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DISSERTATION TOPIC

Otherring the other? The Herald and the Newsday's framing of victims, the Harare city council and land barons in the context of the current housing demolitions by the local authority.

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Otherring the other? The Herald and the Newsday's framing of victims, the Harare city council and land barons in the context of the current housing demolitions by the local authority.

Declaration

I Johannes Nyamayedenga (R124122B) do hereby sincerely declare that this dissertation is my original work that has not been previously submitted to any other university. In writing this dissertation, I complied with MSU ethics and the laws governing intellectual property rights.

Dissertation title

Otherring the other? The Herald and the Newsday's framing of victims, the Harare City Council and land barons in the context of the current housing demolitions by the local authority.

Signed.....

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Otherring the other? The Herald and the Newsday's framing of victims, the Harare city council and land barons in the context of the current housing demolitions by the local authority.

Certificate of supervision

I hereby certify that I personally supervised this dissertation in accordance with the Departmental Regulations and the University's General Academic Regulations for Postgraduate degrees.

On that basis, I confirm that this dissertation is examinable

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Otherring the other? The Herald and Newsday's framing of victims, the Harare City Council and land barons in the context of the current housing demolitions by the local authority.

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Date.....

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Acronyms

AFP	Agence France Press
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
AMH	Alfa Media Holdings
ARV	Anti Retroviral Drugs
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CCCS	Centre for Contemporary and Cultural Studies
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CHRA	Combined Harare Residents' Association
CNG	Community Newspaper Group
CSU	Counselling Services Unit
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Program
GOZ	Government of Zimbabwe
HCC	Harare City Council
IMG	Independent Media Group
ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
LOMA	Law and Order Maintenance Act
LTTE	Liberation of Tigers of Tamil Eelam

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MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC - T	Movement for Democratic Change - Tsvangirai
MMPZ	Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe
MSU	Midlands State University
NASSA	National Social Security Authority
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
REA	Rural Electrification Agency
RSA	Repressive State Apparatus
USAID	United States Aid for International Development
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Pogram
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAMPS	Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZESN	Zimbabwe Election Support Network
ZIANA	Zimbabwe Inter Africa News Agency
ZIS	Zimbabwe Information Service
ZLHR	Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights
ZMMT	Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust
ZPP	Zimbabwe Peace Project

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Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation to my wife Annah Nyamayedenga who supported me by providing adequately during my study time. The achievement could not have been possible without her support.

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Abstract

The issue of land in Zimbabwe for residential and other purposes has remained a contested terrain between the poor communities and government since the days of the colonial era up to now. The wrangle has seen the subaltern fighting losing battles with the authorities over land. In the 2015/2016 period, government demolished settlements in Harare claiming that they were illegally built on land invaded by land barons and sold to unsuspecting home seekers. Such issues did not escape the eyes of the mass media. Informed by the framing and political economy theories, the study examines how victims of housing demolitions, Harare city council and land barons were constructed by *The Herald and Newsday* newspapers. The study is largely qualitative and it benefited from qualitative content analysis and interviews with editors and journalists from the two newspapers. The study concludes that victims of the demolitions were 'othered' in both newspapers as 'officialdom' prevailed in reporting the demolitions. This means that the media portrayed officials positively while the victims were described as having caused the chaos.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The Harare City Council (HCC) is embroiled in a bitter war with some city residents and human rights activists after embarking on an exercise to demolish hundreds of housing units in the city's residential areas on the fact that the structures built through co-operative initiatives were constructed on land not designated for housing developments. Scores of prospective home owners were left homeless when the Harare City Council's bulldozers demolished hundreds of housing units in residential areas such as Budiro, Epworth, Aspindale, Mainway, Glen View, Airport Road, Chitungwiza and Seke just to mention but a few. The residents vented out their anger on Harare City Council and the co-operative owners who are described as land 'barons' for embarking on such a draconian action and failure to consider their plight in the country facing harsh economic challenges.

The housing demolitions also allegedly violated basic human rights on shelter and attracted criticisms from human rights organisations among them the Harare Residents Trust, Chitungwiza Residents Trust, the opposition MDC-T, Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, the International Community for People Living with HIV/AIDS and many others. Human rights activists condemn the demolitions as a violation of basic human rights.

The process of housing demolitions is likened to Operation Murambatsvina of 2005 which left over 700 000 people homeless and without a source of income (Tibaijuka, 2005) when government ordered the demolitions of housing units and other settlements like backyard shops on the fact that the structures had become a hive of activities for criminals and black market in the exchange of foreign currency. According to the United Nations Habitat 2003, Tibaijuka (2009), more than 700 000 residents of Harare and other towns and cities in the country lost their homes and belongings in the operation.

Just like Operation Murambatsvina, the Harare City Council's housing demolitions rendered hundreds of people homeless when their newly built houses were destroyed before any arrangements to accommodate them elsewhere were made. The media are key conduits for framing and shaping 'reality' (Goffman, 1997). This study thus examines how *The Herald* and

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Newsday newspapers framed and shaped the image of the Harare City Council and victims of the house demolitions during the period stretching from 1 January 2015 to 31 January 2016.

Background to the study

Scholars have asserted that every reality is a construction (Foucault, 1980; Hall, 1997). This study is grounded in the framing theory of the media and systematically explores how *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers framed and represented the demolitions of houses and how the victims, the Harare City Council and the land 'barons' were portrayed during the period stretching from 1 January 2015 to 31 January 2016, a period when hundreds of housing units were destroyed on the grounds that they were built on land not designated for housing development.

The media have been at the centre of mediating this conflict between the local authority and citizens over the demolitions of houses in and around the city of Harare. This study is interested in exploring the frames used by two selected newspapers to cover the conflict. The study is also interested in establishing the position of victims of the demolitions in the media discourse given Jacques Lacan's (1968) position that language does not represent but speaks subjects. While the study is interested in the current land dispute and its mediation in the news media discourse, it is important to note that the history of land ownership wrangles in Zimbabwe back dates to the pre-colonial era when indigenous Zimbabweans enjoyed ownership of their vast tracts of land where they kept large herds of cattle and practised farming from place to place without any problems. Soon after the invasion and subsequent occupation of the country in 1890 by the British settlers, indigenous Zimbabweans were relegated to arid, semi arid and unproductive land in the periphery of the country while prime land in the wet and productive regions was a preserve of the minority white settlers (Maposa 1998; Moyo 1992). The further alienation of indigenous people from much of the productive land was done under the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and later by the Land Tenure Act of 1969 established by the British colonial government to consolidate their power over land and their authority over the indigenous people in Zimbabwe (Vudzijena, 1998).

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With Zimbabwe having been colonized by the British government, the indigenous people went to war and fought a bitter war to dislodge the colonial government to regain their lost land and won it in 1980 after 16 years of armed struggle. Soon after independence, the government embarked on a massive land resettlement programme and by the year 2000 more than 91,000 families were resettled in many parts of the country (Government of Zimbabwe, 2003; Brand, 2000; Chimhowu, 2002; Derman, 1997; Dzingirayi, 1998; Nyambara, 2002). The rural land redistribution remained the most critical exercise confronting the new indigenous government and there was also high demand for urban land as the population in towns and cities particularly Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru, Mutare, Chinhoyi and Chitungwiza continued to grow much faster than the rural population (Moyo, et al, 2005). Between 1982 and 1992 the number of people living in the urban areas grew from just under 2 million to 3.2 million and by 2000 the urban population had increased to 4.8 million, hence the need for land for residential and other purposes (Moyo, et al, 2005).

The increase in population of urban dwellers exerted considerable pressure on the existing infrastructure, creating increased demand for land for residential and other related services causing overcrowding in many towns and cities in the country. This resulted in the proliferation of squatter camps, unauthorised backyard structures and other makeshift shops (Butcher 1986, 1988, 1997). It is estimated that in 1995 there were more than 110 000 people living in squatter settlements in the greater Harare region with main settlements identified in Dzivaresekwa, Hatcliffe, Porta and Churu farms, Korstein in Seke and Epworth. By 1998 Bulawayo had approximately 8 000 people living in camps at Killarney, Cowdray Park, Rangemore and other sites in Umguza district. Even small towns like Kariba had a growing squatter situation (Moyo, 2005 and Butcher 1986, 1988, 1997). As illegal settlements grew in towns and cities, government surprised the nation and the world at large in 2005 when an order was made to destroy all structures believed to be built in prohibited areas as well as unapproved backyard housing extensions under an exercise dubbed 'Operation Murambatsvina'. The exercise which was condemned worldwide left scores of residents without a roof under their heads as all structures considered illegal were destroyed (Tibaijuka 2009). After the demolitions, about 20 per cent of the urban population in all towns and cities in the country lost their shelter, sources of

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income and other belongings like property which they had worked hard to acquire over many years Tibaijuka, 2005, Combined Harare Residents' Association (CHRA), Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP), Action Aid International (2005).

Thus it becomes necessary for the dissertation to explore how *The Herald* and *Newsday* portrayed, imaged and framed the Harare City Council and the victims in the context of the housing demolitions in and outside greater Harare. The framing theory, according to McCombs and Shaw (1972), is that journalists deliberately and unwittingly determine the frames to use in news articles, hence the need to interrogate how the victims of housing demolitions and the Harare City Council were framed and portrayed in the period under study. While a number of academics (Masunungure, 2008; Maposa, 1995 and Moyo, 1998) have written about the manifestation of land from a pre-colonial era up to independence, the role of the media in mediating the interplay between the citizens and the authorities has been largely ignored. Thus a gap remains, hence the need for this dissertation to interrogate how

The Herald and *Newsday* newspapers represented the Harare City Council and victims during the housing demolitions in the period stretching from 1 January 2015 to 31 January 2016.

Justification of the study

The issue of land for housing or any other use has remained a historical problem since the days of the colonial era which saw Zimbabwe fighting a protracted war with white settlers to retain their land. Many academics have written about inequality in the distribution of land (Vudzijena, 1998 ; Maposa, 1998; Moyo, 1992), the problems of squatters (Shivji, et al, 1998) land reform programme and Operation Murambatsvina (Bracking, 2005; Potts, 2006; Bratton and Masunungure, 2007; Chari, 2008; Mlambo, 2008; Fontein, 2009) among other cases to do with land, but not much scholarly work has interrogated issues concerning the interface between housing demolitions, victims and the mass media. Available literature is dominantly framed from history and human rights discourse and not media studies. Thus a gap remains.

However, the emergence of co-operatives run by the so called land 'barons' is a different case altogether as no-one from high authority took responsibility as far as land allocation in areas not

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designated for human habitation is concerned. The Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ), in its 2015 edition, highlighted that there was no attempt by the media and scholars to investigate local authorities to establish the brains behind land allocation to the so called land 'barons', hence the need for this study to interrogate the problem. Thus a gap remains and it is necessary to study how the press particularly *The Herald* and *Newsday* framed, imaged and portrayed the Harare City Council and the victims in the context of housing demolitions in the period under study. McCombs and Shaw (1972) argue that the mass media sets the agenda in the manner they create public awareness by giving prominence to some issues and at the same time down playing others. According to McCombs and Shaw (1972), the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it, leading to consumers of media products to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. The framing and the agenda setting theories provide useful lens for better understanding of how media power is realised through construction of social reality. It is the assertion of this research basing on McCombs and Shaw (1972) that stories published in *The Herald* and *Newsday* were shaped by various forces and filters which influenced the portrayal of the Harare City Council and victims of housing demolitions in a different way. Thus this dissertation critically explores how *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers portrayed and framed the Harare City Council and victims in the context of the housing demolitions in the period under study.

While the study is grounded in the framing theory, it also appeals to the Marxist political economy of the media theory. The political economy of the media looks at ownership, control and funding mechanisms for a particular newspaper, a radio or television station. The political economy is the study of social relations, particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources, including communication resources (Mosco 2009). Thus the mass media content is framed in a method that gratifies the owners of media houses and advertisers. Herman and Chomsky (1989) argue that the mass media inclines to be biased after framing certain issues or certain individuals due to their ownership and funding patterns.

The selection of *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers ahead of other publications in Zimbabwe equally needs justification. It has been asserted that *The Herald* which is publicly owned but

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state controlled daily newspaper has the largest circulation in Zimbabwe. The *Newsday* which is privately owned trails behind *The Herald*. The coverage of events in Zimbabwe by the two dailies is widespread (ZAMPS 2015). The Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ)'s 2015 report indicated that many stories on housing demolitions featured mainly in the two daily papers, hence the need to use them as key sources of information gathering in the study.

The study also seeks to complement available literature on housing demolitions taking a media centric approach grounded in the framing theory by exploring how the media represented the Harare City Council and victims of demolitions.

Statement of the problem

The news media have often been accused of being selective in all information gathering and dissemination. Manning (2001) asserts that when it comes to news gathering and reporting, the subaltern and others from the periphery of society are not considered and will only appear in the news as victims and are hardly allocated space to speak. Only those with economic and political power including those who own, fund and control media houses dictate content. Media in Zimbabwe represent what they desire to their readers. According to Mukasa (2003), the press exhibits editorial policies, regulations and practices that reflect the ideological and socio-political environment of the country. Mukasa (2003) is of the view that every media house be it government controlled or privately owned has its own ideologies it wants to put across to the audience. The scholar argues that the media conveniently alter news and filter in certain content that suits the interests of those who own media houses so that they create a certain impression on audiences. Thus in the case of the 2015-2016 housing demolitions the media coverage may have been influenced by certain forces, hence the need to thoroughly investigate how they framed, represented and imaged the victims of housing demolitions with respect to *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers.

Research objectives

Explore the portrayal of the Harare City Council and victims in the context of the recent housing demolitions as reported by *The Herald* and *the Newsday* newspapers.

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Explain the image of the Harare City Council in *The Herald* and *Newsday* in the context of the housing demolitions.

Explain the similarities and differences in the framing and portrayal of the land barons, Harare City Council and the victims in *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers.

Explore the forces behind the framing of the victims, land barons and the Harare City Council in *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers.

Main Research Question

How did *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers frame the Harare City Council and victims in the context of the housing demolitions in the period stretching from 1 January 2015 to 31 January 2016?

Research sub questions

What were similarities and differences in the portrayal of the land barons, the Harare City Council and victims of housing demolitions as reported in *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers?

Did *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers created a platform for the victims and land barons to express their side of the story in the context of the housing demolitions?

Delimitations of the study

The study analyses articles from *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers on how they mediated the dispute between the authorities and victims from the period stretching from 1 January 2015 to 31 January 2016, a period when the Harare City Council went on rampage in and around the city demolishing hundreds of housing units which they claimed were built on land not designated for housing development. The purpose of the study is therefore to interrogate how the victims of housing demolitions, the land barons and the Harare City Council were represented and imaged in both *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers.

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Limitations of the study

The study is limited to the coverage of only two daily papers, *The Herald* and *Newsday* during the period stretching from 1 January 2015 to 31 January 2016. Other daily and weekly newspapers were not considered in this study and as such this may result in a bias since their views were not considered. Therefore the findings of the study cannot be taken as a reflection of the whole media perspective in the country but are specific to *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers in the period in question.

Structure of the study

This research is comprised of six chapters. Chapter one introduces the study locating it in the recent housing demolitions in Harare and its periphery. The next is chapter two which extensively reviews literature related to the study and at the same time discussing the theoretical framework of the study. Then chapter three looks at the methodological approach while chapter four presents and discusses the organizational structure of *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers in relation to the phenomenon under investigation. This is followed by chapter five which qualitatively presents and critically analyses findings of the study. The last sixth chapter serves as the conclusion to the study. Chapter six makes recommendations to *The Herald* and *Newsday* a possible area of study in future.

Conclusion

This Chapter has introduced the study providing background to the research, its significance, as well as research objectives, research questions, methodology and structure of study.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses studies closer to the current research. In the discussion, the study shows how existing studies falls short when it comes to addressing concerns being

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addressed by the current study. Hart (1998) defines literature review as a body of texts that attempts to review the critical points of current knowledge including substantive findings as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to a given topic. Punch (2005) points out that literature review serves to enhance, upgrade and consolidate one's knowledge base and integrates the findings with the existing body of knowledge. I reviewed literature from the western world, Africa and Zimbabwe. Closer home, studies on Operation Murambatsvina which was engineered by the state in 2005, forms a critical foundation for my research. Literature is presented in a thematic manner.

The Tangwena people and struggle for their land

The dispute between the colonial government and the Tangwena people is one of the prominent land disputes in colonial Rhodesia. The colonial government invaded and forcibly evicted the Tangwena people from their rich and fertile Gairezi ancestral land after demolishing their huts and destroyed their fields as well as impounding their livestock to pave way for the establishment of settlements for their fellow white settlers (Moore 2005 and ICJ Report 1976). According to the ICJ Report (1976), the colonial government employed ruthless tactics that include handcuffing the chief, beating up villagers the Tangwena people in 1963 as forcibly evicted them from their ancestral land. The colonial government dispossessed Chief Re kai Tangwena and his subjects in the Gaeresi Ranch in Nyanga district through the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the 1969 Land Tenure Act. The chief and his subjects were ordered to relocate to Gokwe, some 650 km away where he vehemently resisted the order, resulting in his arrest and the demolitions of houses (Moyana, 1987; Austin 1975; www.pindula.co.zw).

ICJ (1976) and the International Defence and Aid Fund (1972) outline that on October 29 1970 heavily armed Rhodesian forces invaded the Gaeresi villages at around 4am with 34 land rovers, five trucks and a bulldozer to evict the Tangwena people from their ancestral land where they had lived for hundreds of years. The Rhodesian security forces set fire on the homes of the villagers, destroyed their crops, impounded their cattle, arrested men and women. All the impounded cattle were immediately sold by the pound-master. Despite losing their belongings,

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Chief Tangwena and his people numbering about 1000 still resisted relocation to Gokwe and sought refuge in the Nyanga mountains where they survived on wild fruits and would secretly come back in the night to rebuilt their destroyed homesteads and work in their fields, according ICJ Report (1976) and the International Defence and Aid Fund (1972). The action taken by the Rhodesian forces to demolish houses belonging to the Tangwena villagers is similar to what the government of Zimbabwe did to scores of home seekers whose houses were also destroyed on accusations that they were illegally built on land not meant for housing development but reserved for some other projects. Here, the colonial government unleashed violence to indigenous people to pave way for the establishment of settlements for their fellow whites while the Zimbabwe government unleashed terror to their own people whom they are supposed to protect, hence a gap exists.

The evictions attracted the attention of the media particularly the then Umtali Post (now *Manica Post*) which ran screaming headlines denouncing the Tangwena people for resisting evictions from their ancestral land describing them as stubborn fools (Moore, 2005). One headline of November 4, 1970 screamed that there was little sympathy for the Tangwena people who were behaving like stubborn fools and threatening to defy the laws of the land. The media likened the Tangwena people to baboons that live in the mountains and surviving on wild fruits and roots just because they did not want to respect the laws of the land, according to Moore (2005) and the International Defence and Aid Fund (1976). This was in apparent reference to Chief Tangwena and his people who fled gunfire from the white settlers who had superior weapons and sought refuge in the Inyanga mountains. Just like the Tangwena situation the media in independent Zimbabwe lasted criticized the home seekers whose houses where demolished by the city council referring to them as people who disobeyed the local authority's land policies by illegally building houses. Just like the *Umtali Post*, the victims of the housing demolitions were not given an opportunity to speak and defend their positions. The colonial media and both *The Herald* and *Newsday* gave the voice to the officials.

In the Tangwena situation, a group of women who marched for about 50km to the District Commissioner's office singing and ululating to demand the release of their detained Chief Tangwena and other people were described by the *Umtali Post* as desperate bare-breasted

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women, according to the International Defence and Aid Fund (1972). The weekly newspaper also published pictures of the burnt houses and the matter was widely reported internationally but did not attract any sympathy to the displaced Tangwena villagers. The media was portraying Chief Tangwena and his people as irresponsible people refusing to respect the laws of the land by vacating their ancestral land to give way to white settlers. The coverage of the Tangwena people by the *Umtali Post* is in line with my study which is interrogating how *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers framed, portrayed and represented scores of residents whose houses were demolished, the Harare City Council and land barons in the 2015/16 period. There are similarities in the two scenarios in that the victims were portrayed negatively in the media while officials were seen as doing the right thing.

The continual cat and mouse scenario where the Tangwena people would come out of their hideout deep in the Inyanga (now Nyanga) mountains during the night to replant and rebuild makeshift huts and the persistence by the Rhodesian government to destroy them saw the word “*matangwena*” emerging up to today. The term ‘*matangwena*’ is often used to refer to makeshift ramshackle shelters those squatters and even genuine home-seekers typically live in before building decent homesteads (ICJ Report (1976; Moore, 2005).

The harassment of Chief Tangwena who had been in and out of detention, the innocent women and children did not attract sympathy from abroad. The international community remained mum on the issue. Despite the ruthlessness of the British, Chief Tangwena and his people resisted relocating to Bende area in the drought prone Gokwe as demanded by the settlers who had allocated their Gaeresi Ranch to one of their members, Mr William Hanmer to engage in agricultural production ICJ 1976 and International Defence and Aid Fund (1972). Chief Tangwena and his subjects numbering about 1 000 lived in the mountains surrounding their homes for about six years surviving on wild fruits and roots until Zimbabwe attained independence and reclaimed back their ancestral land, according to the International Defence and Aid Fund (1972). Despite a \$ 25 bribe offer to Chief Tangwena on a monthly basis by the Rhodesians government to accept relocation to Gokwe and be recognised as Chief, the traditional leader refused and remained loyal to his Tangwena people (*Moto* September 1969). The Gweru based *Moto* magazine described Chief Tangwena as a strong Chief who could not accept a hefty

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monetary bribe to abandon his ancestral land and its people. However *The Rhodesia Herald* (now *The Herald*) promoted the perceptions and interests of the white settlers in their reportage describing whites as superior and indigenous Zimbabweans as backward and inferior. Mugari (2016) argues that the Tangwena story is the way in which the subaltern are reported and spoken about rather than being accorded the opportunity to voice their concerns in the stories that concern their way of life. Mugari (2016) further states that the speaking subject in stories about the Tangwena issue had always remained white and Africans resisting domination being seen as not capable of acting on their own initiative but responding to other forces.

