monopoly and the widespread use of force, to project a much more narrow and selective vision of the past" (Raftopoulos 2005:13). Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya (2011) patriotism is closely related to nationalism in Zimbabwe.

The media in this situation are expected to promote national unity and reconciliation. With the above regard the study appreciates the existing on the nature of the state controlled media however, it seeks to interrogate whether there was room for peace or good journalism in the framing patterns employed by the two papers. Since the discourses on Gukurahundi was vilified and criminalised it would be interesting to figure out how they managed to frame and agitate for peace and tolerance while repressing ethnic difference and potential conflict.

2.3 Nationalism and Ethnicity in Postcolonial Zimbabwe

A nation is not a fixed pre-existing entity, it is rather imagined and the media actively participate in the mediation and imagination of the nation (Anderson 1993). When national narratives emerge; history and people are selectively remembered with a logic that gives salience to fragments of history with the intention of promoting a sense of belonging (Ndlovu Gatsheni 2003). For Santos African states are shaped by colonisation and within these states there are multi ethnic groups who overtime been incorporated into a common identity called a nation (Santos 2011). To support the above notion "many African states inherited states without nations" and Zimbabwe is no exception (Masunungure 2006:3). The interrelation of these two aspects to the case under study of Gukurahundi makes it imperative to understand the phenomena and the existing literature so as to avoid repetition.

Zimbabwe qualifies to be defined as multi-ethnic and multicultural (Masunungure 2006). To reinforce this view Muzondidya and Gatsheni (2007) allude that there is serious ethnic polarisation in the country and ethnicity remains one of the challenges to the survival of the country. Fractures of the Zimbabwean politic are related to Gukurahundi

(Muzondidya and Ndlovu –Gatsheni 2007; Santos 2011).Correspondingly it can be highlighted that the atrocities of Gukurahundi have remained a bitter source of resentment among the Ndebele population (Lindgren 2005). This is supported by the CCJP findings which claim that the wounds of Gukurahundi never healed (CCJP 1997).

The failure of the government to acknowledge the atrocities of the 1980s makes it incumbent to forge the idea of nationhood. “Those who would rather the events of the 1980s remain shrouded in secrecy will claim that discussing them will reopen old wounds” (CCJP 1997).Ndakaripa argues that “Memorialisation also gives people the opportunity to think deeply about how to prevent a repetition of past atrocities and enables people to connect the past, present and future in a positive way” (Ndakaripa 2014: 38).The above notions seem to claim that the nation is in trouble because of the failure of the government to acknowledge gukurahundi.

The media was supposed to rally behind national healing projects “the press should be free, non-partisan, accessible and responsible for national interests (Chuma 2004:126).However, the government closed off media access to the affected areas, banning journalist from leaving Bulawayo without permission (Masunungure 2006). In spite of the loss of life and the trauma that gukurahundi entailed the state has resisted any form of dialogue about that period (Ncube and Siziba 2017).To support this view government policy towards Zimpapers was marked by strong interference and intimidation of independent minded editors (Masunungure 2006).The proscription of gukurahundi also extends to alternative media forms, artistic representations of gukurahundi have been stifled (Ncube and Siziba 2017). This literature shows that the discussion on gukurahundi was proscribed however, these sentiments only give a background to my study, most of these scholars look at what was causing tensions. My study therefore seek to show the role that the two papers understudy played in the promotion of peace and it is mainly interested in analysing the texts and the frames that emerged in the newspaper article and evaluate whether they fostered peace or instigated violence.

2.4 The Media as a Warmonger or Peace Maker.

The role played by the media in a conflict situation has been a contentious debate all over the world. While a series of literature indicate that the media can act as instigators of conflict through the use of hate speech, name calling and misrepresentation other studies are of the view that the media can also play a constructive role and de-escalate conflicts

(Arcan 2013; Davison 2006, Laplante and Pheniae 2009, Manjaman and Acayo 2004 ;Lynch and Galtung 2010 ;Fawcett 2000) . Media has the power to either encourage violence or to assist in the conciliation if the conflict (Awoshakin 2002).To further support this view Puddephat (2006) supports this view when he states that the media has two functions either to be an active partner in a conflict and be responsible for exacerbating the violence or stay independent from the media and out of conflict and contribute to the mitigation of violence.

The communication of hate speech in the media can result in a war with the most drastic example being that of Rwanda and former Yugoslavia where ethnic wars were incited by hate speech by the media (Arcan, 2013).Conversely , the ability to efficaciously convey the politics of hate relays to a sum of factors including media control for mass mobilization “Nazi and fascist parties took advantage of press laws, urbanization and mass communication to agitate and attract followers” (Davison , 2006: 50).).Basing on the above notion Arcan is of the view that the Milosevic in Serbia and the Hutu extremists in Rwanda had access and control to important media outlets where derogatory terms ,exclusions and inclusions were used using rape as a tool for genocide which resulted in ethnic hatred and violence(Arcan 2013).

Taking a closer look at what happened in Rwanda one can see the deadly effects of the representation and the negative role played by the Rwandan national radio and the private broadcast company Libre des Mille Collines who took an active role in fomenting an ethnic rift between the Hutus and the Tutsis (Arcan 2013).This is reinforced by the assertion that the rift among citizens was caused by the two media outlets led the Hutu people to killing at least half of the Tutsi population in 1994 (Laplante and Phenicie , 2009). “Rwandan newspapers published a ‘hit list’ of targeted victims that were deemed unfaithful to the mores of the Rwandan nation. Reportage from the national radio reinforced the perception that national security depended upon eliminating- rather, “exterminating” or cleaning out-not only the minority view but the minority members themselves” (Bernard, 2009:190-191).

While the above focused on how the media actively participated in the propagation there is the argument that media can act as instigators of a conflict through silence. Media silence describes the failure of the media to bear any social responsibility that could contribute to reducing violence and promoting peace (Ghimire and Upreti 2014).to concretise this

phenomenon it can be highlighted that communication is crucial in resolving any conflict (Bannon 2003). Furthermore access to the right information is the remedy of conflict resolution, conflict is caused by the lack of information, misinformation, omission of information, maintaining silence and disparity of opinions (Gisesa 2002). To further this Thussu condense that conflict makes profits for the media but cooperation does not thus the commercial characteristics of the media makes media events news worthy rather than peace worthy (Thussu 2003).

Media can however, promote peace in a conflict through peace journalism. In Kenya newspapers became vehicles for the propagation of harmony in a troubled nation. Peace journalism tells stories in a way that calls for conflict examination and nonviolent response (Mogweku 2011). It can also be defined as a form of journalism or ethics that seek to transform conflict from being violent to constructive forms by conceptualising news, speaking for the voiceless, seeking common ground that unifies the societies (Tehrani 2002). The argument is that if journalism can frame stories that propagates hate and inflame conflict, they can equally choose stories, words and images in a way that encourages and defuse tension and promote negotiation (Fawcett, 2002; Lee and Maslog, 2005; Ross and Tehrani, 2009).

