

**An interrogation of the representation of the San and Tonga
ethnic ‘minorities’ in the Zimbabwean state-owned
Chronicle, and the privately owned *Newsday Southern
Edition/Southern Eye* newspapers during 2013**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Media Studies**

At the Rhodes University’s School of Journalism and Media Studies

By

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January 2015

Dedication

To all those who, in Che Guevara's words, "tremble at every injustice"

To my late sister, Sibonisiwe Mlotshwa-Sithole: I remember that one day you flatly refused to eat and offered your tears as proof of your indignation that someone had been treated unjustly for being an 'outsider'. That small act astounded me and everyday reminds me that it is a revolutionary act to stand, daily and routinely, with those viewed as weak and 'waste'.

To one of my mentors, Paul Mambo, the late editor of the *Sunday News*: I only got to understand your journalistic vision unashamedly watered by unwavering faith in your Venda ethnic heritage as I worked on this thesis. For those of us who had been made to imbibe 'professional' and 'objective' journalism manuals and textbooks at college, your journalism seemed 'low' culture. Reflecting on your work, as I wrote this thesis, I can say you have taught me that there are no 'minorities', only ways of seeing people as such.

To the future, to Ngabayezwe Mlotshwa: my son, it was a joy to watch you learn to walk as I learned to write. This is my challenge to you, like your *babakazi* (she-father), Sibonisiwe Mlotshwa-Sithole: always embrace the discomfort of questioning your privileges – no matter how small. Like one of my mentors, Paul Mambo, always stand for who you think you are without necessarily making others feel small in who they think they are.

My son, a new radical democratic politics is possible, if we take Che Guevara's counsel to "be realists" and "dream the impossible".

Acknowledgements

As the Igbo people of Nigeria say knowledge is as big as a baobab tree, you cannot embrace it all alone; I have to acknowledge the people whose input and support made this work possible in this form.

I thank Canon Collins Trust for the scholarship that allowed me to do this Master's degree. To Sandy Balfour, Vicky Reed, and Emily Hayter: I wish for a thousand mouths so that my voice can bear the weight of my gratitude.

I am also grateful to the editors, Mduduzi Mathuthu of the *Chronicle* and Kholwani Nyathi of *Southern Eye*, who allowed me access to their newsrooms; and the journalists who enthusiastically agreed to my interviews. I am grateful to Dumisani Nsingo, Makhosi Sibanda, Vusa Dube, Mkhululi Sibindi and Linda Chinobva for the technical support. I thank Roberta Katunga for both professional and moral support.

I am grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Lynette Steenveld, my lecturer and teacher, who has shaped my intellectual work in many ways. It is you who brought to my attention the Althusserian breakthrough; that culture cannot change until language changes. It has made all the difference in my thoughts about journalism, media and cultural studies. Because of your brave support, I have really enjoyed working on this project, have grown in many ways to embrace the responsibility of thinking (and clarity in thought) that you diligently impressed on me. I am thankful to my lecturers at the Rhodes School of Journalism, Prof. Jeanne Prinsloo, who taught me textual analysis, Prof. Larry Strelitz, who taught me the value of perceptive research design, and Prof. Lorenzo Dalvit, who infused in me the love of critical Marxist theories. I don't take for granted the support provided by Rhodes University, especially the library that in the past two years became my home: a space of love and violence. In the haunting quietness of the library, I embraced and rejected ideas; I collided and colluded with ideas. I am grateful to the Unit for Humanities Research at Rhodes University (UHURU) led by Prof. Neocosmos and Dr Richard Pithouse for the intellectually stimulating master classes. Sitting at the feet of Prof. Achille Mbembe, who introduced me to Franz Fanon; Prof. Gillian Hart, who made me look at Antonio Gramsci in another way; Prof. Chari, who taught me subaltern politics; and Prof. Lewis Gordon, who taught me so much

including Franz Fanon and language; allowed me space to think about my work in fruitful ways.

I am also thankful to my classmates Ayanfe, Carly, Lauren, Mathew, Pauline; and Rhodes University colleagues Abigail Tshuma, Chelesani Moyo, Mphathisi Ndlovu and Philip Santos, for all the support and encouragement through the storms of the academia. To Carly, Mphathisi and Santos; I will always treasure the moments we engaged in discussions of everything political – from the US to Zimbabwe to Hitler – everything became highly political in our discussions.

I am thankful to my family for the moral support. I am eternally grateful to my wife and partner, Qiniso Masuku. You picked me up when cowardice convinced me that giving up is bravery. I am thankful to my uncle, Mr Josphat Mlotshwa and his wife, who have stood with me through thick and thin. It should be evidence of the depth of my gratitude to mention my sisters, Mrs Caroline Senzeni Mlilo, Mrs Crescentia Ntando Nsingo, Mrs Joan Mandlenkosi Mkwanzazi, Dr Sr Francisca Anne Mlotshwa, and Linda Chuma; and my brothers Nhlalisano Mlotshwa, Elias Fikile Mhlanga, Methuseli Mhlanga, Sifundo Mhlanga, Nduduzo Mlotshwa and Nsikelelo Mlotshwa. My parents would be proud of you for all you did for me.

I wrote this thesis in many places – Grahamstown, Johannesburg and Bulawayo – and I am thankful to the staff at Yeoville Library in Johannesburg and Luveve Library in Bulawayo.

Just to acknowledge Stuart Hall and Ernesto Laclau, two intellectual giants who passed away in 2014 during the writing of this work. It is largely on their shoulders that my work stands. It is when they fell and my work remained standing firm on the foundations of their work that I realised the point of intellectual pursuits.

Abstract

This study critically interrogates representations of the San and Tonga in the *Chronicle* and the *NewsDay Southern Edition/Southern Eye* newspapers in 2013. It makes sense of how these representations and the journalistic practices that underwrite them position the ethnic groups as ‘minorities’ - in relation to other ethnic groups - within the discourses of Zimbabwean nationalism. Underpinned by a constructionist approach (Hall, 1997), the study makes sense of the San and Tonga identities otherwise silenced by the “bi-modal” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 536; Masunungure, 2006) Shona/Ndebele approach to Zimbabwean nationalism. In socio-historic terms, the study is located within the re-emergence of ‘ethnicity’ to contest Zimbabwean nationalism(s) during debates for the New Constitution leading to a Referendum in March 2013. The thesis draws on social theories that offer explanatory power in studying media representations, which include postcolonial (Bhabha, 1990, 1994; Spivak, 1995), hegemony (Gramsci, 1971), and discourse (Foucault, 1970, 1972; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) theories. These theories speak to the ways in which discourses about identity, belonging, citizenship and democracy are constructed in situations in which unequal social power is contested. The thesis links journalism practice with the politics of representation drawing on normative theories of journalism (Christians *et al*, 2009), the professional ideology of journalism (Tuchman, 1972; Golding and Elliot, 1996; Hall *et al.*, 1996), and the concept of journalists as an ‘interpretive community’ (Zelizer, 1993). These theories allow us to unmask the role of journalism’s social power in representation, and map ways in which the agency of the journalists has to be considered in relation to the structural features of the media industry in particular, and society in general. The study is qualitative and proceeds by way of combining a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992; Richardson, 2007) and ideological analysis (Thompson, 1990) of eight news texts taken from the two newspapers and in-depth interviews with 13 journalists from the two newspapers. This way we account for the media representations journalists produced: sometimes reproducing stereotypes, at other times, resisting them. Journalists not only regard themselves as belonging to the dominant ethnic groups of Shona or Ndebele, but as part of the middle class; they take Zimbabwean nationalism for granted, reproducing it as common-sense through sourcing patterns dominated by elites. This silences the San and Tonga constructing them as a ‘minority’ through a double play of invisibility and hyper visibility, where they either don’t appear in the news texts or are overly stereotyped.

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List of abbreviations

AMH – Alpha Media Holdings

BSAC – British South Africa Company

CCJP – Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice

CEO – Chief Executive Officer

CSOs – Civil Society Organisations

ESAP – Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

GNU – Government of National Unity

MDC- Movement for Democratic Change

MDC-T – Movement for Democratic Change (Tsvangirai)

MDCs – Movement for Democratic Change parties

MLO – Matabeleland Liberation Organisation

MP- Member of parliament

RF- Rhodesian Front

RPPC – Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company

Zanu PF – Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZILPA – Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association

Zimpapers – Zimbabwe Newspapers

Zimparks – Zimbabwe Parks

Zimsec – Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council

ZMMT – Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust

Key historic dates

1892 – Mashonaland colonised by the British South Africa Company (BSAC)

1893 – War of dispossession and Matabeleland colonised by the British South Africa Company (BSAC)

1896 – Umvukela (liberation) War I led by Queen Lozikeyi and Nehanda

1929 – San people evicted from the Hwange area to pave way for the game reserve (Madzudzo, 2001:82; Davison, 1977)

1957 – 1958 – Some 57 000 Tonga people moved from the Zambezi Valley to create the Kariba Dam, a hydro electric power plant (Panos Southern Africa, 2005:1)

1963 – Smith declares UDI, Liberation war begins

1979 – Lancaster House conference negotiations

18 April 1980 – Zimbabwe marks Independence Day from Britain

1982 – 1987 – Gukurahundi ethnic cleansing in Matabeleland claims about 20 000 lives according to a report by the Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice.

22 December 1987 – Unity Accord signed between Zapu and Zanu PF to end Gukurahundi.

1997 – Formation of the national Constitutional Assembly (NCA) agitating for a new constitution

1999 – Formation of the MDC

2000 – Draft constitution rejected at a referendum

2008 – Zimbabwe holds disputed and inconclusive elections leading to the formation of the GNU (on 15 September), with the assistance of South Africa

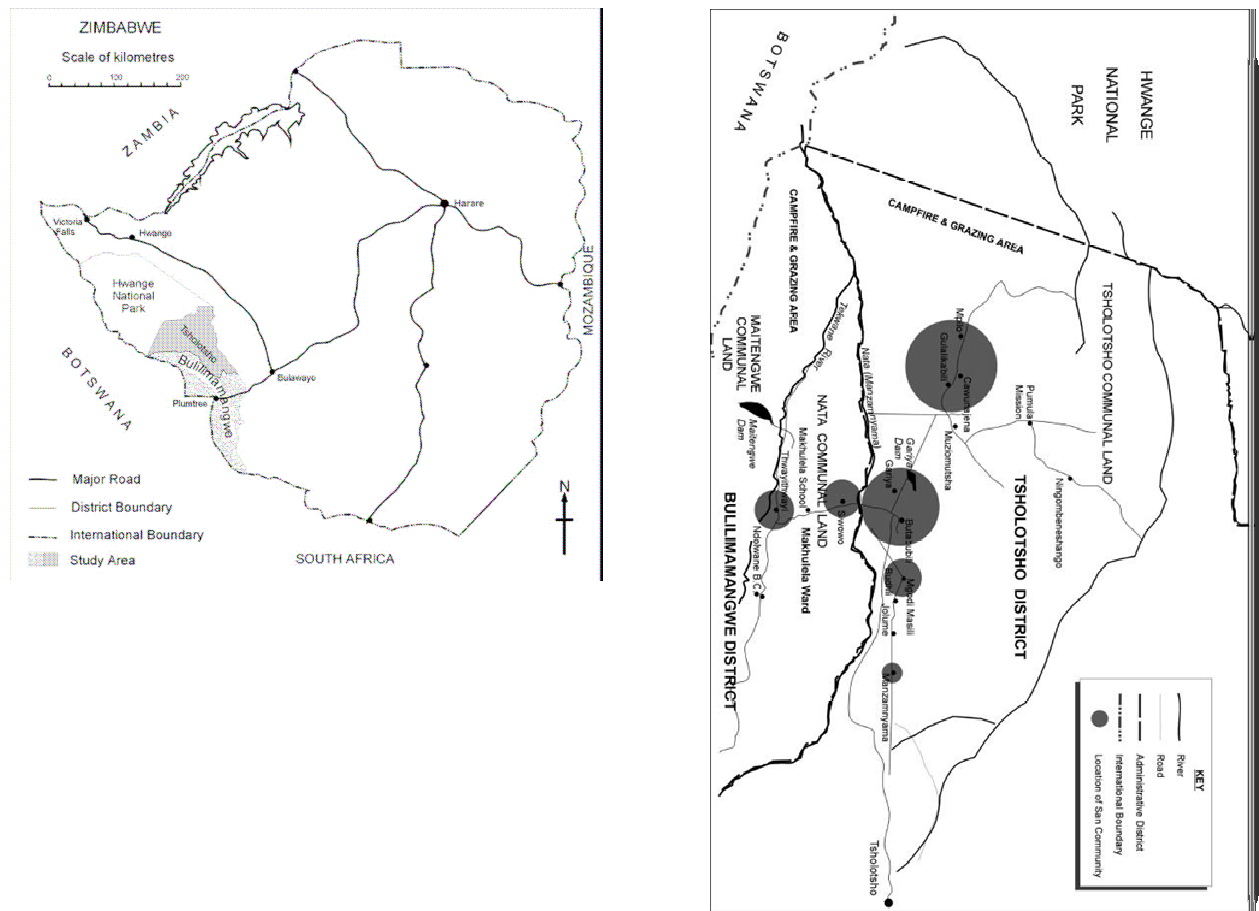
2009 – The new constitution writing exercise begins with outreach meetings

March 2013 – New Constitution that recognises minority languages as official languages adopted at a referendum

July 31, 2013 – Zimbabwe holds elections that sweep Zanu PF back into ‘unshared’ power.

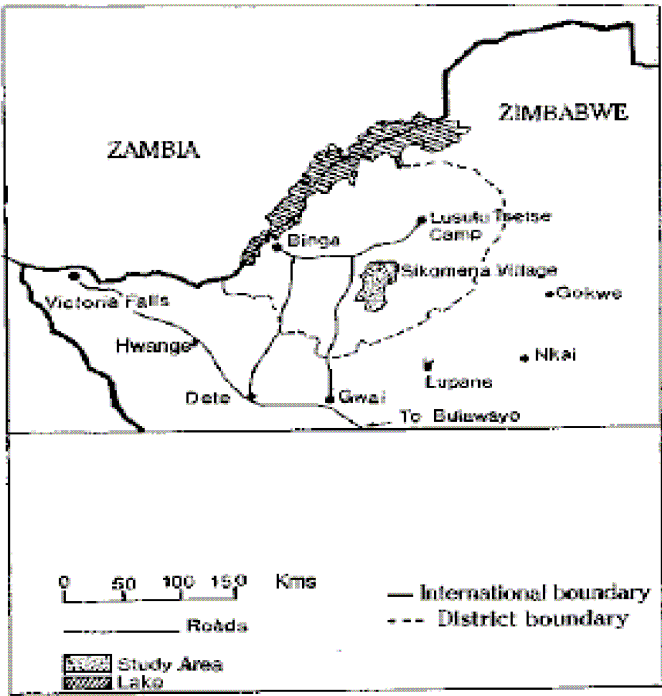
August 2013 – Zimbabwe holds the International world tourism congress as the scandal on elephant poising breaks out.

Maps 1: Location of the San people in Zimbabwe



Maps taken from Robins, Madzudzo and Brenzinger (2001).

Maps 2: Location of the Tonga people in Zimbabwe



Map taken from Dzingirai (1994).

CHAPTER 1: Introduction and Context

Introduction

This study focuses on the representations of the San and the Tonga in two Zimbabwean newspapers, *Chronicle* and *NewsDay Southern Edition/Southern Eye*, as it is possible, through a reading of stories on the two ethnic groups, to identify particular stereotypes. The San and Tonga are the poorest and most powerless ethnic groups in the country, inhabiting desert-like areas in North and South Matabeleland (Davison, 1977; Madzudzo, 2001; Panos Southern Africa, 2005). They are part of what, within the discourse of Zimbabwean nationalism, has been termed the minority ethnic groups.

Representation in the media is implicated in the distribution of social power (Karppinen, 2008:27-28). As a social space, the media are central to the construction of identities and belonging (Cottle, 2000:2), and in democratic discourse this is linked to issues of citizenship. Citizenship is the identity – and the rights and responsibilities linked to it – as a result of belonging to the community of the nation. This research probes the construction of the San and Tonga people in the *Newsday Southern Edition/Southern Eye* and *Chronicle* in relation to on-going discussions about Zimbabwean national identity. As will be discussed in the media context section, Zimbabwe's post-colonial journalism is rooted in the country's nationalist agenda (Chiumbu, 2004). This makes the media ideal spaces to interrogate the construction of ethnic groups as 'minorities', and tease out the underlying social power dynamics at play within the discourse of Zimbabwean nationalism.

This chapter discusses Zimbabwean nationalism, contextualising the San and Tonga in the play of ethnic politics within its discourses. The chapter also locates the two newspapers within the context of Zimbabwe's media industry and journalism. In a nutshell, the chapter introduces the study by discussing its significance and goals.

Nationalism, ethnicity and identity politics in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's liberation war, the foundation of the country's contemporary nationalism, was fought with the aim of eradicating exclusion on the basis of racial identity (Mhlanga, 2013; Nkomo, 2001). Until March 2013, this nationalism found expression in a constitution negotiated at the Lancaster House Conference in London in 1979. However, over the years there has been dissatisfaction with the constitution for numerous reasons. On the side of the

ruling Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (Zanu PF) party, it was seen as a ceasefire document that had not opened ways of taking Zimbabwe's 'decolonial' project to its logical conclusion of reclaiming land (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2010; Chung and Kaarsholm, 2006). For the opposition parties, the Lancaster constitution amended over 30 times was no longer credible, and epitomised the country's governance crisis (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2010). The contestations around the writing of the new constitution since 2009 until its adoption in a referendum in March 2013, provided an opportunity for minority groups – including women and ethnic groups - to re-negotiate the ways in which they are 'recognised' in Zimbabwean nationalism. For minority ethnic groups the struggle during the constitution-making process was about the devolution of power, and the "recognition" (Fraser, 1995) of their different languages and cultures. The contestations illustrated the endurance of both ethnicity as an identity marker, and the hegemonic view that it is a bad 'birth mark' for post-independence nations (Mhlanga, 2013; Hameso, 1997:3). This research focuses on ethnicity because the question of ethnic self-determination during the constitution-making process in Zimbabwe arose as a post-colonial reality of Zimbabwe "in which both the crisis of the uncompleted struggle for 'decolonisation' and the crisis of the 'post-independence' state are deeply inscribed" (Hall, 1996:224).

During the constitution-making process, the Zanu PF party adopted a strongly nationalist view that criticised devolution of power as ethnic and regional self-determination.¹ The Lancaster House Constitution only recognised English, Ndebele and Shona as official languages. All other languages, except sign language, were regarded as languages of ethnic minorities. However, in recognising the demands of the minority ethnic groups, Section 6 of the Preamble to the new Constitution (March 2013) records Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, sign language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda, and Xhosa as official languages.

The constitutional contestations around ethnicities and a re-think on Zimbabwe's governance architecture favouring one that devolved power to districts are not events outside history, as they are embedded within the path of Zimbabwean nationalism. Present day Zimbabwe is a product of pre-colonial histories, colonial experiences and African nationalism that represent broad discursive fields and identity-forming processes that are a terrain of racial and ethnic

¹On this issue, President Robert Mugabe, was quoted alleging, "We don't want to divide the country into small pieces because it will cause disunity among our people" (www.newzimbabwe.com)

politics (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012:533). This study focuses on the complex relationship between ethnicity and nationalism as represented in the media, and favours a constructionist approach to both nationalism and ethnicity as forms of identity (Hall, 1992; 1996).