My study is however investigating how *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers imaged, constructed and portrayed the victims of the housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons in the 2015/2016 period when hundreds of housing units were demolished by the city council on the grounds that they were illegally built on land not suitable for houses but reserved for other developments. It is clear from the reports that while the colonial government remained the speaking subject, the same was happening during the housing demolitions where the voices of the victims were missing from the media. The front page of the story published in *The Rhodesia Herald* of September 1969 quoting the then Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Lance Smith speaking in Parliament blamed Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock and his associates for their efforts in breaking down the Land Apportionment Act, by ruthlessly exploiting and abusing the Tangwena people whom they incited to resist eviction from Gaeresi Ranch and relocate to Gokwe. Mr Smith argued in Parliament that much of the activity which had led to the present difficulties with the Tangwena tribe was Communist inspired, and operated by fellow travellers, who in this case was the Mr Guy Clutton-Brock who sympathised with the Tangwena people (Moore 2005 and www.pindula.co.zw). Quoted by the *Iana* news (now *New Ziana*), Mr Lance Smith pointed out that the Tangwena people had been used by certain subversive elements to undermine the Rhodesian Government, and the present position was part of a plan to challenge the laws of the land, and in particular the Land Apportionment Act. Mr Lance Smith attacked fellow whites for championing the communist agenda arguing that the Tangwena people were victims of ruthless manipulation by a clique of Communists and their sympathisers led by Mr Guy Clutton-Brock (ICJ 1976; Moore 2005; International Defence and Aid Fund 1972).

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A possible surface reading and interpretation of the Minister's remarks is to suggest that the Minister is shifting blame from the Tangwena People and placing it squarely with fellow white men who are guilty of spreading communist influence (itself a foreign and unAfrican idea) among unsuspecting 'childlike', Africans. By dodging the fact, the Minister could be argued to be absolving Africans of any wrong doing in the Tangwena saga but blaming fellow whites for siding with the Tangwena, according to Mugari (2016). The Tangwena were seen as people who cannot stand on their own to defend themselves but aided by other people (Mugari 2016). Mr Lance Smith pointed out that Chief Tangwena and his people were advised, "counselled" and "incited" to defy government order by Mr. Keeble, a white farm manager on the adjacent Nyafaru Development Project founded by Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock in 1957 (*Umtali Post* November 1970). In the Minister's view, it was white men like Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock and his associate Mr. Keeble who were abusing the tribesmen as pawns in the main plan, and they have been incited to transgress the law. Just like my study, the affected home seekers did not have a voice in the media to speak on their experiences and how they were displaced but the officials from either government or the Harare City Council spoke on their behalf resulting in the media blaming them for causing the mess in the city through illegal construction of houses. Mr Lance Smith argued that naturally, there was resistance, but resistance through ignorance, and it was the ignorance that was being used by the infamous machinations of people such as Guy Clutton-Brock and his associates to further their political ambitions (*The Rhodesia Herald* August 27, 1969). According to Mugari (2016) the Minister, Mr Lance Smith, framed the Tangwena issue not as black resistance against whites through defying what they regarded as an unjust and oppressive legal system based on race but as fellow whites pitting the white government against the other section of the white community bent on subverting government authority by instigating a spirit of revolt among their otherwise peace-loving and law-abiding African subjects.

The coverage of the Tangwena people by the media is in line with my study which is looking at how *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers represented the victims of housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons in the 2015/2016 demolitions period. During the demolitions, the media had taken a side by negatively portraying the home seekers as violating council land policies by illegally building structures in land not meant for housing development.

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In the same articles, not much voice was given to the victims and land barons, serve for being attacked in the same way as the Tangwena people. With the continued wrangle between Mr Guy Clutton-Brock and the colonial government continued, the government of Ian Smith was left with no choice but to strip Mr Guy Clutton-Brock of his citizenship and deported him as he was seen as a “threat to public safety” (*The Telegraph* July 3, 2013). Historical records produced by the Ministry of Information through its booklet and other historical records portrayed a typical African mind-set, which stated that Africans were generally contented subjects happily accepting the caring rule of the master race (Frederikse 1982). During the skirmishes, the issue of master and servant relationships emerged between the whites and blacks in which the white man was to be called Baas or Mister while a black man was referred to as boy or girl even if they were adults.

The Tangwena people were accused of practising poor methods of farming in the steep slopes of Nyanga area and according to Mugari (2016) and Magaisa (2010), that alleged backward and primitive use of land that caused land degradation and soil erosion, hence the need to evict them from the Gaeresi Ranch to Gokwe and surrender that land to a white settler, Mr Hanmer. This is despite the fact that the Tangwena people had lived and tilled that land over many years without any threat to the environment. Unlike many other chiefs and traditional leaders who succumbed to pressure during the colonial era, the courageous and principled Chief Tangwena took a bold stance in defence of his people's right to their land (*Moto* September 1969). The *Moto* publication described the traditional leader as someone who could not be intimidated but stood up to protect his subjects and their right to land. The *Moto* publication of September (1969) praised Chief Tangwena's bold stance and predicted victory in the land battle with the whites likening him to the Biblical David who fought and defeated the mighty Goliath. However, my study is not interested in the battle of land ownership pitting the Tangwena people and the white settlers in the Gaeresi Ranch in Nyanga district but rather exploring the role of the mass media in framing, representation and imaging the victims of the housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons paying particular attention to the 2015/2016 period when the City of Harare went on a rampage and demolished hundreds of housing units on the grounds that they were not built on land designated for housing development such as wetlands. My study,

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however, builds on the issue of land ownership in Zimbabwe which dates back to the days of the colonial era when the indigenous Zimbabweans were displaced from their fertile and productive motherland and relocated to poor, dry and semi arid regions not suitable for human habitation just to pave way for the white settlers. Despite the Tangwena people being the rightful owners of their ancestral Gaeresi land, the invaders who came all the way from Britain went on to portray them as squatters who were refusing to vacate the land in favour of a fellow white settler Mr Hanmer who wanted to engage in agricultural production. In one of the article published by *The Rhodesia Herald* in (1969), Mr Smith argued that the Tangwena issue was a matter of a land-owner seeking to remove squatters from “his” land which was private land in the European area where squatter occupation was against the Land Apportionment policy.

Land reform programme and media discourse in Zimbabwe

The land issue in Zimbabwe has remained a contested terrain since Britain colonised Zimbabwe in 1890 and used force to displace hundreds of indigenous Zimbabweans from their ancestral fertile land and resettled them in dry and arid regions with poor rainfall patterns. The displaced people did not rest but continued to fight back from their weak positions demanding back their land and cattle that have been taken away by whites until the outbreak of the First Chimurenga war in 1896 (Beach,1979 and Ranger, 1967). While the indigenous people were displaced from their ancestral land by the white colonisers in the 1890's, my study looks at similar land disputes in modern day Zimbabwe pitting the urban poor and the Harare City Council. My study looks at how the media particularly *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers framed and portrayed the victims of the housing demolitions in the 2015/16 period when the city council took up the decision to demolish hundreds of housing units in the capital which were illegally built on land not meant for housing development. The study is analysing how the media in the colonial government portrayed the indigenous people when they were displaced from their land and the same time giving a comparison on the role of the portrayal of victims during, the Harare City Council and land barons in 2015/2016 period.

The extensive coverage of the country's land reform programme in the local and international media since 1890 up to the days after independence and particularly after the launch of the Fast

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Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in the year 2000 points to the mass media's role in public opinion formation through framing and representation of the landless and those in control. The news media determine issues central to what the public think and talk about. Through various discursive practices and interpretative frameworks, the media direct the public's attention to certain issues and formulate certain mental pictures and perceptions in readers to think in a certain way mainly determined by those who own and control the media houses (McCombs, 2002; Lipman, 1922).

Media coverage of the land issue during the period stretching from 1890 to the implementation of the government initiated fast track land reform programme in 2000 shows many competing versions of reality epitomised by vested group interests in the context of a bifurcated political economy of the media. While the nature of reporting was mainly event-based, scholarly work on the subject was highly opinionated, selective, emotional and personalised to suit certain decisions (Curtin, 2008; Blair 2002; Meredith 2002; Bond and Manyanya, 2002).

It is clear that the land issue in Zimbabwe is a cause of the struggle for liberation and has remained central in the country's political, economic and social struggles, starting with the First Chimurenga in 1896 pitting the white colonisers under the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and the indigenous Shona and Ndebele communities. The war was as a result of the locals' resistance to colonisation and displacements from their land at the hands of the British settlers. Prior to the outbreak of the First Chimurenga in Mashonaland and Matabeleland regions, whites had entered the country through their forerunner missionaries like David Livingstone, Charles Helm and Fredrick Courtney Selous among others who had already established contacts with the locals. Such a situation paved way for Cecil Rhodes and his British South African Company (BSAC) to invade the country and sign treaties with the local leaders who were then represented by their traditional leader of that time. Treaties were signed between the British Company and King Lobengula who was King of the Ndebele people during the colonial period. The Pioneer Column, which was a mercenary army hired by Rhodes had earlier on established white settlements in areas such as Fort Victoria (now Masvingo) and Fort Salisbury (now capital city Harare), according to Curtin (2008) and Blair (2002).

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The coming of the Pioneer Column in the early 1890s rang the bell for a military confrontation with the locals and this sparked the First Chimurenga which resulted in the defeat of the Ndebele and Shona people and the killing of both Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi, the spirit medium of the Shona people. The British were superior in the war because they used automatic fire arms while the indigenous people were armed with traditional spears, bows and arrows. In the Second Chiumurenga which sparked the real war when indigenous people had acquired modern military equipment, the British were defeated in 1980 and handed over the country to indigenous people soon after the Lancaster House negotiations (Utete 2003)

While the 1979 Lancaster House negotiations for independence between liberation movements and Ian Smith's regime centred on the land issue, the new government believed that Britain, the United States of America and other countries will participate in a multinational donor effort to assist in land distribution to hundreds of Zimbabweans for agricultural and economic development (Utete, 2003). This was after the pledge by the British and the Americans to fund land reform but failed after the former colonisers reneged on their earlier position and remained holding on to their land.

However, the white farmers who were reluctant to part away with prime land to resettle hundreds of land hungry Zimbabweans, sold some of their farms mainly those in poor ecological regions under the 'willing seller-willing buyer' arrangement, resulting in land reform moving at a very slow pace during the first few years after independence despite its high demand by the indigenous people who were displaced as from 1890 (Chari, 2013). Relations between Zimbabwe and the white settlers turned sour and marked a new political dispensation in the history of the country (Utete, 2003 and Stoneman, 1988). Just two years after the Britain government made the announcement soon after the 1998 donor conference, the government amended the constitution to compulsorily acquire land without compensation and allocate it to landless Zimbabweans sparking serious confrontation between indigenous Zimbabweans and white settlers. The Constitutional Amendment attracted the attention of the media which described the amendment as a step forward in redressing the colonial imbalances in the land ownership in Zimbabwe. The period soon after the amendment witnessed an intensification of

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invasions and occupations of white- owned commercial farms by members of the liberation war veterans association and ZANU PF supporters Utete (2003; Chari 2013).

Soon after the passing on of the Bill, Members of Parliament (MP) who voted in favour of the Constitutional Amendment mainly from ZANU PF joined the late Vice-Presidents, Simon Muzenda and Joseph Msika and broke into the liberation war song “Zimbabwe Ndeyeropa” to show victory against the whites Willems (2004). Initially, the print media (*The Rhodesia Herald* and *The Bulawayo Chronicle*) in the then Rhodesia under the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, which traced the history of land from the colonial era up to independence supported the invasion of large scale white commercial farms arguing that the blacks owned large tracts of land that they were not fully utilising (Willems, 2008; Chari, 2013). Editorially, in 1892 the two newspapers’ reportage was fluid. Firstly they sought to protect the economic and political interests of the minority whites, who had taken the land from the indigenous blacks by violent means and denounced the majority blacks for practising subsistence farming. Later after independence, they went on to support the new majority black government’s land reform programme starting with the praise of the Constitutional Amendment. (Willems, 2008; Chari, 2013). My study is however interrogating how the colonial media portrayed, framed and represented the indigenous people who lost their land and the British settlers who pushed out blacks from their land during the colonial era. In independent Zimbabwe, the media particularly *The Herald* and *Newsday* are also being investigated on how they portrayed, framed and represented victims of the housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons in the 2015/2016 period. The similarities in the coverage are that the colonial government used the colonial media to attack indigenous people while after independence; it was government using the media to denigrate the poor and disadvantaged.

The Rhodesian Herald (now *The Herald*) of July 1893 justified land grab and displacements of indigenous Zimbabwean people denouncing them for failure to fully utilise large tracts of their rich and fertile land which remained idle (Utete,2003; Gale, 1962). According to (Utete, 2003), the newspaper denigrated blacks, in order to justify land dispossession. *The Herald* celebrated the work of white farmers describing them as the messiah of the blacks. The white commercial farmers were lionised for their farming prowess and expertise as a way of justifying colonialism,

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according to (Utete, 2003 and Gale 1962). This is similar to my study where the Harare City Council justified demolitions of houses as having been built illegally on wetlands, grazing land for council livestock and other areas meant for building schools, clinics and recreational facilities. In this regard, the Harare City Council was seen as having taken the correct decision meant to clean up the city for the mess created by both land home seekers and land barons.

The colonial media portrayed white farmers as hardworking, selfless and patriotic citizens who were committed to see their nation prosper through agricultural production while at the same time they denounced the indigenous people as failure in land utilisation (Utete, 2003). This positive portrayal of white farmers was an open endorsement of the status quo, which was characterised by skewed racial ownership patterns of land in Zimbabwe. This raises concern on the objectivity the media to report issues objectively, fairly and impartially in which it is argued that their primary aim is to serve the hegemonic interests and aspirations of those who own and fund them. The colonial media represented indigenous blacks as 'untutored savages' who did not know how to fully use the land and white settlers as energetic, knowledgeable gentlemen who understood how to make the fertile lands produce (Utete, 2003; Gale 1962; Chari 2013).

At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe government acquired the Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company from the South African- based Argus Newspaper Group using a grant provided by the Nigerian government and created Zimbabwe Newspapers (1980) Ltd (ZimPapers 1980) where it became a major shareholder. This was followed by the formation of the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT), a wholly government owned company to run its news agency "Zimbabwe Inter-Africa News Agency" (ZIANA), the Zimbabwe Information Service (ZIS) and the Community Newspapers Group (CNG) which published weekly newspapers in all the eight provinces in the country (Saunders 1991). As time progressed, there was media growth in Zimbabwe with the coming in on the market of privately owned press like *The Daily Gazette*, *Sunday Times*, *Sunday News*, the *Independent* and lately the *Daily News* which made a great impact on the media market since independence in 1980 (Waldahl, 2004; Ronning and Kupe, 2000).

As government launched the Fast Track Land Reform Programme soon after the Constitutional Amendment, media reportage of the land reform, took place in a context of intense political and

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media polarization pitting the privately owned press and publicly owned but government controlled which epitomised a socially and politically fractured Zimbabwe (Alexander 2006; Moyo, 2001, 2007; Moyo and Yeros, 2005). While the Fast Track Land Reform Programme was often characterised by violence, haphazard planning and favouritism, the public press supported the exercise describing it as a step ahead in correcting the colonial land imbalances while the privately owned media denounced the exercise portraying it as the worst ever land reform that had destroyed the economy and the once flourishing agricultural production on farms. The private press subscribed to an independent watchdog role, which exposed corrupt practices of government officials in the allocation of land (Waldahl, 2004). The Fast Track Land Reform Programme coincided with the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the opposition party which posed a serious threat to ZANU PF whose support base was waning owing to harsh economic conditions. The private press offered unprecedented support to MDC and this antagonised it with government and ZANU PF which ended up labelling the *Daily News* as 'an opposition mouthpiece' (Chikowore, 2000). While the *Daily News* and other privately-owned publications saw themselves as independent, balanced and impartial, the conflict of views with the state-controlled media drove the two newspapers beyond the boundaries of professional and ethical journalism as both attacked each other in their reportage (Chari 2007, 2009, 2010). As a result, readers found themselves in a very difficult situation as to which newspapers were reporting truthfully, ethically without favour or bias. Sometimes objectivity is sacrificed on the altar in order to be true to the chosen position of the newspaper (MMPZ, 2002). In line with my study, the two daily papers, the Herald and Newsday are being scrutinised to establish the similarities and differences on how they portrayed and framed the victims of housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons.

During the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, the majority of farm workers were seen as less important and often neglected marginalised and sometimes ill treated and beaten up for supporting the white farmers in the land reform and agrarian discourse (Sachikonye, 2003). This is because some supported the land invasions while others opposed it. The white farmers were accused of using their farm workers as shields to defend their positions and this attracted the wrath of the war veterans and ZANU PF supporters. Sachikonye (2003) argued that very few

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farm workers constituting about 5 per cent of the total number of farm workers in the country benefited from the land reform programme while the rest were displaced just as the white farmers.

Sachikonye (2003) posits that government did not have any programme to cushion farm workers from the negative effects of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme and as a result they were not seen as players in the discourse of land reform programme in Zimbabwe. The land invasions by war veterans and ZANU PF supporters was framed as a spontaneous uprisings by the masses and demonstrations by land hungry peasants' who were claiming land stolen from them by the colonisers (Chari, 2013). The death of white farmers killed in the process were not reported in the public media and the perpetrators were not even named although they were well known war veterans, ZANU PF supporters or members the war collaborators (Chabarika, 2003; Mphisa, 2009). The white farmers were portrayed as evil people who were derailing the land reform by refusing to allow the smooth flow of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. They were labelled economic terrorists whose aggression was against the land reform.

My study is not interested in examining the media coverage of the land reform programme and the discourses of framing the land reform in Zimbabwe but rather the role played by the mass media in framing, representing and imaging of the victims, Harare City Council and the land barons in the context of housing demolitions in the 2015/2016 period. The study builds on the existence of a significant body of literature on land and agrarian issues and media discourses on land reform in Zimbabwe before, during and after the liberation struggle.

Operation Murambatsvina and media discourse in Zimbabwe

The Government of Zimbabwe embarked on one of the worst exercises in the history of the country when in May 2005 hundreds of housing structures, illegally extended houses, backyard shacks and all structures dubbed illegal were demolished in an operation dubbed 'Operation Murambatsvina' meant to clean towns, cities and some high activity growth points and bring sanity to urban areas of Zimbabwe (Bracking, 2005; Potts 2006; Chari 2008; Mlambo, 2008; Fontein, 2009 Bratton and Masunungure, 2007). Government took up the exercise to destroy illegal urban structures in an attempt to ban what it called criminal activities such as the black

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market trade in foreign currency and other illegal dealings which were said to be thriving in backyard structures (Bracking, 2005; Potts 2006; Masunungure, 2007; Chari 2008). The operation which was effected in almost all towns and cities as well as some growth points in the country rendered homeless more than 700 000 people who were living in backyard structures, shacks and other properly built houses which were said to be built in areas not allocated by local authorities, according to a 2005 report produced by the United Nations Special Envoy on Human Settlements Issues in Zimbabwe, Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka, Solidarity Peace Trust 2006; Fontein, 2009; Amnesty International, 2010).

A study on the impact of Operation Murambatsvina conducted in 2005 by a number of organisations that include Action Aid International (2005) in collaboration with the Counselling Services Unit (CSU), Combined Harare Residents' Association (CHRA) and the Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP) concluded that 20 percent of the urban population was affected in many ways. The affected were described as criminals, prostitutes and illegal dealers in foreign currency. The affected urban residents suffered such losses as shelter, sources of income mainly for those in the informal sector, their way of life and all their belongings which they acquired in many years of working. Some returned to their rural homes empty handed while others joined relatives who owned decent houses in urban and peri-urban areas, according to Human Rights Watch (2005). Before government embarked on Operation Murambatsvina, the informal trade had, by Zimbabwean standards, become 'formal' trade and in 2004 the government conceded that informal trade with neighbouring countries constituted 40 percent of the country's employment rate (Potts, 2006; Masunungure, 2007; Chari, 2008). According to the scholars, many black women were praised by the mass media and described as bread-winners as a result of the booming informal sector where they ran flea markets in towns, cities and growth points selling a range of items ranging from clothing, cosmetics, cell-phones and household utensils. Some women even went as far as running the bureau de change at a time when foreign currency was hard to come by. During the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina this informal sector was targeted in a development which undermined the economic rights and legal status of women. Media reports concluded that the women who were hit hard when the authorities confiscated

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their goods, found themselves without anywhere to fall back on, as they lost their economic independence and some were forced to choose the hard option of prostitution.