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.5 A theory towards silence in media discourses

In this section I propose a theory of silences as communication in media discourses that is not limited to the binaries of white epistemology but also tries to incorporate the African context. What influences the discourses that emerge in the African print? It draws principally from the works of Van Dijk (2001), Foucault (1972, 1980), Ndlovu Gatsheni (2013).

In theorising and analysing the relationship between politics and media discourses in Zimbabwean society I employed the concept of Foucault or the foucauldian terms of discourse power and knowledge. For Foucault discourse has the power to (1) construct a topic and governs the ways it is talked about (framing) (2) regulate the sayable and the unsayable (3) the acceptable and the unacceptable (Foucault 1972 -1980). The foucauldian

approach is mainly concerned with the production of meaning .To cement this view Hall (1997) argues that discourse is concerned with the production of the power and knowledge in language. This theory critically seeks to understand the production and reproduction process of discourses in the media .It argues that during the production and reproduction process some information is deleted ,omitted and structured in a way that produces ideological text .It further argues that the deleted (silenced) carries more importance than the said.

This theory problematizes the notion by Foucault that nothing which is meaningful exists outside the text or discourses. The theory therefore appeals to the works of Huckin (2002) in his study of textual silences on the homeless he argues that propagandists influence and manipulate discourses in their favour, omission of information that is pertinent to the topic at hand. He bemoans that that which is unsaid at times more important than what is; in this case silence becomes a propaganda technique that is used by the powerful to maintain hegemony over the subaltern (Huckin 2002). To support this view he propounds five types of silences that are used to manipulate opinions, beliefs and attitudes of the powerless by those with power, the few elites. The types of silences are manipulative silences, discrete silences, presupposition silences, genre based silences and speech –act silences. Since this study is mainly interested in understanding the reason behind the employment of silence on Gukurahundi and ethnic discourses it is necessary to use the propounded types of silences as a guideline to the study. It also borrows for the theory of framing with the question; can silencing be considered a framing technique?

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section gives an account of how the research is to be carried out. It demonstrates the practical steps to be taken from the beginning to the presentation of results. It outlines the research paradigm employed, the unit of analysis, sampling methods, data gathering methods, methods of data analysis as well as data presentation methods. Research methodology according to Rajasekar et al (2013) outlines the procedures undertaken by the researcher as he seeks to describe, explain and predict phenomena. In the research methodology the researcher specifies precisely decisions undertaken and why.

3.2 Research Paradigm

Research paradigm is an all-inclusive system of interconnected practice and thinking that define the nature of enquiry along these three dimensions (TerreBlanche and Durrheim 1999). There are four main types of research paradigms that include qualitative, quantitative, mixed methods approach and the emancipatory approach. This study appreciates that there are other research paradigms although it adopts the qualitative research paradigm.

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research paradigm will be used for this research. Qualitative research seeks to gain a deeper understanding of why people interact the way they do (Joubish, Khuram, Ahmed, Fatima and Haider 2011). According to Lincoln (1994), “a qualitative research is a set of practices which embrace within its own multiple disciplinary histories, constant tensions and contradictions over the project itself, including its methods and forms as well as its findings .A qualitative research believes that reality is based on the people`s perception ,there is no single reality (Joubish et al 2012:2082). This study is interested in finding out how The Sunday Mail and The Sunday News framed the discourses of national unity and peace and the reasons why they framed it that way (what did they define as reality and why) .It is also concerned with the factors that influence the framing and the implications of the frame thus qualitative research becomes relevant for this study.

Patton (1990) argues that qualitative research is naturalistic and open to whatever emerges and does not impose prior constraints on findings. This definition makes it possible for me

to try and unpack all the meanings intended in the frames of ethnicity and peace by the two newspapers .If we consider that there is no one reality and that there are many factors that are considered and involved in the production of news including ethnic bias,funding and government policies ,a range of meanings are likely to emerge from the news. The flexibility and lack of preconditions of the paradigm enables my research to be able to explore the wide array of connotations that emerge from the news articles on the coverage of ethnicity ,what was included and what was excluded and why it was framed that way? . This will help in coming up with the results of whether the two newspapers as a way of communicating or otherwise.

Generalizability is not high in this the qualitative paradigm (Bryman 2012). The purpose of this study is to gain a rich understanding of the frames that were employed by the two newspapers and the discourses that influenced these frames. While the discourses promoted by the frames can be found through the use of other paradigms it is not the aim of the study to generalise its findings thus this paradigm becomes relevant as it involves in-depth and descriptive research.

3.3 Research Design

A research design can be defined as “a blueprint for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings” (Burns and Groove 2003:195).

3.4 Research population

Trochim (2006) describes population as the universe of units from which the sample is to be selected and articles being analyzed in a specific research can be said to be unit of analysis. Research population refers to the target objects, people or anything that the researcher wants to study and draw information from (Knussen 2002).In this case the population universe are all the articles that were published on the front pages of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Sunday News* which focused on ethnicity and national unity during 1987-90’

3.5 Sampling

Sampling is “a process of selecting subjects to take part in a research investigation on the ground that they provide information considered relevant to the research problem.” (Oppong 2013:203). It is the process of extracting a group of units from the population

(Avli 2016).He further notes that there are two methods of sampling which are probability and non-probability sampling, in the former every member or unit has a high chance of participating as opposed to the latter where there is no equal chance of participation (Avli 2016).This research adopted the non-probability sampling method. There are a number of sampling types under then nonprobability stable namely, snowball sampling, volunteer, convenient, quota and purposive sampling.

3.4.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling is the most appropriate for qualitative research largely because it selects information rich cases (Coyne 1997).Marshall (1996) also adds that in purposive sampling there is active selection of the most productive sample that answers the research question. Thus from the above discussions by different scholars the research intends to use purposive sampling. From the stories published in The Sunday News and The Sunday Mail appearing in the archives three stories were selected from each newspaper which were ten in line with my research questions.. My research universe was focused on front page stories assuming that the front page shows the important matters of the day. Furthermore I gave prominence to the time frame as well focusing mainly on stories written early January to April 1988. This is because the stories that were published soon after the signing of the accord were likely to set the frames that will continue throughout the period of research.

3.6 Methods of Data Gathering

“Data” refers to a collection of systematized information, usually the result of experience, observation, experiment (Yin).In qualitative research there are four main types of collecting data these are interviews, observation, archival research and feeling (Yin).In this research I used archival collection and interviews.

3.6.1 Archival Research

Archival research was used to gather data. This is because the news articles that demonstrated the representation of the ethnicity were found in the national archives of Zimbabwe. Marshall (2006:107) argues that “archival data are the routinely gathered records of a society, community or organisation.” According to Marshall (2006) when choosing the documents for analysis one must bear in mind the research questions. This was relevant to my study as I sought to establish the frames used by the two newspapers during 1987 to 1990, it was necessary for the study to use archival research since the

stories were from a long period back. To achieve the process I used key terms to search the relevant stories such as the headlines with words 'unity', 'peace' and 'dissidents' to mention only a few of these.

3.6.2 Interview

An interview is an extendable discussion between two or more people that aims at having 'in-depth information' about topic or subject and through which an issue could be understood in terms of the connotations interviewees bring to it (Schostak, 2006: 54). In this study I used a semi-structured interview and I purposefully sampled one person for the interview. The main reason for using only one person is because the thrust of the study is based on archival research. Thus the interview was there to concretise some of the information that needed clarity so as to avoid generalisation and to avoid using my opinions on the matter.