The constructionist approach sees ethnicity and ethnic consciousness as not natural phenomena but “products of identifiable historical processes and experiences” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012:538). Central to this research is an investigation into the ways in which journalism becomes a discursive and historical process that constructs and reproduces certain ethnicities as ‘minorities’ and others, that is Ndebele and Shona identities, as ‘nationalism(s)’. It is the element of “differences” (Young, 1997) as implicated in identity and power that make this study important. This study is informed by the assumption that differences of whatever kind, ethnicity included, do not cause conflict, rather, “what causes conflict are asymmetrical power relations and competition for resources” that are embedded in discourses and representation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012:538).

This study focuses on the Tonga and the San because of strong parallels between them, largely a parallel history of being evicted from ancestral lands to pave the way for huge state-operated development projects from which they have not benefitted (Panos Southern Africa, 2005; Madzudzo, 2001). When the then Rhodesian government passed the Game and Fish Preservation Act prior to 1929, the San were evicted from the area to be designated as the Hwange Game Reserve and relocated to Tsholotsho (Madzudzo, 2001: 82; Davison, 1977). Between 1957 to 1958, the Northern (Zambia) and Southern (Zimbabwe) Rhodesian governments decided to move some 57 000 Tonga from the Zambezi Valley, to “use the flowing waters of the Zambezi River to create a hydroelectric power plant, which would supply electricity to both countries” (Panos Southern Africa, 2005:1). This altered the Tonga lives as they had to give up fertile land on the river banks, and “the shrines and graves of their ancestors” (Panos Southern Africa, 2005: i). It is their visible stereotyping in the media, a history of eviction, their poverty, and their lack of access to state power which makes these groups fitting choices for this study. This thesis takes “under-representation” as “a starting point for analysis, since under-representation is not total exclusion” (Richardson, 2007: 137).

The complex interplay between nationalism, ethnicity, identity, citizenship and media representation is analysed and discussed within the normative framework of the media. The normative framework of studying the media focuses on what the media are expected, or

ought, to do in a democracy. The complex relationship between the media and ethnic minorities is typically characterised by continuity, conflict and change (Cottle, 2000:1). The media occupy a key site and perform a crucial role in the representation of “unequal social relations” and “the play of cultural power” as firstly, it allows readers to construct a sense of their identity and that of others. Secondly, the media serve to affirm social and cultural diversity by providing crucial spaces through which imposed identities can be resisted, challenged and changed (Cottle, 2000:2).

Media Context

In pre-independence Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company (RPPC), a subsidiary of the Cape Town (South Africa) based Argus media group, was meant to safeguard the settlers’ political and economic interests (Gale, 1962: 165). After independence, the Zanu PF government bought 51 per cent of the RPPC’s shares and the rest went to a private investor. The government managed the newspaper company under the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) and tasked it with building a nation (Chuma, 2005:47). In the 1990s, the private press in Zimbabwe also operated within a nationalist outlook underpinned by liberal democracy (Saunders, 1999:5)². It has become the norm for academics, politicians and lay people to speak of the media in Zimbabwe in terms of the private and state owned media polarities (Mabweazara, 2012). The construction of ethnic minorities and the general reportage of ethnicity in the media seem to emanate from an interpretive philosophy guided by the discourses of Zimbabwean nationalism (Ndlovu, 2007), blurring the private and state media binary. The state media, exemplified by the *Chronicle*, has the reputation of spreading government policy and quashing dissenting voices; the private press, on the other hand, exemplified by *Southern Eye*, is considered a media ‘watchdog’, subjecting the government to scrutiny and providing space to dissenting voices (Ronning, 2005). Chari notes that in embracing dissenting voices, the private press has “signed a pact with the opposition ‘to hear no evil’, ‘speak no evil’ and ‘see no evil’ regarding its affairs” (2009:10). The two newspapers, *Chronicle* and *Southern Eye* are owned by Zimbabwe Newspapers (Zimpapers) and the Alpha Media Holdings (AMH) respectively. Both companies dominate an oligopolistic newspaper market where they are locked into intense competition.

² The private press in Zimbabwe, however, did not appear in the 1990s but had been in operation since the colonial days with such publications as the Catholic Church run magazine, *Moto*, and the *Financial Gazette* launched in 1969.

The Chronicle

The *Chronicle* is a daily Bulawayo-based newspaper that is part of the ten newspapers published by Zimpapers. With a 50,1 percent shareholding, the government has an influence on the editorial content of the newspapers in the stable. It is therefore the government's policy of pursuing a nationalist agenda that permeates the editorial policy of the newspapers. According to Gale (1962:165), the Argus Company started publishing the *Chronicle* in 1894. The RPPC bought the newspaper in 1934. The newspapers' editorial policy at its inception was to serve the commercial interests of the white community in Rhodesia, which was involved in mining and agriculture. Gale (1962) points out that the newspaper also aimed to promote the interests of the BSAC, which wanted to consolidate its power in the country.

What is of importance to this study is that Gale (1962) links the establishment of the then *Bulawayo Chronicle* with the colonisation of the Ndebele state. In his background, Gale (1962:23) makes clear the attitude that the BSAC had towards Matabeleland and Mashonaland, as they saw these as separate polities. This promoted the Ndebele/Shona binary that nationalists later inherited. The *Chronicle* was established to serve the Matabeleland region. When the Rhodesian Front (RF) took over in 1962, the government had a more direct influence on the papers under the RPPC, maintaining a firm grip on the editorial policy through censorship and intimidation.

After independence in 1980, and as part of a restructuring exercise, the new government established the ZMMT in 1981, which acquired all Argus shares in the Rhodesian Printing Press chain. Through this, it gained 45 percent of the company's shares, but a few years later, the Trust acquired more than 50 percent, making the new government the largest shareholder. This policy extended the previously RF's editorial control to the Zanu PF government's hands. The newspaper was at this time branded as 'nationalist' in line with the Zanu PF government's philosophy. As Saunders notes, "the new government soon came to see the public media as important tools in consolidating its political authority" (1999:18). It has, however, remained implicit that the *Chronicle* should focus on the Southern region of the country, with the Eastern served by *The Manica Post*, and Northern Zimbabwe served by the *Herald*.

The Newsday/Southern Eye

The *Southern Eye* is a successor to the *NewsDay Southern Edition*. The *NewsDay* was started as an independent daily newspaper published by Alpha Media Holdings in June 2010. AMH is a media company made up of three newspapers, two weeklies and one daily, a distribution company, Munn Marketing and a printing press, Strand Printing Press. It re-branded in 2010, from Zimbabwe Independent to AMH. AMH started in 1996 when the Chief Executive Officer of the organisation, Trevor Ncube, was fired as Editor-in-Chief of the *Financial Gazette* for being too critical of ZANU PF and President Robert Mugabe (AMH NewsDay profile, 2010).

Three months after the launch of *NewsDay*, the southern edition was introduced to cater for the interests of the Matabeleland and Midlands readership. The publishers realised that events in Harare, Zimbabwe's capital city, might not be of interest to the people in Matabeleland. They then sought to publish a newspaper from Bulawayo, the country's second biggest city. Although *NewsDay* Southern edition was edited in Harare, it opened a bureau in Bulawayo with a local editorial team comprised of a bureau chief and reporters in beats such as general news, business, sport, and entertainment. *NewsDay*'s objectives were to provide a platform for Zimbabweans to talk to each other and its goal was to be the pulse of the nation for those in authority (NewsDay, 2013).

In June 2013, *NewsDay* Southern edition was turned into *Southern Eye*, this time with a fully-fledged editor and a complete editorial team including sub editors. Instead of being edited in Harare, the newspaper is now edited and designed in Bulawayo. It is only printed in Harare where AMH's printing presses are located. At its launch in June 2013, the AMH chairman, Trevor Ncube, said the launch of the newspaper was "a response to both readers and advertisers in southern Zimbabwe who want a product that is specifically focused on this region" (NewsDay, 2013). He noted that the *NewsDay* southern edition had been limited in the amount of local content it carried "as this competes with national news". The launch of the *Southern Eye* marks a shift from a "national dialogue" to a "regional dialogue" where "the people of the south [would be] talking to each other, arguing and fighting in a civilised manner so as to help develop this country" (NewsDay, 2013). The then minister of industry, Welshman Ncube, who was guest of honour at the launch, said that "the paper would enable the people of the south to tell their stories" (Newsday, 2013).

Significance of the study

In studying the representation of San and Tonga in the *Chronicle* and the *NewsDay Southern Edition/Southern Eye*, this thesis becomes part of an ongoing conversation on ethnicity and nationalism in studies on Zimbabwe, especially in literature, languages, history and media studies (Sithole, 1999; Mhlanga, 2013; Msindo, 2012; Ndlovu, 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Masunungure, 2014). Except for Sithole (1999), most major studies tackle the question of ethnicity in Zimbabwe by focusing on Matabeleland as their entry point to the debates on Zimbabwean nationalism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009, Msindo, 2012). The weakness of most studies on ethnicity and nationalism in Zimbabwe is that they pitch the debate as “bimodal” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 536) confining it to the Ndebele-Shona binaries. Through a close reading of media texts on the San and Tonga, and interviews with journalists producing these texts, this study attempts to interrupt the bimodal approach to this debate. This thesis is premised on the recognition that ethnic issues in Zimbabwe are more complex than the Shona/Ndebele binary as Zimbabwe has close to 20 ethnic groups whose identities are taken after the languages they speak (Ndlovu, 2007:132). In that sense, Msindo’s (2012) in-depth study of “the Kalanga and the Ndebele of Southern Zimbabwe” (2012:1) is important in that it opens up Matabeleland and challenges a homogeneous approach to the region. This is an important gain that this thesis builds on. However, the major pitfall of Msindo’s (2012) work is that it largely works in a near vacuum in terms of defining the Ndebele and the Kalanga, its objects of the study. It is in his attack on Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) for “use of the oral testimony of Ndebele aristocrats, the *zansi*” (Msindo, 2012:4) that one can infer that by Ndebele he is referring to the Nguni, “a group of people (now called the Ndebele)” who “settled in an area predominantly under the control of the then weakening Rozvi state” (2012: 1). This is an essentialist definition of the Ndebele identity. There are some people who speak of Kalanga nationalism, bringing under its rubric ethnic groups such as the Nambya in Northern Matabeleland and the Venda people in Southern Matabeleland (Ndzimu-unami Emmanuel, 2012). In some spaces there are Kalangas who regard themselves as Ndebele where Ndebele assumes a nationalist identity. This thesis considers Ndebele and Shona as nationalisms, historically constructed out of bringing together various ethnicities (Ndlovu, 2007:133). Here the thesis embraces Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s (2009) hegemonic approach to ethnic identities. In interrogating both the idea of ‘Zimbabwe’ and that of ‘Matabeleland,’³

³This calls for a corresponding need to open up Mashonaland to scrutiny, demystifying its homogeneity and questioning its normative status when talking about Zimbabwe. During the country’s liberation struggle (1963 –

this thesis embraces Mhlanga's (2012) call for a diligent study of ethnicity in Africa, and Msindo's (2012) important contribution of opening Matabeleland to scrutiny; but it (thesis) rejects the essentialism in which ethnic identities are seen as fixed or potentially authentic⁴. Partly drawing on postcolonial (Bhabha, 1990, 1994) and subaltern studies (Spivak, 1995), this thesis is positioned in what Moyo and Yeros see as the return of the national question which is located with the "the wretched of the earth" (2011: 12). The metaphor of the "wretched of the earth", taken from Franz Fanon (1963), refers to the peasants. In demanding cultural recognition (language and history) and devolution of power during constitutional outreach gatherings, the minority ethnic groups who are geographically located in rural areas as peasants, in their own way revived Zimbabwe's national question.

Goals of the research

The research has two goals:

1. To analyse the representation of the San and Tonga people, and to make sense of how the representation of the San and Tonga in the two newspapers positions them in relation to other ethnic groups, or 'minorities' within the discourses of Zimbabwean nationalism.
2. To make sense of the journalistic practices that produce these representations focusing on how and why journalists respond in different ways at different times in covering the groups.

Methodology

Focusing on production and texts, the research mainly relies on textual analysis (Qualitative Content Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and ideological analysis) and in-depth interviews with journalists at the two newspapers. QCA is used to 'construct' a frame of the representations of the San and Tonga in the media. A combination of CDA and ideological analysis allows for the interrogation of discourses, power, ideology and how journalism produces and sustains unequal power relations between ethnic groups (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Richardson, 2001, Thompson, 1990). In-depth interviews unpack questions about how

1980), Sithole (1980) noted, tribal outbursts "between and among sub-tribal groups within the Shona and Ndebele" characterising these as "struggles within the struggle".

⁴Msindo does not only reject the constructivist approach but in doing so he embraces primordialist approaches that see ethnicity prior to independence as authentic (2012:3) and refers to "true Kalanganess" (2012:5).

content producers (journalists and editors) in the two newsrooms understand the San and Tonga people, and how they produce specific representations. The research uses a combination of stratified random sampling and systematic sampling in selecting both the journalists for interviews and news stories for textual analysis. For interviews, journalists are divided into two groups of *Southern Eye* and *Chronicle* content producers. Editors and news editors are purposively sampled because there can only be one for each newspaper. As the key people in generating content and gatekeeping, news editors and editors potentially provide relevant information.

News stories are divided into four categories: stories about the Tonga in the *Southern Eye*; stories on Tonga in the *Chronicle*; San stories in the *Southern Eye*; San stories in the *Chronicle*. The stories were then categorised into themes, and a purposive sample used to select stories for CDA and ideological analysis. A preliminary reading of the stories in the two newspapers revealed that in nearly all stories there is a recurring themes - culture (modernity versus tradition and nationalism versus ethnicity), tourism, human rights and law, and politics - that are examined in chapters 5 and 6.

The period under study is from January to December 2013. The year was chosen because the first three months (January to March) were marked by inter-party debates about minority issues in the New Constitution. The country also held a Constitutional referendum at the end of March. Campaigns for elections held on 31 July 2013 also sparked intense debates around the issues.

As discussed in the methodology chapter, it is important for purposes of validity to declare my positioning as a researcher. I am a middle class citizen who, in terms of the country's ethnic identities, would be regarded as Ndebele; and among the Ndebele will further be seen as Nguni. This positioning comes with numerous privileges including being accepted in both Zimbabwe and Matabeleland as 'the norm'. This thesis is, therefore, an exercise in "unlearning one's privilege" (Spivak, 1987:136).

Chapter outline

Chapter 2 discusses and conceptualises concepts central to this study, namely representation, identity, nationalism, ethnicity and citizenship. They are discussed using frameworks informed by the work of Foucault (1971, 1980), Gramsci (1971), Laclau and Mouffe (1985), Hall (1992, 1996), Bhabha (1994) and Spivak (1992). The chapter aims to explain the

combination of discourse, hegemony and ideology at a theoretical conceptual level. (The articulation of discourse and ideology at a methodological level is discussed in Chapter 4.) This chapter also discusses citizenship in the context of “difference” (Young, 1997) and subalternity.

Chapter 3 discusses literature on journalism practice as a representational discourse and its role in identity formation. Extending the issues of citizenship and democracy discussed in Chapter 2, this chapter draws on Stuart Hall’s work on representation and identity and attempts to link these concepts with journalism. It then discusses normative theories of the media and the expectations around journalism. Journalism practice is then discussed in the context of the work on objectivity and news values, the critical political economy framework, and journalists as an interpretive community (Zelizer, 1993) paradigm.

Chapter 4 discusses the design of the study focusing on the methodology and methods used to gather information. The research takes a qualitative approach and uses qualitative content analysis, critical discourse analyses and in-depth interviews with journalists to fulfil its goals. The strengths and weaknesses of these methods are discussed, as well as how they are remedied within the context of this research. The chapter also explains how Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Richardson, 2007) is combined with ideological analysis (Thompson, 1990) at a methodological level.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 provide an analysis and discussion of the findings in light of the conceptual discussions in chapters 2 and 3. These chapters are broken down according to themes. Chapter 5 discusses the representation of the San and Tonga in the discourses of tourism, and in the discourses of human rights and law. Chapter 6 discusses the representation of the San and Tonga in the discourse of culture, and in the discourse of politics. The chapters combine findings from qualitative content analysis, critical discourse analysis, and in-depth interviews with journalists.

Chapter 7 concludes the study, summarising the arguments and findings of the research, and suggests possible leads for further research in the area of ethnicity and media representation within the context of the master narratives of nationalism and globalisation.

CHAPTER 2: Ethnicity, nationalism, citizenship and democracy

Introduction

This chapter discusses and conceptualises ethnicity, nationalism, and citizenship, the three key concepts which inform the socio-historical context of the study of the representation of the San and Tonga ethnic groups in the *Chronicle* and the *Newsday Southern Edition/Southern Eye* newspapers in Southern Zimbabwe. Democracy is discussed as a meta-concept linking ethnicity, nationalism and citizenship with questions of journalism's normative roles (Christians, et al., 2009) that are discussed in the next chapter.

The assumption in this thesis is that nations are “Western” and “modern” (Hall, 1997:292). Consequently, Zimbabwe's contemporary nationalism is seen as arising out of colonialism (and Western modernity) and a transference of “the allegiance and identification” with tribe/ethnicity in pre-colonial traditional societies (Hall, 1997:292). This assumption has necessitated a discussion of ethnicity, nationalism, citizenship and democracy within postcolonial (Bhabha, 1990, 1994; Spivak, 1995), hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) and discourse (Foucault, 1970, 1972; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) social theories as they have explanatory power in interrogating discourses about identity and belonging as constructed in situations in which unequal social power is contested. This (opening) section to the chapter introduces and discusses the relevance of these social theories to this study and how they relate to each other. In the second section, the chapter discusses the ideology, hegemony and discourses of contemporary Zimbabwean nationalism. In the last section, the chapter discusses the public sphere, citizenship and democracy which allow us to link the politics of representation and identity with journalism practice. Save for their divergence on issues of ‘consensus’ and ‘conflict,’ Habermas's (1964/1974) concept of the public sphere and Mouffe's (1999) agonistic model both express normative ideals which are useful for the study of both democracy and democratic communication.

As intimated in the first chapter, the struggles around the re-writing of the constitution starting in 2009, culminating in the referendum in March 2013, and the resultant emergence of minority demands for greater recognition are thought of in post-colonial terms. The ‘post-colonial’ is here not thought of as simply a period coming at the end of colonisation. It is envisaged as independence from direct colonial rule, formation of new nation-states, growth of indigenous capital, neo-colonial dependency on the developed capitalist world, and the

emergence of powerful local elites managing contradictory effects of underdevelopment (Hall, 1996: 247 – 248). The struggles of the San and the Tonga people around education, their language, access to education as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 are unintelligible outside of the postcolonial context (Hall, 1996:246). This thesis draws on Bhabha's (1990, 1994) work on the nation highlighting the interplay of stereotypes and ambivalence, and Spivak's (1995) work on subalternity linking to questions of agency and voice. Bhabha's and Spivak's work is central to the study of representation (Moore-Gilbert, 2000:451), nationalism and citizenship in the post-colony. Their work also allows us to interrogate indigeneity, a concept central to the identity of the San. Indigeneity refers to "peoples who define themselves in terms of relation to land, kinship communities, native languages, traditional knowledges, and ceremonial practices that are foundational to the maintenance of what (is) theorized as 'oppositional, place-based existence'" (Byrd and Rothberg, 2011:3, see Alfred and Corntassel, 2005:597).