The 2005 United Nations (UN) Report to Zimbabwe concluded that the clean up exercise impacted negatively on the already vulnerable groups who were struggling to eke out a living through vending and other informal activities. The disadvantaged groups that include widows, orphans, unemployed women, child-headed households, the elderly and those people living with HIV and AIDS were left in worse and deplorable situations than they were before Tibaijuka (2005). It was also reported that the operation affected more than 80 000 people infected with HIV/AIDS, many of them who were left without access to antiretroviral (ARVs) drugs as they were displaced from their original homes to live elsewhere (Poloch, 2010). Some thriving backyard income generating projects like welding, carpentry, dressing making, saloons, tyre mending and motor vehicle repairs among others were also affected in urban high density suburbs of Mbare, Glen View, Budiriro, Warren Park, Highfield, Chitungwiza and Dzivaresekwa among other residential areas, according to Tibaijuka, 2005; Fontein, 2009). However, with the economic downturn and high rate of unemployment caused by company closures, many people in urban areas turned to informal sector for survival but government framed the operators as economic saboteurs in the informal sector who were engaged in such illegal activities as money laundering and black market in exchange of foreign currency and embarked on Operation Murambatsvina to clean up the mess (Potts, 2006; Bratton and Masunungure 2007; Mlambo, 2008).

Operation Murambatsvina is a typical example of how the colonial past which denigrated the indigenous blacks continued to survive in the postcolonial time in view of how the authorities treated the very people they claim to represent in the issues surrounding land (Potts 2012). In the colonial period, the displaced or evicted people from their ancestral land such as those from the Gaeresi under Chief Tangwena were referred to as primitive and a danger to civilised society, stupid fools and described as baboons for resisting eviction while in the post colonial era the very same people were framed as criminals, filth, dirty and crawling maggots in the media (Potts, 2012; International Defence and Aid Fund 1972). In this scenario, the government then undertook the Operation Murambatsvina to deal with those living in the margins of the country

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on the fact that their houses, backyard shops and flea markets were harbouring criminals and threatening the economy of the country and the rural areas was their rightful place to live. The similarities in approach and attitude towards framing and portrayal of the subaltern in the colonial time and in independent Zimbabwe remain two sides of the same coin.

Masunungure and Bratton (2006) argue that the poor urban particularly those from Harare's residential areas were portrayed as anti government for voting for the opposition political parties and government used repressive and brutal force through police and soldiers to demolish the structures as a way driving them out of the city to rural areas. Masunungure and Bratton (2006) pointed out that Operation Murambatsvina which was carried out soon after the March 2005 parliamentary elections in which ZANU PF lost dismally in urban areas was not a genuine exercise but a punishment to the city dwellers for voting in members of opposition political parties Masunungure and Bratton (2006). The city voters whose majority live in backyard shacks and running flea markets and other informal activities were described as anti ZANU PF, anti Robert Mugabe and anti government after MDC-T won 26 of the 30 seats in major urban areas. Government and ZANU PF have over the years used ideological state apparatus (ISA) to win the support of the masses rather than violence, but when necessary and in the case of losing elections in towns and cities, repression and force is used although it is often concealed as socialization, discipline and censorship (Zimbabwe Election Support Network report 2005). Althusser (1971) points out that when ISA fails, the ruling elite resorts to Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) which functions primarily through violence. This is a typical example that government finally resorted to the use of force to deal with urban people after all its promises failed.

The media described the victims of the operation as social miscreants who built shacks and other illegal structures in Mutare city that were harbouring criminals and prostitutes, some coming from the neighbouring Mozambique illegally. This then justified government's position to embark on the Operation Murambatsvina to rid the city of criminals and prostitutes. During the same Operation Murambatsvina period, the majority poor were seen as the other not suitable to live in urban areas but in the tribal trust lands where (Tibaijuka 2005) who described the operation as "Operation Tsunami" saw the exercise as militarised to forcibly drive the poor urban out of towns and cities to live in rural areas. In what is believed to be correcting the

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excesses of Operation Murambatsvina, government launched a housing reconstruction initiative called 'Operation Garikai/Hlalani kuhle', soon after the destruction of settlements in towns and cities as compensation to victims of the operation Chari (2008). While the exercise to build housing units to accommodate those affected by the operation sounded noble, it was unfortunate that the powerful men, women and youths in government such as top civil servants like policemen, soldiers and supporters of the ruling party grabbed the few housing units built, leaving the very vulnerable people without anything (Kamete 2006; Bratton and Masunungure 2007; Fontein 2009). During the period when the so called illegal structures were being destroyed under Operation Murambatsvina, the interface between victims of the demolitions, local authorities and government on one hand and the mass media on the other was not thoroughly interrogated explored. The available literature looks at how the media interrogated the illegality of settlements, leaving a gap on the role of the media in framing of victims, the Harare City Council and the land barons, hence a gap remains.

Media and the Indian Ocean Tsunami

The Indian Ocean tsunami, the world's largest devastating earthquake since 1900 struck and generated tsunamis in December 2004 and swept across the Indian Ocean drawing the attention of the media in the world when thousands of people were killed, injured and displaced. Brennan (2005; Baker 2010; USAID 2010)' www.emdat.be/Database/terms.html) confirmed the most affected countries as those which include Indonesia, Thailand, India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Myanmar, Seychelles and Malaysia where thousands of people died and many others injured and displaced.

People who were killed, displaced and injured in the tsunami were portrayed as vulnerable and defenceless who did not have any means of escaping the ugly weather conditions (Bankoff, 2004). Countries in the Indian Ocean zones are vulnerable and prone to earthquakes, floods, tsunami, tornados and other natural disasters and such they remain the world's unsafe people because of hazards they have no capacity to cope and survive once they are affected Brennan (2005; Baker 2010; USAID 2010). Under such conditions, the media portray the countries as vulnerable to poverty, hunger and diseases Bankoff (2004). The geographical set up of the

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countries is described as defenceless places which are frail and without any protection from disasters like tsunamis. Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2003) argues that the mass media's power to present certain event or groups of people is evident in the way they select texts. Once people are injured and displaced from their land by famine, wars and other natural disasters, they find it difficult to fend for themselves and they will be relying on government or donor assistance. The media see countries in the Indian Ocean zones as often represented as regions under misrule because of despotic governments which are disorganised and ill equipped to react and take people to safety when disasters hit them. Povlock (2011) states the government of Sri Lanka has a negative record of human rights violations which has reared its ugly face mainly since 1983 to 2009 when more than 80 000 people were killed in a civil war pitting the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The government is accused of resourcing state security at the expense of national development, a case in which the country failed to put up early warning systems to prepare for the untimely tsunami. Just like Sri Lanka Indonesia is also accused of channelling more resources to the army and security structures to suppress religion freedoms mainly in West Papua, Java and Jakarta at the expense of national interests (Berger 2007). These countries and others in the Indian Ocean zones which were affected by the damaging tsunami are accused of misdirection in prioritising the national interests.

Governments around the Indian Ocean are accused ignoring introducing early warning systems just because they think tsunamis are rare and might not warrant preparedness, according to Robert Bradnock of Kings College, London. The discourse of 'uncaring' by governments created intense vulnerability and risk for their own populations who die in large numbers once a natural disaster strikes, according to Bankoff, (2004).

Bankoff, (2004) argues that the state of affairs in which countries in the Indian Ocean zones fail to put up early warning systems as a measure to minimise natural disasters and protect their populations resembles an old story about 'two worlds of them and us, where the 'us' is the West (particularly Europe and North America) and the 'them' is 'anywhere else (or The Third World), particularly the Indian Ocean and equatorial zone countries.' The 'us' are the industrialised, the urbanised with improved education and standards of living and they set up aid policies and divide the world into two that is the donor and the recipient nations and developed and

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underdeveloped countries. Bankoff, (2004) postulates that Western countries are always couched in the context of providing external aid and support because there is little or no help from local governments who are represented as highly problematic and ignorant to the vulnerability of their people. These commentaries reinforce the notion of dependency and victimhood where countries affected by the tsunami are constructed as being unable to help themselves. This concludes that mediated frames of catastrophes are influenced by stereotypes and nationalistic values, according to Anna Olofsson, (2011). The issue of postcolonial theory and in particular the 'us' and 'them' was applied on news coverage of the Indian Ocean tsunami. Postcolonial theory was a critical endeavour to analyze modernity and the significance of (Western) imperialism both for the colonized and the colonizer (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1997; Said, 1979). Colonialism represents not only the actual act of one nation colonizing another, but also the hegemonic discourse of Western modernity, through which the whole world is understood and has been understood for centuries (Childs and Williams, 1997). The construction of who 'we' are is bound to be the construction of others. However, due to stratification based on the universalizing discourse of Western modernity, some will be considered superior to 'others' like in the case of the Western countries mobilising aid to support the victims of the tsunami (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1979; Shome and Hegde, 2002). According to Hall (1997), colonialism and hegemonic discourse of Western modernity is a process of representations transferring into stereotypes which fixate particular characteristics of 'them.

The 'Third World' of which some are from the Indian Ocean zones are portrayed as homogenised, culturally undifferentiated mass of humanity who are associated with powerlessness, passivity, ignorance, hunger, illiteracy, neediness, oppression and inertia' (Escobar, 1995 cited in Bankoff, 2001). Adding his voice to the negative portrayal of the incapacities of the Indian Ocean countries to put up warning systems in place, Don Mckinnon, the Secretary General of the Commonwealth, pointed out that meetings initiated by Western countries to discuss and issue alert warning of the potential danger of tsunamis were largely ignored by those in the danger zones and as such the ordinary people were seriously affected. Bill McGuire of University College London argued that there was little or no awareness of the potential danger from tsunamis in the region stating that about two thirds of the people who died

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should have survived the 2004 natural disaster. McGuire further states that had early warnings been conducted, many of the affected people could have had time to reach inland or to reach high ground and survived. The affected governments were represented as ignorant of the early warning systems despite having been informed but chose not to heed the advice to protect their vulnerable and defenceless people.

The portrayal of the victims of tsunami by the mass media had shown the bodies of people being carried out of water and the authorities could not cope, a sign that the Indian Ocean countries had no capacity and neglected measures to minimise the death of the defenceless people. In Banda Aceh, a tourist resort town, the bodies published pictures of bodies scattered on the streets, a sign to denounce the country for having failed to address the ugly situation. On December 28, on the front page of the Guardian newspaper, journalist Jonathan Steele reports from a mortuary in Panadura, Sri Lanka under the heading 'Another body another wail' that the Panadura hospital had only eight refrigerated chambers, and bodies were spilling out into the open, some laid out on the grass, several on the concrete floor of the mortuary, and a few on battered trolleys in the sun. This is an indication that the mass media play an instrumental role in framing and presenting news of natural disaster to the audience with certain agenda meant to influence consumers of media texts to evoke certain feelings (Fairclough 1992)

The coverage of the tsunami victims portrays the affected governments' failure to represent its people in time of need and the media according to Lupton (1999) is an important source of the creation and reproduction of meaning. The main Guardian newspaper's headline above bodies was 'The true horror emerges'. This was meant to depict the horror of the tsunami and the poor handling of the dead by the government. The pictures could also be read as the horror of what all the bodies meant to the world (Lupton 1999). They might mean infection, disease, decay and consequently a threat to survivors of the region but also beyond that in the form of some kind of a wide-spread contamination.

Further representation of bodies were said to be bloated, contorted, unidentified, left hanging from trees, being washed up by the tide, buried under rubble, slammed into trees, uncollected, putrefying, smelling, mangled, rotting in the open, falling apart in the sun, decomposing in the

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tropical heat, unburied (Brenaan, 2005; USAID 2010; Baker 2010). These bodies then become a risk; they were identified as a potential cause of disease which threatens the survivors. They were also a threat to the hospitals and health services which were already overwhelmed, posing danger to the high risk of cholera and other diseases unless the affected governments acted timeously to bury or burn the corpses as quickly as possible even if they have not been identified. Western expertise comes to the fore again:

The British and USA forensic experts flew into the affected countries to support increasingly desperate efforts to identify hundreds of victims of the December 2004 before authorities were forced to burn or bury bodies to prevent an outbreak of disease. Robins (2005) states that the media coverage of the devastating tsunami encouraged the outpouring of aid from the Western countries to the tsunami struck Indian Ocean countries. Mass media play a critical role in informing and educating audiences and creating awareness on relief aid and donations (Quarantelli, 1996; Quarantelli, 2005). This was true after the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004 when large amounts of money were donated to affected countries (Clark, 2005; Letukas and Barnshaw, 2008; Letukas, et al., 2009). Mass media framed victims in the impacted region according to societal stereotypes, with images of women and children portrayed as the defenceless and major victims after the tsunami (Childs, 2006). However, the provision of aid is not only about the humanitarian approach but the propensity to glorify the Western nation in view of the other (Nohrstedt, 2006).

My study has no interest in interrogating the portrayal of the poor victims of the tsunami and the Indian Ocean countries in view of the powerful Western nations that provided aid but rather looks at the framing, imaging and representation of victims of the housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons in the 2015/2016 period when the City Council went on a rampage and demolished hundreds of housing units in many urban areas. While the powerful nations proved their capability in bringing sanity to the devastated Indian Ocean states, the case with Harare city council is about the subaltern versus their government and hence a gap exists on the role of the mass media in framing the victims.

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Theoretical Framework

A theory is a group of assumptions that are meant to explain a phenomena or the relationship between two or more observable facts (Stoner et al, 2004). The framing and political economy of the media are the theories guiding this discussion focusing on *The Herald's* and *Newsday's* representation and framing of the victims of the housing demolitions and the Harare City Council during the 2015/2016 period.

The framing theory

The study deploys the framing theory. The theory looks at the role of the mass media in selecting, organizing and emphasizing some aspects of reality while excluding others (De Vreese 2001). A media frame refers to words, images, phrases and presentation styles that a speaker (e.g. a politician, a media outlet) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience (Druckman, 2001, Gamson and Modiglian, 1987). The chosen frame, according to the scholars reveals what the speaker sees as relevant to the topic at hand and this is critical in public opinion formation processes. I explore how the media framed the victims of housing demolitions in Harare and the image of Harare City Council in the context of the demolitions.

Goffman (1996) argues that frames are persistent, enduring and re-occurring and the mass media use frames to develop story patterns over time to create a certain thinking to consumers of mass media products. The emerging board of literature on research on three models that are framing, agenda setting and priming has signalled the latest paradigm shift in the political communication research (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). In view of the housing demolitions in and around Harare city's residential suburbs in the 2015 to 2016 period, the framing theory is critical to unpack the role of the media in framing those who lost their properties, the land barons and the Harare City Council.

Framing is often used synonymously with representation and refers to ways in which news resort to particular interpretive structures to set particular events within their broader context McCombs and Shaw (1972). The essence of framing is selecting to prioritise and give prominence to some facts or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events to suit certain agendas (Norris, Kern and Just, 2003). The

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scholars argue that the media operate on the basis of framing in which journalists place some events and issues into specific categories defined in part by how they have covered them in the past and a range of factors that include the media's editorial policy. Gitlin (1980) argues that frames are composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters. Although they are largely unspoken and unacknowledged, media frames organise discourses which allow journalists and media organisations to handle complex events in a systematic fashion consistent with defined editorial policies of a particular media house.

The mass media are also prominent in framing the contestations between the "us" and "them" attitude (Maguire & Poulton, 1999). Hegel and Lacan also argue that whatever the markers of social differentiation that shape the meaning of "us" and "them," whether they are racial, geographic, ethnic, economic or ideological, there is always the danger that they will become the basis for a self affirmation that depends upon the denigration of the other group or people. It is against this background that my study is critically interrogating the way the victims of housing demolitions and the Harare City Council were portrayed, framed and represented by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers during housing demolitions in the period under study.

Tuchman (1978) cited in McQuail (2005) postulates that a frame is needed to organise otherwise fragmentary items of information. It enforces importance to otherwise simple pieces of information to suit certain editorial pieces of a publication or media outlet. For example after the death of the former President of Libya Colonel Gaddafi, Zimbabwe's state controlled media called it callous murder while independent press termed it 'the death of a dictator'. The two media organisations framed the Libyan leader in different ways that suit the editorial policy of their media house. McQuail (2005) notes that framing is a way to give an overall interpretation to isolated items of fact which is almost unavoidable and leads to journalists departing from objectivity in line with media laws and ethics by producing unintended bias in the coverage of news events. Framing can also happen in the use of pictures. A good example of the use of pictures to frame an individual is synonymous with Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) which used to show a video of the MDC T leader, Morgan Tsvangirai receiving a cheque from white commercial farmers as a way of framing and implicating him as a sympathiser of the

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colonialists and racists and whose party was funded by western countries. The use of the pictures is to influence consumers of media products to think in a certain way.

According to Gitlin (1980), media frames organise an idea or storyline to give meaning to unfolding strip of events in which they suggest what the controversy is about as well as the essence of the issue. Tuchman (1978) argues that the news frame organises everyday reality and is part and parcel of everyday life and an essential element in news reporting. Through framing, journalists quickly identify and classify information and package it for efficient relay to their audiences. Framing, according to Tuchman (1978) involves the selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition and influence certain meaning. The framing and presentation of events therefore systematically affects the recipients of the news and how they come to understand the events. In view of the above, this dissertation is interested in exploring how the media particularly *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers framed and represented the victims of housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and the land barons in the period under study.

McCombs and Shaw (1997) suggest that framing is an extension of agenda setting. The agenda setting theory was coined by McCombs and Shaw (1972) soon after the 1968 United States presidential campaign when the two scholars investigated the role of the media in the coverage of the campaigns. The theory explains the correlation between the rate at which the media covered news events and the way in which people thought about the importance of the news items. Agenda-setting is the art of creating public awareness and concern of salient issues in which the media are accused of not reflecting reality but filter and shape it to suit the interests of those who own the media institutions (McCombs and Shaw 1972). Agenda setting therefore emphasises the role of the mass media on placing and emphasising certain issues as more important than others and at the same time using them to influence the way of thinking of audiences of mass media products to accept certain content (McCombs and Shaw 1972). With the media setting agenda as prescribed by those who own them, the public is meant to perceive those issues as more important than others. Cohen (1963) states that the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about. The theory therefore influences public opinion formation and creates

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pictures in people's heads (Sanchez, 2002). Through agenda setting the media will be trying to influence discursive processes which are key in opinion formation by the people who consume media products. The media is constantly trying to sell perceptions, interpretations and meanings to consumers, according to Duplessis (2000).

McQuail (1994) argues that the agenda setting theory in the context of political communication results in the media avoiding objectivity, truth, balanced reporting and hence violating journalistic regulations and ethics. The agenda setting theory is therefore based on the fact that newspaper readers, radio and television listeners and viewers respectively are given a topic by the media to think about, according to McCombs and Shaw (1972) who state that the media in this case *The Herald* and *Newsday* do not tell people reality on the ground but successfully tell the readers what to think about. The theory states that the media have the power over audience by their choice of stories which they consider newsworthy. The agenda setting theory which is just similar to the framing theory is central in this study because the researcher established an agenda in the *The Herald's* and *Newsday's* framing of victims of the housing demolitions. Gross (2011) states that the agenda setting theory is based on coming up with issues that raise public attention and prominent issues as, directed by those who own and control the media houses. This assertion by Gross (2011) means that the public will believe and follow what has been said by the mass media. The media, however, do not mirror reality but shapes it to suit the agenda of those who own, control and fund media houses. While my dissertation is attempting to establish the role played by the media particularly *The Herald* and *Newsday* in mediating disputes over housing demolitions, it is prudent to investigate whether the agenda setting theory was at play to influence public thinking and public judgment in view the housing demolitions in the period under study.

The mass media is accused of serving the primary mechanism of communicating opinion to the public through the concept of agenda setting to influence certain decisions (McCombs & Shaw, 1972 ; Iyengar and Kinder, 1987. Cohen (1963) argues that agenda setting is accomplished through the attention given to the media and issues being raised and given prominence. Agenda setting according to McCombs and Shaw (1993) explains why certain issues in information dissemination are taken to be more important than others by the consumers of mass media

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products. When the mass media focus attention on a particular issue in the coverage of news events, consumers of media products are more likely to believe that the issues being raised are more important than those not reported (Iyengar et al, 1982). For example the public media especially *The Herald* and *Sunday Mail* set an agenda that the former Vice President, Joice Mujuru and her sympathisers were planning to overthrow President Mugabe. She was framed as an evil person with her war credentials being questioned in the government funded newspapers until she was finally fired from her post and government. All the good she did before, during and after the liberation struggle and in independent Zimbabwe was swept under the carpet, a true reflection by McCombs and Shaw (1972) that the media excludes certain information to suit certain agenda.

Fowler (1991) explains that all news is socially constructed in that certain newspaper reports do not reflect reality and the significance of those events they report on but rather reveal the selection criteria of a newspaper in line with its editorial policy. Newspapers decide which events they regard as important enough to report on and a large number of events are not even referred to and seen as newsworthy, according to Fowler (1991). The scholar further asserts that some events are not newsworthy in themselves but only become “news” when they are selected for inclusion in news reports. News is not simply only events which happen but that which is regarded and presented by the media as newsworthy. As Foucault (1978) notes, silence on a certain event is very much part of any discourse used by the mass media to silence some events and at the same time giving prominence to others. Silence itself means the things that one declines to say, or is forbidden to name and the discretion that is required between different speakers is less the absolute limit of discourse (Foucault 1978).

Applying this to news production, van Dijk (1991) argues that the analysis of the “unsaid” is sometimes more revealing than the study of what is actually expressed in text. By choice, information is both excluded and included to suit certain agenda. In the study of media discourses, headlines are particularly interesting and appealing. Brookes (1995) asserts that readers often tend to focus on the headlines of articles rather than on the contents. Since headlines are usually read more frequently than the articles themselves, they are a powerful way to convey a particular ideological view. Headlines activate and reproduce the knowledge readers

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already have on the subject and may as a result also reconfirm readers' prejudices, Brookes (1995). In view of the assertions by Brookes (1995), van Dijk (1991, Fowler 1991) and Foucault (1978) that news is constructed, silence is a discourse used to decline certain events and that the unsaid is sometimes more revealing than the said, it is critical to critique how *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers portrayed and represented the Harare City Council, the land barons and victims in the housing demolitions spearheaded by the Municipality of Harare in the 2015/2016 period.