3.7 Methods of data analysis

The study employed critical discourse analysis as a method of analysing data. This is because as highlighted by Bryman (2012) critical discourse analysis looks at the role of language as a power resource for the articulation of ideology and socio-cultural change. Fairclough (1993) defines

Critical discourse analysis as discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p. 135)

Basically discourse analysis in this case the study aims at making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be dense to the layperson. furthermore I used it to analyse the frames that were employed and the nature of the situation in which it was done (Gukurahundi amnesia) and the social structures that framed it.

Language is a applied social action, and therefore a discursive practice (Fourie 2009). Van Dijk (2001) contends that critical discourse analysis investigates social power relations he argues that dominance and discrimination are enacted, reproduced and repelled by text and talk in the social and political context. Texts can be best understood when one looks at the interface between discourse and society thus context is subjective (Van Dijk 2001).He further argues that context is a mental model of communication thus context is packaged to affect the mental cognitive (managing of perception ,cognitions and behaviours). Since discourse analysis include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginaries – representations of how things might or could or should be this becomes relevant for the research as it seeks to explore the concept of what made news and the concept of the proscription of the Gukurahundi memory.

In carrying out the critical discourse analysis I employed textual analysis to comprehend the meanings employed by the frames.to engage in textual analysis I employed the levels of textual analysis which are the word/phrase level, text level, sentence or utterance level and the high level phase .At word/phrase level I interrogated the use of connotations (words with meanings that go beyond the ordinary),classifications in the papers which is the deliberate labelling of individuals or a group of people such as the constant use of the word ‘dissidents’ which created the us and them binaries. I also looked at the use of presuppositions which is the use of words that assume meaning or that people already know the story. In this study I analysed the use of sentences such as “that is why I am here” and ‘dissidents lay down your arms” which presupposes that the Ndebele were responsible for war .It is important to note that this last statement can also serve as an implacature.

At the text level I analysed the use of headlines and lead paragraphs as they provide important information as they give the cognitive definition of how journalists see and define a news event. At sentence level I analysed what (Huckin 2002) calls deletion. Deletion is the intentional omission of some information .In the study there was the use of deletion for example in most story they deliberately deleted information on ZANU PF being partly responsible for the war but rather they focused on victimising the Ndebele (use of black propaganda). There was also the use of positive politeness in the discourses that emerged ZANU PF being ‘polite’ to the Ndebele .Van Dijk (1995) essentially perceives discourse analysis as ideology analysis, because according to him, "ideologies

are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication.

At the higher level concepts it must be highlighted that people engage with text differently depending on their purpose, time to mention a few of these (Huckin 2002). Readers engage in two types of reading the central processing and the peripheral processing the former calls for a critical reader whereas the latter does not. Text producers take advantage of the fact that most text readers are usually time-pressed to give a critical thought to what they read. Instead they use cognitive shortcuts (Huckin 2002). The repeated framing of ideologies through the shortcuts may lead the readers to adhere to these as natural and commonsensical. The use of these short cuts in the framing of the national unity and peace discourses were analysed.

3.8 Methods of data presentation.

The research will use the thematic analysis method to present data because as it aims at analysing the relationship between the representation of ethnicity and the social and institutional practices influencing it. Anderson (2007) asserts that thematic content analysis is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006:6) note that “thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. Braun and Clarke (2006:10) argue that “a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and it represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.” They also argue that the importance of a theme is measured in terms of how much it captures something important regarding the research question. Braun and Clarke (2006) also provide six phases of thematic analysis which I intend to use in the presentation of my data.

3.9 Ethnic considerations

As a Zimbabwean citizen I am affected by the inter-ethnic conflicts. Further as a Manyika I will not deny that I am not riled by the unfair allocation of resources among the different ethnic groups. The research being based on critical discourse analyses might give room for my subjectivity of opinions however, utmost care will be taken into account to minimise my bias. However, as a researcher I will constantly try to take stock of my actions in the research process.

3.10 Conclusion

In this section I lay down the procedures I undertook to carry out this research I also acknowledge that if someone was to take a different approach they might reach a different data interpretation

CHAPTER 4 : ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I outline the organisational structure of Zimpapers considering that the two papers under study are title under the Zimpapers stable. A critical political economy approach will be used to analyse the relationship between power, capital, culture and the range of discourses that emanate from the papers under Zimpapers. Critical political economy is concerned with “the study of social relations, particularly power relations, that mutually constitute and are constituted by the production, distribution and consumption of resources” (Moscow 2006:25). This chapter seeks to explain how the funding, control and ownership affect the production , distribution and consumption of content.

4.2 Historical background of Zimpapers

The history of Zimpapers can be traced back to the colonial era when it was still called the Argus printing and publishing company. The Argus Printing and Publishing Company (APPC) was invited to Rhodesia by Cecil John Rhodes’ British South Africa Company and formed a subsidiary company which was called the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company (RPPC) (Saunders 1999). Mukasa (2003) argues that during the colonial period The Rhodesian papers served the interests and ideology of the minority white ruling elite by supporting the exploitation of resources by the British South African Company as Cecil John Rhodes had interests in Argus Printing and Publishing Company (Nyahunzvi 2001).

In 1980 after the attainment of independence RPPC was renamed Zimpapers. However scholars argue that although there was a change of name the company was still owned and controlled by the APPC which was evident by the editorial team which consisted of all white people (Saunders 1999,Mutsvairo 2012,Daniels 2009).The new ZANU PF government formed a Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) in January 1981 in order to rectify the situation (Daniels 2009).With the help from the Nigerian government the government of Zimbabwe bought 45 percent stake which they entrusted to ZMMT which then increased to 51,09 percent (Saunders 1999).However the intention in the creation of ZMMT were questioned. On one hand, Nyahunzvi (2001) argues that it was established to facilitate the development of a free media. While on the other hand Waldahl (2004) bemoans that the trust was formed to safeguard the state hegemony as well. Initially ZMMT was supposed to be the shield between publicly owned media and the government.

The initial role of ZMMT to operate as a buffer between the publicly owned media against government interference was doomed from the onset because they started on a donation from the government from which they could withdraw any time (Ronning and Khupe 2000). Saunders (1999) is of the view that it failed because it was weak financially and politically. Hence basing on the above ZMMT was independent on paper while ,in practice it was indebted to the government. The collapse of ZMMT was followed by the minister of information assuming control over the hiring and firing which saw to the hiring of ZANU PF apologists to leadership positions in the company (Waldahl 2004).

4.3 Zimpapers Ownership and Control

Critical political economy is largely concerned with unequal distribution of power and it is critical of arrangements where such inequalities are sustained and reproduced (Hardy2014). It is in this regard that the shareholding structure of Zimpapers is necessary to this study with the aim of interrogating the extent to which ownership influence the production and distribution of content. According to Munyuki (2005) the shareholding structure of Zimpapers consists of ZMMT which owns 51,09 % and old mutual which holds 23.80 % and the remaining 15.8 % are in the hold of nine companies. Despite of the anti-imperialist rhetoric of ZANU PF there is the interplay between the party and the big multinational companies like old mutual, this shows that there are not always fighting as they make it seem. Basing on this view it must be highlighted that the government cannot be solely blamed for the content.