In this thesis, ethnicity, nationalism and citizenship are taken as hegemonic discourses. In Foucault's historicised theory, discourses are sets of structures, rules, and groups of statements that provide a language for representing a particular topic at a particular historical moment and are therefore specific (Hall, 1997:44, Vighi and Feldner, 2007:7). The representation of the Tonga and San within questions of nationalism and citizenship is discursively constructed. The Tonga and San are consequently produced as minority ethnic groups within specific media practices that rule out other ways of representation (Foucault, 1972). It is Foucault's (1980) break with Marxism in the conceptualisation of power shifting attention from the dominance of the 'power bloc' to the localised circuits through which power circulates that echoes Gramsci's theory of hegemony.

Gramsci (1971) sees hegemony as cultural and ideological leadership through which the dominating groups in society – including but not exclusively the ruling class – maintain their dominance by securing the 'spontaneous consent' of subordinate groups (Strinati, 2004:153). In the concept of hegemony, Gramsci makes a distinction between 'coercive' direct control and 'consensual' control (Ransome, 1992:150). The similarity between hegemony and discourse is that both resist characterising ideology as all powerful, unidirectional and indoctrinating the subordinated groups. In Zimbabwe, while Shona and Ndebele sensibilities have always dominated Zimbabwean nationalism, these two ethnic groups have over the years made concessions to other ethnic groups: for example, by setting up a radio station in

‘minority’ languages, publishing a page of Suthu and Kalanga content in an *isiNdebele* weekly newspaper in Bulawayo (Ndlovu, 2007).

Gramsci’s (1971) concept of hegemony is important for this thesis because, combined with Foucault, it allows us to focus on discourse without losing sight of ideology. It is the “unrelenting pertinence of the notion of ideology” (Zizek, 1994:1) that makes it important to pay attention to it in this thesis. The ubiquitous modern assumption of ‘ethnicity’, ‘nationalism’, ‘citizenship’ and ‘democracy’ as the ‘real’ lead us to assert the existence of ideology as the “generative matrix that regulates the relationship between the visible and non-visible” (Zizek, 1994:1). The concept of hegemony is seen as extending and enriching the notion of ideology otherwise conceptualised as abstract in Marxist theory (Eagleton, 1991:114) such that it (ideology) can be viewed as “discursive and semiotic phenomena concerned with meaning” (Eagleton, 1991:194). As a result, this thesis adopts Thompson’s (1990) definition of ideology as “meaning in the service of power”.

It is in the work of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) where the social is regarded as a discursive construct that the concepts of hegemony and discourse are easily articulated as they see discourses as agonistically in tension with one another in societies in which inequalities of power prevail. They argue that social phenomena, such as nationalism and citizenship, is never finished but constantly in a state of ‘becoming’, and that meaning can never be ultimately fixed, opening up the way for constant social struggle about definitions of society and identity (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; *see* Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002:24; Carpentier and De Cleen, 2007:267). In this thesis Zimbabwean nationalism is regarded as an incomplete project that is open ended, perpetually in a state of “becoming” (Raftopolous and Mlambo, 2009).

The postcolonial ideology, hegemony and discourses of Zimbabwean nationalism

A nation is largely regarded as a political community. Ways of thinking about the nation include primordialism and perennialism on one hand; and the modernist paradigm, on the other (Smith, 2000). According to primordialism and perennialism, nations exist because they reflect primordial attachments (Smith, 1998, 2000). Some of the approaches in this school of thought are socio-biological (Van den Berghe, 1967) and others are anthropological and cultural (Geertz, 1973). While the socio-biological approach considers commonalities of culture and language as indicating an underlying biological or genetic commonality, the

culturalist approach focuses on cultural commonality as the essence or core of the nation (Siapera, 2010:15).

In contrast, modernist approaches, which include economic, political, socio-cultural and constructionist approaches, focus on the “thoroughly modern character of the nation and nationalism” that emerged alongside modernity, capitalism and industrial revolution (Siapera, 2010:17). In this case, the nation is defined broadly as a combination of social solidarity built up out of historical contingencies, with a voluntary collective will in the present to continue to build on that solidarity (Renan, 1883 in Hearn, 2006: 3). In the modernist approach, some writers emphasise economics as the main explanatory variable for the rise of the nation and nationalism (Nairn, 1977), and others insist on the importance of socio-cultural factors alongside economic and political ones (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983; Anderson, 1991; Siapera, 2010:18). It is in the last category, especially in the work of Anderson (1991), that the media, as implicated with industrialisation and urbanisation, are seen as central to the birth of the nation as a form of organisation. The nation is then taken as a system of cultural representations or a symbolic community (Hall, 1992:292; Schwart, 1986:106). This thesis is located within this later constructionist perspective.

Hall (1997) offers five ways in which nations are constructed. First, he sees nations as created through narrations, in which the story of the nation is told and re-told in histories, literature, the media and popular culture. Second, the nation is represented as primordial through tales of origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness. Third, he draws on Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) who point to the invention of traditions as a mark of a nation. Fourth, there is a foundational myth locating the nation’s beginnings earlier in “‘mythic’ time” (Hall, 1997:294). And finally, he argues that nations are symbolically grounded on the idea of a pure, original people (Hall, 1997:295). A nation can be constructed through any of these instances, and most of the time, through a combination of them. Zimbabwe’s nationhood is narrated through the media, especially the state broadcaster as rooted in the liberation struggles (Mano, 1997, 2008), and traditional narratives of mythic origin at the Great Zimbabwe.

In thinking of nationalism as a discourse, the thesis adopts Foucault’s (1980) complex conceptualisation of power as circulating and the view that the procedures that constrain discourse, such as taboos, also make discourse possible. Privileging Ndebele and Shona

heroes in the 1896 and 1963 – 1980 wars of liberation makes these two cultures' histories nodal points (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) around which other ethnic groups' cultures – and histories - are organised and can be meaningful. A discourse is constituted in relation to all the possibilities it excludes, which is its field of discursivity (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:111). Tonga, San and other 'minority' ethnic groups constitute the excess possibilities that Zimbabwean nationalism may be comprised of, but for purposes of fixing meaning are excluded in the specific postcolonial discourse of contemporary Zimbabwean nationalism. However, the concessions that minority ethnic groups managed to get in the form of recognition of their languages in the new constitution suggests that it is wrong only to think of them as dominated. As exemplified during the Constitution re-writing processes, the discourse of ethnicity as a negation of nationalism also constructs ethnicity as a site for the emergence of counter-nationalisms.

Two points to bear in mind are that, first, at any given time, Zimbabwean nationalism has never been homogenous; second, and over time, this nationalism has always been in a state of flux. Zimbabwean nationalism has been fluid, taking different forms before independence in April 1980, in the genocide between 1982 and 1987, in the neo-liberal Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) years between 1990 and 1999, and at the turn of the millennium in 2000 with the formation of a strong opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008). Given the historical circumstances, nationalist discourses adopted different hues at different times: in the 1980s it was coloured by a Chinese-Maoist tint; between 1990 and 1999 its neo-liberal colouring was imbued with hints of the Western-backed economic structural adjustment programme which informed its new colouration; and following this, with the rise of the allegedly Western-sponsored opposition movement, it took on the colours of Marxist-Leninism (Mano, 2008). This is precisely why this thesis eschews the idea that identities, including ethnicity and nationalism, are pre-given (Msindo, 2012; Mhlanga, 2013), preferring the constructionist approach in which identities are taken as "becoming" (Raftopolous and Mlambo, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

As alluded to in the previous paragraph, finding its highest expression in the land reform programme of 2000, Zimbabwe's nationalism as directed by the ruling party, Zanu PF, has taken the form of what has been termed Chimurenga nationalism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009, 2011, 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems, 2009). This nationalism is rooted in the liberation struggle that took an armed form in 1963 up to the negotiations at the Lancaster House in

Britain leading to the country's independence on 18 April 1980. The idea of a Chimurenga, “a vernacular name for the armed liberation struggle against the settler colonial state” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013: 180), has always occupied a central position in Zimbabwean nationalism. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:180 - 181) traces it from the 1970s when it became widely used by the nationalists in Zanu to today where it is used in Zanu PF as, “an ideological thread” linking the liberation struggle with present efforts to “take the liberation and decolonization project to its logical conclusion of achieving economic empowerment of the black people through land redistribution and other initiatives aimed at indigenizing the economy” (See also Kaarsholm, 1989; Willems, 2004). Due to the contests around this nationalism in the 2000s, characterised by political violence and media propaganda, it has been viewed as “authoritarian nationalism” (Machoko, 2013:1). Chimurenga or authoritarian nationalism has been heavily mediated. During the reign of Professor Jonathan Moyo, as minister of information, between 2000 and 2005, it became apparent that the media in Zimbabwe have become a battle space for what can be seen as the struggle between Zanu PF's nationalism and MDC's liberal democracy positions (Tendi, 2010; Melber, 2004; Raftopolous, 2005; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). The state media was radicalised as propagators of the third Chimurenga (Chari, 2013). From a constructionist approach, for most Zimbabweans, especially those outside the structures of Zanu PF party, the ‘third Chimurenga’ or Chimurenga nationalism exists as a creation of the (state) media. It is this heavy reliance on newspapers and broadcast mediums as a space to ‘flag’ and ‘perform’ this Chimurenga or authoritarian nationalism that makes the media and its content relevant as an object of study in an effort to make sense of the construction of the San and Tonga as a minority in the journalism practices in Zimbabwe.

Similar to nationalism, there are contrasting ways of talking about ethnicity. The study of ethnicity is divided into primordialist and instrumentalist approaches. In primordialist approaches, ethnicity is taken as stemming from “the givens of social existence – blood, speech, custom” (Norval, 2012:306). Here, ethnicity is seen as related to “cultural features – language, religion, custom, traditions, and feelings for ‘place’ – which are shared by a group of people” (Hall, 1997:297). For instrumentalist approaches, ethnicity is treated as “a resource for different interest groups [...] uncovering the process through which elites mobilise groups so as to further their own self-interests” (Norval, 2012: 307). Operating in the instrumentalist category, Mhlanga, defines ethnicity as “a social variable and natural form of group identity in which belonging is shared in the vein of descent, tradition and culture”

(Mhlanga, 2013:48). It is the emphasis on “natural” that betrays the essentialist streak in this conceptualisation of ethnicity. Mhlanga further argues that “ethnicity as a natural form of identity has always existed in Africa and can also be harnessed, like any other natural resource” (2013:48). This reifies ethnicity. Where Mhlanga (2013:48) insists that ethnicity and nation share a homogenous centre, Hall argues for the disentanglement of ethnicity from the idea of the nation allowing for a “positive conception of the ethnicity of the margins” (1996:447, *see also* Hearn, 2006:8).

This thesis embraces the constructionist approach as theorised by Hall (1997). However, it is important to consider how Mhlanga arrives at such an understanding of ethnicity. He sees ethnicity as under-theorised in Africa, perpetuating the suppression, marginalisation, and regionalisation of ethnic minority voices and issues leading to conflicts, sometimes armed and violent (Mhlanga, 2013: 47). In Zimbabwe, the resurgence of minority ethnic groups demanding recognition marks one of those times when the contradictions between ethnicity and the nation become visible. However, it is possible to prove, historically, that there is nothing ‘natural’ about ethnicity even in Zimbabwe. Many African nations which emerged after decolonisation were not “one nation, one people”, but made up of many different ethnic cultures and societies (Hall, 1997: 295).

In this thesis, ethnicity is seen as ‘difference’, in opposition to the totalising tendencies of nationalism where, one ‘ethnicity’ “is doomed to survive, [...] only by marginalising, dispossessing, displacing and forgetting other ethnicities” (Hall, 1996:447). The concept of difference is discussed in the next section on the public sphere, citizenship and democracy. Until the constitutional re-writing process, the dominant identities of Zimbabwe, Shona and Ndebele, had survived by marginalising, displacing and excluding other ethnicities. Ethnicity is then a “process generating relatively bounded, self-identified groups” that are defined in relation to similar groups, usually through notions of common descent” and “occupying a distinctive economic or ecological niche” (Hearn, 2006:8).

The public sphere, citizenship and democracy

The public sphere is taken to refer to the space between the state and society which is “a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed” (Habermas, 1964/1974:49). Habermas sees a distinction between the public and the public sphere as the latter assumes concrete form through the participation of people since it is

“accessible to every citizen” (Hohendahl, 1974 in Habermas, 1964/1974:49). There is emphasis on the non-involvement of the state in citizens’ affairs in the public sphere except as a guarantor of the freedom of assembly, association and expression. Habermas (1964/1974:49) makes it clear that he does not see the media as constituting the public sphere *per se*, but as its medium of communication. It has been noted how the concept of the public sphere is generally conflated with the idea of the media (McKee (2005:5). The public sphere is bigger than the media as it is the space where issues are circulated, debated by individuals and institutions, and re-circulated until some kind of consensus is reached. However, for most modern societies, the media have become central to the public sphere as the place where we find out about “‘the public’ – millions of other people that we share a country with” (McKee, 2005:5-6).

The idealised public sphere is associated with 18th century bourgeois society after the overthrow of the monarchical influence and, therefore, acquires specific meaning from a concrete historical situation (Habermas, 1964/1974:50). Central to the public sphere is deliberation: that people have to engage as equals. In tracing its transformation, Habermas is perceived as, first, revealing the internal tensions and factors that led to the decline of the bourgeois public sphere; and second, showing the elements of truth and emancipatory potential that it contained despite its contradictions (Calhoun, 1991:2). Emphasising the public sphere as a place “where information, ideas and debate can circulate in society” (Dahlgren, 1995:ix) makes it important in terms of democracy.

Habermas is criticised for idealising the bourgeois public sphere composed of narrow segments of the European population, mainly educated, propertied men (Calhoun, 1991:3; Fraser, 1990:62). These men are viewed as conducting business in a way not “only exclusive of others but prejudicial to the interests of those excluded” (Calhoun, 1991:3). The bourgeois public sphere is constituted by a number of significant exclusions, including gender, class and ethnicity; and this despite the rhetoric of accessibility (Fraser, 1990:62). The assumptions of Habermas’s public sphere which are seen as problematic include the idea that the proliferation of a multiplicity of competing publics is necessarily a step away from, rather than toward, greater democracy; that it is possible for actors in a public sphere to overlook status differences and engage as social equals; that discourse in public spheres should be restricted to deliberation about the common good and not private interests and issues; and that

a functioning democratic public sphere requires a sharp separation between civil society and the state (Fraser, 1990:62).

Beyond criticism of Habermas and his followers' attempts to eradicate or ignore conflict, Mouffe (1999) offers an agonistic model of discourse and politics. Her main criticism of Habermas's (1964/1974) deliberative model is that it emphasises rational dialogue and consensus which she sees as impossible because of differences in people. She argues that agreement in opinions is preceded by agreement on the language (Mouffe, 1999:749). Language is used in a broad sense to embrace all communicative acts. Consensus is, therefore, seen as limited in that some views are not only "subordinated" in a fair contest in the public terrain, but are from the start, excluded. In Zimbabwe, the languages of the 1893, 1896, and the 1963 – 1979 liberation struggles, that are seen as the basis of the country's contemporary nationalism, are presented as ChiShona and IsiNdebele. This not only subordinates or excludes other languages like Tonga and the San people's language, but marginalises the citizenship of people who speak and belong to these languages and cultures.

On the theoretical bases of her work with Ernesto Laclau(1985), Mouffe then builds the agonistic model, which acknowledges the dimension of power and antagonism and their ineradicable character (1999:752). The agonistic model is built through paying attention to the differences between "the political" and "politics". "The political" refers to the dimension of antagonism that is inherent in all human societies and "politics" refers to the "ensemble of practices, discourses and institutions" that seek to establish order and organise human co-existence in conditions that are always potentially conflictual because they are affected by the dimension of "the political" (Mouffe, 1999:754).

Recognising conflict draws us to issues of differences. Young sees the politics of difference as referring to "social movements that make a political claim that groups suffer oppression or disadvantage on account of a cultural or structural social position with which they are associated" (1997:383). She avoids essentialising identity or difference, and emphasises 'position', arguing that beyond the rhetoric of 'equality' there is a need to attend to the "specific situations of differentiated social groups in politics and policy" (1997:383). Some theorists have referred to this as "recognition" (Fraser, 1995). Recognition is about thinking beyond 'simple equality', which is an egalitarian ideal concerned to make people as equal as possible in all respects, and embrace 'complex equality', where the different social positions

of different groups are considered in policy (Waltzer (1983) in Mouffe, 1997:7). Phillips warns that efforts to emphasise abstract individual citizenship impose a unitary conception of human needs that marginalises the groups that differ from the dominant norm (1993:95).

Following this line of argument, one would posit that Zimbabwean nationalism must move beyond the rhetoric of equality and ‘one people’, which are slogans expressed in the constitution, to recognising differences in terms of ethnic group’s positions. The Tonga and San people, like most ethnic groups deemed a ‘minority’, occupy periphery positions in many ways: geographically they live in the dry, border regions of the country (Ndlovu, 2007); in their districts they have bad schools and hence poor education limiting their access to the economy. Where they access schools the curriculum does not reflect their cultures and histories (but that of the Shona and Ndebele). If they make any appearance in national narratives, for example in the media, they are stereotyped summing up the unequal terms under which the San, Tonga and other minorities are part of Zimbabwean nationalism. Colonial stereotypes are seen as inscribing a form of governmentality which exercises power through the constitution of knowledge (Bhabha, 1994:83). In a sense, the powerful ethnic groups arrogate to themselves the right to define the minority. The relationship between the dominant *nationalised* identities of the Shona and Ndebele, and the dominated *ethnicised* Tonga and San minority groups is seen as ambivalent in that the ethnic groups are “never simply and completely opposed to” the idea of nationalism (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998:12). Ambivalence is “the complex mix of attraction and repulsion that characterises the relationships” of the dominating and the dominated (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998:12). On the other hand, nationalists do not simply abhor ethnicity, but could desire it as exemplified in programmes meant to indigenize and nationalize natural resources like land and minerals where they want to identify themselves in ‘indigenous’ terms.

Indigeneity is seen as holding, “the promise of rearticulating and reframing questions of place, space, movement and belonging” (Byrd and Rothberg, 2011:3). In Zimbabwe, an attempt to define the indigenous identity has emerged around debates on land and economic issues. The government has come up with a law, the Indigenisation And Economic Act 14 of 2007, that in part 1 subsection 2 (Interpretation) defines an indigenous Zimbabwean as “any person who, before the 18th April, 1980, was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race, and any descendant of such person”. This locates indigeneity in Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle (Chowa and Makuvare, 2013:5), seen as the genesis of

Zimbabwean nationalism (Mhlanga, 2013). This is different from a conceptualisation of indigeneity in the case of the San people of Africa and Maori in New Zealand where, “the notion of cultural identity becomes bound up in narratives of belonging to a place, an ancient time, and a static culture” (Harris, 2013:15). Indigeneity then becomes problematic because of “emergent” indigenous identities negating claims and the politics of authenticity (Harris, Carlson and Poata-Smith, 2013:1; Gordon, 2013:60) that are hallmarks of Zimbabwe’s economic indigenisation drive. In this situation where indigeneity has been re-defined in terms of race, the implications are that the situation of the San people is then jettisoned further into the pre-historic moment. The San are consequently seen as ‘different’ and as, “haunting the present” (Gordon, 2013:60).