Agenda setting is a theory that explains the correlation between the rate at which media cover a story and the extent that people think about the importance of the story. In agenda-setting, the media is seen as having some power over audiences, but individuals still are free to make their own decisions in regards to news stories from the media. Morley (1980), a sociologist who specializes in the sociology of the television audience, under his Nationwide television programme conducted at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham between 1975 and 1979 argues that 'members of a given sub-culture will tend to share a cultural orientation towards decoding messages in particular ways in which individual "readings" of messages will be framed by shared cultural formations and practices'. Morley (1980) came up with three readings namely dominant (or 'hegemonic') reading where a reader shares the programme's meaning system of values, attitudes, beliefs and assumptions and fully accepts the programme's 'preferred meaning. The next is the negotiated reading where the reader partly shares the programme's code and broadly accepts the preferred reading, but modifies it in a way which reflects their position and interests. Morley's third reading is the oppositional ('counter-hegemonic') reading. The reader does not share the programme's code and rejects the preferred reading, bringing to bear an alternative frame of interpretation.

In my study, semiotics plays an important role in analysing the role of the mass media in interpreting signs in meaning making process in the 2015 to 2016 housing demolitions in and around the capital city by the Harare city council. In view of the semiotics, it is important to critique how the mass media particularly *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers applied semiotics in framing and representing the victims of the housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and the land barons during the housing demolitions in the 2015/2016 period.

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Political economy of the media theory

While this study is grounded in the framing theory, it also appeals to the Marxist political economy of the media theory. The political economy of the media looks at ownership, control and funding patterns of a particular newspaper, a radio or television station. Political economy is described as the study of social relations, particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources, including communication resources (Mosco 2009). Thus the mass media content is framed in a method that satisfies the owners of media houses and advertisers. Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that the mass media inclines to be biased after framing certain issues or certain individuals due to their ownership, control and funding patterns. In view of the housing demolitions which took place in and around the Harare city's residential areas, in the 2015/2016 period, my dissertation seeks to establish whether there were forces behind the coverage, framing and representation of the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons in the two dailies newspapers, *The Herald* and *Newsday* in line with the funding, ownership and control patterns of the media.

Political economy is an umbrella term for theories and analytical approaches which seek to understand how economic and political relationships, interests and affiliations determine the nature and functioning of social institutions (including the media) and the impact or lack of impact of these relationships on social transformation and development (Fourie, 2007). Boyd-Barrett and Newbold (1995) are of the view that the term political economy in media research has a broadly 'critical' signification often associated with multiple macro questions of media ownership, control, interlocking, directorship and other factors that bring together media industries with other industries and with political, economic and social elite. Political economy focuses on mass media industry structures; emphasizing the effects of ownership on political systems while on the other hand it is viewed as a study of the "commodity" cycle in mass media production, distribution, exchange, and consumption. Other scholars insist on distribution and consumption, media content technology and flows of information within various econometric frameworks (Graham 2003). Smith (1776) argues that commerce is the pinnacle of economic civilization and that liberty is fundamental to the growth of commerce hence he advocated for the creation of an economic mechanism, the self regulatory market, which simultaneously

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satisfies self interest and the needs of the community. Smith (1776) strongly argues for private property ownership and control and advocated for laissez-faire (do not interfere, a term perhaps screaming at government to back off from capitalist business adventures) and free trade. He argues that 'government has no business in business.' However, as for media in many capitalists' countries, the issue of ownership, control and funding is common and governments, the world over Zimbabwe included control both content and messages in the mass media in order to safeguard and promote their interests.

Many newspapers in Zimbabwe which fall under government control such as *The Herald, The Sunday Mail, Chronicle, Manica Post* and both *B and H Metro* are under strict regulations prescribed by government and the ruling party ZANU PF. The newspapers do not oppose, criticise or denigrate government's shortcomings or the evils of the ruling party but portray both positively. Similarly, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation's (ZBC) television and all the radio stations follow the same system. For example, the coverage of the land reform in Zimbabwe was characterised by many negatives such as violence and to some extent murders but all government controlled mass media houses never reported on those issues except the privately owned newspapers. They only praised government, war veterans and ZANU PF for embarking on the programme which they claimed was meant to empower the black majority who were marginalised for many years under colonial rule. However, my study is not interested in the role of government in owning media houses but interrogates how the media framed, represented and imaged the victims of housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons during the period under study.

During the same period when war veterans, the land hungry citizens and ZANU PF youths went on a rampage to invade and occupy white owned large scale farms, the privately owned newspapers like the *Daily News, Financial Gazette* and *Independent* among others reported differently on what was happening on the ground by trying to be objective but they were forced to abandon their watchdog role owing to draconian and repressive laws such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), and Public Order and Security Act (POSA) which were enacted during the height of the land resettlement programme to regulate media operations so that all content and messages published are favourable to government or the ruling

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class. The ideas by the governments or the ruling class to control mass media were meant to ensure that no negative information which might influence public opinion is published.

Smith (1776) also argues that capital is best employed for the production and distribution of wealth under conditions of governmental non-interference but he relied on the overwhelming power of the “invisible hand” that every individual in pursuing his own good to help in the production of commodities. Ricardo (1817) demonstrates a belief in laissez-faire or non-interference of government in the market and that labour determines value and that the market is the best regulator of economic activities. However, the government of Zimbabwe is in complete violation of the laissez faire concept by Smith and Ricardo through owning, funding and controlling all the newspapers, television and radio stations under the Zimpapers Group (1980) stable. Owning media houses by government means that it controls content and only the interests of government and political leaders from the ruling party see the light of the day. In view of the housing demolitions, it is critical to interrogate how ownership and control patterns of the media influenced the framing and representation of the tenants who lost their shelters, the land the barons who were responsible for land allocations as well as the Harare City Council.

Weber (2002) contends that nothing is real or original but rather, everything including the sentences written in newspapers is a construction of reality while McCombs and Shaw (1972) argue the media do not reflect reality but they filter and shape it, leading the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. The publication of such stories manufactured in the newsrooms done under five filters of news which include Ownership and control, Funding, Sourcing, Flak and Anticommunism (Herman and Chomsky,1988). Content in the government controlled *The Herald* newspaper and privately owned Newsday is influenced by the political economy which anchor on he who pays the piper detects the tune. The media create a certain world it wants people to know, but at the same time leaving out other important texts which carry undiluted information. According to Foucault, the media are actively involved in the creation, representation and reflection of reality to suit certain agendas. The political economy also meant that the media are business and their intention is to make a profit for those who own them and as such they treat those who advertise with dignity.

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In the sourcing filter, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988) argue that the mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. To this end, the mass media rely heavily upon news provided by corporate and government sources like ministers, which have themselves developed enormous bureaucracies to provide this material to the media. They have developed great expertise at "managing" the media. In effect, these bureaucracies subsidize the media and the media must be careful not to antagonize such important sources of news. Furthermore, these corporate and government sources are instantly credible sources of news in line with the journalistic practices and standards. Anti-elite sources, on the other hand, are regarded with utmost suspicion and credible sources of news and as such they have difficulty passing successfully through the sourcing filter. In line with my study, reporters from both *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers were mainly depending on news from the official side in reporting about the demolitions to get authentic stories from their publications

Herman and Chomsky (1988) highlight that "flak" as the other filter which affects the production and dissemination of news in which journalists who report negatively on economic and political power are viewed as counter-productive and are often under serious attack from the authorities. The flak filter is not very popular in Zimbabwe but is employed in many western countries. This filter was developed extensively in the 1970s when major corporations and wealthy right-wingers became increasingly unhappy with political developments in the West and with media coverage. These flak producers have actively promoted the absurd understanding that the media are bastions of liberalism and fundamentally hostile to capitalism and the "defence" of "freedom" around the world. Anti-communism is the final filter and like the flak, it is not relevant in Zimbabwe but in western political cultures where it provides ammunition for the smooth functioning of the propaganda model. Anti-communism has been ingrained into acceptable journalistic practices in the United States, to the point that even in periods of "detente" it is fully appropriate and expected for journalists to frame issues in terms of "our side" versus the communist "bad guys." Link to your study comrade

Murdock and Golding (1973) give their version of political economy mentioning that the mass media are first and foremost industrial and commercial organizations which produce and

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distribute commodities. As such the concept in question is concerned in studying communication and media as commodities produced by capitalist industries. The focus should, however, not only be on the production and distribution side but must also take full account of the peculiar nature of these commodities and the ideological work they do. The above assertion is pertinent to my study because it seeks to explore the way *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers represented and framed scores of residents whose houses were demolished by the Harare City Council on accusations that they were built on land not designated for housing development in the period under review.

Political economy has always been critical, perhaps not quite as critical of the public as of the privately controlled media (Curran and Gurevitch 1991). There are always links and mutual relations between the state and public media. Golding and Murdock (1977) argue that since the mass media are first and foremost industrial and commercial organisations which produce and distribute commodities (news), they get most of their revenue from advertising and hence they cannot go against those who advertise in their media. McQuail (1994) states that the mass media have to make profit to survive as a business and this often involves those who own and fund the media houses making decisions which directly influence the production and dissemination of certain content. In this case in *The Herald*, and *Newsday*, the whole process of news production from the news writing up to the editor censors themselves in line with the editorial policy of the publication which emanates from ownership and control patterns. This is significant to my research because political economy of the media in view of *The Herald's* slant on news proves that there are direct links from the state to the newspaper and that interests of the privately owned *Newsday* take a different approach altogether.

In line with this argument my study seeks to find out how ownership and funding patterns of the mass media affected the framing and representation of the housing victims, the Harare City Council and the land barons in the period under study.

The political economy of the media works hand in glove with gate-keeping. The gate-keeping theory was propounded by Kurt Letwin (1947) who used the analogy of how a mother decides on what food to be put on the table. In relation to the operations of the press, this theory explains

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how raw news passes through many gates in the news production process. It involves the selective attention of detail that comes out in media so as to protect the products that come out. In news organisation editors meet every morning to decide on stories that will be pursued and make it in the daily newspaper. In these editorial meetings, attention is given to detail and editors just outline instructions to be followed by reporters on how they approach news articles. This is where gate-keeping starts.

Shoemaker (2001) cited in McQuail (2005) argues that gate-keeping is a term used as a metaphor describing the process by which selections made in the media work especially decisions regarding whether or not a particular news report is to pass through the gates of a news medium. The gates are determined by what the paper seeks to achieve as well as those who control the organisation. *The Herald* for example, usually traces the activities of the President, ministers and top ruling party officials as a means of conforming to the ideals of its control mechanism. McQuail (2005) argues that gate-keeping is a mediation metaphor, a filter which acts to select parts of experience for special attention and closing off other views and voices whether deliberately or not.

The image of the gatekeeper implies that there is a gate through which information passes through. According to Mills (1956), gate-keeping and agenda setting processes are controlled by political, social and economic elites. In this way the agenda is to sustain their ideologies. Gatekeepers come in three forms namely institutional spokespersons, internal publishers and reporters. Reporters are the primary level gatekeepers because of their work in selection of what they would want to cover that day. This is at the initial stage of selection which leads to gate-keeping which deliberately decides to leave out some of the information because of organisational policies and line of approach. According to Payne, media content is a product of economic, social and political power exerted through primary level gate-keeping. Primary level gate-keeping is committed to the maintenance of the status quo and the protection of the status is linked to primary level gate-keeping. The news content is therefore designed in a way that reflects the dominant ideologies of government. The use of power by those who have it produces a consensual definition of news with that of primary level gatekeepers.

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Second and tertiary level gatekeepers produce a public agenda supportive of the media agenda through primary level effects associated with content selection. The public agenda is formulated as homogenised news content that is consistent with a dominant ideology. The homogenised news product is dictated primarily by the ideological mandates of a market economy. The editorial policies within organisations are the major framework of gate-keeping. The legislative frameworks also play a major part in determining that which is gate-kept or sustained. In the case of protecting the internal affairs of countries gate-keeping is necessary in ensuring that states protect their information and also that the media promotes the values of their cultures.

Gate-keeping in this study is put to scrutiny to establish how and why reporters, news editors and editors make decisions on which stories to write, publish or drop in line with the editorial policies of the newspaper organisation. David Manning White (1950) views gate-keeping to the power to give or withhold access to information to consumers of mass media products. Gate keepers who are the news editors, editors and sub-editors who receive stories from reporters make decisions on whether to publish or drop stories. Olien (1972) quoted in Shoemaker (1997) defines gate-keeping as a broader process of controlling information that include not just selection but also holding, shaping and doctoring it before it is transmitted to consumers. In this regard gate-keeping is understood as a process of handling, selecting, editing and controlling of news articles before transmission to mass media consumers. The idea is to influence and manipulate the masses to accept certain content wanted by those who own and control media houses. Dimbley and Burton (1992) argue that a gate-keeper is an individual within a media organisation who wields power to select, reject, edit or change articles from reporters and come up with something seen as relevant to suit the agenda of those in control of the media houses.

As for my study, gate-keeping is important in that it explains the processes involved in the production of news which have a bearing on news produced by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers in view of the housing demolitions carried out by the Harare City Council during the January 2015 to 31 January 2016 period.

Conclusion

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This chapter has reviewed literature of events which relate to my study and analyzed relevant theories. The next chapter looks at research methods and methodology.

CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter is centred on research methods and methodology of the study. It presents and discusses research approach, unit of analysis, sampling approach, methods of data gathering and methods of data analysis, interviews and methods of data presentation. Ethical considerations are also looked at in carrying out the research methods and methodology.

Methodology

Methodology is described as a series of choices which includes the design, setting, sample, methodological limitations, data collection and analysis process in a research (Burns and Grove 2003). Mouton (1996) also describes methodology as the means or method of doing something. The research methodology can be quantitative or qualitative. At times a mixed method approach, combining both qualitative and quantitative can be undertaken in carrying out the study. My study, however, deploys a qualitative research approach to establish how *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers framed, constructed and represented the victims of housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and the land barons during the 2015/2016 period when hundreds of housing units in and around Harare were destroyed by the local authority on accusations that they were built on areas not designated for housing development like wetlands and others reserved for other projects.

Research Approach

While my study is qualitative in nature, it utilizes the interpretive design in gathering, presenting and discussing findings of the study (Bryman, 2004). Qualitative research is a systematic set of beliefs and accompanying methods that provide a nature of reality (Lincoln and Guba as cited by Savenye and Robinson, 2003). The study utilises a qualitative approach in an attempt to unpack frames used by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers on portrayal representing of the victims of housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons in the period under review.

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Bryman (2012) points out that qualitative research methodology is an approach which usually emphasizes words, feelings and perceptions in the collection and analysis of data.

A qualitative research approach assists the researcher to obtain rich data. In my study, I find qualitative research to be the most appropriate technique in undertaking my research work. While there are different designs falling under the qualitative research approach that is the interpretive, constructivism and phenomenological, I decided to choose the interpretive approach in my research work. The decision to choose a specific methodology should be based on its suitability to answer the research questions (Bryman, 1988). The approach, answers why and how the victims of housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons were covered by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers during the period under review. Qualitative research is appropriate since my study is mainly based on content and discourse analysis as well as interviews of reporters who covered the housing demolitions and their editors drawn from the two daily newspapers. This qualitative approach in data gathering and analysis increases depth and accuracy of my research work.

Interpretive Approach

Under this approach, the researcher acknowledges limitations of inquiry and does not aspire to know all (Bryman, 2012; Rouck, 2012.) However, in this study, critical textual discourse analysis, the principal methods of interpreting data, were stories written about the demolitions of the housing units and how the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons were represented and portrayed in the period under study are going to be thoroughly analysed. In this approach, the study qualitatively explores frames used by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers in the coverage of the housing demolitions in and around the city of Harare in the 2015/2016 period. Data to be scrutinised and analyzed in this approach is collected from published texts and pictures in the two daily newspapers.

A key advantage of applying qualitative research approach in my study is that it produces an instigated link in theory analysis, whereby theory is generated out of the research conducted (Bryman, 2012). This study uses thematic analysis in the presentations of the findings in chapter

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5. My study thus largely depends on the interpretations as well as judgements made by the researcher in data analysis. Issues of reliability and validity are equally taken into consideration.

Unit of Analysis

In media and communication studies, unit of analysis could be constituted by media houses, audiences and even the texts. This could also be referred to as the population or research universe. In my study, I prefer the term unit of analysis albeit at times and I consciously use the terms interchangeably. Gunter (2000) describes a unit of analysis as the entity that is utilized in an analysis while Babbie (2001) and Neuman (2006) are of the view that a sample is drawn from a large pool or elements. The sampling elements are the units of analysis. Unit of analysis is the smallest element of such an analysis which can be a word, a symbol, a theme or a whole article. In the context of my study, housing demolition stories published in *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers focusing in the period under review constitute my analysis. More so, purposively selected journalists and editors at *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers will add to my unit of analysis. In my study, I purposively selected 40 stories from *Newsday* newspapers which I got from the Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ) library and the National Archives of Zimbabwe. After thoroughly scrutinising all the selected stories, I remained with 14 hard news stories, two editorial comments and two letters to the editor which I found to be more suitable for my study because they relate very well to the demolitions of houses by the Harare City Council. All the stories picked up by the researcher were slotted in inside pages of the newspaper. Not even one story was on front page of *Newsday*. Still with this privately owned newspaper, I also purposively selected 10 pictures of demolished housing units which were showing rubble and debris as well sad faces of the victims. As for *The Herald*, I also purposively picked up an equal number of 40 housing demolitions stories and after reading all of them, I was left with 18 hard news articles, five opinion articles, one editorial comment and two letters to the editor. Of all the 25 articles, six appeared on the front page of *The Herald* while the rest appeared in the other inside pages. Only four pictures were selected for analysis in my study. Stories, opinions, editorial comments and letters to the editor appearing in both newspapers articulate the basis of my study because they link with my research questions.

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To obtain additional information for my study and back up data obtained from the articles from both newspapers, the researcher purposively selected three journalists from each of the two newspapers and two editors from each publication for interviews. The journalists interviewed are Elita Chikwati, Fidelis Munyoro and Innocent Ruwende, from *The Herald*. News editor also interviewed is Herbert Zharare. As for *Newsday*, the three journalists are Moses Matenga, Charles Laiton and Everson Mushava as well as their news editor, Patrice Makova. The journalists extensively covered the housing demolitions while both editors made their contributions in the housing demolitions saga through editorial comments. So my study is justified to interview them for the purposes of obtaining additional information from their own experiences which could not be written as it may violate stipulated editorial policies and regulations of the two newspapers. As McCombs and Shaw (1972) argue that the media do not tell audiences what to think but successfully tell them what to think about. It is clear their reporting, coverage of the demolitions, portrayal and imaging of the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons might have been influenced by those who own fund and control the media houses. In addition Cohen (1963) states that the media set agenda by giving prominence to some stories and at the same time downplaying others. So it is critical to interview them to provide information which they could not write in respect of stipulated regulations from the editors. It is also critical for my study to give a comparison by providing differences and similarities in the coverage of the housing demolitions, portrayal of the victims, The Harare City Council and land barons in the two newspapers, *The Herald*, a publicly owned publication controlled by government and *Newsday*, an independent newspaper owned by publisher, Trevor Ncube.

Sampling Techniques

Sampling is central in any research in humanities and science fields. Sampling is the act, process, or technique of selecting a suitable sample, or a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population (Blumberg, 2005; Latham, 2007). Searle (1995) adds that sampling is the art of selecting units of analysis such as people and institutions in a study. The reason is about selecting a few samples from a bigger

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group to become the basis for estimating and predicting outcomes. A sample is a subset of a targeted populace that represents the whole group (Bryman 2004; Searle, 1995). Sampling helps in attaining precise results in a short period of time as the views and feelings of many people are represented by the chosen few.

There are two approaches to sampling namely probability and non-probability sampling (Tashakkari and Teddlie, 2003). Since the research approach is qualitative, non-probability sampling technique is appropriate in my study. Non probability sampling is a sampling method where the samples gathered in a procedure do not give all people chances of being selected (Castello, 2009). This sampling approach is commonly used in qualitative research studies. In essence, non probability sampling allows the researcher to calculate the nature and extent of any biases and to ascertain what variation in the estimate (Aaker 2001). Systematic random sampling is used in selecting newspapers that carried stories of the housing demolitions. Purposive sampling became catchy in selecting newspaper articles which I understand were critical in the coverage of the housing demolitions. I also employed judgemental sampling in selecting news reporters and editors to be interviewed to get their positions in view of the discourses articulated in the texts of the two daily newspapers. The main purpose of utilising the non probability sampling is that the main goal of the study is to clearly reveal how *The Herald* and *Newsday* daily papers represented and imaged the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons in the housing demolitions in the 2015/2016 period.

Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling is also known as non probability sampling, judgment or judgmental which is based on the discretion of the researcher (Jones, 1955; Babbie, 1990). It is also referred to as purposeful sampling (MacNealy, 1999). Purposive sampling is selecting a sample on the basis of one's knowledge of the population, its elements, characteristics and the nature of the research aims (Babbie 1990). Chishall (1973) and Frey et al (2008) are of the view that purposive sampling aims at selecting all textual units that contribute to answering research questions. Frey (2008) adds that individual characteristics are selected to answer necessary questions about a "certain matter or product". I employed purposive sampling as it would help me to get articles

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from The Herald and Newsday newspapers that are relevant and straight to the point to undertake my study. I analysed 40 newspaper articles published by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers as from 1 January 2015 to 31 December 2016. The newspaper articles contain stories on how the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons were covered by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers in the period under study.