A closer look at the ownership structure of Zimpapers helps explain the perceived bias to ZANU PF (Munyuki 2005). There is wealth of evidence to support the view that papers under Zimpapers have been fronting ZANU PF political ideology since its inception in 1981. Such evidence is seen in the writings of Terrence Ranger where he bemoans that in Zimbabwe the state controlled media are practising patriotic journalism where they unapologetically serve to support ZANU PF (Ranger 2005). Rusike (1990:60) supports this statement when he says,

When government owns a newspaper, it is quite clear about its motives. It would like the newspapers to promote its policies, not those of the opposition, where opposition exists.

Basing on the statement by Rusike it can be highlighted that the statement coming from a ZANU PF apologist and a person who was ones in the board of Zimpapers it can only be true .With the dissolution of the ZMMT the government was left with unquestioned authority over Zimpapers leaving the other shareholders as mere followers. Zimpapers is listed as a publicly owned company that is supposed to serve the public interest however this becomes questionable in a case where the government has direct access. The minister of information is the one who appoints and dismisses the board members of Zimpapers thus making it difficult to name it a publicly owned paper when it is there to serve the interests of the ruling elite.

As the government assumed control of Zimpapers, there tended to be alienation of some papers in the organization itself with the papers from Mashonaland gaining more prominence. The Herald and The Sunday Mail are treated as national papers while papers from the Matabeleland (Chronicle and The Sunday News) assume the subordinate role and being treated as regional papers .This study therefore seeks to establish the use of silence by the two newspapers and how they promoted peace and tolerance.

4.4 Zimpapers editorial policy

The editorial policy is equated to the soul of a newspaper according to Tommy Sithole the former editor of *The Herald* cited in Rusike (1990). The Zimpapers editorial policy makes it clear that its loyalty lies with the government of the day. “The publications and broadcast stations will be supportive of Zimbabwe and its goals generally supportive of the elected government of the day” (extract from the editorial policy). Thus post unity accord the Zimpapers newspapers had a symbiotic relationship with the ZANU PF government while providing an outlet for the dissemination of ZANU PF ideologies and was guaranteed exclusive and breaking news (Mutsvairo 2013). Mutsvairo (2013) notes the president of Zimbabwe is often accompanied by journalists from the Zimpapers group, the privilege that is not offered to private newspapers making an ethically questionable relationship between the state and the Zimpapers journalists.

Mukasa (2003) states that a former Minister of Information, Witness Mangwende at one time declared that the idea of press freedom is utopian. The government`s direct intervention in the editorial policies of the state controlled media has seen to many editors being sacked for being unfavorable to the ZANU PF (Waldahl 2004). Examples include the late Willy Musarurwa ,Farai Munyuki and Tommy Sithole (Gandari 2010).It was

expected that during the period of the government of unity between the ZANU and ZAPU there needed be inclusivity in the editorial policy thus talking about national unity and peace between the ethnic groups.

In the editorial policy of Zimpapers there is a section that states that “in exercising their judgment, editors shall take into account (a) the national interest (b) the public benefit or interest”. However, it must be highlighted how much they promote the public interest in a context where their mandate is to support the government of the day and the major shareholder of the organization being the government. Thus this study analyses how the two newspapers under study promoted the public interest after the unity accord.

4.5 Zimpapers funding mechanism

The media industries operate like any other industries regardless of their special role to the society they engage in mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption (Granham 2000). Zimpapers is a profit making organisation that survives through advertising revenue that amounts to at least 70%. On the one hand it is the unwritten rule that the media cannot offend the audience with the buying power while on the other hand the media as a business they cannot afford to lose its advertisers. Zimpapers is also funded by the government which is the major shareholder of the group of the newspapers. However, it must be highlighted that the notion that advertising is the latter day licensing authority is questionable in a country like Zimbabwe where the main aim of state controlled newspapers is to spearhead ruling party propaganda as opposed to profit making. George Charamba once said that if the government wanted to make profits it would have invested in a casino. If the minister of information speaks in this manner, it only shows the reversal of one of the filters by Chomsky and Herman. It is interesting to note that despite of the arrogance the papers never run dry of advertising funds without bowing down to the advertisers.

It is this regard that the questions on the authenticity of the news content published by the newspapers under Zimpapers. To what extent does the power of the advertisers influence the content that was published in the newspapers during the time of the study and the implication that it brought to democracy.

4.6 Conclusions

This chapter analysed the organisation structure of Zimpapers from a critical political economy point of view and argued that the ownership, editorial policy and funding of the papers might have implications on the content they publish. The chapter argues that the content which gets published goes through a number of variables and are not presentations but re-representations of ideologies.

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I thematically present my findings the themes were captured from the discourses that emerged from the newspaper articles. In these themes I was trying to answer the main research question and the sub questions. The discussion of the themes is based on the discussion of the discourses that emerged in the framing of ethnic peace and tolerance and national unity and the responses from the interviews.

5.2 Frames used to foster peace and tolerance.

In an analysis of the stories and interviews, it appeared that the two newspapers under study silenced discourses on interethnic differences in the bid to impede potential conflict. This view is evident in the absenter of words such as ‘genocide’, ‘gukurahundi’ and ‘ethnic cleansing’ in the articles under analysis. To cement this view an interview with one of the journalist under Zimpapers (Participant A) “Gukurahundi is a very sensitive issue you cannot just wakeup and decide to write about it, failure to sensitively chose words today will result in a war tomorrow”. Thus basing on this note one can argue that silence on those discourses that bear potential detriment to the concept of peace and tolerance was in turn a way of communicating that peace was more important as opposed to conflicts and tensions.

To further this argument the newspapers framing gave prominent to stories that agitated for national peace and tolerance. To fully understand this phenomenon below is a picture of the front page picture of The Sunday News of 1988. At the first glance of the picture one can notice that the use of the block letters on the headline tends to tell the readers that that is the story of the day when one juxtapositions it to the other stories on the same page. To cement this it can be argued that The Sunday News being at the heart of the troubled region held an important role in this case it was more likely that the people in the Matabeleland would relate to it more than a Harare based publication.



Figure 5. 1The Sunday News 31 January 1988

The use of the headline ‘THIS IS THE END OF THE ROAD FOR DISSIDENTS-NKOMO’ is important to the study. There is the use of an impicature on the heading and it tends imply that since the late Joshua Nkomo was one of them ,a father figure to the dissidents and well respected man thus they were most likely to adhere to his call to peace. What could have happened if these words came from Mugabe? One can only imagine the chaos and the upheaval that could have occurred. In another scenario what if Nkomo had said something in the line of this is the end of the road for those responsible for the Matabeleland massacres. These two exemplary questions only serve to show the importance of silence on certain aspects by the newspapers in order to promote peace and tolerance between the two major ethnic groups in the country.