It is the *difference* of the San and the Tonga, and other minorities from the ‘norm’ of Ndebele and Shona identities that constructs them as a ‘minority’ and ‘subaltern’. The concept of a subaltern refers to “a historical person, a protagonist” (Gramsci, 1971: 337) excluded from the power structures of representation. Spivak adapts the term to signify people at the “margins (one can just as well say the silent, silenced centre) of the circuit marked out by this epistemic violence, men and women among the illiterate peasantry, the tribals, the lowest strata of the urban sub-proletariat” (1995:25). She sees “the people or subaltern” as “a difference from the elite” (Spivak, 1995:27). However, Spivak (1992) warns that emphasis must be on the issue of voice because not everyone who is dominated is a subaltern (in de Kock, 1992). The San and the Tonga till lands in marginal villages of Zimbabwe to survive, and their identities are seen as ‘fixed’ to those places, Tsholotsho and Binga, respectively (See maps at the beginning of this thesis). Importantly, Spivak’s work links agency with voice, questioning whether the subaltern can speak, or are “condemned only to be known, represented, and spoken for in a distorted fashion by others”(Moore-Gilbert, 2000: 452). This is possible through an “itinerary of silencing” (Spivak, 1990:31) which is inscribed in the discourses of representational institutions like the media. This thesis interrogates ways in which, the subjectivity of the minority as a subaltern “is necessarily constructed according to the terms and norms of” journalism, as “the dominant culture which produces the archive in which the subaltern exists” (Moore-Gilbert, 2000:454). The issue of difference, and consequently subalternity, then challenges us to consider citizenship.

The hegemonic view of citizenship is that it describes membership to a polity (Steenveld, 2013: 24; Malila, 2013:19). This associates it with political, civil, social and cultural rights

(Murdock and Golding, 1989:181, Murdock, 1992:20; Dahlgren, 2000:317). Turner sees citizenship “as a bundle of rights and obligations that formally define the legal status of a person within a state” (2001:11). As a political identity (Mouffe, 1992, Bellamy, 2008), citizenship has over the years “gone hand in hand with political participation in some forms of democracy – most especially the right to vote” (Bellamy, 2008:1-2). As a set of civil rights, citizenship speaks to the ability of individuals to participate in the ‘civil society’, seen as the space outside the political space. Amenities such as education and health come under the umbrella of social rights. The cultural component informs each of the dimensions of citizenship (Turner, 2001:11). The idea of ‘cultural citizenship’ challenges the idea of citizenship as a stable discourse drawing attention to differences and inequalities in society (Delanty, 2007:1, Marshall, 1950). During the constitutional debate in Zimbabwe, minority issues were never directly linked to questions of citizenship. However, in that ethnic groups called for a modicum of self-government (devolution of power) and control over resources in their environs, one can see that they were imagining a certain political relationship (citizenship) with the state. This thesis adopts the model of citizenship, “with a radical character that is possessed during the struggle against absolutism” (Mouffe, 1992:4). This speaks directly to what ‘minority’ ethnic groups in Zimbabwe imagined when they wanted a re-organisation of the ‘nation’ as a political community to that which radically allows them all rights including economic rights – in terms of access to resources - that are possibly a key to social rights such as health and education.

Conclusion

In this thesis ethnicity, nationalism, citizenship and democracy, the key concepts which inform the socio-historical context of the study, are not taken as pre-given. They are seen as constructed products of specific historical moments. The rise of the minority groups demanding greater recognition within Zimbabwe’s contemporary nationalism marks a point of “rupture” (Hall, 1997) that is specifically post-colonial in that it sought to oppose the inherited colonial and modernist bi-modal Shona/Ndebele constitution of the nation.

CHAPTER 3: Journalism practice and the politics of representation

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to theorise the construction of the San and Tonga as a minority in the journalism practices of the *Chronicle* and the *Southern Eye*. Linked to the previous chapter, this gives us a framework for thinking about the link between the media and democracy when discussing news stories and their production by journalists in Chapters 5 and 6. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first discusses representation and identity linking the two concepts to journalism practice. The second discusses the normative theories of the media and the expectations around journalism (Christians, et al., 2009). And the third section discusses the concepts of the critical political economy of the media (Golding and Murdock, 2000) and journalism practice. Journalism practice is discussed from two perspectives: first, as a profession looking at objectivity and news values (Tuchman, 1972; Golding and Elliot, 1996; Hall et al., 1996); second, focusing on journalists as an interpretive community (Zelizer, 1993).

The politics of representation and identity

Representation is the production of meaning that links thoughts with language to refer to the ‘real’ or imagined world of objects, people or events (Hall, 1997:3). According to Hall (1997), there are three approaches to representation: the reflective, intentional and the constructionist. In the reflective approach meaning lies in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror reflecting the true meaning that already exists in the world (Hall, 1997:10). In the intentional approach, the argument is that it is the speaker/author who ascribes his or her meaning to the world through language (Hall, 1997:10). The constructionist approach argues that neither the things themselves nor the author can fix meaning, but that “we construct meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs” (Hall, 1997:11). This thesis adopts the constructionist approach where, “the ‘machineries’ and regimes of representation in a culture do play a constitutive, and not merely a reflexive, after-the event, role” (Hall, 1996:443). From this perspective, the two newspapers, in their representations, are seen as constituting and constructing the minority identity of the San and the Tonga. Identity is the product of representation “multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices, and positions [...] Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation” (Hall,

1992: 4; see Richardson, 2007:11). Identities are socially significant and context specific ideological constructs that become markers for history, social location, and positionality (Moya, 2006, Alcoff, et al., 2006:6).

Hall argues that in modern society, the different media are sites for the production, reproduction and transformation of ideologies which are the “representations of the social world, images, descriptions, explanations and frames for understanding how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work” (Hall, 1981:90). It can be argued that the media ‘pick up’ the dominant discourses about the minority ethnic groups in the social world and ‘produce’, ‘re-produce’ and ‘transform’ them giving the audience a particular (mediated) view of ethnicity and ‘ethnic minority’. By paying attention to this practice, it is possible to trace a pattern and establish a ‘grammar of ethnicity’ (Hall 1981: 91) in Zimbabwean nationalism. The concern has been that, linked to questions of power, the minority ethnic groups are always represented in stereotypical ways emphasising difference between a given group and the values of ‘mainstream’ culture (Burton, 2002:38). A stereotype is a commonly held public belief about specific social groups, or types of individuals (Williams, 2003:121). And as limited and restricted representations, they disempower groups of people.

Normative concepts of the media

Normative concepts of journalism are an ‘ideal’ set of theories about what the press should do in relation to larger claims about the good society, and focuses on communication arrangements and how they relate to civic ideals (Benson, 2008:2591-92). They are seen as “any reasoned explanation of how discourse should be carried out in order for a community or nation to work out solutions to its problems” (Christian, et al., 2009:65). Suggestions have been made that there are as many normative theories of journalism as there are political systems from Marxism-Leninism to diverse conceptions of democracy (Benson, 2008:2592). However this reasoning, seen as the basis of Siebert et al.’s (1956) seminal *Four Theories of the Press*, has been problematized for privileging liberal democracy over other forms of democracy (Benson, 2008:2592).

Normative theory, contextualised in terms of place and history addresses issues as diverse as free and equal access to open public debate, ways to resolve conflict, and links the media to a “broader structure of meanings” by emphasising quality dialogue and public cultural truth (Christians, et al., 2009:75). Public cultural truth is defined as the systematic representation

of the injustices and human suffering that the society must collectively acknowledge and resolve if it is to exist as a unity (Rodriquez in Christians, et al., 2009:85). Normative theory therefore, firstly links the media to democracy giving the media a ‘sacrosanct’ role for creating the “‘sacred community’ of the nation”; and secondly, puts the emphasis on the ‘truthfulness’ of what is presented in the public sphere (Christians, et al., 2009:84). It then becomes a normative duty to determine what truth is in public communication beyond the ideology of objectivity, accuracy and fairness. Chritians *et al.* note that “the news may be accurate and fair, but may not reflect society’s real issues” (2009:84). For example, this study shows that when newspapers fail to question the ‘minority’ status of other ethnic groups in Zimbabwean nationalism, the reproduction of this minority position through stereotypes equals a justification of the exclusionary status quo. Consistent with the radical democratic orientation of this study, truthfulness in the media should be located not in a simple correspondence with ‘reality’, but in serving social justice and in the contestations and resistance of the underdogs (Christian, *et al.*, 2009:84).

According to Christians, et al. (2009:124), four roles of the news media in a democracy are discernible: the monitorial, facilitative, radical and collaborative. The monitorial role refers to the hegemonic ideas about what the press is for, which includes collecting, processing and disseminating information about current and recent events. The collaborative role is when the media are seen as working closely with the power bloc (Christians, et al., 2009:125). This thesis draws on the other two roles: the facilitative and radical roles that are discussed in the next paragraphs.

The facilitative role draws from the ideas of deliberative democracy, where the press is seen as the fourth estate that supports debate and people’s decision-making in democratic discourse (Christians, et al., 2009:124). It is opposed to the liberal emphasis on ‘individualism’ and ‘consensus’, and foregrounds ‘community’ and “‘deliberation’ where the news media is seen as strengthening participation in civil society” (Christians, et al., 2009:166). The media facilitate pluralism, which is seen as the defining characteristic of democracy (Bohman and Rehg, 1997:401) by taking all interpretations into account without aiming at a convergence of a single point of view. Under this role, the media also facilitates pluralist deliberations regarding minority cultures. This is tied to the idea of the “semiotic struggle from below” (Stevenson, 1999:10) that compels media narratives to reflect the complexities of society within a “thick conception of democracy” (Deveaux, 2000:4-5).

The radical role, like the facilitative role, does not sit well with the liberal emphasis on individualism, the market, and professional journalism as it is rooted in an agonistic conception of politics. An agonistic approach proceeds from positional difference compared to liberal approaches that emphasise sameness. The radical role is “critical” and stems from social and political imperatives that lie outside the field of journalism as an institution (Christians, et al., 2009:126). It is critical as it aims to expose abuse of power, and raise popular consciousness of wrongdoing, inequality and potential for change. It insists on the absolute equality and freedom of all members of a democratic society (Christians, et al., 2009:179). Radical journalism focuses on structural changes beyond the superficial ones around voting procedures. Importantly, radical journalism seeks to help minorities in articulating an alternative set of goals that represent the needs of all, especially the marginalised, the poor and the dispossessed (Christians, et al., 2009:179). The radical role is usually seen in alternative media. However, there have been cases of journalism that question the status quo within newspapers that are owned or run by the state. For example, where journalists have sought to confront injustices and through their stories and suggest alternatives⁵.

Critical political economy of the media

Critical political economy combines insights on the “construction and consumption of meaning,” and on the economic organisation of media industries to show how different ways of financing and organising cultural production impact on “the range of discourses and representations in the public domain” (Golding and Murdock, 2000:70). As media products in Zimbabwe’s two biggest newspaper companies, both the *Chronicle* and the *NewsDay/Southern eye* play a pivotal role in constructing images and discourses through which people make sense of the world “and their citizenship” (Golding and Murdock, 2000:70). As part of the critical tradition, critical political economy is concerned with the “constitution and exercise of power” (Curran, 1990:139; *see also* McChesney, 2000:110). This thesis examines how representations of the Tonga and the San, to borrow from Golding and Murdock (2000:72), “are structured by their [Tonga and San] position” in the wider formation of Zimbabwean nationalism. It does this through the textual analysis of news

⁵ An example is that of the Willowvale scandal in Zimbabwe, where the *Chronicle* in Bulawayo exposed the corruption of the government leading to the demotion by promotion of the then editor, Geoff Nyarota.

stories and in-depth interviews with journalists in examining the conditions under which the representations are produced.

Critical political economy privileges a historicised and nuanced explication of the media and its work (Golding and Murdock, 2000). In terms of timing, the thesis is located at a conjunctural moment that represents a discernible movement from one phase to another in Zimbabwean nationalism. This is a period marked by constitutional debates, a constitutional referendum and an election that marked the movement from a government of national unity (GNU), characterised by negotiations and compromises from political parties, to a watershed winner-takes-all political dispensation, characterised by apprehension over the implementation of negotiated aspects of the new constitution. Most of these negotiated aspects touched on the self determination of minority ethnic groups, especially devolution of power. In deliberately avoiding essentialism “detached from the specifics of historical time and place” (Golding and Murdock, 2000:72; see also Boyd-Barrett, 1995:186-87), critical political economy offers an important lens from which to gain a nuanced understanding of the minority ethnic groups’ positioning and representation in the public media. It goes beyond technical issues to engage with “basic moral questions of justice, equity and the public good” (Golding and Murdock, 2000:72). Its use in this thesis resonates with other theories - such as the radical role of the media – in exposing the injustice of stereotypes and an orientalist approach to minority ethnic groups by the media. This is important in “analysing, debating and popularising issues concerning the relationship of media and democracy” (McChesney, 2000:114).

Critical political economy does not see media owners, advertisers and key political players as having free reign. It argues that these key players are constrained by the same structures that facilitate their imposing of limits and offering opportunities. Critical political economy of the media, therefore, seeks to analyse the nature and sources of these limits and their implications (Golding and Murdock, 2000:74, Boyd-Barrett, 1995:186). Secondly, critical political economy does not conceive of structures as building-like edifices that are solid, permanent and immovable, but as “dynamic formations that are constantly reproduced and altered through practical action” (Golding and Murdock, 2000:74).

In this thesis, critical political economy is used mainly to focus on the production of cultural goods as an exercise of power, and secondly, on the political economy of texts to illustrate

that the representations present in media products are related to the material realities of their production (Golding and Murdock, 2000:82). The thesis looks at the pattern of ownership and its consequences for the representations and discourses about the minority ethnic groups, and the nature of the relationship between state regulation and the newspapers. The state is not only a regulator of communications institutions, but also “a communicator of enormous power” (Golding and Murdock, 2000:83). Firstly, the state is a big source of news in Zimbabwe, and secondly, the government is the biggest employer, advertiser, and source of subscriptions; government departments are some of the newspapers’ most reliable clients. The thesis aims to see “how this power is exercised” in the production and re-production of the Tonga and San as minority groups. The autonomy of those who work within the media is a matter of substantial interest to political economists (Golding and Murdock, 2000:84), and this too will be discussed when considering journalism practice. The professional codes of journalism practice in Zimbabwe and their implications for the range of representations and discourses in the media will be examined. The thesis employs textual analysis to interrogate the implication of journalism forms, such as news, features, and editorials “on what can be said and shown, by whom, and from what point of view” (Golding and Murdock, 2000:85).

Professionalism and Journalists as an interpretive community

Journalism has been examined as both a professional practice (Golding and Elliot, 1996; Hall et al, 1996; and Tuchman, 1972), and as an ‘interpretive community’ of practitioners (Zelizer, 1993). Studying journalism as a profession allows us to examine aspects of practice such as news values, objectivity, and issues of accuracy, but neglects the relevance of the journalistic discourse (Zelizer, 1993:219), which is what the concept of the ‘interpretive community’ focuses on. We now turn to discuss professional practice in detail.

Professional Practice

Journalism’s claim to professionalism rests on, among other assumptions, the idea of training, professional societies, and professional trade publications (Schudson, 2001; Zelizer, 1993). However, as a practice, journalism bases its professional claims on the ideas of news values, objectivity, accuracy and fact checking (Hall, et al, 1996:424; Golding and Elliot, 1996:405). Seeing journalists as professionals has long been “the dominant frame” where journalists are perceived as gaining a “status” by “exhibiting certain predefined traits of a ‘professional’ community” (Zelizer, 1993:220). In this frame, journalists are seen as being able, compared to non-journalists, to decide what news is. They therefore perceive themselves as more

qualified than readers to determine the readers' own interests and needs (Zelizer, 1993:220; Tuchman, 1972). This has created an "aura of authoritativeness" about journalists' job, and the idea that reporting has to be approached in an objective, neutral and balanced manner (Zelizer, 1993:220). However this has been criticised (Tuchman, 1972; Golding and Elliot, 1996; Schudson, 1978, 1997; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Kaplan, 2009).

Schudson (2001), for example, located the rise of the discourse of objectivity in the commercialisation of the American press in the 1920s. And Tuchman has described it as a "strategic ritual" by news people to justify, explain, and cope with the pressure of "processing facts about social reality" (Tuchman, 1972:660). As a social construct (Golding and Elliot, 1996:405), objectivity relies on, among other issues, the use of quotation marks and the journalist's experiences with the organisation that s/he then takes for granted (Tuchman, 1972:661). Journalists present 'facts' from conflicting sides in the story and technically see that as 'balance': they present supporting evidence which can be figures or information usually from experts; they use direct quotations to suggest the authenticity of the story; they structure the information in an inverted pyramid that indicates the order of importance of the information and sources (Tuchman, 1972:661-664). The emptiness of the rhetoric of balance is evident in some of the stories in this study discussed in the following chapters.

News values are also seen as "working rules" and "guidelines" that suggest "what to emphasize, what to omit, and where to give priority in the preparation of items for presentation to the audience" (Golding and Elliot, 1996:405). News values, as qualities, are based on assumptions about the audience. The journalists ask themselves if the material will make sense to the readers and seek to answer this question within available journalistic forms. This is also affected by the availability of resources fitting into the "pragmatics of production routines" (Golding and Elliot, 1996:405). Tonga and San people live in outlying districts that are underdeveloped and hard to reach from urban centres. They are hard to reach as they live in geographically remote areas; and psychologically, journalists who are urban-oriented find it hard to "make sense" of their approach to the world. In communication, issues and phenomena are made to 'fit' into existing categories (Hall, 1990), and for the San and the Tonga these categories are usually stereotypes of poverty and illiteracy, among others.

It is argued that the media "do not simply and transparently report events which are naturally newsworthy in themselves" as "news" is the end product of a complex process which begins

with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories” (Hall, et al., 1996:424). This selection of material is shaped by the routines and organisation of newsrooms around beats such as news, business, sports or features. For these reasons, stories about the Tonga and San are mostly likely to appear in culture and tourism pages. The organisational aspects of newspapers feature in two ways: first, the organisation of the workforce into desks; and second, the structure of the newspapers in terms of pages (Hall, et al., 1996:424). This organisation is hierarchical with the news desk taken as the pinnacle of journalism, and culture and tourism pages as negligible beats that in Zimbabwe are mostly staffed with students on attachment.

News is seen as a hegemonic construction as it is constructed according to the assumed ‘consensual’ views of society that represent it as if there are no major cultural or economic cleavages, and no major conflicts of interests between classes and groups (Hall, et al., 1996:425). Political economists have pointed out that the media contribution to ‘consensus’ occurs in a variety of ways: the representation of the opposition to the status quo as either illegitimate and punishable or, alternatively, as ephemeral and therefore not threatening; constant invocation of a ‘national interest’ as more important than ‘sectional’ interests; and the representation of society as open to widespread social mobility (Boyd-Barrett, 1995:189). Dating back to Zimbabwe’s colonial days as Rhodesia, what is not Shona or Ndebele has had to be *Shonalised* or *Ndebelised* so that we can start speaking about it as part of the nation. As a result Tonga and San children have been forced to learn Ndebele and English at school because they live in the South West part of the country deemed to be ‘Ndebele territory.’ Naming and labelling is underwritten by epistemic violence (Spivak, 1995: 24).

Media are also seen as hegemonic because of their overreliance on official sources and experts, and as a result come “in the last instance [...] to reproduce the definitions of the powerful” (Hall, et al., 1996:427). Newspapers are ‘cued in’ to specific new topics by regular and reliable institutional sources and the internal pressure of news production contributes to this hegemonic role. Professional journalism’s foundation in ‘impartiality’, ‘balance’ and ‘objectivity’ gives rise to the practice of ensuring that media statements are, wherever possible, grounded in ‘objective’ and ‘authoritative’ statements from “accredited sources” (Hall, et al., 1996:427). This leads to awkward situations where a cabinet minister’s ‘imaginings’ on the hardships of living in an underdeveloped area are given precedence over the voices of the affected Tonga and San peoples in newspaper stories.