Wimmer and Dominick (1997) are of the idea that purposive sampling is used most often in field observation because the researcher's knowledge is based on familiarity with the subjects in which appropriate behaviour or events can be observed. Purposive sampling in my study is also used to select newspapers articles which are relevant, suitable and straight to the point. Journalists who wrote stories on demolitions as well as editors were purposively selected to suit the requirements of my research work. The journalists include Elita Chokwati, Fidelis Munyoro and Innocent Ruwende from *The Herald*. Charles Laiton, Everson Mushava and Desmond Chingarande from *Newsday* are also purposefully selected for interviews to broaden the scope of my study. Hebert Zharare and Caesar Zvai are the editors from *The Herald* I purposefully selected for my study while Patrice Makova and Wisdom Mudzungairi from *Newsday* were also interviewed to back up texts analysed from published stories on housing demolitions in the period stretching from 2015/2016.

Snowball Sampling

In my study, I also used snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling is a technique for gathering research subjects through the use of an initial subject who will provide contacts of other actors not known by the researcher (Atkinson and Flint, 1998). These actors may themselves open avenues for an expanded web of contacts and inquiries. The strategy is utilized primarily as a response to overcome the problems associated with understanding and sampling concealed populations such as the deviant and the socially isolated Faugier and Sargeant (1997). Snowball sampling can be placed within a wider set of methodologies that take advantage of the social networks of identified respondents, which can be used to provide a researcher with an escalating set of potential contacts. In my research study, I first lined up journalists and editors whom I know and very familiar with. These journalists then led me to other potential reporters

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not known to me but who might have vital information not given by those I had lined up for my study.

Method of Data Gathering

My research will use qualitative methods in collection, analysis and presentation of data. This method is also referred to as triangulation. According to Borg and Gall (1989), triangulation refers to the strategy of using several different kinds of data collection tools such as texts, interviews and content analysis to gather information for a research project. In my study, I will gather data through interviews of both journalists who wrote stories about housing demolitions and their editors to capture their views. Archival research will also be undertaken for content and discourse analysis for articles in *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers. Data gathering is vital for this study as information collected is meant to give to a broader understanding of the theoretical framework (Bernard, 2002). Data gathered helped in the construction of new theories or in the explanation of existing theories.

Archival research

To gather data for my study I visited the National Archives of Zimbabwe and the library of the Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ) to conduct qualitative content and critical discourse analysis on newspaper articles published by the two daily newspapers on housing demolitions in the period under study. Archival research is the process of locating, evaluating, systematic interpretation and analysis of information found in archives (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). The purposefully selected stories from archives and the library will be analysed and scrutinised to identify differences and similarities of stories covered in the newspapers. Archival research uses data collected by other people. As stated above 55 articles combining opinions, letters to the editor, comments and pictures from both *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers were purposively selected and analysed in the 2015/2016 period where the Harare City Council demolished housing units in and around the city centre on accusations that they were built illegally in areas reserved for some other developments other than housing. Journalists from both publication numbering six and four editors from the two newspapers were as well interviewed

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for additional information to broaden the scope of my research project. The journalists wrote the stories and at times they witnessed the council bulldozers in action while editors allowed certain stories edited the articles before publication as well as writing comments. The pictures taken by the two newspapers' photographers were also extracted for analysis to enrich my research project.

Interviews

To complement and support data gathered from archives and the library to consolidate the depth of my research work, I also undertook interviews with journalists from *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers with the intention to find out how they framed and portrayed the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons during the period under study. An interview is a process of using questions to get answers (Dooley, 2003). To obtain information through interviews, the interviewer is expected to have full control of the interview to avoid the reporter from going astray but to remain focussing on the subject matter. An interview is a purposeful discussion between two or more people that can help the researcher to gather valid and reliable data that is relevant to one's research objectives (Kahn and Cannel, 1957). Kvale (1996) asserts that interviewing is a method of qualitative research and is also called in-person interview. The journalists to be interviewed are Elita Chokwati, Fidelis Munyoro and Innocent Ruwende from *The Herald*. Charles Laiton, Everson Mushava and Desmond Chingarande from *Newsday* are also purposefully selected for interviews to broaden the scope of my study. Herbert Zharare and Caesar Zvai are the editors from *The Herald* I purposefully selected for my study while Patrice Makova and Wisdom Mudzungairi from *Newsday* will also be interviewed to back up texts analysed from published stories on housing demolitions in the 2015/2016 period. Face to face interviews allows the researcher an opportunity to make follow up questions in addition to prepared questions during the conversation.

Methods of data analysis

My study focuses on qualitative content analysis, semiotic analysis and critical discourse analysis in data gathering. Data analysis is a procedure that involves investigative, cleaning and

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interpreting data in line with nature of my study. This study makes use of content analysis and critical discourse analysis. This approach is the assembling, cleaning and examining of the data (Plonsky and Waller, 2005).

Qualitative Content Analysis

This study largely utilizes the qualitative content analysis to analyze stories from *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers on how the victims of housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons were framed, constructed and portrayed during the period under study. Qualitative content analyses, assesses situations, meanings and nuances presumed to be recognizable by human factors (Krippendorff, 2004). Therefore qualitative content analysis seeks to unpack hidden meaning contained in the texts. This research looks at the text, ownership, control and the hidden meanings in newspaper articles published by both *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers during the time under study. The researcher makes use of qualitative content analysis that involves penetrating the deeper layers of a message. Content analysis is vital for this study because it displayed assorted texts to the construction, imaging and framing of the victims of housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons during the 2015/2016 period when the city council embarked on housing demolitions which it argued were built on land not allocated to them by the local authority.

Content analysis is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of a text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Krippendorff, 1980). Content analysis or textual analysis is therefore a method in social sciences for studying the content of communication. Babbie (1990) further defines content analysis as the study of recorded human communications. Content analysis can also be a useful technique for allowing us to discover and describe the focus of individual, group, institutional, or social attention (Weber, 1990). Content analysis enables researchers sift through large volumes of data with relative ease in a systematic fashion (GAO, 1996). In my study, content analysis enables me to critically analyze the news articles written by reporters from *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers looking at their approach in framing and portraying the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons in the coverage of the housing demolitions in the period under study. Through content analysis, I critically

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scrutinised newspaper articles that were most relevant to my study to extract meaning. This also allows meaning extracted from content analysis to be fused with information obtained through interviews to come up with a comprehensive research analysis for my study.

Semiotic analysis

To understand the meaning of pictorial images, my study appeals to semiotics. Semiotics is the study of signs, symbols, signification and it is also a study of how meaning is created. Deely (1990) states that semiotics is the study of sign action (semiosis). Semiotics is associated with the work of the American philosopher, Peirce, although its roots are in the works of a Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. American philosopher and logician Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) is responsible for coining the term semiotics. Also Umberto Eco, an Italian linguist, philosopher and novelist is responsible for bringing an understanding and appreciation of semiotics to a wider scholarly and popular audience. His works place special emphasis on the process through which signs are created and the role of the individual who read or interprets those signs. The most fundamental difference between the works of these two scholars was that de Saussure was a languages professor whose approach was purely linguistic in nature and hardly considered the reader, whereas Peirce's model has the reader as one of its critical components (Crow, 2003).

Ferdinand de Saussure cited in Curran and Gurevitch (2000) highlights the importance of studying the whole systems of signs rather than focussing only on individual analysis arguing that signs draw meaning and significance from the way they interact with other signs in a system. De Saussure argues that there was "no inherent or necessary relationship between that which carries the meaning (the signifier) and the actual meaning which is carried (the signified) (Cline, 2011). De Saussure argues that a car is a physical thing but that the word used to identify it may be made up of random letters of the alphabet. Peirce's theory of semiotics distinguished three types of signs, namely the icon, the index and the symbol. According to Cline (2011:1), "Whether a sign belongs in one category or another is dependent upon the nature of the relationship between the sign itself and the actual meaning".

Both de Saussure and Peirce's approaches identify three components as the critical elements of semiotics, namely the signs themselves, the way they are organised into systems and the context

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in which they appear (Fourie, 1996). In semiotic analysis, in visual communication, the sign is the smallest known variable. Based on the works of Peirce, the sign can be identified through its three main characteristics. Firstly, it must be physically perceptible, meaning that it must “in some degree be visible, audible or tangible”, or one must be able to smell or taste it (Fourie, 1996:38). Secondly, it should refer to something, and therefore it will have a representative character. While a sign is a representation of something else, it has to have an interpretive character (Fourie, 1996:38).

Sebeok (1974) defines semiotics as the ‘study of the exchange of any messages whatever and of the system of signs which underline them, the key concept of semiotics remaining the sign.’ This technique is traced from literacy studies and is rich in unbundling meaning hidden in texts from the newspapers. Semiotics can also be understood as the science of signs. Media content is composed of sets of signs that have meaning attached to them. Semiotics analysis is relevant in my study as it unpacks images of housing demolitions, graders, victims and officials produced and reproduced in *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers which try to influence public opinion concerning the way the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons were framed, constructed and portrayed in the housing demolitions in the 2015/2016 period.

Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a concept that looks at the act of speech or language as power resource that is connected to ideology and socio-cultural change Bryman (2012). Bryman (2012) explains how the Foucauldian theories to the exercise of power and discourse through the framing of disciplinary practices as a consequence in individual subjectivity. Critical discourse analysis refers to written texts and is also used in connection with audio visual which attempts to assess the meaning of language in media (Gunter, 2000). Thus my study therefore sees the use of speech or language by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers in the coverage of the housing demolitions in view of how the victims, the Harare City Council and the land barons were framed, imaged and portrayed as an exercise of power to influence the public to think in a certain way.

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Fourie (2007) argues that, discourse means dialogue, talk, discussion or communication and further points out that critical discourse analysis starts with the analyses of communication statements on a case pursued by an analysis of the laws that set down the methods of debating, delineating, representing a case and leaving other methods of representation. Fourie (2007) also argues that critical discourse analysis involves an analysis of the subject as it is embodied by the mass media and how the media's representation of the case acquires power and is embodied as the truth concerning the case as dealt with by the mass media.

Under critical discourse analysis mass media texts feature prominently. The suspected manipulation of the mass media has inspired the researcher's critical studies in large scenarios such as texts, semiotics and discourse. Another point to consider in critical discourse analysis is the identification of signals and the polysemic features of texts as noted by Fairclough (1993). Critical discourse analysis is suitable for this study because it unpacks and focuses on disintegrating all agents of texts published by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers and asking "who uses speech or language, why, how and when" (Van Dijk, 1997).

Methods of data presentation

The study makes use of thematic analysis method to present data because as it analyses the coverage of the housing demolitions by *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers during the period under study. Thematic content analysis is an illustrative presentation of qualitative data Anderson (2007). Further, Braun and Clarke (2006) note that thematic analysis is a method for recognizing, analyzing, and describing outlines (themes) inside data.

The research makes use of qualitative methods in collecting, analyzing and of data presentation. This method is also triangulation which refers to the strategy of using several different kinds of data collection instruments such as texts, interviews and content analysis to explore a single issue Gall (1989). Themes obtained as findings are related to the theory selected for the study that is discourse, power and knowledge. The themes clarify the theoretical status outcome in line with manipulation discourse noted in the framing and portrayal victims, the Harare City Council and land during the period under study. These explanations are crafted in line with research questions and objectives.

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Conclusion

The main objectives of this chapter were to critically scrutinize research methodology, sampling methods and data analysis and presentation methods carried out in this study. The subsequent chapter focuses on the Organizational structure of *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers in relation to the study.

CHAPTER 4: THE HERALD ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

Introduction

This chapter outlines and discusses the organisational structure of *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers. Their historical backgrounds, guiding principles and organizational structure of the two daily papers are thoroughly discussed in this chapter. Further, the study also interrogates ownership, funding and control patterns of *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers. The study first scrutinises *The Herald* and then *Newsday* and give a comparison on how the two daily papers represented, imaged and portrayed the Harare City Council, victims and land barons in the 2015/16 period when the local authority destroyed hundreds of housing units in and around the city on accusations that they were built on land not meant for housing development.

Historical Background

The history of *The Herald* newspaper dates back to the colonial times when Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) was under the leadership and authority of the minority white settlers when the publication was run by Argus Group of South Africa (Chari, 2013). Chari (2007 and Saunders (1999) state that the Zimbabwe Newspapers Group Zimpapers (Pvt) Ltd 1980 was set up through a \$20 million grant from the Nigerian government which enabled the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) to acquire a substantial stake from the South African Argus company.

According to Munyuki (2005) the Zimpapers shareholders include ZMMT with 51,09 percent, Old Mutual 23, 80 percent, National Social Security Authority (NSSA), 3,10 percent, Intermarket Nomines 3,38 percent, Zimpapers Pension Fund 2,28 percent, EFE Securities Nominees 1,53 percent, Munich Re 1,04 percent, Edwards Nominees 11,36 percent, NNR & FCA 0,91 percent, Shara Shepherd 0,82 percent and Glenhazel Investiments with 0,69 percent. The shareholding structure is important in my study in that the dissolution ZMMT meant that government has taken the major shareholding in the Zimpapers. Major shareholding means that government through the Ministry of Media and Broadcasting Services has control over Zimpapers publications that include *The Herald*. The Minster of Information and Broadcasting

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Services (in this case Dr Christopher Mushohwe) has the power to appoint or dismiss members of the Zimpapers Board of Directors directing the Board to hire certain individuals as editors. Mosco (1996) cited in Boyd Barret and Newbold (1995, 186) argues that the existing ownership, funding and control patterns of the media have traceable consequences on the wide range of discourses produced by the media and how such media discourses serve to maintain the interests of the elite. According to Chari (2003) during the period stretching from 1980 up to the 1990's, government did not admit that it was in control of the public media but went on confirm control in 1998. Therefore this is a clear indication that the public media serve the interests of government and ZANU PF.

During the colonial time, there were only two daily newspapers namely *The Rhodesian Herald* and the *Chronicle* which were published in Harare and Bulawayo respectively. Later, two other weekly publications, *The Sunday Mail* and the *Sunday News* started publishing in Harare and Bulawayo respectively. While both the then *Rhodesia Herald* and the *Bulawayo Chronicle* were clearly aligned and supported the ideology and interests of the colonial government which promoted the European cultural values, the same was inherited by the same newspapers when the black majority government came to power in 1980 when the ideology of ZANU PF and government enjoyed unquestionable support and loyalty (Mukasa, 2003). *The Herald* was established in June 1891 by William Earnest Fairbridge (Rusike, 1990). According to Rusike (1990) Fairbridge started *The Rhodesian* daily newspaper after being sent by Cecil John Rhodes to establish a newspaper in Mashonaland. Fairbridge was an agent of the *Cape Argus*, a newspaper owned by Franci Doma one of Rhodes associates who was given the right to establish newspapers in Rhodesia. When Fairbridge finally settled in Rhodesia he launched *The Zambezi Times* which was later called *The Rhodesian Herald* in 1892. Later, other newspapers which the *Argus Group* began publishing after *The Herald* (1892) and *Chronicle* (1894) are the *Umtali Post* (now *Manica Post*) in 1893, the *Sunday News* in 1930 and *The Sunday Mail* in 1935.

During colonial time, the minority white settlers dominated the media industry and most of the newspapers supported the grievances and needs of the European settlers and at the same time they mirrored the settler government and its ideology along racial and discriminatory approach (Saunders, 1999; Mukasa, 2003). According to Saunders (1999) *The Rhodesian Herald*

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introduced advertisements which were aimed at promoting the settlers businesses and development projects such as mining, hunting and agriculture. The press exhibited editorial policies and practices that reflected the ideological and socio-political movement of Rhodesia (Mukasa 2003). Those who were against the editorial policy of the settlers were suspended or fired. The editorial policy of *The Zambezi Times* which became *The Rhodesia Herald* in 1892 was aimed at maintaining the status quo of the whites, their dominant ideas and also safeguarding both agricultural and mining rights of Europeans. According to Saunders (1999) in the early years of colonization, the whites came to dominate entirely the print media and for most part of the time these newspapers put across political and economic privileges of the whites and other businessmen.

Soon after Zimbabwe attained independence from Britain in 1980, *The Rhodesian Herald* became *The Herald*. What changed was only the name of the newspaper but editorial remained the same. As Mukasa (2003) notes, the post colonial government adopted policies that were used in the colonial time to promote the ideology and interests of the white settlers while the new government inherited the same media laws to advance their ideology. It is important to note that the dominant classes in the post colonial Zimbabwe controlled the media to maintain their interests and status quo. According to Curran and Gurevitch (2002) the media play a pivotal role in the way in which they produce content in line with the interests of those in power.

During the colonial era the Rhodesian Front, the ruling political party employed repressive and draconian editorial policies to control the press so that the whites could get a positive coverage that did not infringe on the image and reputation abroad (Saunders, 1999). *The Rhodesian Herald* which was the flagship of other publications reported negatively against the black African majority to maintain their hegemony and dominance over them (Windrick, 1981). Soon after independence, ZANU PF, the ruling party, just like the Rhodesian Front manipulated *The Herald* to report negatively against the whites so as to maintain hegemonic dominance. This is in line with Chari's (2007) arguments that ownership and methods of working of media in Zimbabwe to a large extent follow the pattern of operation which is a legacy of the colonial era. The colonial government enacted draconian and repressive media laws such as the Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA). In the same way, the ZANU PF led government inherited the same

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laws and at times only changing wording like the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) whose contents is just the same of LOMA. In line with my study, it is prudent to critique *The Herald's* coverage of the housing demolitions to establish whether the framing, portrayal and representation of victims, the Harare City Council and land barons were influenced by forces who control and direct policies to influence members of the public to think in a certain way.

Mission Statement of *The Herald*

A mission statement is a broad company statement that explains the reason for its existence and should form its strategic plan (Kotler, 2000). Naisbitt (2000) defines a mission statement as who you are and where you are going. Naisbitt (2000) further states that an organization follows a mission statement adequately to cater for various needs and wants of stakeholders and other publics. The mission statement of *The Herald* is guided by the Zimpapers mission statement which covers the current issues of the day which are printing the newspaper on time and distributing it to all the parts of Zimbabwe. From mission statement comes the vision of the organisation. A vision is what guides social enterprise and convince stakeholders on the bigger picture illustrating what one expects to achieve (Naisbitt, 2000). According to ZAMPS 2015 survey, *The Herald* remains the leading newspaper with a national penetration of 25 percent. The newspaper is sticking to its vision of being the leading and largest newspaper in Zimbabwe (ZAMPS 2015), hence the need for my study to critique the paper on how it covered the housing demolitions and how its reporters portrayed, framed and represented victims, the Harare City Council and land barons in the period under review.

Mission Statement of *The Herald*

To produce newspapers, print and package products and offer publishing services that adds value to our customers, employees and shareholders. The newspaper publishes stories that suit the interests of shareholders, employees and customers.

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Vision

To be the leading newspaper, publishing, printing and packaging company in Zimbabwe and beyond, according to www.herald.co.zw. The newspaper competes with other publications and hence its vision is to remain as the main publication in the country.

Core Values

Customer satisfaction, good corporate governance, equal opportunity employment, profitability and quality goods and services

Objectives of *The Herald*

The objectives of a company are a driving force behind the organization's existence (Appleby 1982). The goals of *The Herald* are to produce a newspaper of the highest quality which satisfies the needs of readers and to give a fair and balanced presentation of every single day's news. The target is to maintain the existing subscriber base and open up new markets to increase profit margins.

Editorial policy

An editorial policy is the process of news gathering, processing and dissemination (Boyd-Barret and Newbold, 1995). An editorial policy also highlights the accuracy and objectivity of information. *The Herald* newspaper, a publicly owned newspaper but government controlled supports the interest of the government of the day which is mostly made up of ZANU PF members. Mutsvairo (2013) argues that *The Herald* makes it no secret that its allegiance is with ZANU PF. *The Herald's* former editor Tommy Sithole cited in Rusike (1990) states that the editorial policy is equated to the soul of a newspaper. Crowley (1982) defines editorial policy as a conceptual framework or regulation effected usually by the owners or shareholders of a media house to guide the operations. Under the policy prescribed by the proprietors of the media house, editors, reporters and advertisers just follow the instructions in the gathering, writing and publishing news. This kind of process which results in reporters and editors censoring themselves is described by Hall (1980) as encoding where he believed reality is created. The

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direct control of *The Herald* by the government has affected news production and the company's operations. During the colonial era the editorial policy was in total support of the whites' agricultural and mining activities hence it also promoted fellowship and unity amongst all classes and sections of the white community (Gale 1962). Soon after independence, the same was applied to *The Herald's* editorial policy which supports the interests of the government of the day and ruling elite drawn mainly from ZANU PF followers and supporters.