In concurrence of the above notion a news editor at *The Herald* noted that the frames that emerge in the newspapers are influenced by the pronouncement from the government as noted in the below statement

...the administration (ZANU PF) if they support a certain point of view we run by it ...we support the objectives, principles of the government of the day ...so if they say we are pushing the angle of unity and peace we run by it.

In *The Sunday News* of 31 January 1988 Nkomo is quoted saying “...after three years of disagreement ...” the use of the diction ‘disagreement’ in referral to Gukurahundi as opposed to ‘genocide’ shows the extent to which the newspapers tried to promote peace between the two ethnic groups. Regarding the question ‘In your own view what do you think was the reason behind the employment of silence on Gukurahundi?’ Participant B responded that

if you remember very well we had a ministry of national healing which stated that we should forget about the past ,we must not reopen closed wounds ,they say don’t foment tribal conflicts don’t foment Ndebele –Shona wars we abide by what they say ,we follow such pronouncements from the government.

It is regard of the above notions that one can argue that *The Sunday News* pushed, propagated and fostered peace and tolerance .Moving on, in an analysis of the story ‘dissidents lay down your arms’ there is the use of big and bold fonts which are meant to have an eye catching effect on the audience. There is also a sub line or a sub headline that might appear to be in an attempt to manage the audience perceptions and cognitive behaviours through what Huckin (2002) calls peripheral processing which only calls for glancing as opposed to critical reading.

It is important to point out that in this story the official voice is that of the police, which is evident in the sub line “police announced in Harare yesterday the surrender of the first batch of armed dissidents ...” and in the lead paragraph which stated that “a police spokesperson said the surrender....”. If the police was the main voice in this story then why did they use the picture of Joshua Nkomo and not of the police spokesperson? The use of that picture in the story can be seen as a cry for peace and tolerance, how so? Joshua Nkomo as noted above is a prominent figure ,someone the Ndebele people looked up to thus using his picture sought of legitimises the story.

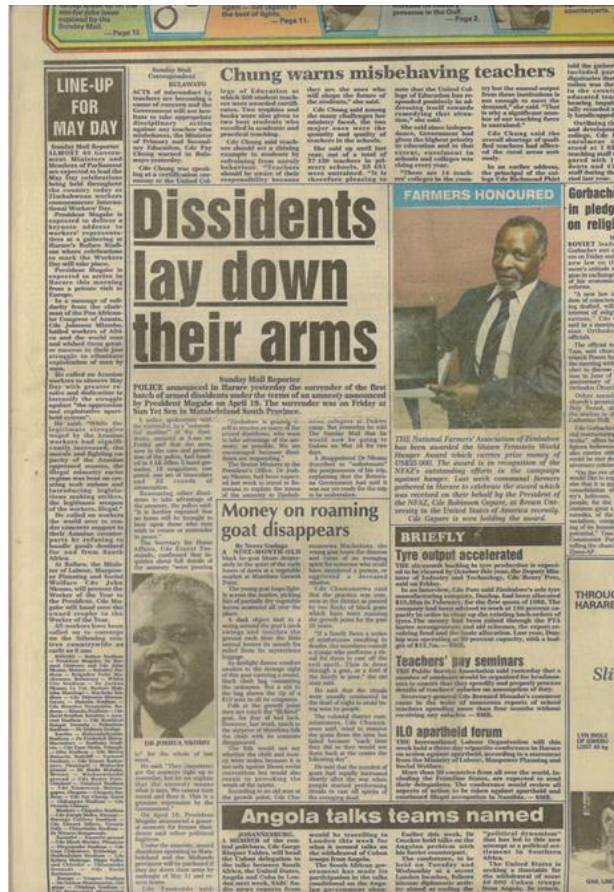


Figure 5.2 The Sunday Mail 1 May 1998

The implicature of this is that if Nkomo is supporting unity and peace then why are you not when your main reason to go in the bush in the first time was to rally behind him. To concretise this argument it can be noted that the mention of Nkomo came at a later stage in the sixth paragraph yet his image was still used.

Here is a scenario say you are in a grocery store or passing by a newspaper vendor `s stall and you are for some reason very much time pressed and you see the above front page. What can happen in this case is that your attention will be drawn to the bold headline and the picture of Joshua Nkomo and you presuppose that those were the words of Joshua Nkomo, when you meet a friend you probably tell him or her that Nkomo is advocating for peace.

[Kunyarara hakusi kutaura] The role of The Sunday Mail and The Sunday News in fostering inter-ethnic peace and tolerance in Zimbabwe 1987-1990.

The question is why did they not use president Mugabe's picture, why was there silence on any discussion or involvement of his name in the conversation. This silence can be viewed as part of communication the deliberate absenter of him in the discourses is a way of impinging any potential conflict, it can be noted that the 'dissidents' had resentment toward him. Thus by silencing his voice they might have been propagating for peace and tolerance. This goes hand in hand with a statement from Participant (A) "I cannot say I know what was happening in the time of Gukurahundi and the period after, but if I were there I would probably use prominent voices to give legitimacy to the story".



Figure 5.3 The Sunday Mail 31 January 1988

In The Sunday Mail of 31 January 1988 Nkomo was quoted saying "this is the end of the end of the road for you dissidents because ZAPU and ZANU PF are now one..." In this case the statement

“ZAPU and ZANU PF are now one” insinuate that the violence that was between the Ndebele and the Shona was more of political rather than ethical hence the fact that the parties have united there is no longer any need to fight. To further support this argument there was a statement in the same story “... we are one people what we are trying to do is to bring you together”. Basing on the above notion it can be established that the newspaper framed the idea of one ‘nation’ and peace from the political perspective.

To move on below is an analysis of another article under study:



Figure 5.4 The Sunday Mail 8 May 1988

This story takes a different approach than the previous three stories in this case I analysed the use of diction which explains why I chose to use an extract of the story only and not the whole front page. For the first time there is the mention of the President it is interesting to see how he was portrayed. The heading ‘dissidents to be helped fit into society’ presupposes that the dissidents do not fit into the society and that there is no question on the helping. However, there is an interesting turn of events on the sub line when it now states that ‘the government ‘might’ consider a programme for rehabilitating armed dissidents’. Why did they use a misleading statement in bold when they could have said the Government might help in the headline? Here the idea might have been to foster peace the headline used would invite many ‘dissidents’ to surrender their arms as opposed to using the word ‘might’ thus the silence or omission of the word tend to be justified.

To further to this argument here is a quote from paragraph three of the story “it would be much better if the dissidents surrender in large numbers ‘so that whatever the government tries to do to rehabilitate them and fit them back into society is done once” .To concretise this statement there is a statement in the story “we are sincere and we continue to say to them please come home ..”.An analysis of the above quotes would seem to foster peace and tolerance largely because if the dissidents surrender their arms then there will be no war and without war there is peace and tolerance.



Figure 5.5 The Sunday News 10 January 1988

In this story Nkomo was used to propagate peace and tolerance the heading “Nkomo call for loyalty” presuppose that there was no longer loyalty thus there was the need for people to be loyal again. “Anyone who wants to separate oneself let him do so at his or her own peril” there was the call for a one nation and that people should set aside their pride and pledge their loyalties to the nation.