Interpretive Community

Appropriated from anthropology and literary studies, an interpretive community refers to a “group united by its shared interpretation of reality” (Zelizer, 1993:223). In literary studies, an interpretive community is perceived as a group that produces texts and determines what is read and displays certain patterns of authority, communication and memory in their dealings with each other (Zelizer, 1993:223). An interpretive community establishes conventions that are largely tacit. News people as an interpretive community are seen as united through their collective interpretations of public events and phenomena, and this “shared discourse” affects their sense of self as journalists (Zelizer, 1993:223). Considering journalists as an interpretive community foregrounds how they make sense of their profession through channels other than those provided by “the profession”, including the stories about their past that they routinely circulate to each other. These stories always contain certain constructions of reality, certain kinds of narratives, and certain definitions of appropriate practice (Zelizer, 1993:223). They create their interpretive community through channels such as informal talks, press clubs, informally sharing diary items, creating a repertoire of past events that is used as a standard for judging contemporary action, and relying on shared interpretations to build authority for practices not emphasized by traditional views of journalism (Zelizer, 1993:223-224). The value of this frame can be seen in analysing key events and phenomena as this provides us with “hot moments” (Levi-Strauss, 1996:259) which are “phenomena or events through which a society or culture assesses its own significance” (Zelizer, 1993:224). The San and Tonga identities do not exist ‘objectively’, but can be seen, in Zelizer’s (1993:224) words, as “projections of the individuals and groups who give them meaning in discourse.” Interviewing journalists on their understanding of the San and Tonga people and their informal discussions about them and how it links to their work could explain how the two ethnic groups are produced as ‘minority’ ethnic groups and the significance of these for news producers.

Conclusion

In the contemporary media-saturated world, identities are constructed in journalistic representations. This thesis explores how the San and Tonga ethnic groups are constructed as minorities in the journalistic practices of two newspapers in Southern Zimbabwe. We now move on to discuss in issues of methodology and methods used in the gathering, analysis and reporting of data.

CHAPTER 4: Research design

Introduction

This research follows a qualitative design in interrogating journalism practices that construct the San and Tonga ethnic minorities in two newspapers - the state-owned *Chronicle* and the privately-owned *NewsDay Southern Edition/Southern Eye*- during 2013. The research considers how these ethnic groups' 'minority' identities are "produced and enacted in historically specific situations" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:14). It is designed following an "interactive model" (Maxwell, 2008:217). The model locates the research question at the centre, mediating between research goals, research methods, trustworthiness (validity) and the conceptual framework to form an integrated and interacting whole (Maxwell, 2008:216). The thesis is informed by the idea that qualitative research is endlessly "creative and interpretive" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 14).

This chapter discusses the qualitative methodology and case study approach in relation to this thesis. As a way of laying the ground for a discussion of methods, the chapter then briefly touches on sampling, trustworthiness (validity) and ethics. These issues are also discussed in the next sections on research methods to show what steps were taken to ensure trustworthiness in every step of the research. The last section of the chapter describes and discusses in detail how Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and ideological analysis are combined in analysing news texts and transcribed in-depth interviews. Each of these research methods is described and discussed alongside the sampling strategy employed.

Qualitative Research

A qualitative research design has been chosen because it is "as much creative, intuitive, and improvisational as it is systematic" (Lindlof, 2002:19). In studying the journalism practices at the *Chronicle* and the *Southern Eye* that construct a certain kind of San and Tonga identity, it is important to describe the life world of that journalism "from the inside out" and contribute to a better understanding of its social realities by drawing attention to its "processes, meaning patterns and structural features" (Flick, Kardorff and Steinke, 2004:3). Through the imaginative combination of critical discourse analysis with ideological analysis and in-depth interviews with the journalists, the researcher traces discourse patterns and attempts to make sense of how journalists view and handle their work in confronting questions of representing marginalised 'minority' ethnic groups against a backdrop of nationalism and questions of

social justice. A qualitative research design allows for a conversation that teases out how journalists make sense of the two minority groups, Zimbabwean nationalism, and “the subjective and social constructs” (Flick, Kardorff and Steinke, 2004:5) of their representations of the ethnic groups. Over the years, it has become accepted that in studying communication, qualitative methods are more suitable than quantitative methods in addressing certain, but not all, questions about culture, interpretation, and power (Lindloff, 2002:14). Qualitative research is informed by constructivism, which is “interested in the everyday routine and the construction of social reality” (Flick, Kardorff and Steinke, 2004:5) and interpretive, and phenomenology, which “pursue[s] subjective meanings and individual sense attributions” (Flick, Kardorff and Steinke, 2004:5). These paradigms yield in ‘thick descriptions’ (Ryle, 1949; Geertz, 1973; Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Case Study design

The research combines illustrative and critical instance case study designs to probe representations of two ethnic groups, the San and Tonga in the two newspapers. The case study approach to data collection is preferred here because it is intensive and ideal for answering “how” and “why” questions (Jackson II, Drummond, and Camara, 2007:26). An illustrative case study utilises two instances to make sense of a situation, and a critical instance case study approach examines one or a few sites of unique interest without aiming for generalisability (Mann, 2006: 71-72). The research seeks to establish how, under what conditions, and with what implications the San and Tonga are constructed as a ‘minority’ in the *Chronicle*’s and the *Southern Eye*’s representations of them. The study does not claim that the results are representative of all subaltern/minority ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. It simply seeks to make sense of the representation of two specific ethnic groups within a certain period of time underpinned by the idea that ‘truth’ is contingent, and “lies in particulars” (Stake, 1978:6). The case study design requires a presentation of in-depth information on each illustration, which is why the researcher has opted to triangulate text-based methods with in-depth qualitative interviews. For reasons provided in the introductory chapter the San and the Tonga are typical cases for this study.

In that sense, this thesis is clear on “what is and what is not ‘the case’” (Stake, 1978:7) by emphasising its focus on the representations of the Tonga and San specifically in the *Chronicle* and *Southern Eye* in 2013. The two ethnic groups and the two newspapers have been chosen because of the idea that they are “similar enough and separate enough to permit

treating them as comparable instances of the same general phenomenon” (Ragin, 1992:1). Both ethnic groups live in Matabeleland and both newspapers are based in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe’s second largest city regarded as the capital city of the Matabeleland region. The two newspapers are part of national (countrywide) newspaper stables that dominate the newspaper market in Zimbabwe. The San and Tonga are both seen as ‘minority’ ethnic groups, but different in that the San are also regarded as “indigenous” (See chapter 2 for a discussion on indigeneity in Zimbabwe).

Trustworthiness and Ethical Issues

Several scholars have noted that instead of internal/external validity, reliability, and objectivity, qualitative or constructivist research tests trustworthiness via credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirm-ability (Jackson II, Drummond, and Camara, 2007:26; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:13; Flick, 2002: 227). The importance of taking steps to ensure trustworthiness lies in validating the research, locating the work within research traditions and making it legitimate and authoritative on a specific subject (Lindlof, 2002:7). This section briefly discusses trustworthiness and ethical issues implicated in this research. However, since trustworthiness and ethical issues are implicated in all the choices in this research from goals of the research, the selection of the research questions, and methods (Maxwell, 2008:216), some of these issues are picked up in the next sections.

First, as a measure of trustworthiness, this research uses triangulation, the combination of methods and theories in the study of the same phenomena (Denzin, 1978:291), as a way of securing “an in-depth understanding” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:5) of the representations of the San and Tonga in the *Chronicle* and *Southern Eye*. For the methods, the research uses critical discourse analysis and ideological analysis, text based methods, in combination with in-depth interviews with journalists. In terms of theories, the thesis draws from discourse (Foucault, 1971, 1980; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), hegemony (Gramsci, 1971), and postcolonial (Bhabha, 1990, 1997; Spivak, 1994) theories. The theoretical conceptual framework, further articulates these left-oriented paradigms with theories committed to a deliberative liberal politics such as Habermas’s concept of the public sphere and Nancy Fraser’s work on the “actually existing public sphere” and politics of difference. This is because both the leftist and deliberative democracy theories are committed to interrogating social power in society (Splichal, 2008:20). Theoretical issues are discussed in detail in chapters 2 and 3. The decision to triangulate methods and theories lies in an attempt to get a

better understanding of the subject matter, and the realisation that each interpretive practice (theory and method) makes the world visible in a different way (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:4). This is seen as adding “rigour, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to any inquiry” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:5).

Second, it is important to declare the ‘positioning’ of the researcher in this study. It has been argued that the researcher is “gendered,” multi-culturally and “biographically situated” or positioned and “speaks from within a distinct interpretive community” (Lincoln, 2000:11). To deal with this issue, this researcher has kept both the journalists and the ethnic groups within view of the research question without forgetting his positioning as alluded to in Chapter 1. The research raises ethical issues about interviews with journalists and the analysis of data. These shall be discussed more in the section on methods.

Gathering and selecting material for analysis

Selecting the stories

After an in-depth reading of 98 stories on both the San and Tonga collected from the *NewsDay Southern Edition/Southern Eye* and the *Chronicle* editions for 2013, the researcher mapped themes emerging out of this corpus. The stories were then divided into four categories. The categories were decided upon based on the emerging patterns of discourses in the stories. Initially, the researcher divided the stories into Tourism, Culture, Politics and Education categories. After this grouping of stories, the researcher purposively sampled for a manageable number of stories for a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is discussed in detail below. The focus was on the stories that seemed rich in issues related to the representation of the San and Tonga in the two newspapers. This intense process yielded 18 stories for the *NewsDay Southern Edition/Southern Eye* and 17 for the *Chronicle*. However, of the 35 stories, there were those that did not fit neatly into any of the four categories. The researcher then realised that the stories about the elephant poaching saga at Hwange National Park, published mostly between September and October 2013, formed their own category. A decision was then taken to combine the Education and Culture categories under the single label of Culture. The stories on the elephant poisoning saga were then placed under their own category: the Human Rights and Law discourse. The reason for this is that the stories revealed a subtle antagonism between the two themes of human rights and law. Stories from the *Southern Eye* seemed to emphasise the human rights perspective, and those from the *Chronicle* focused mostly on sectors of the state such as the courts, government ministers,

and the police, and emphasised the law. During analysis, it emerged that the stories in the economics category were mostly on tourism as the main economic activity where the San and Tonga people live. This changed the four categories to: Tourism, Human Rights and the Law, Politics, and Culture.

The researcher then reduced the number of stories and decided that a close reading of only one story per newspaper and per discourse would suffice for the purposes of the study. The stories were settled on by selecting only news stories. The researcher chose news stories because they are written under conditions of high discipline imposed by newsroom policies located within a news culture of 'objective journalism'. Mostly written to the formula of answering the 5 Ws and an H questions and seeking balance, news stories bear the traces of journalism practices within newsrooms.

As a result of the difficulties concerning which stories to include and which ones to exclude in the selection, the researcher not only scrutinised the eight stories, but also 'cross-read' them with other stories from outside of this sample. The goal is to pay attention to the discursive practices that construct the San and the Tonga as a minority, and the implications of such constructions embedded within the journalism of these two newspapers.

In-depth interviews

The researcher spoke to seven journalists at the *Southern Eye* and six journalists at the *Chronicle* newsrooms in Bulawayo. There is a continued decline in numbers of experienced and permanently employed journalists within both newsrooms. Newspapers now rely on a large number of students on industrial attachment as part of their studies at universities across the country and on correspondents, who are mostly university and college graduates struggling to secure permanent jobs in the media. Adopting the quota sampling method, the researcher spoke to permanently employed journalists and reporters who see themselves as 'professionals' (Mabweazara, 2006). All the interviewed journalists in both newsrooms saw themselves as members of the larger Matabeleland community who are well versed on its regional politics. However, they admitted that they are 'outsiders' as far as the San and Tonga people and their communities are concerned. This meant that they have never sought to grapple with the questions about how their journalism practices have produced a distinctive 'archive' on these two ethnic groups.

The *Southern Eye* newsroom is fairly small, comprising an editor, an assistant editor, a news editor who is the only desk editor, and then reporters who multi-task by working across beats, writing stories for every section of the newspaper. The researcher spoke to the editor, the assistant editor, two senior reporters and three reporters. The three reporters are juniors in terms of the hierarchy of the newsroom, but in terms of industry standards they are vastly experienced. One of them, Silas Nkala, claims 20 years's journalism experience.

At the *Chronicle* newsroom, the researcher spoke to two desk editors, the deputy news editor and the business editor. The researcher interviewed the deputy news editor because the news editor was new in the job and fairly new in Bulawayo and Matabeleland. He therefore suggested that the researcher interview his deputy, Prosper Ndlovu, who has been part of the *Chronicle* newsroom since 2007 when he was a student on attachment. This is one of the examples of how the researcher had to adapt to the contexts of the two newsrooms. The business editor, a veteran journalist who worked for both the *Chronicle* and the *NewsDay* before, was on his second stint with the Zimpapers group. Sadly, he died in a car accident in July 2014 on his way to an assignment in Harare. The researcher also spoke to two senior reporters on the news desk, an entertainment and arts reporter, and a features writer. Compared to the *Southern Eye*, the *Chronicle* is a bigger media entity with a bigger newsroom. However due to tough economic conditions in the country, the newsroom is always thin on experienced journalists. At the time of the interviews, three permanent reporters were away either on sick leave or forced leave. The researcher had to track one of the senior reporters, Temba Dube, to his home for the interview. Dube was on a month's leave that he had been compelled to take because the company could not afford to pay him for extra leave days if he were to resign. Another senior reporter, Pamela Shumba, who could not sit down for an interview because of a busy schedule involving reporting and writing her own stories and assisting the entourage of students in the newsroom agreed to a facebook chat interview.

The researcher sought the informed consent of the journalists to be interviewed, and ensured that he conducted himself in a way that earned their trust. The researcher remained strongly engaged with the context of the research to be able to handle contradictory or problematic situations at the analysis of data stage and avoid distortions.

Analysing and presenting the data

The eight stories and the 13 interview transcripts are each separately subjected to a rigorous analysis that adopts Fairclough's (1992) three dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework combining it with Richardson's (2007) detailed conceptualisation of Fairclough's (1992) method, and Thompson's (1990) ideology analysis model, as illustrated below:

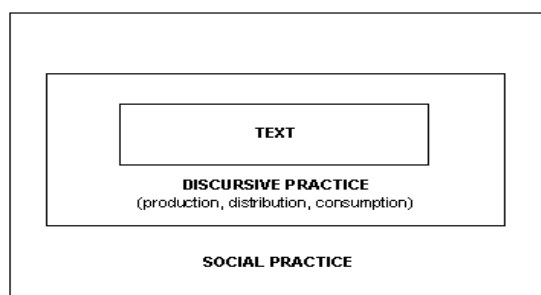


Figure 1: *Fairclough's (1992) three dimensional CDA model*

At the level of the text, each analysis discusses each news story in terms of its narrative, its linguistic organisation, grammar and the choice of words. The research pays attention to tropes (Richardson, 2007) and ideological implications (Thompson, 1990). The assumption is that language use, especially in journalism, is always active and directed at “doing something” (Richardson, 2007:12). Thompson's (1990) ‘modes of ideological operation’ takes the analysis to the next level, focusing on discursive practices, and discussions of the meaning of the texts and how this meaning is achieved. Studying symbolic forms (media texts), in an ideological framework, is looking at ways in which meaning is mobilised to serve the interests of individuals and groups occupying positions of power (Thompson, 1990:56). According to this conceptualisation, ways in which texts can be meaningful include what the text intends to do, the practices around the text, how the text works in a referential manner and issues of social and cultural conditions as its context (Thompson, 1990:59). Thompson (1990) offers five modes of ideology that are each expanded to typical strategies that include: Legitimation (rationalisation, universalisation, and narrativisation), dissimulation (displacement, euphemisation, and trope), Unification (standardisation, and symbolisation of unity), fragmentation (differentiation, and expurgation of the other), and reification (naturalisation, eternalisation, and nominalisation/passivization). These are some

of the rhetorical strategies that Richardson (2007) offer in adapting Fairclough's CDA method for the study of newspapers.

In combining CDA and ideological analysis, if the first level focuses on aspects of 'the what', the second level focuses on 'the how'. Focusing on the news texts, the section also draws on the interviews with journalists regarding their journalistic practice and their relationship to the general media environment in which they practise. Here, the focus is on the dialectical relationship between journalism and society. The last level in the analysis of each story focuses on the social practices and material realities in which the texts are produced. This section draws on the texts, the interviews and the background of the study as discussed in the first chapter.

The research compares the analysis of both stories and the interviews focusing on the emerging trends, points of confluence and divergence in the stories and journalists' explanations and viewpoints. However, in reporting the data, Chapters 5 and 6 focus on a rigorous critical discourse analysis of eight stories. The data from the interviews is brought in to illuminate and contextualise certain points. The stories and the interviews are read with the literature discussed in chapters 2 and 3 as attention is paid to instances when the data converges or contradicts this literature. Data presentation takes both narrative and descriptive forms under the subheadings of the four identified discourses: Tourism, Human Rights and the Law, Politics, and Culture.

In the analysis of the data care was taken not to produce an image of a static Zimbabwean nationalism and static minority identities. This raised the need for a historicised account, to show that in 2013 and from the perspective of the 'minority' ethnic groups, Zimbabwean nationalism as an identity had moved from being simply described as Shona. This raised the need to pay attention to context in terms of time and place.

Conclusion

The combination of methods, especially in coming up with a comprehensive critical discourse approach for both gathering and analysing data is to ensure that the data gathering yields 'thick descriptions' and enhances the trustworthiness (validity) of the research. It also grows out of the realisation that diverse research methods have different strengths and weaknesses. Triangulation addresses the weaknesses of methods and strengthens them by drawing from strengths of other methods.

Chapter 5: Data presentation and analysis

Introduction

This study critically discusses the representation of the Tonga and San in the *Chronicle* and the *Southern Eye* newspapers; the discursive impact of journalistic practices in their construction as minorities; and the implications of the representations. This chapter is divided into two sections: Tonga and San representation through the discourse of tourism, and Tonga and San representation through the discourses of human rights and law. During the qualitative content analysis phase of the research, in which 98 stories were identified in the two newspapers, it became apparent that there was a strong link between the San and Tonga people and tourism, because of their geographic location. A close reading of the stories also revealed that the two newspapers portrayed the San and Tonga people as simultaneously subject to the discourses of human rights and the law. Two stories will be discussed in each section, one each from the *NewsDay Southern Edition/Southern Eye* and the *Chronicle*. In analysing each story, discussions of the interviews conducted with 13 journalists – seven from the *Southern Eye* and six from the *Chronicle* – are used to illuminate issues raised. Reference is made to the other thematic categories – Culture and Politics - discussed in the next chapter, because the eight stories that are analysed in this thesis raise issues that are related.

Tonga and San representation through the discourse of Tourism

This section analyses two stories: one from the *Southern Eye*, **Hwange disaster opens \$5 million Pandora box** by Mernat Mafirakureva published on 7 October 2013; the other from the *Chronicle*, **Binga border post nears completion**, by an unnamed *Chronicle* Reporter and published on 11 November 2013. These stories were taken from the business sections of the two newspapers. The theme of tourism, as the main economic activity in areas where the Tonga and San people are found, cuts across these stories. The Tonga live in Binga district, on the banks of Zambezi river, and tourist attractions in the area include hot springs, crocodile farms and canoeing. The San people live in Tsholotsho, on the edges of Hwange National Park, the country's biggest game sanctuary, and the third biggest in Sub-Saharan Africa after the Kruger Park in South Africa and the Serengeti in Tanzania.