The editorial policy plays a very vital role in any media organisation, be it publicly or privately owned. *The Herald's* editorial policy goes hand in glove with the ZANU PF ideology hence reporters practise self censorship to issues that criticize the party and denigrate individual senior government and ZANU PF officials. Those reporters who are politically correct and aligned to the ruling part get the first preference and some quickly rise to senior and managerial posts as editors. Since the government controls the majority shareholding in Zimpapers, the ideas and interests of government and ZANU PF are constantly articulated and given prominence in *The Herald*. Rusike (1990) states that governments control newspapers to promote their interests and ideology. According to Mosco (2009) the political economy is the study of social relations especially power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources including communication resources hence it looks at the running of communication business. Governments also control content through framing and agenda setting. McCombs and Shaw (1972) point out that the press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it, leading the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. Therefore those who own the means of production also control advertising and decide on content. In this context ZANU PF and government have influence and control over *The Herald's* content, editorial policy and distribution patterns of the newspaper. My study therefore explores ownership, funding and control patterns of *The Herald* to establish whether government influenced the coverage of the housing demolitions and the portrayal of victims, the Harare City Council and land barons during the 2015/2016 period when hundreds of housing units were demolished in and around the city on the fact that they were built on areas reserved for other developments like schools but strictly not for houses..

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Funding Mechanism

The Herald which is under Zimpapers stable is a profit oriented organization which trades shares at the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange. The organization is publicly owned and is supposed to be funded by the public. However, all newspapers under the Zimpapers stable, *The Herald* included get most of its revenue generated from advertising and sales of newspaper copies. Advertising is the lifeblood of any newspaper organization (Picard, 1989). As stated by the company's objective of maximizing profits, advertising space in *The Herald* constitute 70 percent while 30 percent is allocated to editorial. Herman and Chomsky (1988) state that funding and advertising influence content. To remain financially stable *The Herald* just like any other media organization needs to embrace the demands of the advertisers to remain viable. However, this kind of relationship can lead to some stories being biased as newspapers tend to save the interests of their funders. Zimpapers also gets money from the government because it owns and controls it. According to Chiumbu (2009) the government has got 51.09 percent of the shares in Zimpapers.

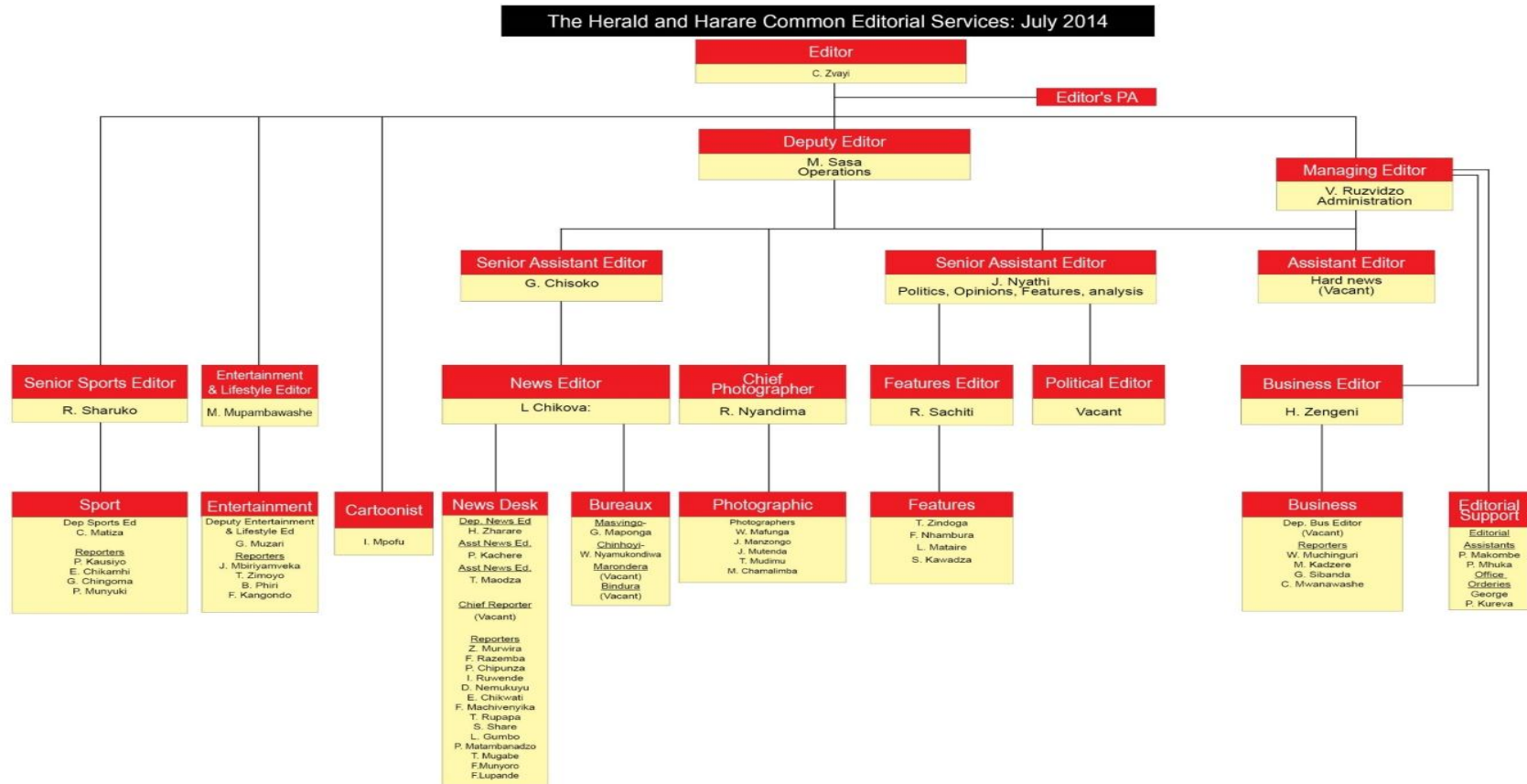
Organizational structure of *The Herald*

The structure of an organization has an oversight and a bearing on the day to day running of the organization and a corporate organization is "an aggregate social relationship characterized by an administrative staff whose activity is oriented exclusively and continuously to achieving the goals of that organization (Casey, 2002)

Zimpapers as the holding company of many newspapers under its stable that include its flagship *The Herald* has a hierarchal structure that assigns certain people to take up certain positions in different departments to achieve set objectives and goals. These departments in *The Herald* include the editorial, advertising, transport, circulation, human resources, information and technology. However, my study focuses on the editorial department of *The Herald* newspaper because that is where editorial and content decisions are made. Below is the organogram of *The Herald* newspaper.

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The Herald's Organogram



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The Herald editorial structure

The organizational structure of *The Herald* stipulates that the editor heads the editorial section. The pursuing locations are the pecking order below the power of the editor in sequence namely, the Deputy Editor, Assistant editor, Official editors (Business, News and Entertainment), Desk Editors, Chief Sub Editor. Sub Editors, Senior and Junior Reporters. The structure is designed in a way that the editorial policy taken by the editor cascades down to reporters. This upholds the decision of those who own, fund and control the newspaper.

Editor

The editor is the man at the helm of the newspaper's editorial policy. In the case of *The Herald*, Ceasar Zvayi is the editor and he is tasked with the responsibility for managing all sectional editors, the newsroom budget, recruitment and firing of journalists including ancillary staff. He also recommends the promotion of staff members to senior positions. The editor evaluates news reports and decides on stories to publish, spike or completely drop. According to Barton (1981) the editor is an inspiration of the newspaper, the sub-editors are undoubtedly the architects and the builders. It is the duty or role of the editor to give directives and guidance to the news editor and the rest of the desk editors. The editor takes charge of the diary meetings every morning where the desk editors and senior journalists will be discussing story ideas brought in by reporters from all desks. Major discussions centre on stories to be pursued and angles to be taken depending on the nature of the story whether it is political, business or social. The editor also convenes the evening meeting with the same desk editors to discuss stories that have been confirmed to appear in the newspaper the following day, those spiked or completely dropped. According to Kamath (2003) it is common in most editorial offices that the editor heads the diary meetings with his staff. While my study is interrogating a highly political story where the Harare City Council mobilised resources to demolish hundreds of housing units in the city built under co-operatives, some run by top ZANU PF officials, it is critical to evaluate how the editorial meetings influenced the story lines taken by reporters in framing, portraying and imaging the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons in the 2015/2016 period.

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Deputy editor

The deputy editor is another key management figure in the newsroom who takes charge in the absence of the editor and helps him in supervising and assigning duties to reporters. He also helps in deciding stories which should get first preference in the newspaper. The deputy editor works together with the editor in deciding stories to be published and the pages where they are supposed to appear in line with the policy of *The Herald*.

Senior assistant editors

These senior assistant editors are below the deputy editor. They are responsible for the uniform maintenance and effecting and upholding the editorial policy. They give instructions to executive editors, allocate work and supervise them.

Executive editors

There are two Executive Editors who deputies the Senior Assistant Editors. One is in charge of the news section and the other oversees the photographing and sub editors sections. They both report to the senior assistant editor on relevant issues. They consolidate the editorial policy and ensure that their sections work in line with editorial policy of the newspaper.

News editor

The News Editor is in charge of all reporters and the day to day running of the newsroom. He gives assignments to reporters, approves their trips and edits their stories. If he is the one on duty, he gets diaries from reporters and weighs the depth of the news stories in line with the editorial policy of the paper and instructed from the office of the editor. He sets deadlines, ensures they are met and also assumes gate keeping and agenda setting roles. In addition, the news editor decides on story by-lines. In *The Herald* newsroom the news editor's position is equivalent to other desk editors like business editor, sports editor, features editor and entertainment editor.

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Business Editor

He is in charge of the business section and selects stories for coverage. He manages, assigns roles and edits all stories written by business reporters. The business editor makes sure that all stories take a slant which does not deviate from the editorial policies of publication.

Entertainment Editor

The entertainment editor is in charge of the entertainment section, articles or news stories proposed for publication every day. In *The Herald's* case the entertainment editor supervises reporters in the section. When assigning reporters to cover entertainment stories, the entertainment editor does not approve entertainment stories as they come, but looks at how the stories are reflected in the editorial policies of the organization.

Features and supplements editor

The features and supplements editor is responsible for the selection of soft news stories for publication. At *The Herald*, the entertainment editor writes most of the features stories in the newspaper although there are reporters under his supervision.

Senior sports editor

The Senior Sports Editor at *The Herald* is in charge of the sport section. He leads a team comprised of deputy sports editor, on line sports editor and sports reporters. His responsibilities include spelling out the editorial policy of the newspaper in the field of sporting, supervision and assigning diaries to all sports writers. He edits stories from reporters and line editors and he has the responsibility to either spike the story or completely drop it in line with the ownership and control mechanisms pattern of the organisation.

Chief photographer

The chief photographer is responsible for the photography section of *The Herald*. He directs the taking of photographs relevant to news, business, sports and feature stories. He is also

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responsible for cropping and retouching of file photographs as well as identifying and choosing the right photographs for use on a daily basis.

Chief sub editor

The chief sub editor is the man behind the production of the newspaper tasked with the responsibility of designing and page layout of the newspaper. His other duties include proof reading of stories brought by reporters from different sections of the newspaper.

Sub editors

In The Herald newspaper, the sub editors are responsible for page design and layout in unison with the chief sub editor. Other duties and responsibility include placement of news and advertisements in the newspaper. They also write news headlines in their various categories.

Reporters

Reporters both senior and junior are responsible for news gathering and writing in line with instructions from the news editor. They report to line editors depending on their beats.

Cartoonist

A cartoonist is a very critical person in the newspaper operations. He is creative, humorous and tells a story in drawings and pictures. The cartoonists can excite, denounce or create personalities of the targeted people through pictures and drawings.

Photographers

Photographers are responsible for taking pictures which accompany some stories and are in charge of the studios. The photographers work with reporters in the field getting instructions on pictures to take as per instruction from the writer of the story. Back in the newsroom, photographers work with both the editor and the chief sub editor to decide on pictures to be selected for the newspaper.

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It is against this background that I scrutinized *The Herald's* organizational structure in line with my study which investigated how *The Herald* framed and portrayed the victims of the housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons in the period under study.

Nature of *The Herald's* core business

The Herald is a newspaper whose core business is to produce a newspaper daily except on Sunday where its sister newspaper, *The Sunday Mail* is published. *The Herald* consists of a section of main pages that carry local Zimbabwe news and international news, a business section that carries business and financial news, entertainment section that caters for entertainment and amusement news articles, a features section and a sports section that carries news to do with the sporting world. The other 70 percent of the newspaper is allocated to advertising.

Advertising

Advertisers develop power and control over media due to the fact that they buy and pay for audience attention (Chomsky, 1988; Napoli, 2003). The company provides a wide advertising platform in the form of all magazines and newspapers it publishes. The newspaper offers a choice of display and classifieds advertising. Display advertisements range from a small corner to a full page in either colour or black and white. The classifieds are usually black and white but colour ones can be provided on request and at an extra cost. This department generates revenue for the upkeep of the newspaper and the payment of reporters and all other staff members. In moving with the information age, the department also has online advertisements, which also generates money for the organization.

Link with other organizations

The Herald has links with both local and international news agencies such as New Ziana, Agence France Presse (AFP) and Reuters to get a variety of news and inform local readers on what is happening the world over. Wire services also supplement the daily diary of a newspaper and acknowledgment is given at the end of each story bought. *The Herald* also has strong relations

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with its sister newspapers under Zimpapers such as *The Sunday Mail*, *Manica Post* and *Chronicle*.

The Newsday

Newsday and its sister publications, *The Zimbabwe Independent* and *The Standard* are run by the Alpha Media Holdings (AMH) owned by indigenous publisher, Trevor Ncube. It was launched in June 2010, becoming the second privately owned daily paper after the *Daily News* (Chari 2011). Before the launch of *Newsday*, the *Zimbabwe Independent* and *The Standard* newspapers were owned by Clive Murphy and Clive Wilson, who later sold them to a consortium of businessmen led by Ncube and Strive Masiyiwa, through his company Independent Media Group (IMG). The shareholding structure, according to Munyuki (2005), is as follows: TS Holdings (owned by Ncube) 85 percent, IMG 5 percent and Nominees 10 percent. This means that Ncube remains the major shareholder of AMH and according to ownership and control patterns of the media (Herman and Chomsky 1989), he can decide on content, editorial policies and gets involved in the hiring and firing of media personnel.

The Alpha Media Holdings group perceives itself as: “an independent” media house free from political ties or outside influence. While *The Herald's* slant is biased towards the support for government and ZANU PF, Ncube has declared that the editorial policies of all his newspapers that include *Newsday* were based on reporting fairly and accurately without bias or favour, according to www.mdif.org. But a closer look at content of the newspapers particularly *Newsday* which is under my study, it is clear that government and ZANU PF are vilified while the opposition political parties like the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) seem to enjoy support and positive coverage from the daily newspaper. Waldahl (2005) argues that the privately owned media in Zimbabwe have not shown an open support for the opposition like what *The Herald* does to government and ZANU PF but do it under the cover of fair reporting of all political parties. Before the publication of *Newsday*, such weekly papers as *Zimbabwe Independent* and *The Standard* were labelled opposition papers Waldahl (2005). In this regard, there is no reason why *Newsday* should be treated differently from its sister papers by the government.

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Journalists from the privately owned media are never expected to write stories that portray ZANU PF in good light and have taken a permanent stance as adversaries of the government (Mano, 2005; Ndlela, 2005). The ZANU PF government has sometimes pointed to foreign interference in explaining its adversarial relationship with the private media. As pointed out by Mano (2005), government has often accused the private media for working in cahoots with foreign media and opposition political parties to campaign against ZANU PF and effect regime change in Zimbabwe. Mano (2005) acknowledges that there is some truth to the accusations since some local journalists were working for foreign media outlets, some of which have traditionally employed hostile reporting towards Africa. The adversarial relationship has sometimes gone to extremes. Nyaira (2009), who once worked for the *Daily News* as the Political Editor before relocation to the United States of America where she is employed by the Voice of America's Studio 7, asserts that private media journalists are branded as terrorists, mercenaries and puppets of British and American governments bent on effecting regime change in Zimbabwe and reverse the gains of the reform programme. The threats are exemplified in the bombing of the *Daily News* printing press and the subsequent closure of the newspaper (Moyses 2009). Melber (2004:9) also quotes Jonathan Moyo, the then Minister of Information and Publicity for his anti private newspapers approach when he declared that "the enemy is media who use the pen to lie about the country. The reporters were labelled terrorists. Although my study is not investigating the *Daily News*, the daily paper is just being used as the example of how government view privately owned media and journalists that also include those from Newsday.

Mazango (2005:43) uses the phrase 'discursive demolition' to describe how the privately owned media have been constantly attacked and vilified by government, ZANU PF and state controlled media labelled them as instruments of neo-colonialism and shameless surrogates of Western interests. Through editorials and hard hitting columns written by Nathaniel Manheru in *The Herald*, Tafataona Mahoso in *The Sunday Mail* and Mzala Joe in *the Sunday News* on what they called pan-Africanism approach, the columnists expose, discredit and smear the opposition and privately owned newspapers describing them as misguided, stooges, terrorists, puppets and sell-outs (Mazango 2005:43). In line with my study, it is critical to interrogate the *Newsday's*

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coverage of the housing demolitions and how the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons were portrayed establish during the 2015/2016 period when hundreds of housing units were demolished by the city council. It is also fair to critique the difference in the coverage of the mentioned groups by the two daily papers in line with their funding and ownership patterns.

Mission Statement of Newsday

- Alpha Media Holdings is an independent house free from political ties outside influence.
- The newspaper aims to publish fair, balanced and engaging world class family daily newspaper.
- To be part of the national healing, national building, reconciliation and reconstruction.
- To offer a canvass of Zimbabweans to show case their best ideas to help transform the country into knowledge based society where citizens are free to express their creativity, ingenuity and entrepreneurship.

Vision of Newsday

The newspaper's vision is that it must be the most widely read credible and profitable daily newspaper and information provider in Zimbabwe.

Objectives of Newsday

To produce a newspaper of accuracy, balanced and fairness, a credible newspaper targeting audiences of different political, social and religious allegiance.

- The newspaper aims to publish content which promotes the political, social and economic development of the country
- To help Zimbabweans to talk to each other without fear or favour and through robust engagement that help ensure a tolerant society by celebrating the country's diversity.

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- To create a country where democracy flourishes and where basic human rights are upheld and respected.
- The newspaper aims at being a listening media organisation that deals with and reflects the issues that most concern the audiences.

Editorial Policy

At the helm of *Newsday* is Wisdom Mudzungairi, the newspaper's editor. Mudzungairi, the former senior reporter with *The Herald* is responsible for the day to day operation of the newsroom charged with supervising all section editors, reporters and upholding the editorial policies of the newspaper. According to the editorial policy, the newspaper represents the interests of the voiceless, serves the audience with integrity and remains a credible, reliable, trustworthy and transparent source of information, according to www.mdif.org. The editor is responsible for upholding all the values of the newspaper. However, due to the polarisation of media in Zimbabwe, which has taken a partisan approach (Mazango 2007), *Newsday* like *The Herald* is accused of supporting and reporting positively about opposition political parties and at the same time vilifying ZANU PF and government especially when covering events in the Matabeleland region where an estimated 20 000 civilians were massacred by the Fifth Brigade trained soldiers during the dissident era soon after independence in 1980. The editorial policy comes into effect in my study as it seeks to establish the policies of *Newsday* in the coverage of housing demolitions and how the reporters of this publication framed, portrayed and represented the image of the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons in the 2015/2016 period when hundreds of housing units were demolished by the city council in and around the capital.

Newsday Funding

Newsday is a privately owned newspaper which is profit driven. Its source of funding comes from advertising and sales of newspaper copies. Failure to generate money from advertisements and copy sales will result in the newspaper becoming unviable and as a result it will cease to publish. However, unconfirmed reports allege that the newspaper is also being funded by international Non-Governmental organisations based in the United States of America.

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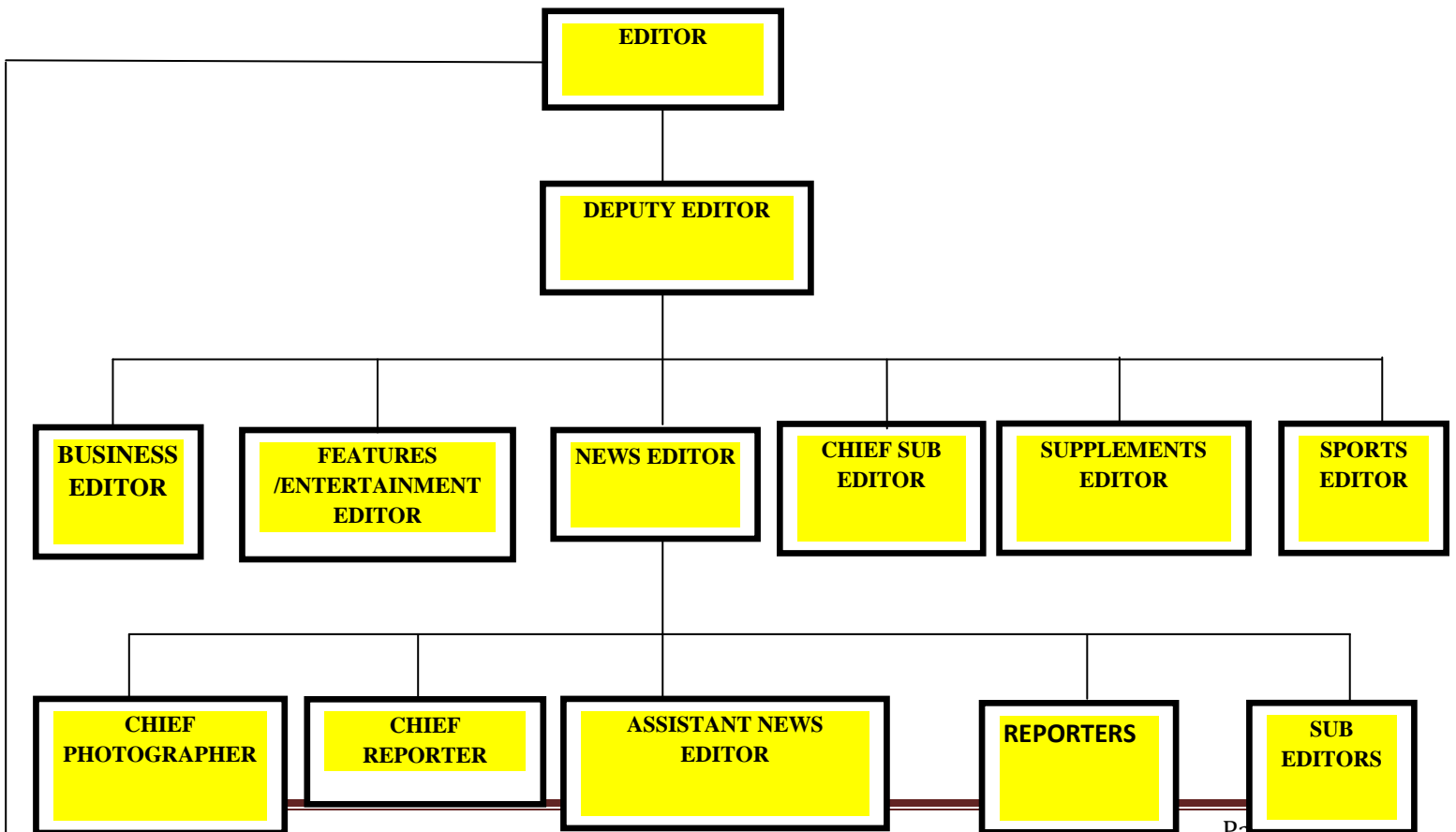
Newsday Core Business

Just like any other business, privately owned newspapers are published to generate profit for shareholders. Thereafter the interests of the audience come into play. Picard (1989) argues that media organisations function in the economic system to meet both private and public needs. No businessman can just invest in a newspaper just to provide news to the public without getting a profit.