Liberation struggle was used to perpetuate national peace and tolerance by the story. Representation and framing of content in the media is not innocent the media are in the business of manufacturing and re-manufacturing of memory. The politics of memory in this was employed by the story as a way of mobilising the masses to unite and it tends to give people the idea that they had a common interest and a shared history. To support this view there is a statement which appears to point out that there was no need to fight since there all had a common interest “we did not fight the black man nor did we fight against the white people, we fought against an evil system which perpetuated differences”. The use of the word ‘we’ implies the concept of togetherness which applies to the whole nation and the rest of the statement simply indicates to a history they shared together in solidarity to achieve one interest which was peace.

5.3 Silence as communication

In this section I analyse the concept propounded by Van Dijk (1986) that news discourses can be defined by what is unsaid. Textual silences can be used by the elites as a propaganda tool through the use of what Huckin (2002) calls manipulative silences and this is achieved through the use of presuppositions, implicatures and omission of certain topics in the media discourses to mention but a few of these.

In the text analysed there were discrete silences that were employed by the writers in most of the cases the articles could have talked about Gukurahundi but rather they deliberately left out the topic. The reasons for the omission of the topic was not to reopen the wounds, sensitive information and it was a taboo topic this goes hand on hand with Huckin (2002) contributions to the topic of textual silences. This also goes hand in hand with the assertion from participant (B) which alluded that

..we must not reopen closed wounds ,they say don't foment tribal conflicts don't foment Ndebele –Shona wars we abide by what they say ,we follow such pronouncements from the government.

However, I argue that the use of this discrete silence was not innocent silence in totality as it had a bearing advantage to the writer and a disadvantage to the reader. Writing about Gukurahundi would have disadvantaged the writer (who was in support of the ZANU PF) thus not writing about the act appeared to form ideological silences which favoured the hegemony of the ruling party. An example of where the writers discretely went silent on Gukurahundi is in the story “Stop your criminal Acts Nkomo orders dissidents” when it is said that

Observing the lack of whites in the audience Dr Nkomo said if there are people who did not want to ride in the freedom bus they would be left behind because the bus could not wait ‘we fought against the whites because they were whites ,but because they had taken the country and pretended blacks did not exist.

It is important to note that writers when writing texts they are trying to target the mind, for Van Dijk (2001) they will be trying to appeal to the mental cognitive .In the above quotation what could have been said is that Gukurahundi caused the tensions between the two major groups but rather the information was omitted and rather communicated that the

whites were to be blamed. The silence in this topic is implying that Gukurahundi was not important but rather the whites were important. This silence is manipulative as it deemphasises the concept of Gukurahundi at the same reemphasising the ideology of ZANU PF through the lenses of the liberation struggle. In other words it is cementing the ZANU PF hegemony at the expense of the citizens.

Manipulative silences emerged from the texts analysed in this form of silence the stories they tended to intentionally exclude or omit the discourse of ethnic differences so as to manipulate the mental cognitive of the citizens. What is explicitly left out in the texts sometimes carry out the important message than what the message is actually saying. Transitivity was used as a tool to show, who was doing what to whom in the text without necessarily writing it down. For example the story “dissidents to be helped to fit into the society’ in this story the ZANU PF seemed to be portrayed as the doctor and the dissidents as the patient in which case the former was more powerful than the latter.

To further this politeness was used as a tool to perpetuate hegemony; the text appeared to suggest that ZANU PF was being merciful to the dissidents by giving them a pardon or a second chance. The writer left out or excluded implicit information (silence) in which the silence communicate that the dissidents (Ndebele) are to blame for the ethnic tensions hence the government was forgiving them and they are giving them another chance. There is the use of implicatures in this text as the story is saying something else and what is excluded or left out is saying another story.

The story “dissidents lay down their arms” presupposes that the dissidents (the Ndebele) are carrying their arms and are therefore responsible for the on-going war .To further this argument there is the use of classification, the use of the term ‘dissidents’ promotes the us and them binaries. This classification further denotes that the Ndebele are the other those who are to blame for the conflict as opposed to the ZANU(PF) (Shona)as their activity seemed to be deemphasised throughout the analysed articles .The story does not communicate with who were they fighting with and why. In this scenario the writer was trying to communicate a certain line of message, which is that the Ndebele are to blame at the same time the text carries ideological traits and is pushing the ZANU PF hegemony or propaganda and therefore propagating for peace and tolerance.

Critical discourse analysis tries to show how power relations are played out in the text. In the case the stories analysed they appeared to push the ZANU PF hegemony and promotion of peace and tolerance through silencing certain topics using implicatures ,presuppositions, classification and politeness to mention but a few of these.

5.4 ‘OTHER’ FRAMES: ZANU PF PROPAGANDA

In this section I argue that although the two newspapers promoted peace and tolerance the frames also carried in them another room for other interpretation. As aforementioned the newspapers used Nkomo for legitimising the discourse of peace while downplaying the activity of ZANU PF and Mugabe while this helped to foster peace and tolerance they also tended to delegitimise Nkomo.

5.4.1 Joshua Nkomo as a spineless leader

Nkomo was framed by both papers to be more eager to the alliance between ZANU PF and ZAPU. There appeared to be deliberate framing of Nkomo as a scared leader and the one pushing for the alliance and collaboration between the two political parties. In the six stories under this study five of them are mainly about Nkomo`s involvement in the alliance and only one from Mugabe. The stories used implicatures as a way of communicating this stand point I argue that they were appealing to the mental cognitive of the readers thus By casting Nkomo as desperate for the coalition the two newspapers seemed to be making a point that he was not as powerful as what his followers thought him to be.

This type of framing appeared to be targeted at belittling Nkomo, with Nkomo being seen as an unfit leader there were high chances on the acceptance of ZANU PF .The desperation for Nkomo to join the ZANU PF was a sign for accepting defeat and hailing the nemesis power and superiority. This was meant to imply that the brainchild of the opposition had surrendered and been stripped down all its powers. By stripping Nkomo power and ‘innocently’ shaming him in the media discourses they in turn gave power to ZANU PF.

With only one party left to rule the goal of the young Zimbabwe to maintain peace and tolerance seemed achievable. In advancement to this it would promote peace and the national unity and identity of Zimbabwe as a whole with the fox removed the whole pack was expected to follow.

5.4.2 Mugabe and ZANU PF as righteous

While Nkomo was framed as eager for coalition, power hungry and deceitful, Mugabe seemed to be framed as the righteous and merciful leader. In the story that was published in The Sunday News of 29 October 1989 “Reflect on unity youths told” they pointed out that “the conference came up with a leadership that was unacceptable and he as the president was going to correct the imbalances created”. He appeared to be portrayed as a leader who does not run away when things get tough, a leader who is considerate of others and a leader that supports socialism through equality. To concretise the above statement the president was quoted in the same story saying that “that is why I am here” that statement was not innocently placed there rather it was likely there to point out that unlike Nkomo he doesn’t run away he solves problems, rather he was condoned as a heroic figure. This was a call upon the people to choose a leader that supports their interest; with the people united politically the assumption was that this would in turn cause ethnic peace and national unity.