Hwange disaster opens \$5 m Pandora Box

This *Southern Eye* story appeared in the business section and is based on documents that claim the country had lost \$50 000 due to rampant elephant poaching discovered in September 2013. Throughout the story the author of the document is never explicitly identified. The story's main point is that the nation has lost \$5 million in unaccounted for harvesting of wildlife in over ten years. The documents are supplemented by an interview with the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority spokesperson, Caroline Washaya-Moyo, background material taken from an earlier article in the newspaper's sister publication, *NewsDay*, and a United States (US) organisation, the International Conservation Caucus Foundation. The background material taken from *NewsDay* and attributed to anonymous sources alleges that government officials are implicated in the poaching of elephants. In a nutshell, the article foregrounds the state and the law, and expurgates poaching. To expurgate is "to remove objectionable (especially sexual or politically sensitive) passages from a text" (Badlick, 2001:91). In this case, it refers to the symbolic removal of the poacher from the texture of the nation, an important identity formation around which politics is organised in Zimbabwe and most of the world.

Text

The headline of the news story, *Hwange disaster opens \$5m Pandora Box*, uses a strong metaphor in the word "disaster" to refer to poaching activities resulting in the killing of over 100 elephants between September and October 2013. The "disaster" is then represented as active in that it "opens" a "\$5m Pandora box", itself an allusion to Greek mythology that refers to actions with hugely detrimental implications. By conferring human qualities to the "Hwange disaster", the headline deletes human agency and avoids identifying the people responsible for the poaching. Such transformation in transitivity "removes a sense of specificity and precision" (Richardson, 2007:55), and creates ambiguity. In this case, the ambiguity could be a result of the reporter's own refusal to commit to any truth claim on who is responsible for the death of the elephants: the villagers, on one hand, and the poaching syndicates that include some government officials, on the other.

There is continuity in the ambiguity in the lead paragraph which claims that "the country could have lost \$5 million" [1] and "the killing of about 100 elephants by cyanide poisoning" [1], which further deletes agency. The use of "could" as a preferred modality structure of the sentence is significant in that it is a choice over "has" that bears a weighty truth claim. The

implications are that the reporter undermines the official narrative by two official sources, Washaya-Moyo and the document, by exhibiting doubt on their truth claims. The headline and the opening paragraph, therefore, work together: first, to show that there is ambiguity over who killed the elephants; and second, to undermine the official narrative. This subverting of the official narrative is further developed by introducing counter-claims from anonymous sources who firmly place the blame for the poaching on “security details, safari operators, and politicians” [7], and “top Tsholotsho Rural District Council officials, Campfire and businesspeople” [8].

In the story, there are three sources that can be associated with the state and the nation: first, the government parastatal, Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority Spokesperson, Caroline Washaya Moyo; second, the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority Statutory Instrument 57 of 2012 CAP 20:21 gazetted in April that year; and, third, the documents on which the story is based. In representing the Zimbabwe Parks and Management Authority as a government department, reference is made to “the country” [1], “Hwange National Park” [1, 9 and 13], “Zimbabwe Parks” [3], “the authority” [3 and 13], thereby conflating this institution with the government and the nation. Washaya Moyo, the statutory instrument and the document represent the government. The statutory instrument provides a background and context through which this story is possible in that it defines what poaching is and what it means to the nation. It is given human qualities in that it “calls for payment” [6] making it authoritative. This works ideologically allowing it to replace the government officials thereby conflating it with the nation. The law foregrounds the nation and represses the local communities - the San and the Tonga - who live at the heartland of the country’s wildlife and the tourism industry. As evident in this story, it only potentially constructs them as poachers.

In addition to the official sources, the journalist uses a set of three other anonymous sources – first referred to as “disclosures” [7], [as] background material from “our sister paper *NewsDay* last week” [8], and the US foundation– to introduce a counter-narrative that lays the blame for poaching on government corruption. On closer inspection, the disclosures and the impeccable sources in the *NewsDay* story could be one and the same source. Clearly, the two sets of sources are all elite ones, and the San and Tonga people are constructed through their absence. They are, in a sense, ‘symbolically annihilated’ (Gerbner and Gross, 1976; Tuchman, 1978:3). This is an example of the way in which the San are made invisible and

“unworthy of recognition” (Moon and Rolison, 1998:129). The institutionalisation of inequalities in the media manifests in two strategies of representation: invisibility and hyper visibility (Moon and Rolison, 1998: 129). Explaining the two concepts within the capitalist context, Richardson notes that, the working class is made invisible through naming that makes them non-persons, for example “janitors” or “maids” and hypervisible “through foregrounding an assemblage of ‘social defects’” (Richardson, 2006:137 - 139). In this story, the San are made invisible through silence on them or hypervisible by subtle suggestion that they could be “poachers”.

Business reporting focuses on economic matters which include personal finance, businesses in local environments, companies, and the stock market. Its aim is to report and analyse what is happening in the economics, business, and financial sectors. With its beginnings located in the need for information-sharing among wealthy families in the Middle Ages, its history is evidence of the elitism of the beat (History of Business Journalism project, nd)⁶. In typical business journalism style, this story uses a lot of numbers, especially in paragraphs 2, 15 and 16. Drawing on the document that is later explained by Washaya-Moyo, the story refers to time frames in terms of years, and the losses to the country in terms of the number of elephants, and other animals, killed. The value for elephants totals \$50 million in the five years to 2013. However in paragraphs 11 and 12 the loss is described in terms of effects to the environment as cyanide poisoning has “affected the food chain killing other game species” [11]. The highly technical nature of business journalism excludes those who are outside elite circles. The symbolic annihilation of the San and the Tonga in this story is wrought in the practices and discourses that construct a particular understanding of what a business story is. Business journalists work with an elitist technical conception of what qualifies as a business story in which sources have to prove the weight of their arguments through percentages and other numerical values. Mernat Mafirakureva, who at the time of the interview had switched from the *NewsDay* in Harare to take up a post as business editor of the *Chronicle* in Bulawayo, admitted this neglect. He gives an example of Binga, the district where Tonga people are mostly found, about which he says, “I [...] am not sure if at all in business we take them seriously”. Richardson notes that non-bureaucratic sources are very

⁶Carolina Business News Initiative, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill School of Journalism and Mass Communication. “History of Business Journalism”. Available on www.bizjournalismhistory.org/main_frame.htm (Accessed on 15 November 2014)

rarely referred to in the news, and even less frequently quoted, resulting in their under-representation and invisibility (2007:138).

If one is searching for any image of the San or Tonga, it is possible in the official representations of “poachers” [2], and “poaching syndicates” [2 and 8]. In the story, *When hunger turns villagers into poachers* published in the *Southern Eye* on 20 October 2013, which is analysed in the next section, reporter Richard Muponde shows how at the discovery of the massive poaching scandal, the state criminalised villagers and moved swiftly to convict four of them on poaching charges. However in the story under examination here, this is contested in the counter-narratives where poachers are represented as “criminals” [17], “terrorists networks” [17] and “militias” [17] who are “more organised” [17], “better funded” [17], and “better armed” [17]. Here, official narratives attempt to juxtapose the illegality of poachers (villagers) with the legality of the government, its departments and the law. The implications are that by subtly intimating that villagers are poachers, the question of local communities benefiting from natural resources around them is rendered impossible. As Muponde’s story will show, the question of villagers’ poverty and failure to benefit from resources around them was central to this crisis. This is one of the most pressing issues around indigeneity (Dirlick, 2011; Ramutsindela, 2004).

The government and the media clearly put more value on the elephants and the environment than the San who live around Hwange National Park. As discussed in Chapter 1, the San used to hunt and gather on the land now demarcated as the national park. This has led to numerous battles with the government as they still insisted on hunting there. The local people are simply not there; and if they are represented at all, they are a tiny aspect of a development matrix in which animals and minerals hold prime value. The elephants, sometimes referred to as “jumbos” [3 and 7] or ideologically as “valuable trophies” [13], are portrayed as vulnerable as they are “hunted down” [16], and “illegally harvested” [15]. Portraying them as the wealth of the nation equates them to minerals. In this way, poaching then equates to stealing from the nation. Through the ideological strategy of unification, the reader, who is most likely to be a middle class Shona or Ndebele Zimbabwean, must be convinced that the San are not worthy the government’s attention except if their “appearance” threatens “civilisation”.

Discursive practices

The *Southern Eye* newspaper, according to its editor Kholwani Nyathi, is aware that it is located in a region where “Stories about minorities are common”. A senior reporter, Richard Muponde, states: “we are a paper which is perceived, or said to be, a paper of the people of the South, where [the] minority groups are concentrated [...] We are a voice of the minority”. This story, and the one discussed in the section on human rights and the law, exhibit *Southern Eye*’s instinct to subvert the establishment. Although operating within the encoded ideology of objectivity which promotes the powerful (Hall et al, 1992), the newspapers exploit the discursive resources it has at its disposal in terms of sourcing and organisation of the stories to challenge the status quo.

The sourcing of the story puts the narratives of the powerful to the test through ‘balancing’ the stories, even if it means using anonymous sources. The paper’s deputy editor Njabulo Ncube, said they always insist on two or more voices in reporters’ stories. The sourcing pattern, as alluded to in the previous section, shows that the newspaper introduced the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority spokesperson, whom it associates with a document that is also central to the story, as prime sources; but went further to introduce anonymous sources who disrupt this official narrative. The use of anonymous sources as a discursive practice in journalism is not a stylistic luxury, but a tactical imperative that reporters and their sources adopt to negotiate their way around laws, such as codes that outlaw civil servants from talking to the media.

The reporter relies on the institutions of the state, which are the guardians of the nation and the status quo, for a definition of poaching and poachers. This definition is discursively constructed through a statutory instrument as the exploitation of wildlife without paying a gazetted amount of money to the state or its organs. In that the San and Tonga already occupy a marginalised position, the media further perpetuate their symbolic annihilation through its dependence on the state and other institutions set up and manned by the powerful for news.

Social practices

The story is part of what became a running story towards the end of the year when the Hwange poaching scandal broke out in newspapers in the country and across the world at a

time when Zimbabwe had just held the international tourism indaba in Victoria Falls⁷. This forced the government to act as it felt the poaching scandal reflected badly on the country's tourism industry. What became clear is how *Southern Eye's* journalism is influenced by the government, private tourism players, some of them international; and how the newspaper also influenced them in turn. However, it is clear that the local community is ignored.

That Zimbabwe is an elitist society and the idea of the nation in this context is also 'elitist' is evident in the paper's sourcing patterns. On the one hand, the sources that provide a hegemonic narrative are linked to the government; and on the other hand, sources that provide a counter-narrative speak from a 'platform' and therefore also possess power. The San and the Tonga are clearly powerless and their powerlessness is inscribed in the practices of business journalism. Journalists internalise news values, which include who ought to be treated as an authority. In so doing they "accept the frames imposed on events by officials and marginalise the delegitimate voices that fall outside the dominant elite circles" (Reese, 1990:425). The news text naturalises these social relations of inequality by upholding the limits to discourse through its choice of sourcing and texts to assemble the story.

Binga border post nears completion

The story written by an unnamed reporter and published on 11 November 2013 in the *Chronicle*, concerns a border post in Binga, between Zimbabwe and Zambia, which has been under construction for five years. The Binga district comprises an urban centre, known as a growth point in the post-independence discourse of development; and largely rural communities. Tonga people in the rural parts of Binga largely look up to the urban growth point to access government services like the birth and registry departments and to access the hospital.

The story is sourced from the Binga Rural District Council Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Mr Joshua Muzamba, and the Lunga ward council representative, Councillor Saina Mutanga, who present contrasting representations of the area. The CEO is upbeat and optimistic that the border post will open soon because, "the local authority had held several consultative meetings with other key stakeholders" [1]. The councillor is blunt in terms of the suffering

⁷Other stories that form part of this running story that are discussed in this thesis include When hunger turns villagers into poachers (Southern Eye, 2013), Govt sets up taskforce to probe rampant poaching (Chronicle, 2013).

and the struggles in his ward, and challenges authorities to take action so that people in his ward can access modern amenities “just like other people in the country” [12].

Text

The headline, *Binga border post nears completion*, is a transformed sentence in which the agent is deleted, creating the illusion that the border post is constructing itself. This is part of the reification of the border post that comes out strongly in the story. There is a sense of discord between the headline and the lead paragraph in that the latter clearly indicates that the border post is “proposed” [1] and “has been on the cards for nearly five years” [1]. This is in contrast to the normalcy created by the headline. The lead paragraph also makes it clear that this completion is “likely”, not ‘definitely’, and reveals the government as the actor that is hidden in the headline. The lead paragraph ends with what sounds like a government campaign slogan, as the ‘Government’ — spelt with a capital letter ‘G’ as part of the newspaper’s house style — “steps up efforts to facilitate trade and movement between Zimbabwe and Zambia” [1]. However, the lead paragraph combines with the headline to ideologically conflate the border post and the government so that one stands for the other, and both stand for the nation. It also makes it clear that Binga is just the “site of” [4] the border post that otherwise is a national infrastructure. There is, however, an underlying conflict in that the CEO, the source of the story, seems to think of the border post in local terms, and in his own words, expects it to boost “the socio-economic development of the district” [4]. Here, the border post is reified, fetishized and given power in itself as it becomes a magic wand that will solve the district’s problems.

Representing the border this way adversely constructs the Tonga people as dependents. Government institutions are reified and given qualities beyond the local and therefore the ordinary. Through subtly contrasting, the Tonga people are constructed as the local, and therefore ordinary; and the border post is national, universal and non-ordinary. The Tonga people are referred to as “locals” [8]. They can only show a modicum of agency through the border post allowing them “to tap into the Zambian market” [4]. At the moment it is the “informal border post” [9] that only allows them “social visits” [8]. This stylistic representation reveals the discourses around the relationship of the Tonga people to government infrastructure such as the border post and the nation. They are constructed and perpetuated as a minority through these relationships.

In Councillor Muntanga's "Lunga ward" [12], the local is an area that "lacked communication and radio coverage" [12], raising the need to "install boosters" [13] and "a radio communication system" [14] "to make it easier to contact an ambulance" [14]. The marginalisation and underdevelopment that otherwise remains an abstract idea in elite debates is broken down and clearly represented in the councillor's voice. The question of imported labour is a contentious issue in the Matabeleland marginalisation narrative and speaks directly to the imperatives to empower the 'local' (Mhlanga, 2012).

The contradiction between the local and non-local can also be gleaned in the way the Siabuwa-Gokwe road [9 and 10] is portrayed as holding the possibility to facilitate development in the district. The road is represented as "the most critical link" [9] between Binga district and the rest of the country. "Country" stands for the nation. The road is evoked as a symbol of accessibility. In interviews, several reporters alluded to the bad state of roads, a situation that makes these areas inaccessible to them. The Siabuwa-Gokwe road is also said to be in a bad state, a metaphor that captures the isolation of Binga district. The sentence is structured in a way that Binga needs to open up and embrace the nation. It is not a question of the nation embracing the minorities, but the minorities embracing the nation echoing one of independent Mozambique's founding fathers, Samora Machel's injunction that "for the nation to live, the tribe must die" (in Machel, 2014:np).

Discursive practices

The *Chronicle* perceives itself as serving the nation as captured in its motto, "the nation's liveliest newspaper". In an interview, the newspaper's deputy news editor, Prosper Ndlovu, spoke of his newspaper's pre-occupation with trying to balance the idea that the San and Tonga (or any other ethnic group in Matabeleland) are different and unique, yet a part of the Zimbabwean nation. This contrasts with the *Southern Eye* editorial team that sees itself as located in a region of minority ethnic groups, and is therefore occupied with bringing their different voices to the national dialogue. While the *Southern Eye* proceeds from a point of recognising differences (Fraser, 1990), *Chronicle* proceeds from a point of multiculturalism and emphasising Zimbabwe's claims to nationhood. This is reflected in the sourcing patterns in this story.

The first source that is privileged is the CEO, Mr Muzamba, who is the head of the district, a government appointee or employee whose role is to represent the government at district level.

The second source is a councillor, an official elected by the people to represent them. This distinction between the two comes out clearly in the story in that the CEO speaks the government's language, while the councillor speaks the language of the people: hence his reference to "just like other people in the country" [12]. In this phrase, the councillor represents his constituency, "the local" Tonga people, as frustrated by marginalisation compared to other citizens elsewhere in the country. The hierarchical organisation of the news also shows that the government, the nation and the border post come earlier in the story, and are therefore regarded as more important than the problems of the people. The CEO, who speaks for the government, is given five paragraphs of direct quotes compared to two for Councillor Muntanga, who speaks on the villager's plight. The people's story or voice, through the councillor, is introduced with "meanwhile" [12], as something that comes after the main business has been completed. The inverted pyramid structure has the implication of symbolically annihilating the Tonga people in that they appear as an afterthought and a 'bit part'. This reveals the ideological nature of the claim to objectivity (Richardson, 2007) that emphasises the legitimacy of the government over communities⁸.

Social practices

The story was published three months after the July 31 elections that ended the Government of National Unity (GNU). Coming after claims of a stolen election by the opposition, this could be read as a time of re-establishing Zanu PF's hegemony and legitimacy after its disruption by the MDCs inclusion in the previous government. This was after the 'minority' ethnic groups had strongly demanded devolution of power and a modicum of self-determination where resources in their districts are concerned. Zanu PF could have felt under pressure to dispel the agitation. The business genre serves this purpose well because it creates the illusion of being non-political, but simply about 'development'. The border post, which is also a political institution, is always deceptively portrayed as only a business institution tied to trade and cargo. Two linguistic features in the lead paragraph, the clause "which has been on the cards for nearly five years" and "likely to be completed" reveal that this story could be part of a running story⁹.

⁸ In an interview Prosper Ndlovu said, "Once you talk of Zimbabwe you are talking about that total whole, but under one administrative government, having common interests because even if we come from different origins there are a lot of issues that we share that will bring us together to make us one country."

⁹ The marginalisation of Matabeleland is a running story in newspapers in the South of the country. Incomplete government projects, especially in terms of roads, are some of this narrative's metaphors.

Tonga and San representation through the discourse of Human Rights and the law

This section discusses two stories: one drawn from the *Southern Eye*'s news sections, **When hunger turns villagers into poachers** by Richard Muponde published on 20 October 2013; the other taken from the *Chronicle*'s news section, **Government sets up taskforce to probe rampant elephant poaching** by Mashudu Netsianda and Temba Dube published on 17 September 2013. The two stories are written within the discourse of the law, and by relying on the ordinary person's views, the *Southern Eye*'s story draws in aspects of human rights.

When hunger turns villagers into poachers

This story seeks to get an explanation from the villagers about how and why were they found in possession of poison and elephant tusks at the time of the killing of 100 elephants at the Hwange National Park. The story is a deliberate effort to represent villagers' voices as the newspaper claims to be going after "the real story" [8]. The villagers claim that as a result of hunger and neglect by the government, they fell prey to poaching syndicates who bribed them to poison the elephants. This is one of the few stories that allow the San and Tonga people to speak. In the villagers' own voices, the story captures the non-response of the government to the ordinary people's challenges [13].

Text

The headline of the story, *When hunger turns villagers into poachers*, tells an almost complete story. Through a careful transformation of the transitivity structure of the sentence, the villagers are rendered inactive and therefore objects and victims of hunger. Hunger is made into a subject that "turns" the villagers into poachers, setting up hunger as the villain. The lead paragraph adds the government as another villain. However, in the court of public opinion that journalism is, the reporter does not attempt to plead complete innocence for the villagers, but starts off by offering two justifications: "hunger" and "neglect by the government" [1]. When he introduces the "villagers from Tsholotsho's Phelandaba area" [1], representing them as active in that they "poison elephants" [1], he immediately tightens their alibi by showing that they did it "after being manipulated" [1] by "criminals who deal in ivory from urban areas" [1].