Newsday Structure

The structure of *Newsday* like *The Herald* has the editor at the top followed by the deputy editor, assistant editor, sectional editors, news editor, assistant news editor, Chief reporter, Chief photographer, reporters, sub editors and a cartoonist. Each and every person appearing on the structure has a role to play in news production.

Newsday organogram



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CARTOONIST

Editor

Wisdom Mudzungairi is the editor of *Newsday* and his equivalent at *The Herald* is Caesar Zvai. As far as decision making is concerned Mudzungairi like Zvai is there to uphold the editorial policies of the publication as stipulated by AMH. Ncube, the chairman and owner of *Newsday* has been accused of using his powers to influence content and the nature of stories to be published in newspapers under the AMH stable, *Newsday* included. Chandler (2002) contends that from the classical Marxist ownership patterns of the mass media, those who own and fund the media houses dictates content and as such the editor in the case of Mudzungairi remains a place holder to rubber stamp decisions made elsewhere. While editors from *The Herald* get instructions from the Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services, the same applies to those from *Newsday* whose instructions on line of reporting come from the Ncube himself. This means that the slant of the paper reflects the interest of the one who funds and owns the publication.

Deputy editor

His duties are similar to those of the deputy editor from *The Herald*. He takes charge in the absence of the editor and helps him to supervise sectional editors and on deciding stories of the day. Qualities of holding such positions require one to be politically correct and in the case of

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The Herald, the incumbent must be an apologist to both government and ZANU PF while for Newsday, the deputy editor has to be a loyal servant of Ncube.

News editor

The duty of the news editor is mainly supervising and assigning roles to reporters in line with clear cut instructions from the editor. The duties of the news editor from both *The Herald* and *Newsday* are just similar.

Assistant news editor

The assistant news editor of *Newsday* assists the news editor in taking charge of the newsroom, supervising reporters and assigning duties on which stories to pursue the day.

Chief photographer

The chief photographer is responsible for the photography section of *Newsday*. Just like the case with *The Herald* he takes photographs relevant to news, business, sports and feature stories. He is also responsible for re cropping and retouching of file photographs as well as identifying and choosing the right photographs for use on a daily basis.

Chief sub editor

Newsday chief sub editor is tasked with the responsibility of designing and page layout of the newspaper. His other duties include proof reading of stories brought by reporters from different sections of the newspaper.

Reporters

Newsday reporters, both senior and junior are responsible for news gathering and writing just like their colleagues at *The Herald*. They report to line editors depending on their beats. In the case of my study, the reporters who were covering the housing demolitions were responsible for

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the framing, portrayal and imaging of victims, the Harare City Council and land barons during the housing demolitions period in 2015/2016.

Photographers

Photographers are responsible for taking pictures which accompany some stories and are in charge of the studio. The photographers work with reporters in the field getting instructions on pictures to take as per instruction from the writer of the story. Back in the newsroom, photographers work with both the editor and the chief sub editor to decide on pictures to be selected for the newspaper.

Cartoonist

A cartoonist is a very critical person in the newspaper operations. He is creative, humorous and tells a story in drawings. The cartoonists can draw humorous pictures to excite and at the same time can also denounce or create personalities of the targeted people through his works.

Conclusion

The chapter has analysed *The Herald* and *Newsday* structures and the roles of the editor and reporters up to the cartoonist. The next chapter presents and analyses research findings.

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses findings of the research. Data for the study was gathered through archival research from the archives of the Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ) library and the National Archives. Selected news paper stories focusing on housing demolitions during the period under study were subjected to critical discourse and semiotic analysis as explained in the methodology chapter. In addition, interviews were also conducted with journalists and editors from both *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers to broaden the scope of my study.

The thrust of the research is to give an explanation and analysis on how the image of the victims, the Harare City Council and land barons were constructed, portrayed and represented by the publicly owned but government controlled newspaper, *The Herald* and the privately run *Newsday* newspapers soon after the city council embarked on housing demolitions in Harare since the beginning of January 2015 up to the end of February in 2016. Data is presented utilising a thematic approach.

Demolitions to render thousands homeless

The study has established that the victims of the housing demolitions and the MDC-T dominated city council were responsible for the construction of illegal settlements. *The Herald* of 23 July 2015 reported that thousands of people in the capital were set to be homeless after council embarked on massive housing demolitions of illegal settlements in 19 undesignated areas that the local authority identified. In the story, the reporter, Abigail Mawonde shifted the blame on the opposition MDC-T dominated council accusing the city fathers for fomenting the sprouting of illegal settlements as it allowed home seekers to violate by-laws without first getting approval from the responsible city departments. The story read in part; Harare has been under MDC-T councillors since 2000 and the opposition dominated council stands accused of fomenting the prevailing chaos manifesting in the fragrant disregard of city by laws that has led to the mushrooming of illegal settlements on undesignated land.' City Council spokesperson, Michael

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Chideme giving a comment to *The Herald* reporter also accused the residents for building houses illegally and defied the council order not to do so. "We have identified all the areas with illegal structures in Harare and we have informed all the people who are on these areas that they should pull down their structures failure of which the council will do it for them," According to Lacan (1981), transgressing discourse risks being castrated and in this, the demolitions of houses built by desperate home seekers who were duped of their hard earned cash by unscrupulous land barons was just as good as castration. Chideme said that the owners were required by the law to pay for the costs incurred by council workers who demolished their houses.

The Herald of the same 23 July 2015 quoted Chideme as follows; " Council is also going to ensure that the people whose houses were demolished will meet the necessary labour costs involved given that they have been defying lawful order from the Harare City Council to effect demolitions." The assertion that the residents pay for the costs of demolitions of their houses, is a clear indication highlighted by *The Herald* that the city council had tried and convicted the home seekers as being the people behind the construction of illegal settlements without being given an opportunity to defend their positions. In this case the innocent home seekers are framed as people who refuse to take lawful orders from the council. This is in contrast with the fact that the very people who collected money from home seekers and allocated them residential land were not even identified or held accountable to all the problems surrounding the land issue in Harare. In this case *The Herald* completely excluded the voices of the victims and concentrated reports on council official. The kind of reporting where *The Herald* took a side by giving space to the council officer and ignoring victims is a clear vilification of the victims who are seen as the other. A *Herald* reporter, Innocent Ruwende who was interviewed over the housing demolitions, admitted that the victims of the housing demolitions remained on the peripheral of the news, stating that it was difficult to allow them to air their views since government had declared that they built settlements on land acquired illegally. Ruwernde who extensively covered housing demolitions in Harare said that the editorial policy of the newspaper he worked for cannot oppose government; hence news reports from *The Herald* down played victims and gave coverage to officials from government, ministers and senior council officials. "Victims do not make news and this goes to confirm the political economy of the media." said Ruwende. The

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political economy of the media theory talks of ownership and control patterns of the media. (Mosco, 1996) states that access to the mass media and new communication technologies is influenced by inequalities in income and wealth which enable others access to the mass media while others are left out. On the same 23 July 2015, *Newsday* also carried the same story and blamed the MDC-T council for corruption in the whole saga of land allocations which led to demolitions when the paper gave voice to the victims. A story by Moses Matenga read as follows; 'When *Newsday* visited the demolitions site in Westlea, the affected residents were furious with MDC-T councillors, accusing them of corruption and spearheading the demolitions to tarnish the image of the newly appointed Minister of Local Government and Public Works, Saviour Kasukuwere. Beven Nyatanga one of the affected residents who was quoted by *Newsday* has this to say; "The MDC-T councillors wanted bribes by saying that they sit in the housing committee and would therefore defend us. They wanted \$5000. We have a copy of the papers that we were made to pay one of the councillors who signed for \$2000 as bribe," Another *Newsday* story headlined 'Another 100 Budiro houses demolished,' Council spokesman, Michael Chideme accused the residents of disregarding the local authority's land use. "Harare residents should learn to respect land. There is land for schools, clinics and recreation. We must make sure we do not temper with such land. Everything we pulled down today is illegal," said Chedeme to *Newsday*.

While Chideme attacked the home seekers and got coverage in the *Newsday* newspaper, the reporter of the privately owned publications excluded the land barons from expressing their side of the story. The story by Moses Matenga quoted a representative of some affected families of the Tembwe Housing Co-operative who accused council officials and co-operative leaders for corruption. Nemiah Magure said to *Newsday* "If they (city council officials) were sincere, they should not have demolished our houses and this is clear they want to give our stands to other people," Moses Matenga who was interviewed over the housing demolitions confirmed that his paper focuses mainly on official side of the story but pointed out that there were times that they gave voice to the victims. On why land barons were missing in the news, Matenga said that it was difficult to identify them because they disappeared when demolitions were conducted and preferred to take the official position. He said only those in control of the situation like

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representatives of the city council and other officials in government were given full coverage. Matenga noted that when writing hard news stories, there were very little chances of providing coverage to the victims, hence the stories centred mainly on officials. Giving an interview, Elita Chikwati points out that having sympathised with the victims of the housing demolitions but she went on to report negatively by portraying victims as irresponsible people who disobeyed land policies of the Harare City Council, Chikwati stated that the policy of the organisation require them to take the official angle in their stories. Failure to stick to the editorial policies of the newspaper would attract victimisation. In another interview Abigail Mawonde concurred with Chikwati that as much as they wanted to stick to ethics of journalism, editorial policies will guide them on what to write and what not to write. As for land barons whose voices were also missing in the news both reporters agreed that they were missing in action and all efforts by the journalists to track them down proved difficult, leaving the reporters to concentrate on official angle.

Also commenting on the missing land barons and victims, Ruwende said in an interview that when covering demolitions stories, the home seekers and housing developers were put on the bottom of the story with officials starting from the introduction. He said the editors, sub editors and the chief sub editor who allocates space cut the story from the bottom when it is longer than the given space, resulting on information to with the subaltern disappearing. According to Ruwende, voices of the victims are put in the bottom of the story clearly shows that they are not considered as important as the officials. The interviews conducted in this study are in line with Weber's (2002)'s argument that nothing is real or original in news but rather, everything including the sentences written in newspapers is a construction of reality. As Weber (2002) rightfully points out that it has become textbook knowledge that media construct reality. However after analysing how *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers, my study confirmed that the media framed and constructed the image and personality of the victims of the housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons in the 2015/2016 period when hundreds of housing units were demolished in the city's residential areas under the fact that they were built on land not meant houses but for some other council projects. In my findings, *The Herald* took government approach by constructing and portraying victims as people behind the chaos in

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Harare while *Newsday* framed the authorities as forces behind the mess created in the capital city. Thus the framing theory asserts that journalists deliberately or unwittingly determine the frames to use in a news article. It is the assertion of this research following on McCombs and Shaw (1972), the story on the demolitions was also shaped by various forces and filters which influenced the consumers of media products to think in a certain way.

The demolitions of hundreds of houses in Mokum in Harare South through an order granted by the High Court in favour of Tobacco Sales Floor (TSF) and Vostermans Pvt Ltd who claim the land belonged to them but it was illegally taken away by members of the Tirivepano and Nyasha dzaMwari Housing Co-operatives is yet another action which has further exposed the home seekers as irresponsible citizens who defy the city council's land policies. The High Court Order is said to have been granted in November 2014 and went on to be served on 6 August 2015. As reported in *The Herald* newspaper under the headline, 'More illegal houses demolished in the city' prospective home owners paid cash ranging between \$2 500 and \$ 5 000 to land barons who disappeared when the settlements were being demolished. Part of the story read, 'the writ of execution also granted the police the go ahead to arrest those engaging in unlawful activities on land and help restore law and order. Official from the Sheriff of the High Court destroyed the houses under the watchful eyes of police to avoid violence.' *The Herald* report is blaming the home seekers for unlawful occupation of the land yet they were duped by co-operative owners who are being referred to as land *The Herald*, while denouncing the home seekers, they remained quiet on why the council allowed the structures to be built without ordering them to stop much earlier and get the requisite papers first before construction starts. Land whether in urban, farming and rural areas belong to some authority and no one is allowed to put up a structure without the authority of those who own that land. In this story, the wrangle is between high profile companies; TSF and Vostermans on one hand and the home seekers on the other. As vulnerable, defenceless and unable to raise money for the high court to put up an equal fight against these big companies to defend their houses from demolition, the home seekers were defeated and the media provided good coverage to the big companies describing them as having been short changed by the home seekers. In this case the media has failed to interrogate the so called land barons and allow them to defend their positions, preferring to blame them. The voice

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of the subaltern in this case of the home seekers have largely been ignored by the media. As confirmed by a *Herald* reporter Innocent Ruwende in an interview that the subalterns do not make news, it is clear from this fact that the big companies enjoyed positive coverage while the victims were constructed as causing chaos in the city by occupying and illegally building houses without authority from the Harare City Council. This concludes Hall's (1997) assertion that the media do not reflect reality in the coverage of news events but construct it to meet decisions made by those who own, fund and control the media houses. In regards to my study, it is true that the victims were vilified as the people behind the mess in Harare.

Housing demolitions: a case of blame game

My study has also established that the housing demolitions instituted by the Harare City Council are a case of blame game pitting the city council, Government, land barons, victims and MDC-T councillors. Local Government and Public Works Minister, Saviour Kasukuwere first took the blame of illegal settlements to the city council when he ordered the suspension of Eng Christopher Zvobgo for connecting water supplies to various housing co-operatives built in areas not meant for housing development. In *The Herald* story headlined 'Suspend Eng Zvogbo,' written by Fedelis Munyoro on 15 December 2015, Minister Kasukuwere who was addressing senior council management, retorted:

You cannot tell me that these people are connecting water supplies on their own. Where did they get the meter readings from? Is that not council property? I am now ordering you to suspend Eng Zvobgo with immediate effect and investigate this mess.

Kasukuwere was shifting the blame of illegal settlements to senior council management. In this story, *The Herald*, senior council staff, particularly Eng Zvogbo is negatively portrayed as having a hand in the illegal structures after connecting water supplies to the settlements which are deemed illegal. The minister is questioning the credibility of the council to condemn a structure as illegal but went on to provide water services. Commenting on why Saviour Kasukuwere ordered the arrest of Engineer Zvogbo for authorising the connections of water to settlements dubbed illegal, Fidelis Munyoro said that the coverage of the minister was meant to

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expose corruption which he said was rife in the council where some of the private companies contracted to provide water services were owned by some senior council officers. However, Munyoro's interview focussed on officialdom coverage but did not probe the minister to comment on why those alleged corrupt council officials were not exposed. Munyoro said that whatever questions they ask the minister must be in line with the editorial policies of the newspaper. He confirmed that by ignoring to give voice to home seekers who were vilified as being responsible for the chaos in Harare, he was just following instructions from the newspaper.

The land baron of the Leopold Takawira Housing Co-operative, ZANU PF Member of Parliament, Innocent Pedzisayi of INNOP Investment Company, who is accused of invading the land owned by businessman, Billy Rautenbach was squarely blamed and portrayed as a criminal who was taking people's money for land which did not belong to him. The story read in part; 'The land belonged to business tycoon, Billy Rautenbach. He also owns Aspindale where the Harare City Council demolished 200 illegally built houses last week. The government agreed with Rautenbach that he would retain his industrial land while he gets compensation to the land given to Leopold Takawira Housing Co-operative. By compensating Rautenbach, government is showing its sincerity to the businessman but the victims who lost their property in the demolitions are not being considered or even talked about. The media here particularly The Herald just looked at the officialdom and ignored the desperate victims.

In another story headlined, "Chombo warns land barons," the Minister of is squarely taking his blame of the illegal settlements to land barons. The story by Freeman Razemba quoted the Minister of Home Affairs, Dr Ignatius Chombo threatening co-operative owners with arrest for illegally occupying land and selling it to unsuspecting home seekers. Part of the story read,'

May I take this opportunity to warn land barons who are in the habit of wantonly parceling out pieces of land to unsuspecting home seekers without the approval of the local authorities that the long arm of the police will catch up with them.

However, while the minister did not mention the land barons but just gave them a warning to stop their actions, *The Herald* carried the official story as dictated by the minister but did not

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bother to approach the land barons to hear their side of the story. What is surprising is that Dr Chombo has been Local Government minister for many years and all the controversies in housing started when he was still in the ministry. If the minister knew that the land barons were at fault, why did the media which covered his official side fail to ask him the reason behind the authorisation of housing demolitions when he knew well that the home seekers were unsuspecting anything wrong. It is the work of journalists to interview the minister on why he remained quiet and why action was not taken against the land barons. *The Herald* just decided to report on the minister's official position without questioning him, the land barons as well as asking the home seekers to defend their positions. When asked about the housing demolitions in an interview, Razemba pointed out that it was difficult to violate the newspaper's editorial policy. He said that as much as he would want to stick to professionalism in reporting, the policies stipulated by the paper's editor forced him to toe the line of which failure to do so will lead to suspension or dismissal. Razemba's interview confirms that the media are conduits for framing and all what appears in the newspapers is a creating of reality. The study is in agreement with media scholars (Hall, 1997 and McQuail, 2010) who argue that the media are political actors, actively involved in the creation of reality. The media here is also seen as taking a role in agenda setting and framing in the coverage of news events by taking the position of the official and downplaying the voices of the disadvantaged.

An opinion article written by Edmund Kudzayi in *The Herald* edition of August 3, 2015 called for the arrest of the land barons accused of creating chaos which led to housing demolitions. In addition to the construction of land barons as the people behind the chaos in Harare, Kudzayi's article portrayed the city fathers as corrupt as well and responsible for violating by-laws through the authorisation of land takeover by land barons. The report questions the failure by the authorities to institute investigations to identify the culprits and hand them over to police. The opinion article portrayed home seekers whose houses were demolished by the Harare City Council as victims of council corruption and unaccountability. Part of the article read, 'What is clear is that no right thinking person would simply wake up and start building a \$ 70 000 house on land they know well to be illegal,' Kudzayi was simply reading between the lines the level of irresponsibility where he said, "It take little imaginations to hire earthmoving equipment, ask for

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armed police reinforcements and then unleash dozens of rowdy council policemen on the people whose only crime was falling prey to corrupt land barons working in cahoots with some council official.' Here the news report is accusing land barons and corrupt council for the mess in the city. Home seekers who were duped by the land barons are seen as genuine prospective home owners who became victims of a well oiled corrupt system of the Harare City Council. Kudzayi is in agreement with the news editor of *Newsday*, Patrice Makova who was interviewed and said that the powerless and defenceless housing demolition victims deserved fair coverage in which they would be allowed to give their side of the story. While the Minister of Local Government and Public Works, Saviour Kasukuwere vowed to take head on land barons and corrupt council officials soon after his appointment to the new portfolio, Kudzayi's article in *The Herald* questioned him for not naming them. Kudzayi is convinced that the minister knew the culprits and if he didn't know them, what stopped him from instructing an investigations. The report clearly indicate that the minister's high sounding voice was nothing but a strategy to protect land barons whose majority are senior ZANU PF officials.