5.5 Conclusions

This chapter presented and discussed the findings of this study and argued that there were various frames used by the two newspapers in order to promote peace and tolerance. It also dismissed the common phenomena that there was silence on ethnic issues and posits that there was direct silence on ethnic differences not ethnic peace and tolerance

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is to give an appreciation of the whole research, giving a summary of the findings and the methodologies that were used to analyse the findings. I make recommendations for further study and to the Zimpapers.

6.2 Concluding Remarks

This research was carried out to establish the frames that emerged in the discourses on ethnicity, national unity and peace and tolerance. The research tries to question the concept of silence in media discourse, can there be absolute silence? , Can silence be seen as a form of communication? The assumption of the study is that the media framing of news is framed by different factors including the context and timing of the news. It is this regards that literature on the role played by the media of other countries in times of ethnic conflicts. It was found out that although studies have been carried out on the role of the media much of the literature looked at the factors influencing the role of the media for example profit ,ethnic bias ,ownership to mention but a few of these. However a little was written on the nature of the texts, how they were exactly framed, the study of the linguistics and nature of the texts. Most of the studies quickly dismissed the role of the media without looking at what was said and what was not and the importance of the unsaid.

To guide this study I theorised a theory towards the use of silences in media discourses the theory principally borrowed from different theories and sketch theories. This theory acknowledges the use of silence as part of framing (framing for propaganda).The study acknowledged that the frames that emerged were not innocently placed but were influenced by a number of agendas which include the attempt to control perceptions, cognitions and behaviours of the masses (targeting the mental cognitive).

The study adopted the qualitative paradigm since I was interested in the study of meanings, use of implicatures and presuppositions to imply something (study of textual silences).An archival research was used to obtain articles that were used for the research. Material on the two newspapers was collected at the National Archives of Zimbabwe since the information was not available on the internet. The information that was found was then purposively sampled ,to cement the arguments that I found in analysing the archival

material ,I conducted an interview with one of the editors at Zimpapers Takunda Maodza so as to avoid generalisation and giving conclusions to assumptions. A critical analysis of the Zimpapers was done considering that both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Sunday News* are under the ZANU PF stable as it has impact on the material produced. The study then employed critical discourse analysis and the data was then thematically presented.

This study found out that although the government of the day have clearly stated that talking of Gukurahundi (ethnicity) was a taboo the two newspapers did not totally went quite about ethnicity and the discourse of peace and tolerance. The papers used implicatures, presuppositions as form of silence to communicate discourses on ethnicity and the use of silence as a way to promote ZANU PF propaganda and hegemony .Thus the study dismisses the notion that there was silence on Gukurahundi and argues that there was communication on Gukurahundi, ethnicity and national unity.

6.3 Recommendations to Zimpapers.

As noted in the study the Zimpapers and the Zimbabwean media as a whole is highly polarised it is this polarisation that has detached the media from its function as a public sphere. The pursuit for commercialisation and profit maximisation and the power of the minority elites in the Zimpapers becomes problematic for a media that bears the name or wears the cloth of being ‘publicly owned’. The Zimpapers from this point must remove itself from serving the minority and the spread of the monolithic discourses that support the ruling party and act as a voice for the subaltern and ethnic minorities.

The papers must adopt the normative role of informing, educating and entertaining the public as opposed stop serving as a propaganda mouth piece for ZANU PF. Although it might be a mammoth task to remove the Zimpapers from the clutches of the ruling party the Zimpapers media must learn to be objective and hold the government accountable for its actions and serve the interests of the citizens. I also recommend that the national newspapers such as *The Sunday News* and *The Sunday Mail* should consider representing the whole nation and should strive for objectivity. All ethnicities must be equally represented and should be given equal prominence and they must do this directly not indirectly.

6.4 Areas for further study

It can be interesting to study the interplay between texts and the reception thus one can study on the reception patterns. This might be based or influenced by the works of Van Dijk on knowledge and discourse and study how the interplay between mental cognitive of the audience and the context of the text affect the reception of a text and the creation of meaning.

6.5 Conclusions

A summary of the findings was given in this chapter, it also gave recommendations to the Zimpapers .In this chapter I acknowledge that there is room for other studies to be conducted and suggested what could be interesting to study.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix 1

Dissidents to be helped to fit into society

Sunday Mail Reporter

THE Government might consider a programme for rehabilitating armed dissidents surrendering under the recently announced amnesty, the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social

ZCTU to meet in Gweru

THE next extraordinary congress of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions will be held on July 30 to 31 in Gweru this year, the acting deputy secretary-general, Cde Nicholas Mudzengerere, has said.

Cde Mudzengerere told a Harare meeting yesterday the congress will, among other things, seek to bring about constitutional amendments recommended by the constitutional committee of the ZCTU. Elections would be held during the congress to vote for a new leadership or retain the present one. Cde Mudzengerere said that a general council will be held before the congress to discuss the proposed constitutional amendments. All affiliate trade unions are expected to attend the special congress. — SMR.

Welfare, Cde John Nkomo, told The Sunday Mail yesterday.

Since the announcement of the amnesty by President Mugabe on April 19 1988 seven dissidents have returned from the bush and surrendered their weapons of war, while nearly 1 000 prisoners have been released.

Asked in an interview whether the Government was considering anything for dissidents returning home, the minister said: "Of course, the Government is concerned about their welfare. These people will be helped to fit into society and there might be a programme of rehabilitating them." The minister said that at this stage he could not be more specific.

Cde Nkomo stressed, however, that it would be much better if the dissidents surrendered in large numbers, "so that whatever the Government tries to do to rehabilitate them and fit them back into society is done once. They (dissidents) would be encouraged to re-

spond quickly to the amnesty . . ."

Under the amnesty, which expires at midnight on May 31 1988, armed dissidents operating in Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces will be pardoned if they return home and surrender by that date. The general amnesty also covers other political fugitives.

He was emphatic that those returning must fit into society and start to make whatever contribution they could to the country.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Cde Moven Mahachi, told The Sunday Mail that the coming weeks were likely to see "greater movement" in the number of dissidents surrendering. His optimism stemmed from the "numerous inquiries now coming almost on a daily basis" from dissidents in Matabeleland South and North and the Midlands.

Cde Mahachi explained that surrendering dissidents were being received at police posts to enable the police to locate cached arms.

Once this exercise was completed the former dissidents were free to return to their families.

He said: "We are sincere and we continue to say to them, 'Please come home and we expect you to do so within the period given'. We want them to join their families and be assimilated into society. They are all Zimbabweans who have been misguided. We also want to reassure them that those who have already returned and surrendered their weapons are safe and in good hands."

REFLECT THE UNITY SPIRIT, YOUTHS TOLD

HARARE — The united ZANU(PF) national youth congress should come up with a leadership that reflects unity, President Robert Mugabe said here yesterday.

Opening the first united ZANU(PF) youth conference at the National Sports Centre, he said the merger between PF-ZAPU and ZANU(PF) was a genuine search for unity and peace.

He said the two political parties had contributed to the liberation of the country, won the majority of parliamentary seats in the 1980 general elections and the signing of the December 22, 1987 unity accord was proof of the oneness of the people of Zimbabwe.