The opening sentence has the effect of contrasting the village with the urban area. The sentence names the village as “Phelandaba area” located in Tsholotsho making the village unambiguous. The urban areas are unnamed “centres” making them many things that are anonymous, and where criminality is possible. In the urban versus rural binary, the reporter makes it impossible for the reader to believe that villagers are criminals who can harm nature unless “manipulated”. This ties in well with the idea that the journalist has to leave the urban centre of Bulawayo and travel to the village to “get the real story” [8]. This way the village and the San people are established as ‘authentic’.

The reporter continues to build the sense of place, and with it an image of the San, by further distancing Phelandaba from the influence of urbanity as it is “located about 100 km from Tsholotsho business centre” [2]. In this sentence, the reporter further refuses to associate the villagers with the poisoning of the elephants, electing to delete the agent in the sentence, “the death of more than 100 elephants through poisoning of watering holes” [2]. This is despite the villagers’ admission that they did it because of hunger.

The government and its agencies like the “Parks and Wildlife Management Authority” [5] and Campfire” [20], is seen as evil in that it “neglects villagers” [1 and 10], and “jails villagers” [3 and 5]. When villagers faced hunger it “did nothing” [9]. The verbs set up a relationship between the government and the locals in which the San are represented as the victims of government aggression or indifference. It is in what the government failed to do that the San people are constructed as neglected and marginalised. The villagers compare themselves and their situation to that of other areas in the country: “In this area, we don’t have any self-help projects like other areas which have dams and rivers and embark on irrigation” [22]. This captures a sense of their marginalisation from resources, but also their awareness of their political positioning. This marks one of those cases when the subaltern speaks (Spivak, 1995) although the question remains if the subaltern can be heard (Maggio, 2007).

Discursive practices

This story is written within a human rights frame, evident by its using the villagers as a main source with the aim of restoring their voices in a matter that has captured both national and international interest. It addresses such issues as a right to food and human dignity. The *Southern Eye*’s parent company, Alpha Media Holdings (AMH), has its roots in economic

liberalisation, heavily underwritten by the talk of human rights (Saunders, 1999). However, in this story, the newspaper seems to push the idea of human rights beyond the liberal values of equality to that level where the government should recognise the context of the San people's marginalisation. Proceeding from a point of positional difference (Mouffe, 1999, Hall, 2005) allows the journalist to work within a radical conceptualisation of human rights. The journalist struggles with "translating" the experiences of the San people (Maggio, 2007) by forging a journalism language capable of representing the villagers' story in their own voices and context.

It is objective journalism's hallmark to keep the reporter and the newspaper out of the story as much as possible. In this story, the reporter inserts the newspaper in the story by revealing his reporting method: that he travelled to the San's Phelandaba village in Tsholotsho to "get to the real story" [8]. Revealing his method can be explained as a strategy to establish authenticity. In an interview, the *Chronicle* reporter, Bongani Ndlovu, emphasized the need to travel to where the minorities live in order to understand them. As much as 'authenticity' is illusory, reporters have to struggle with the day to day questions of constructing their own forms of 'authenticity' and 'objectivity' (Richardson, 2007) to make their work possible. This is more important for most *Southern Eye* reporters who see their newspaper as well-positioned to resist stereotypes on the San and the Tonga.

If at the outbreak of the story of the poisoning of elephants, reporters had kept to the urban centres and relied on official documents (police, Zimparks officials and court paperwork), the villagers' narrative would not have been told. Similar to the first story discussed in this chapter, the *Southern Eye* reveals its journalistic acumen in sabotaging the status quo's representation through alternative means of sourcing stories. The editor of the *Southern Eye*, Kholwani Nyathi, is adamant that:

The stories are better told by the communities themselves, but due to lack of access the experts become the fall back position [...] Our philosophy is that stories should be told by the ordinary man or woman. Officialdom only becomes useful in the verification process (interview with the editor on 29 August 2014).

This can be read as an inverted process of gathering news, in that it starts with the communities and then the officials, allowing ordinary people to set the news agenda and represent themselves. Despite the editor's claim that the government is good for balancing

stories, this story is exclusively sourced from the villagers. In spite of serious allegations made against it, no effort is made to afford the government the right to respond.

As the primary source, “the villagers”, come across as an anonymous collective. The second source is the headman, Owen Dladla, of Vukuzenzele village. He has a position and therefore a platform to represent the people. The third source is a villager who speaks anonymously. The villager, a male, is reported in a fairly long quotation of three paragraphs. The last source is Nkosana Dladla, the headman’s younger brother. Issues of power and powerlessness play out in that the headman and his brother speak on record, while other villagers speak anonymously. In terms of power, it must also be noted that the government may largely be absent in this story, but it remains powerful enough to scare the villagers into speaking anonymously. The story has a ‘feature feel’ to its form in that it is multi-sourced. Although it opens up with the sharpness of a news story told in an inverted pyramid style that adheres to the 5 Ws and an H of news journalism, the story is told briskly. Almost the entire story is told in the lead paragraph, but in paragraph 3, background is introduced for context. The background also serves as a *nut graf*, explaining why the story is important. The *nut graf* is a paragraph structure used mostly in feature or longer stories, that justifies the story by telling readers why they should care, and explains why the story is timely, providing supporting material that helps readers see why the story is important (Scanlan, 2003:np).

In the sourcing of most news texts that form this running story, journalists depend on government and state institutions like the police and the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority. In deliberately choosing to interview villagers, the journalist who wrote this story, Richard Muponde, is, in a small way, resisting the limits imposed by the over-reliance on state institutions. He however cannot escape these discursive limits of the language of journalism. Giving an example of a Canadian Supreme Court decision in a case involving aborigines, Turner notes that even though accommodating aboriginal forms of evidence, the court still “dictates the language from which the evidence is to be articulated and understood” (2006:83). Muponde does well to go to the ground, but journalism dictates the language in which the sensibilities of the San can be captured as the journalist has to translate the narratives of the San people from isiNdebele, a language imposed on them, to English, a language imposed on them by journalism. The media in Zimbabwe are in English. Without paying attention to the question of language, the reporter may underrate the ways in which journalism is likely to silence the San even as they speak. This is seen as

“incommensurability” (Byrd and Rothberg, 2011:6) or the “differend” (Lyotard, 1988): where there is a certain aspect of San’s experience that remains un-articulated because the language available cannot fully embrace that experience. Spivak (1995) sees this as silencing the subaltern. In other words, journalism, in its professional form, as an available platform for expression cannot be enough to represent the San and Tonga.

Social practices

This news text is part of a running story on the poisoning of elephants at Hwange National Park. In reporting this story, the dominating frame has emphasised the harm to the environment, tourism and the nation. This news text breaks with that, foregoes sourcing material from the government and its agencies, and introduces the voice of the villagers on the matter. In the running story of the poisoning of elephants, which led to the torture of some villagers by the police and the national park rangers, the news text examined here is particular and only possible with this newspaper and this reporter for several reasons. The editor Kholwani Nyathi, says reporters come up with stories on their own initiative and are then guided through them by the editors. Richard Muponde works mainly as a court reporter. In the course of reporting the trial of the four villagers who were convicted for poaching, Muponde could have sat in court and felt that the matter was more complex than believing that these poor villagers were criminals. The pleas of guilty and their subsequent convictions forced him to probe, and he stumbled on hunger and government neglect.

Government sets up taskforce to probe rampant elephant poaching

This news text, also part of the running story of the poisoning of elephants at Hwange National Park, concerns the setting up of a cabinet taskforce by the government to look into the poisoning seen as the worst poaching scandal in the country’s history. The main source is the minister of natural resources and climate change, Saviour Kasukuwere, who emphasises that it is the government’s responsibility to protect the environment. He resorts to ideological and hegemonic arguments to urge the communities to work with the government in this effort. The government is portrayed as a hero and the community as assisting this hero. The poachers or poaching is ‘expurgated’ or ‘cast out’. Expurgation is the symbolical removal of a perceived enemy in representation. Thompson (1990) describes this as a form of ideological practice which constructs ‘offenders’ who are then expurgated or cast out from what is deemed to be normative ways of social behaviour and belonging..

Text

The headline, *Government sets up taskforce to probe rampant elephant poaching*, sets up the government as the hero, making it an active subject of the sentence acting on “rampant poaching”. The use of the word “rampant” represents poaching as negative, out of control and deserving expurgation. The headline, therefore, represents the government as positive, out to restore order and justified in fighting poaching. The lead paragraph takes up the agenda of the headline and foregrounds the government and expurgates “rampant poaching of the elephants” [1]. At this stage the story still does not identify who is responsible for the poaching. The paragraph lists the ministers who comprise the taskforce: “ministers of environment, water and climate, Cde Saviour Kasukuwere, Tourism and Hospitality, Cde Walter Muzembi and Information, Media and Broadcasting Services, Professor Jonathan Moyo” [1]. The first two ministers are referred to as “Cde”. The use of “Cde” is part of the *Chronicle* or Zimpapers’ house style in which all sources linked to Zanu PF are referred to as Comrades. The word “Comrade” as used in Zimbabwe’s state owned mass media refers to the country’s cabinet ministers and top ruling-party officials (Mano, 2008:508). The use of this title as part of the in-house style shows how the newspaper sees itself as embedded in the struggles and causes of the ruling Zanu PF party.

The appointment of the cabinet taskforce maps and draws not only the ideological field, but also structures the discursive field of thinking and speaking about the poisoning of the 100 elephants. The composition of the taskforce shows that the government believes that the scandal must not only be spoken about as a tourism and economic crisis, but must also be spoken about in a way that asserts the power of government to speak down to the villagers. The exclusion of the minister of arts and culture or any other social ministry, makes it clear that the San and Tonga people who live with wild animals in their districts are invisible in the government’s eyes. They are simply subalterns and “the governed” (Charttjee, 2004) whom ministers like Kasukuwere not only speak “on behalf of”, but also “speak down to”.

In this story, the San are largely missing. We can however glean how they are represented from the way the government is represented in relation to them. The government or the power bloc is represented as “the government” [1, 3 and 4], “ministerial taskforce” [1], and the different ministers and ministries [1]. In this representation, there is a conflation or uniting, ideologically, of the government and its departments allowing nation to appear as authoritative. Pickering (2001) makes a compelling argument to distinguish between the

nation-state and nationalism. In a modernist sense, the nation-state first emerged in Britain (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985; Colley, 1994) characterised by legal codes, a monopoly of legitimate violence by the police and military, a territory-wide administrative machinery, among others (Pickering, 2001: 85). On the other hand, nationalism can exist without a nation-state, for example, as illustrated by the history of the Basques, Kurds and Jews (Pickering, 2001: 85). However, all claims to nationalism are underwritten by a claim to a territory. What we see in this story is the nation-state in action as opposed to nationalism, which is mostly cultural (Pickering, 2001: 85). In a hegemonic sense, the nation is guaranteed by the coercive authority of the state and the San and Tonga must defer to this authority.

The minister of environment, Kasukuwere, argues that “it is the responsibility of government to protect our wildlife” [4], without making it clear to whom the use of the word “our” refers. This device interpellates (Althusser, 1971: 11) the reader, constructing him or her as a citizen, and ‘othering’ the San people, who are suspected of being involved in poaching. As it is also not clear what the wildlife are being protected from or from whom, the accused then become ‘the community’ (San people) that the minister later urges to work with the government. The minister both threatens and compels the community to cooperate. ‘The community’ is represented in phrases such as “surrounding areas” [6] and “areas adjacent to the national park” [6]. The San are constructed as a minority through their relation, in terms of an “adjacent” [6] geographic position, to the national park. Since Hwange is a property and a symbol of the nation, the San people, as a minority, could be interpreted as being “adjacent” [6] to the nation. The borders of Hwange National Park are the borders of the nation and it is here that the nation becomes visible (Williams, 2005). Similar to the story on the border post discussed in the previous section, there is a subtle contrasting of the local and the national.

Discursive practices

It is clear that the story is sourced from a cabinet minister, but it is not clear whether it was a phone or face to face interview. If it was a face to face interview, it is not clear if it was on site during the ministers’ tour, or in Bulawayo. If the interview had been on site, the reporter would have supplemented the minister’s positions with his own observations. He could also have spoken to any of the people in the area where the community lives. The reporter therefore relies completely on the minister’s claims. The quality of news reporting “is directly related to the quality of journalist’s access to the story [...] social and political actors outside the newsroom (social practices) can shape the content of reporting (text) via controlling the

manner in which journalists produce the news (discursive practices)” (Richardson, 2007:127). The *Chronicle*’s embeddedness in Zanu PF and the government justifies, erroneously, this kind of uncritical journalism where “most of the times officials in the news just read out prepared speeches from podiums towering above ordinary people, especially those in rural areas, themselves seldom in the news” (Mano, 1997:66).

The story is written in the inverted pyramid form, starting with the most important information which in this case is the appointment of the cabinet taskforce. This story therefore privileges this appointment and downplays the discoveries that the minister alludes to, which is the continued harm to the environment. In typical ‘follow the minister kind of journalism’ (Saunders, 1999), the news values of this story lie in what the minister says and what he says he did rather than the substance and content of what he says. The reporter has no means of verifying this because within the discourses of embedded journalism of “Cdes”. There is no need to verify because a “Cde” cannot be second guessed. This effectively shuts out the voices of the San people. The implications of this are better grasped if we are to imagine this story differently, not as a ‘follow the minister kind of journalism’ (Saunders, 1999). It could have dwelt on the continued harm to the environment, an issue that is even raised by the source of the story [7 and 8]. This would have relegated the government’s appointment of a cabinet taskforce to background material. As a story on the continued harm to the environment by the poison, the reporters would have been compelled to talk to the ordinary San people.

Social practices

This story provides an occasion to reflect on the government’s influence on journalism practice, outside direct control and legislation. This is better approached by pointing out that the *Southern Eye* also carries a story similar to this one, although it has more than one voice. That the *Southern Eye* would also carry a story that appears like a government announcement is evidence of the government’s influence on media content. Firstly, most journalists at the *Southern Eye* are from Zimpapers, and may have the ‘follow the minister’ (Saunders, 1999) culture ingrained in them. Training and socialisation as a journalist could be one of the ways that the government perpetuates its hegemony over the country’s news agenda. Secondly, the two newspapers operate in a competitive media environment that they dominate in an oligopolistic set up. The *Southern Eye* may have been pushed by fear to appear as if they were clueless to what was happening in the region, and had to follow the ministers and write

that story. This situation gives the government the discursive power to influence the news agenda even on newspapers out of its direct control. This is related to the idea of journalists as an interpretive community (Zelizer, 1993) where they share stories, and in their informal conversations decide what news becomes across newspapers. This indirect government control or influence of the media industry or market is one of the ways in which ordinary people, especially the minorities, are discursively excluded from the news.

Conclusion

Both newspapers, as a result of the discursive field that they operate in, construct a limited range of representations of the San and Tonga. Although *Southern Eye* attempts to pursue alternative sources, some of them speaking anonymously, the sourcing patterns in both newspapers reveal a bias towards elite sources. The implications are that the voices of the San and the Tonga are excluded. Their exclusion, and consequently representation as a minority or subaltern group, is inscribed in the news discourses that favour the elites and powerful. However, the *Southern Eye* struggles against these discourses and attempts to get stories from unlikely sources such as anonymous government officials as exemplified in the first story discussed in this chapter. The *Chronicle* sources its news stories, with sheepish obedience, from government officials ranging from ministers down to rural district councils CEOs.

Chapter 6: Data presentation and analysis

Introduction

This chapter continues the analysis of stories and in-depth interviews in a study whose aim is to probe the representation of the San and Tonga people in the *Chronicle* and the *Southern Eye*, and to make sense of how these representations position them as ‘minorities’ within the discourses of Zimbabwean nationalism. This chapter focuses on four stories that are discussed in two sections: Tonga and San representation through the discourse of culture, and Tonga and San representation through the discourse of politics. The minorities in Zimbabwe are heavily “*ethnicised*” and their identity heavily “*culturalised*” so that they are mostly thought of as “cultural subjects”. Culture in this case is limited to mean a ‘different’ language and peculiar customs and traditions. To lay claim to their authenticity, they are always expected to “perform” (Butler, 1997) their culture. The chapter also discusses representations of the San and Tonga through the discourse of politics because the cultural politics around the identity of ethnic minorities in Zimbabwe is always appropriated by political parties as campaign fodder.

Tonga and San representation through the discourse of culture

The concept of culture is slippery and “multi-discursive; it can be mobilized in a number of different discourses” (Hartley, 1994: 68). In cases where the minorities are ethnicised, the reliance is usually on a thin definition of culture. In this thesis, culture refers to a way of life; where it is seen as ordinary and can be interpreted historically and in terms of its context (Williams, 1989:100). This section includes issues dealing with education, language, customs and traditions, among others. It analyses two stories: **San people resist civilisation: Mugabe** written by Nqobile Bhebhe and published in the *NewsDay Southern Edition* on 14 May 2013, and **Chiefs Summon Coltart** written by an unnamed reporter and published in the *Chronicle* on 22 March 2013.

San people resist civilisation: Mugabe

This story quotes Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe at length, labelling the minority San people “uncivilised” [1]. The reporter could have been taking notes during the president’s speech at a memorial service held for the late Vice President, John Nkomo, who lived among

the San people in Tsholotsho¹⁰. In the speech, the president resorts to numerous stereotypes about the San- that include “uncivilised” [1] and describing them as people who “like meat more than we do” [10] – to argue his points. The memorial service was held in Bulawayo although John Nkomo is buried at the Heroes Acre in Harare. The president’s reference to the San people probably arose because he was talking about John Nkomo’s most important achievement: the John Landa Nkomo High School in Tsholotsho, built among the San people. The choice of Bulawayo for the memorial service could be because it is seen as the capital of the Matabeleland region. Bulawayo has featured in numerous stories in this study, not only as the centre of Matabeleland, but playing a Foucauldian panopticon role, as that tower at the centre of a subordinated province allowing the nation (through the state) to monitor and control this region of minorities (Foucault, 1995: 195-228). As argued in the previous chapter, for example on the border post in Binga, the nation can see the minorities, but the minorities cannot see the nation or whoever is doing the surveillance on behalf of the nation.

Text

The headline “*San people resist civilisation: Mugabe*” dissociates the *NewsDay Southern Edition* from the claim that San people are uncivilised by clearly attributing it to Mugabe. Attribution is part of the strategic ritual of objectivity (Tuchman, 1972: 665 – 668). The lead paragraph works in concert with the headline further explaining that by “resisting integration with neighbouring communities” [1] they were “refusing to get more civilised” [1]. Here the president, who is privileged in the introduction and clearly speaks with authority, as head of state¹¹, is engaged in ideological work equating integration with neighbouring communities to civilisation. He is also constructing the San, as both minorities and indigenous people, by locating them in the pre-civilisation era. Mugabe’s notion that the San are uncivilised is informed by “a tendency in readings of indigenous identity to impose notions of authenticity that place indigenous people out of time. The presumption is that time is so conditioned by modern life, that to articulate a genuine indigenous identity requires resistance not only to

¹⁰ It is a culture of political leaders and most people in Zimbabwe to maintain homes in the city and in the communal areas in villages. Political leaders also have farms, which are individual private properties.