In another story showing blame game, *The Herald* newspaper exonerated senior council officials for any wrong doing in the illegal housing demolitions and shifted the blame squarely on residents, land barons and MDC-T councillors when 25 illegally built houses in Warren Park and Westlea were demolished leaving scores of people homeless. The co-operative, Final Hope Co-operative, Josiah Housing Co-operative and Makomborero Housing Co-operatives were accused of invading council land which they parcelled out to home seekers to put up structures despite a warning against that from the Harare City Council. A story by Abigail Mawonde in *The Herald* edition of 23 July 2015, blamed Harare city councillors the majority from MDC-T opposition party for fuelling the sprouting of illegal settlements by failing to conduct business diligently but allowing land barons, some believed to be their colleagues to clandestinely get the land from council. This story was attributed to the council spokesman, Michael Chideme. The reporters, Fidelis Munyoro and Abigail Mawonde clearly showed that they were going for the official position in line with the editorial policy of *The Herald*. Mawonde who was interviewed confirmed that a certain editorial position is to be undertaken when covering stories to do with government. She pointed out that it was not being foolish for her to ignore the ethics of

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journalism of balancing the story by asking the other side to defend its position. The reporter said that the policies are tailor-made to follow certain reporting style. Also speaking in another interview, Makova, the news editor with *Newsday* said that his paper tried to give voice to the victims but argued that many of the stories brought by journalists from the field took the angle of officials from government and council. He said as much as his reporters wanted to seek comments from land barons, they disappeared and switch off their phones once demolitions started. Both Kudzayi and Makova statements confirm that the media are largely conduits for framing and shaping reality as stated by Goffman (1997). My study therefore correctly found out that the media framed, represented and portrayed the image of victims, land barons and the Harare City Council in a different way in line with the paper's editorial policy during the housing demolitions in the 2015/16 period. *The Herald* constructed the victims as the people behind the chaos in Harare as the other, while *Newsday* saw the home seekers as victims of corruption by council official who worked in cahoots with land barons. As for land barons, both newspapers blamed them as unscrupulous business people who duped home seekers of their cash but their voices were missing in the newspapers to put across their positions. Chandler (2002) contents that from the classical Marxist ownership patterns of the mass media, those who own and fund the media houses dictates content. McCombs and Shaw (1972) argue that reporters represent news to particular interpretive structures to set particular events within their broader context. The essence of framing individuals as the case with senior council officers, land barons and victims is selecting to prioritise and give prominence to some facts or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events to suit certain agendas. In this case, readers will view MDC-T dominated council, land barons and victims of housing demolitions as people behind the chaos in Harare. The true position is that the council were the major culprits in the land wrangles in Harare.

Housing demolitions: a political discourse

My study has established that the housing demolitions were marred by political connotations among council dominated by MDC-T councillors, land barons loyal to ZANU PF, land barons loyal to MDC, top city council management, victims and government.

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A story in point is one written by Newsday's Moses Matenga headlined 'MDC –T councillors give demolitions thumbs- up.' on 27 July 2015. The story about land barons as reported by Matenga is comprised of senior ZANU PF officials who invaded the city council land from Whitecliff, Caledonia and Retreat Farms and began parcelling it out to the unsuspecting homes seekers using the political power to take up the farms. The Deputy Mayor, Thomas Muzuva who stated that the MDC-T councillors were backing the demolitions argued that the land barons had no authority in distributing land as it was the responsibility of the city council. Muzuva argues that it was not possible to have two separate authorities allocating land. The criticism was extended to the Department of Physical planning in the Ministry of Local Government and Public Works for the rot when they failed to properly plan the area. Part of the story that portrayed the land barons from ZANU PF as responsible for causing chaos and the planners for failure to conduct planning in the areas in question read as follows; There can't be two authorities giving out land In his support to Deputy, MDC-T spokesperson, Obert Gutu argued that although the Constitution provided for the people's right to shelter, his party would not allow ZANU PF land barons to illegally acquire land and distribute it without the consent of the local authority. The story attacked ZANU PF land barons for dishing out land to their supporters indiscriminately causing chaos in the city. The story was a war between ZANU PF land barons and MDC-T councillors. In the story, the *Newsday* reporter took the official side of the Deputy Mayor who is in council on MDC- T ticket to denounce ZANU PF aligned land barons. The voice of ZANU PF as a party just like MDC-T was missing from Matenga's story. This clearly shows that the ethics of journalism are largely ignored as reporters tend to take instructions as prescribed in their editorial policies. The fact that Matenga took the official position from the Deputy Mayor and went on to ignore ZANU PF which was being attacked hints to fact that the mass media are conduits for framing using content decided elsewhere.

The contestations pitting ZANU PF and MDC-T councillors answers Mhiripiri's point that the media are a site of struggle where different ideological contestations take place. The discourse of the story is that the ZANU PF land barons invaded land without authority from council and allocated it to fellow ZANU PF supporters. The report also concluded that the land barons occupied land in disputed areas where many houses were demolished. *The Newsday* report

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portrayed ZANU PF land barons and supporters for causing chaos in Harare after circumvented proper procedures of acquiring land. A comment from Newsday newspaper also accused ZANU PF for engaging in politics using land to soil each other in the factional fights which rampant in the ruling party. The comment read in part; 'We believe all that is happening in Harare is nothing short of posturing and all intense and purposive politicking perhaps a result of ZANU PF's factional fights between the ruling party's senior officials. This comment from *Newsday's* news editor Patrice Makova is clearly indicating that politics was at play in the housing demolitions saga. This means that duped home seekers were victims of political struggles in ZANU PF. The comment went further:

We are aware that ZANU PF is struggling to deal with the economy, hence will do everything within its power to divert the population's attention from crippling economic and social problems focusing on trivial things and destroying the majority's aspirations of owning a house in the capital using various tactics.

Here the news editor is accusing ZANU PF of involving in political posturing by diverting the attention of the nation from serious economic issues but to see the issue of illegal housing as the topical issue. Despite the consequences of the victims, the party does not care but unleashed municipal bulldozers to demolish houses in the capital.

An opinion article by Robert Zhuwao in *The Herald* of 26 January 2015 is calling for a commission on inquiry into the housing saga to find a solution and correct the chaotic situation. While portraying the home seekers as victims of corruption by the Harare City council in the housing demolitions, Zhuwao sees thieves masquerading as ZANU PF political activists while both government and councils are accused of failing the nation. In brief, Zhuwao pointed out that thieves masquerading as political activists have taken advantage of the fragile relationship between the party and the Harare City Council to dupe desperate home seekers of their money. By mere mentioning of thieves masquerading as ZANU PF, Zhuwao is trying to tell the party's leadership to identify their really supporters and fish out thieves in their midst to maintain the ruling party's credibility. He also called upon government and councils to desist from playing politics but to come together and work for the good of home seekers, housing developers and

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councils themselves. The phrase playing politics means that procedures are not being conducted professionally, hence the confusion which led to scramble for land in Harare by both genuine housing developers with unscrupulous businessmen. The affected families as Zhuwao argues are left in desperate situation while culprits who mastermind scams and destroyed people's dreams often get away scot free as the matters are termed civil with the applicants ended up giving up on pursuing them to courts owing to high costs involved.

In the opinion piece, the city council and government are portrayed as the main sources of chaos that has resulted in the demolitions of housing units in the capital in the 2015/2016 period. The challenge posed by Zhuwao on both government and council to desist from playing politics is a sign that procedures are not followed and that the minister and council management knew ZANU PF officials involved in the land scan. By nature of politics, the two sides could not expose the culprits, preferring to shift the blame on innocent civilians. It is surprising how the city council allowed housing developers to put up structures only to send its bulldozers accompanied by militant council and Zimbabwe Republic police to destroy the houses. The issue of playing politics between council and government as highlighted by Zhuwao, is critical in that the media is failing to pin point those at fault between government and council. One would want to understand who the land barons were and why were they not investigated and exposed. In other words the media was protecting the interests of council and government. As for my study, it has become clear that *The Herald* and *Newsday* portrayed the victims of the housing demolitions in a very different way. *The Herald* accused the victims as responsible for the building of illegal structures and slightly blamed the land barons for invading land and corruptly allocating it to desperate home seekers while *Newsday* on the other hand described desperate home seekers as victims of the Harare City Council's mismanagement and corrupt systems.

In another comment in *Newsday* newspaper of 14 August 2015 with a headline, 'Demolitions point to ZANU PF misgovernance' the council was represented as having failed in managing the land issue in areas under council jurisdiction as chaos took centre stage in the land issue. The editor of *Newsday* questions the logic by council to demolish houses which were built right under their watchful eyes where the officials are accused of having corruptly received cash before parcelling out residential stands to housing developers. The *Newsday* editor points out

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that the land barons in question running co-operatives are either ZANU PF politicians or have strong links with the ruling party.

The study has established that politicking was at play when the Harare City Council demolished 100 posh housing units sold to home seekers by Nyikavanhu Housing Co-operative in the Arlington Estate. Government and senior council management, among them the Provincial Administrator for Harare province, Mr Alfred Tome authorised the acquisition of the land by the co-operative. The story authored by a number of reporters from *The Herald* who were not given by-lines on 26 January 2016, acknowledged that Nyikavanhu Housing Cooperative was offered subdivision E of Arlington Estate for housing development in a story headlined 'Demolition saga takes new twist.' According to the reporters, the application for land approved by Mr Tome was quoted in his own words saying;

Nyikavanhu Housing Co-operative has been legally offered land for the housing development purposes. This development was arrived at after intensive and extensive consultation with relevant ministries and organisations. It means therefore, evidence of development should now be in place since there is no prohibitive interferences in place. Please be advised and if there is any further information you may require, we are ready to furnish you with it.

However, when the Harare City Council went on to demolish the houses on the ground that the land was not for housing development but reserved for the expansion of the airport, the media quoted Mr Tome denying having authored the letter, claiming that it could have been tempered with. In his words as reported by *The Herald* journalists, Mr Tome points out that, "I cannot confirm the authenticity of the document, given the advancement in technology; it may have been tampered with." While the land for the settlement was above board, *The Herald* remained quiet on why the demolitions took place and who sanctioned them. In contrast, *Newsday* reported that "Council destroys settlements ahead of Mugabe return" The President had ordered the demolition of the settlement on the grounds that it would affect the future expansion of the airport. Before Mugabe's return from an over-sea trip, the Harare City Council demolished the

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settlement. While the reporters from both papers are confirming that the co-operative was legally offered land differed on what led to the demolitions of the houses. Reporters from *The Herald* accused the senior council and government officials among them Harare provincial administrator, Mr Alfred Tome for approving the acquisition of land by Nyikavanhu Housing co-operative to develop houses. In this discourse, the media have proved that the housing demolitions remain an issue where the truth was not being said and that the culprits were hiding behind the finger with the co-operative owners and the defenceless home seekers being blamed for the chaos in Harare in view of the housing demolitions effected by the Harare City Council in the 2015/2016 period.

In this story, the media is trying to justify that the authorities such as the Harare City Council and government had double standards in that they were responsible for offering land to the so called land barons but when the going gets tough, they deny ever being responsible only to shift the blame on the vulnerable groups who are not readily given space in the media to defend their positions.

The study has established that politicking was at play when reporters from *The Herald* covering the demolitions preferred to shift the blame on who authorised the co-operative to get the land but did not mention the person who ordered the demolitions. This discourse proves that *The Herald* reports were influenced by forces elsewhere. Responding to why some stories appear on the front page of *The Herald* like the story on demolitions of the Arlington houses along the airport road, Ruwende agreed with Chikwati that that the story deserved prominence since President Mugabe ordered the demolitions and that the suburb was posh with beautiful houses built by top ranking people like a 17 roomed house belonging to the Principal of Prince Edward School. *Newsday*, taking its anti ZANU PF stance, immediately accused the President, Robert Mugabe for sanctioning the demolitions as they became an eye sore to visitors. The discourse in this case is that the publicly owned media houses and their reporters shift the blame to the weaker sides when very senior people in government and ZANU PF including President Mugabe is found on the wrong side of the law. In this case, President Mugabe ordered the demolitions but the reporters from *The Herald* newspaper ignored exposing him. Reporters from *Newsday* did not bother to expose or interrogate the land ownership wrangle but took aim at President Mugabe

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for ordering the demolitions. Part of the story written by Moses Matenga and Richard Chidza of *Newsday* confirming that President Mugabe indeed ordered the demolitions read in part, “What is it that being seen here? You cannot do that because visitors pass through here. People settled here should leave.”

The *Newsday* story on page 2 headlined ‘Council destroys settlements ahead of Mugabe return’ is typical of the privately owned paper’s reports on President Mugabe. The headline itself confirming the demolitions by the President is set to invite anger from residents. In other word, President Mugabe is framed as the man who authorised the demolitions while the home seekers are portrayed as innocent people who are at the mercy of those with powers. This report confirms the political economy theory of the media that he who owns the media house and fund it, dictates content. Critical political economy, according to Mosco (1996) cited in Boyd Barret and Newbold (1995) is best described as a theory that looks at how media content and symbols affect the audiences socially, culturally, economically as well as politically. In this case *The Herald* is owned by government and its reporting style is that anything negative about them cannot be reported while at the same time *Newsday* which is anti government will report in line with the requirements of the person who owns the newspaper, Mr Trevor Ncube. Clark and Ivanic (2007) assert that every writing is political. The selected texts and frames by *The Herald* and *Newsday* deliberately aimed at soiling the personality and characters of the victims of housing demolitions. The study concludes that the media are largely conduits for framing and shaping reality as asserted by Goffman (1997), one of the principal theorists on framing.

With the demolitions escalating, *Newsday* reporters provided coverage to the civil society’s petition to the Harare City Council to bar it from demolishing the houses before securing alternative accommodation for the victims. A story by *Newsday* reporters who were not given by-lines on 9 February 2016 headlined ‘Civil society groups petition Kasukuwere over demolitions’ the civil society was taking a position to speak on behalf of the victims. The petition which was also copied to the Parliament of Zimbabwe and signed by the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, Amnesty International, Civic Education Network Trust, Counselling Services Unit, Gays and Lesbians Zimbabwe, Justice for Children, MMPZ, Media Institute of Southern Africa and Non Violent Action and Strategy for Social Change portrayed

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the victims as defenceless citizens and called for the immediate stoppage to demolitions. According to the *Newsday* article, the civic group also wanted the demolitions to be effected when an order to do so was granted by the courts. Part of the petition read, "We condemn the arbitrary demolitions without due process of the law" The fact that civil society petition government to stop housing demolitions is a sign that the victims are poor, vulnerable, defenceless and unable to put up their voices in the media to seek recourse. *The Herald* ignored the story in line with the editorial policy and providing coverage to anti government reports.

The coverage of the petition by civic groups is a positive move by *Newsday*, the privately owned newspapers to represent the victims who were not given an opportunity by the media to present their side of the story to the authorities. Public media but government controlled like *The Herald* never in any case give fair publicity to civic organisations unless when being reported negatively. Civic organisations are there to stand for the vulnerable groups who are in more often than note are found at loggerheads with the authorities like in this case where genuine home seekers lost their houses when the Harare City Council demolished hundreds of housing units in Harare on the fact that they were built on land reserved for some other developments. In this regard, *Newsday* is standing in for the home seekers portraying them as victims of repressive power from the city council. The petition was largely ignored by *The Herald* reporters while in all fairness, it merited coverage by all progressive reporters. Abigail Mawonde and Elita Chikwati, two of *The Herald* reporters who were among many journalists who covered the housing demolitions, made it clear in an interview that it was a standing order from their newspaper not to provide coverage to non-governmental organisations and civic groups who represent people.

Looking at the terms of reference of the civic groups, it is clear that they have been at loggerheads with government over the years in as far as human rights abuses are concerned and as such publicly owned media do not provide fair coverage to them because they are viewed as anti-government despite how genuine their cases are. The Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum and Amnesty International are on record denouncing government for human rights violations where police and soldiers have been unleashed on the streets to assault demonstrators, abducting human rights activists by suspected state security agencies, a case in point being the abduction

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and disappearance of activist Itai Dzamara a year ago. In such scenarios, privately owned newspapers, stand in for the victims like in the case of those whose houses were demolished while the state media portray victims negatively and frame the civic groups as British sponsored and MDC sympathizers bent on reversing the gains of the liberation struggle. Journalists from private media take an anti government stance while those from government controlled supports the subaltern ignored by government. In the case of the housing demolitions by the Harare City Council, *Newsday* sympathised and stood up for the victims whom they described as vulnerable and at the mercy of state force. *The Herald* took a government position which saw the land barons and home seekers as the culprits in the whole saga of land invasions and construction of houses in prohibited areas. The study concludes that victims of the housing demolitions in Harare were 'othered' in both *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers as 'officialdom' prevailed in reporting the demolitions.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the study. The data collected and analysed was presented in qualitative form using a thematic approach. Findings from interviews with reporters and their editors as well as articles analysed through critical discourse analysis were fused to answer the research questions. The next chapter six makes a summary of the findings of the study, make recommendations to the two newspapers and recommend new areas for further research.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusions and recommendations

Concluding remarks

This study sought to find out how *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers constructed victims of the housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons during the 2015/16 period when the city council went on a rampage and demolished hundreds of housing units in many old and newly established suburbs in Harare. The Harare City Council took the decision on the basis that the houses were illegally built on land invaded by land barons which was not meant for housing development but reserved for other projects such as construction of schools, recreational facilities and churches among others.

My study was informed and guided by the framing and the political economy of the media theories. The study is in agreement with media scholars (Hall, 1997 and McQuail, 2010) who argue that the media are political actors, actively involved in the creation of reality. The media here is also seen as taking a role in agenda setting and framing in the coverage of news events. Agenda setting is a theory which emphasised the role of the mass media on placing certain issues and the importance attributed to these issues to influence the consumers of mass media products to accept certain content (McCombs and Shaw 1972). The mass media use framing to create assumptions on how an issue is characterised in news reports and can have an influence on how it is understood by the audiences. However, Goffman (1974) is the view that individuals cannot fully understand the world and constantly struggle to interpret their life experiences and make sense of the world around them..Framing which is mainly used synonymously with representation refers to ways in which news resort to particular interpretive structures to set particular events within their broader context McCombs and Shaw (1972). Thus, the essence of framing is selecting news articles to prioritise and give prominence to some facts or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of

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events to suit certain agendas (Norris, Kern and Just 2003). In line with my study, the framing theory provided an insight on how the victims of the housing demolitions, the Harare City Council and land barons were constructed and portrayed in the 2015/2016 period where the city council demolished many houses on land which was invaded by land barons and parcelled out to unsuspecting home seekers.

In terms of methodology, the research is largely qualitative and deploys an interpretive approach. As detailed in the methodology, purposively sampled and selected news articles from both *The Herald* and *Newsday* were subjected to critical discourse analysis. In the study, in-depth interviews were also conducted with purposively selected journalists and editors from the two daily newspapers to complement textual analysis of data to broaden my research project. This study found out that during the course of the 2015/2016 period, the victims of the housing demolitions and land barons were negatively framed, portrayed and represented by the media as the people behind the creation of chaos in Harare. The victims were accused of building houses on land acquired illegally by land barons and ignored lawful order from the Harare City Council to demolish the structures on their own before the local authority moved in. The land barons themselves were blamed for invading land meant for some other development projects by the city council and sold it to unsuspecting home seekers to put settlements.

As for the Harare City Council, the situation was fluid. At one time certain individuals like Eng Zvobgo was singled out and negatively portrayed as having supported the illegal settlements by providing water supplies. The image of the city council was seen in good light by *The Herald* newspaper for undertaking demolitions to clean up the city of the mess created by both home seekers and land barons while *Newsday* portrayed them as corrupt officials who received money from land barons and offered them land for putting up settlements. As for the city fathers, both the daily papers represented them negatively. *The Herald* singled out the MDC-T led council for clandestinely allocating land to housing developers without following procedures while *Newsday* shifted the blame on ZANU PF land barons for illegally occupying land and selling it to fellow party supporters. The paper declared that the ZANU PF land barons created mess in the city and exonerated genuine home seekers who were duped by these unscrupulous housing developers.

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This concludes Hall's (1997) assertion that every reality is a construction and that society only knows the world through re-presentation of reality by the mass media.

Recommendations to *The Herald*

My study recommends that journalists from the leading and widely read newspaper, *The Herald's* stick to objectivity of reporting which calls for fair, factual, accurate and truthful reporting as enshrined in the ethics of journalism. The newspaper should desist from sensational reporting and setting agenda to influence consumers of media products and services to think in a certain way which may result in affecting the credibility of other people. The leading newspaper in the country must avoid too much support and sympathy to ZANU PF at the expense of other people who also need attention in the media. The watchdog role of the media must be upheld and senior people and politicians must be held accountable for their actions in society. Above all, *The Herald*, as a publicly owned newspaper must give voice to the subalterns just the same way it does to the officials in government, business, politics and social issues. The paper should uphold the important role of informing, educating and entertaining the masses without bias or favour.

Recommendations to *Newsday*

This study recommends reporters from *Newsday* newspaper to also allow the voice of the downtrodden, the poor and the disadvantaged people to be heard in the newspaper in the same way as the influential people in society are represented. Partisan, sensational and tribal reporting is not consistent with a daily paper which is an alternative private publication to the publicly owned *The Herald*. *Newsday* must cease to behave like a mouth piece of the opposition MDC party and an enemy of ZANU PF but stick to journalism ethics and standards of reporting. The newspaper is highly recommended to treat all the masses equally and be accurate, fair, and objective and be truthful in its role of informing educating and entertaining Zimbabweans.

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Recommendation to readers

The readers of the two daily newspapers are recommended not to be swayed by partisan reporting from both *The Herald* and *Newsday* which may affect their credibility and social standing in society but observe one of the three readings by Professor David Morley of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary and of Cultural Studies. The negotiated reading will allow readers accept the preferred reading and modify it in a way which reflects their positions and interests.

Recommendations for future studies

The study finally recommends that future studies could focus on the media's construction of the relationship of opposition leadership and management in councils in the delivery of services to urban residents in Zimbabwe. Such studies are necessary and important in that many local authorities are being run by a mixture of councillors from both the ruling party and opposition political parties.

Conclusion

Chapter six marks the conclusion of my study. My study has found out that the victims of the housing demolitions were othered in both *The Herald* and *Newsday* newspapers as the reporters concentrated on the official side and largely ignored the subaltern.

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