Delegates to the two-day conference which follows the integration of the two parties at provincial level will elect the new leadership today.

"You must elect a leadership that reflects unity, not leadership based on individualism, greed or regionalism," he told the more than 2 400 delegates.

Cde Mugabe warned that if the conference came up with a leadership that was "unacceptable" he, as President of the new party would step in to correct whatever imbalances would have been created. "That is why I am here," he emphasised. Cde



PRESIDENT MUGABE

Mugabe said the presidency of the party comprising himself, as president, and Cdes Simon Muzenda and Joshua Nkomo as vice presidents would provide guidance on this issue during the course of the conference.

He called on the youth to rededicate themselves to the ideals of the party. "No party can survive without a vigorous youth league and no youth league can function without a vigorous leadership," he said.

He said the conference should also come up with a programme for youth development and should make resolutions to be discussed at the party congress to be held in December.

Cde Mugabe also said anyone who joins the newly-formed Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) is a coward who cannot stand the demands of seeking solutions to national problems.

He said the revolutionary struggle had its problems but these should be resolved within the framework of that revolution.

He described the formation of ZUM by Mutare Urban Member of Parliament Cde Edgar Tekere and the subsequent attacks on the ruling party as a failure to allow the revolution "to correct itself in the process".

Describing the break-away by some people to join ZUM he said: "Cowards, only cowards will run away from problems."

He said while there had been some mistakes, these should be looked at against a background of the many achievements made by the Government since independence.

He said some people were given to idle criticism of the ruling party forgetting that it was the one which freed them.

"The Muzorewas, the Sitholes, we freed them all to the man," he said.

On next month's elections in Namibia, the President said he hoped the people there would rally behind SWAPO which fought a protracted war of liberation.

He called on the international community to increase pressure on South Africa by applying economic sanctions against the De Klerk regime.

Present at the opening were the two vice presidents of the party, senior officials from the former parties and representatives of youths from liberation movements.

— Ziana.

APPENDIX 2

Stop your criminal acts, Nkomo orders dissidents

Mail Correspondent
BULAWAYO.

THIS is the end of the road for dissidents in Zimbabwe because PF-Zapu and Zanu (PF) are now one and their respective congresses will soon give effect to the unity agreement within the shortest possible time, the senior minister in the President's Office and president of PF-Zapu, Dr Joshua Nkomo, said in Victoria Falls yesterday.

Speaking at a Zapu rally attended by thousands

of members of both parties in Chinotimba Stadium, Dr Nkomo said the two parties did not want police to waste their time looking for political criminals.

"The aim of this agreement is to bring Zimbabweans together, consolidate their independence and fight problems of unemployment and lack of development," Dr Nkomo said.

Observing the lack of whites in his audience, Dr Nkomo said if there

are people who did not want to ride in the freedom bus they would be left behind because the bus could not wait.

"We fought against the whites not because they were whites, but because they had taken the country from us and pretended blacks did not exist."

Dr Nkomo said the unity agreement aimed to merge the existing structures of Zanu (PF) and PF-Zapu in accordance with the spirit and letter of the agreement.

"We are one people.

What we are trying to do is to bring you together. There is no question of one party being swallowed by another. We have not suffered for so long to discuss being swallowed. We want you to rule the country together because you are one. Pull up your socks and say you are one.

"We decided the new party would seek to establish a socialist society in Zimbabwe on the guidance of Marxist-Leninist principles. We are trying to lay a foundation for the new generation and we have chosen a foreign ideology which is nearest to what we are."

The PF-Zapu leader said the new party would seek to establish a one-party state in Zimbabwe because in actual fact the country had always been a one-party state.

The two parties shall in the interim take immediate steps to eliminate and end the insecurity and violence prevalent in Matabeleland. We have decided we are not going to be used by criminals in this country, Dr Nkomo said.

"We want to say to the slambes - overs (dissidents): Here are jobs for you, stop your criminal activities."

Dissidents lay down their arms

Sunday Mail Reporter

POLICE announced in Harare yesterday the surrender of the first batch of armed dissidents under the terms of an amnesty announced by President Mugabe on April 19. The surrender was on Friday at Sun Yet Sen in Matabeleland South Province.

A police spokesman said the surrender, by a "substantial number" of the dissidents, occurred at 6 am on Friday and that the men, now in the care and protection of the police, had handed in 4 AK rifles; 5 hand grenades; 18 magazines; one pistol; one set of binoculars and 32 rounds of ammunition.

Reassuring other dissidents to take advantage of the amnesty, the police said: "It is further repeated that no harm will be brought to bear upon those who may wish to return or surrender in peace."

The Secretary for Home Affairs, Cde Ernest Tsomondo, confirmed that inquiries about full details of the amnesty "were pouring

"Zimbabwe is gearing itself to receive as many of the armed dissidents, who want to take advantage of the amnesty, as possible. We are encouraged because dissidents are responding."

The Senior Minister in the President's Office, Dr Joshua Nkomo, had been expected last week to travel to Botswana to explain the terms of the amnesty to Zimbab-

wean refugees at Dukwe camp. But yesterday he told The Sunday Mail that he would now be going to Dukwe on May 18 for two days.

A disappointed Dr Nkomo described as "unfortunate" the postponement of his trip, explaining that the Botswana Government had said it was not yet ready for the trip to be undertaken.



DR JOSHUA NKOMO

in" for the whole of last week.

He said: "They (inquirers) got the answers right up to yesterday, but let me explain that the amnesty means what it says. We cannot turn round and flout it. This is a genuine expression by the Government."

On April 19, President Mugabe announced a general amnesty for former dissidents and other political fugitives.

Under the amnesty, armed dissidents operating in Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces will be pardoned if they lay down their arms by midnight of May 31 and return home.

Cde Tsomondo said: "Armed dissidents have been seeking assurances right up to Friday. They are prepared to come home. The majority of the inquiries were coming from Matabeleland and I believe they (inquirers) are being assisted on the exact details of the amnesty."

"There were going to be radio broadcasts and leaflets distributed throughout the affected areas to explain the amnesty to the dissidents."

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THIS IS THE END OF THE ROAD FOR DISSIDENTS — NKOMO

From Walter Mupfema in Victoria Falls

THIS is the end of the road for dissidents in Zimbabwe. The ZANU-PF and ZANU (PF) are now one and their respective programmes will soon give effect to the unity agreement within the shortest possible time, the former Minister for the President's Office and president of ZANU-PF, Dr Joshua Nkomo, said here yesterday.

Speaking at a reception in the Victoria Falls Hotel, Nkomo said that the unity agreement would be signed in the next few days and that the two parties would be merged into a single party.

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Reporter of the Year



The award was presented to the author of the article on the unity agreement, Walter Mupfema.

Don't harass us, say City hawkers

Sunday News Reporter

City hawkers in Harare have expressed their concern over the harassment they are receiving from the police, who should pay more attention to road conditions instead of harassing hawkers.

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Isaacs in city on Saturday

Sunday News Reporter

Part of the Isaacs family arrived in Harare on Saturday for a visit to the city.

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LOUNGE SUITES

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