¹¹ At the time of the GNU, between 2008 and 2013, the state media started referring to Mugabe as, “the Head of State and Government and Commander in Chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces” in what analysts saw as a way of asserting his power. Mugabe is also the Chancellor of all the 11 state universities.

such time but also to time narratives” (Gordon, 2013:60). We will return to this point later, when we discuss the issue of stereotypes.

The vice president’s legacy is preserved through two ideological representations. In what can be seen as reification, the school that he built in Tsholotsho, and is expected to admit San students, is named after him to perpetuate his name. In a case of privilege as hereditary social capital, the late Nkomo’s son, Jabulani [2], is represented as filling his fathers’ shoes. This play of privilege is glaring when contrasted with the next paragraph where the San people are said to “look after my cattle” [3]. Jabulani inherits his father’s riches and responsibilities, while San families can only pass amongst themselves, from generation to generation, the exploitation of looking after the Nkomo family’s cattle. The San are constructed as a minority ethnic group through their juxta-positioning with elite subjects from the dominant ethnic groups. Harris notes that the challenge for San people (in Namibia) is not only the rights to land, which could help anchor their identity, but also that “in some cases, ‘traditional’ communities are unavailable to the San because of colonial-era land grabs, intermarriage with non-San peoples, or the need to find paid work as a means of survival” (2013:14 -15). In interviews with journalists¹², two of them alluded to this exploitation of the San people by the neighbouring Ndebele and Kalanga communities. The most common relationship that the San have with their neighbours, referred to by the President, is one of exploitation, as they are constructed as minorities in relation to other groups. The president masks this exploitation by creating the impression that relationships with neighbouring communities are “civilisation” [1], and that looking after some people’s cattle is a choice on their part. It is never asked why they do not have cattle of their own.

The school is represented as a metaphor of civilisation [3]. Considering Althusser’s (1971) work on how the education system is part of the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), it becomes clear that to President Mugabe ‘civilisation’ refers to modern institutions like education (schools) and ‘development’. However, the president does not pay attention to the self-serving nature of his beliefs. For example, for the San, there is not much in the school system in that the curriculum and syllabuses have no content dealing with their histories and cultures. As Zimbabwe has a high level of unemployment, even among university graduates, the schooling system as it is currently constituted, has no immediate or long term benefit for

¹² Sourthen Eye reporters, Nduduzo Tshuma and Silas Nkala raised this matter.

the San¹³. Outside the schooling system, the San remain unfathomed by the nation and as a result are constructed as a subaltern group by Mugabe. Prakash has noted that subalternity “signifies that which the dominant discourse cannot appropriate completely, an otherness that resists containment” (2000:293). It poses a challenge for the nation state, hence the ambivalence on the part of the President, forcing him “into contradictions [and to] speak in tongues” (Prakash, 2000: 293). He resorts to the violence of stereotypes to preach an ambivalently colonial and egalitarian gospel of civilisation.

President Mugabe uses the word “Bushmen” [9] to refer to the San, and the journalist also adopts the word [11]. During the year under study, at the height of contestations around their identity and treatment in the country, the San held an arts festival in celebration of International Day of the World’s Indigenous People that they called “Tshwao Dam Bush Cultural Festival”. The use of the word “bush” stands out. One wonders if at all the adoption of the use of the offensive word by the San people is an act of resistance through the appropriation of stereotypes against them. It could also be a case of “secreting an identity” where indigenous people invest in an imposed identity to perform an ‘authentic’ indigenous identity “where being indigenous becomes wrought with mechanisms of pathology” (Gordon, 2013:66). Another explanation could be that as a stereotype, the word has now entered the field of myth (Richardson, 2007) where it no longer raises so much contestation. However, to encounter this stereotype afresh (Bhabha, 1997), in this context, it has the implication that those who live in the bush are viewed as ‘wild animals’ and ‘uncivilised’. This can be seen in the stories analysed in the previous chapter where in some instances wildlife are regarded as more important than the minorities. While the newspaper subtly questions Mugabe’s idea that the San are not ‘civilised’, it fails to recognise that the word ‘Bushmen’ is part of that discourse.

One of the implications of labelling is shifting the blame to the victims for their marginalisation and neglect. Mugabe uses strong words when he speaks of the San as wanting “to just look after cattle and be in the bush” [7]. The suggestion that “they (San) have a culture which is very resistant to change” [7], is categorical. It not only symbolically annihilates them, but constructs them as an unchanging burden to civilisation. As a

¹³There are debates around Zimbabwe’s unemployment with independent economists putting the rate at 80 percent while the government insists it is 11 percent (Masekesa and Chibaya, 2014)

stereotype, it operates on the logic of fixity that “connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition” (Bhabha, 1994:66).

In charging that the San must be “civilised”, Mugabe positions himself as a hero on whose shoulders weigh the burden of “civilising” other people [6]. He assumes “those moralistic and normative ideologies of amelioration recognised as the Civilising Mission or the White Man’s Burden” (Bhabha, 1994:83). In referring to the school and jobs, Mugabe wades into capitalist metaphors that form a mine field in the modernity discourses. There are numerous contradictions in these in that the schools is seen as liberating in that it imparts knowledge, but also constraining in that it produces subjects for the exploitative capitalist capital/labour relations (See Richardson, 2007 on the contradictions of capitalism). Similarly, a job gives people an opportunity to earn and be independent, but the relations between capital and labour are seen as underwritten by exploitation (Bhabha, 1994:83). Just as he smoothed over the exploitation of the San people who look after the late vice president’s cattle, so Mugabe manages to mask the dialectic of freedom and exploitation in the school and the job systems by appealing to common sense.

The civilising discourse is represented through “President Robert Mugabe” [1], “neighbouring communities” [1], “memorial service” [2], “the John Landa Nkomo High School” [2], “you” [3 and 4], “Botswana” [9], and “Namibia”, among other images. Consistent here is the idea of the nation as representing civilisation or having a civilising project. It becomes clear that Mugabe, in his outbursts, is rubbishing ethnicity, which he sees in the San people holding onto their cultural values. As a result, the San are constructed as a problem [9]. President Mugabe suggests that where-ever they are found, in South Africa, Namibia and Angola, the San people are a “problem” [9] to the governments. This is constructing “indigenous people as, in effect, haunting the present” (Gordon, 2013:60).

The story sets up Mugabe’s civilising mission against the Minister of Education, David Coltart’s marginalisation of the San narrative. What Mugabe calls “resistance to change” [7], Coltart sees as failure or lack of government policy, constructing the San as a “marginalised community” [13]. What Mugabe sees as a mission to civilise other people, Coltart sees as policy implementation to address the San people’s problems. Clearly, there is no ambiguity in Coltart’s words to create an impression that the San people are a problem. Coltart raises the importance of policy as a government tool or response in bridging the gaps and achieving

social justice. Coltart argues that there is a need for the government to enforce “policy implementation” [13] to address “their problems on education” [13]. Unlike Mugabe, Coltart does not see the San as “refusing to get more civilised” [1], “still want to just look after cattle [and] be in the bush” [7] inhabiting “remote areas of Southern Africa” [11].

Discursive practices

The story was sourced at a public event where President Mugabe might have spoken about the San in passing and off the cuff. It then becomes a matter of interest why the reporter latched onto these specific remarks, probably unscripted. To make sense of the choice of this story, the issue must be approached in light of journalistic agency and the editor, Kholwani Nyathi’s assertion that journalists are given freedom to decide what constitutes “a story” in any event or occurrence. The writer of the story, Nqobile Bhebhe, in an interview, asserted that his job is to angle stories in terms of the “Matabeleland Question”. He also said it was part of what he was taught when he grew up that the Ndebele (in his case Nguni) were far better than the San and the Tonga. Listening to the president on this day, Bhebhe could have felt that Mugabe’s remarks were newsworthy because, in hindsight, he could not imagine anyone, let alone the country’s president, discriminating against fellow citizens that way. His sensitivity towards this could be located in his upbringing. It could also have become a story for him in light of what the minister of education, Coltart, had said previously, which forms part of the background of the story. However, as a product in the newspaper, the choice of background is also a result of numerous discursive practices including the editorial process and the need to balance the President’s remarks with a counter-opinion. The choice of background material is important in that an alternative view from a minister appointed by President Mugabe and serving in his government shows how discourses are not neatly united.

Social practices

The news text is not necessarily part of a running story, but could be part of a couple of stories in that the issue of the San is a contentious one and the story of John Nkomo’s sickness and death was a running story. The story was published at a time when the country was preparing for a watershed election to end the government of national unity and Zanu PF, whose candidate was President Mugabe, wanted a clean sweep at the polls. The story could have been published then to show voters the views on the San that Mugabe, a leading candidate, held. The San are a small minority, but when the issue of minorities is politicised

they gain power and can influence sentiment in Matabeleland¹⁴. This could be a result of the power of identities and the complexity of the concepts of the majority and the minority. There is, however no San person's voice in the story, and that Coltart is drawn in to speak for them raises questions about whether the subaltern can ever speak on issues that concern them (Spivak, 1995).

Chiefs summon Coltart

The story recounts events around a closed meeting between the minister of education, David Coltart, and chiefs from minority language speaking communities. This is over a number of issues including the teaching of minority languages in schools in their communities. The chiefs from the minority communities had decided to call the meeting after a circular by the Zimbabwe School Examination Council (Zimsec) noted that children from minority communities will be compelled to sit for examinations in either Ndebele or Shona, making these languages compulsory, and their mother tongues optional. The story is sourced from the chiefs, the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA), the minister of education and the provincial Education Director for Matabeleland North.

Text

The three words headline, *Chiefs summon Coltart*, is a direct, active sentence that represents the chiefs as powerful enough to summon a cabinet minister. The superiority of the chiefs is asserted by referring to Coltart, a cabinet minister by his surname only, denying him his title and position. There could be two explanations to this, as discussed in the section on social practices. The lead paragraph combines with the headline to make it clear that it is not the government that has been summoned by the chiefs, but a specific minister. The sentence, "over the treatment of their languages at schools" [1] reasserts the chiefs' custodianship of the languages and cultures.

The representation of the Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) raises several issues concerning the representation, and consequent construction, of minority ethnic groups. Firstly, in ZILPA, we get an image of the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) at work playing an active role in issues concerning minority groups. Once again we confront Spivak's (1994) question as to the possibility of the 'voice' of the subaltern. This is the

¹⁴ It has been said that when it comes to elections, the region of Matabeleland tends to vote as a block going for a single party each time mobilising around issues such as the 'marginalisation' of the region (Chitemba, 2013).

question that Muponde tried to answer in the story, *When hunger turned villagers into poachers*, when he went to Tsholotsho to talk to the San directly. On this point, the absence of the San in the list of the chiefs given in the story is conspicuous. They have no recognised chief (traditional leader) in Zimbabwe. This is because they have no chiefs or any form of traditional leadership, and this could be tied to the neglect under colonialism which meant that there was no way of preserving their traditional leadership institutions in a way similar to other ethnic tribes (Davison, 1977; Madzudzo, 2001). Similar to the Tonga, the San are regarded as a minority, but the ‘indigeneity’ label sets them apart from other minorities, and it is not surprising that they have no traditional leaders to speak on their behalf. Secondly, in ZILPA, we get to see how the idea of “minorities” has over the years become hegemonic over other ethnic identities, for example indigeneity, in that it is only possible to have such an association, as representing ‘minority interests’ if the idea of minorities is hegemonic.

This story further develops an emerging pattern of Bulawayo as the ‘centre’ for Matabeleland. Further to its panoptic role, as discussed in the analysis of the previous story, this positioning of Bulawayo contributes to the representation of the minorities as a rural people whose interest can only converge at the centre¹⁵. However, the minorities are portrayed as resisting this centre. For example, the chiefs indicate that they had considered withdrawing their children from school [3]. The threat to withdraw is evidenced even in other stories that are not part of this study¹⁶. It raises the possibility that minorities seriously consider withdrawal as a plausible form of resistance in the face of marginalisation and abuse.

According to the story, the Zimsec circular alluded to “one national language between Shona and isiNdebele” [4]. This exposes the view that the government and some government officials believe that some languages are superior to others. The word ‘national’ is fertile with connotations of the ‘norm’. This then raises the question of whether the representation of a language in the constitution is what is needed to regard it as legitimate. This also raises questions about the privileges that come with national recognition. This last point can be

¹⁵The Centre is physical and geographical, as in cities like Harare and Bulawayo, as well as cultural and political as in schools and other government institutions.

¹⁶For example in a story “Zimsec’s Tonga directive angers Binga parents” written by Nqobile Bhebhe, published by NewsDay Southern Edition on 11 March 2013, available on <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2013/03/11/zimsecs-tonga-directive-angers-binga-parents/>

understood in light of efforts by the minority ethnic groups' chiefs to bring it to government's attention that languages should be respected in their localities. The chiefs "other" Ndebele and Shona – the so-called 'national' languages – insisting these languages cannot be national in their chiefdoms [6]. This can be explained in that "a discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault 1998: 100-1). Every act of asserting or performing one's identity is discursive and a power game and an act of exclusion, and is not the preserve of the dominating forces. *Chronicle* reporter, Bongani Ndlovu, notes that if you speak Ndebele in Binga, you are simply a minority in that most people speak Tonga or Nambya.

The Tonga chief in the story is very clear in articulating the demands of the minorities: "we want our mother languages to be given prominence first and others could be optional" [7]. This demand is later extended to encompass the use of "local languages" in "government offices" [8]. The idea is to localise the government and make it visible and relevant to the people. In a sense, they want to speak to a government that speaks their language. This is captured in the demand for the "equal treatment" [9] of languages. The idea of equality/equal treatment of languages is seen as located in the abolition of the idea of 'national languages,' and equality will be that each language is taught in its locality and used in public offices within the communities where it is indigenous. The demand is well articulated in that it links the school with the government offices and home where language is needed to preserve culture. The ZILPA chairperson further links language with identity. It is also interesting to see how the school becomes the site for this battle [20], drawing our attention to the school as a political space as opposed to an image of a transparent civilising agent that President Mugabe portrays in the previous story. Tied to this, it is interesting to see how children are not only the focus of both the chiefs and the ZILPA chairperson, but are actively and discursively constructed as the future and posterity of the ethnic groups.

The minority languages and communities are constructed, mostly by the Chiefs and the ZILPA chairperson, as both "authentic" and as the victims of government aggression. They are seen as the "minority language speaking communities" [1], "the local language" [8], "not Shona" [11], "our own communities" [16], and "marginalised language communities" [28] who are active in that they "summon" [1], "coordinated" [2], "compelled" [6], and "speak" [8]. The chiefs give their own meaning to 'qualified': anyone who can "effectively teach minority languages in their schools" [12] is seen as part of qualified "educational officers"

[12]. That definition is narrow, just as the definition offered by the state is narrow in that it is meant to achieve specific goals. Importantly, there is an appropriation of the word minority in that sentence. This is part of the hegemonic struggles, where the two polarised sides tussle over language and then end up fixing the meaning of words so that each side can use it for its own ends. In that the struggle over words is the struggle for broader political goals, the ‘minorities’ also exercise some form of agency and engage in ideological work as they strategically appropriate these identities for specific goals.

The chiefs, ZILPA, and Coltart [28] point to affirmative action as a way out of the problem posed by lack of personnel to teach minority languages at school. Affirmative action is therefore taken as part of a raft of government policies that can help address the minority ethnic groups’ challenges. There are two points to raise here. Gordon has noted that “the problem with affirmative action” is that “it works” because “there are few systems that depend on excellence to function. Most of the services we rely on to get through our lives depend on average levels of performance” (2011: np)¹⁷. This is the argument that the Tonga people are making when they insist that young people “from their communities should be enrolled at colleges even with lower passes” [13] so that there can be “qualified educational officers who would effectively teach minority languages in their schools” [12]. Secondly, the conditions that enable this debate and raise the need for affirmative action, point to systematic marginalisation that renders these ethnic groups unable to lead themselves to the extent that their children have to be taught by “outsiders” who do not speak their languages. This scenario rooted in the stereotype that the San and Tonga are not educated characterises an ambivalence in that the seeming goodwill of government in sending teachers from Ndebele and Shona groups to teach in these areas maintains them as underdeveloped. It keeps young people from these areas unemployed, and erodes their cultures from the classroom.

In his contributions, the minister brings in Nambya language, which according to the *Southern Eye* story, *Zimsec directive angers Binga Parents*, is said to compete with Tonga in Binga. This point should be discussed in relation to the background given in the last two paragraphs of the story. According to this background, at some point the Tonga won a battle to have their language examined at Grade 7, the level at which pupils countrywide write

¹⁷Gordon, L. R. 2011. “The problem with affirmative action”. Available on http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/News/inthenews.PDFs/Jul_Aug.2011/us2010news.2011.08.15.truthout.pdf (Accessed 17 November 2014)

public examinations for the first time. However the general complaint in the entire story tells us that this victory may have been threatened by the Zimsec circular. First, we see how identity and cultural battles are not won once and for all, but a people have to persevere. Second, these battles may be located within the ethnic groups. The new constitution has a clause allowing for the recognition of any language that can make a strong case (Zimbabwe Constitution, February 2013)¹⁸. It is likely that someday when the Tonga believe they have won their battle and firmly established their language as part of the curriculum, the Nambya language speakers will rise to demand the same for their language, thereby contesting Tonga dominance in Binga. This alerts us to the points raised by Young (1997) on how difference as a democratic resource is problematic as it keeps on mutating.

Discursive practices

The story is 32 paragraphs long, with about seven individual sources that include the collective “chiefs” [3], the Zimsec circular 1 of 2013 “which was shown to the chronicle” [4], Chief Siansali of Binga whose contributions set the agenda [7], Chief Tshovani of Chiredzi [10], the ZILPA chairperson, Mrs Maretha Dube [15], who foregrounds the issues at stake, the minister, David Coltart [21], whose voice adds weight to assertions raised by the chiefs and ZILPA, and the Matabeleland North PED, Mrs Boitathelo Mnguni [31]. The story is well balanced in terms of voice, and there is a deliberate flattening of power by the reporter as he subverts the inverted pyramid structure: instead of putting government officials at the top, he pushes them to the bottom. The impression is that the *Chronicle* subverts one of its hallmarks of pegging news values on the prominence of government officials. One wonders if such a story that privileges the minorities over government officials would have been possible in this state paper had the ministers belonged to the Zanu PF party, the party of “Cdes”. However, what stands out is that privileging the minority opens up stories to multiple sourcing and opens up reporters and newspapers to an investment in issues and communities rather than individuals.

Social practices

There are inherent contradictions in the story, some of which are captured by the ZILPA chairperson on how senior officials in the education ministry seem to be at odds with the

¹⁸ The Zimbabwe Constitution, Chapter 1 (Founding provisions) in Section 6 (Languages), subsection 2 states that: “An Act of Parliament may prescribe other languages as officially recognized languages and may prescribe languages of record”

minister [18]. As a result of a political agreement in 2008, President Mugabe was compelled to appoint some MPs from the opposition as cabinet ministers. However the staff in ministries remained largely loyal to Zanu PF. The state media, run under the ministry of information, also remained loyal to Zanu PF. As a result, this raised the conflicts in which officials contradicted ministers and state newspapers sought to undermine cabinet ministers from opposition parties. This could partly explain why the newspaper decided to privilege the chiefs, who over the years have been co-opted into the Zanu PF party political party structures. This comes out clearly in how language is used to set up the relationship between Coltart and the chiefs: the chiefs demanded [9], the chiefs urged [12], they called [13], the traditional leaders also sought [14]. The minister only “said”, which is ordinary. The chiefs are shown as forceful, and at times aggressive; they are really ‘performing’, making themselves and their views visible. It is through undermining a cabinet minister that the visibility of the minorities becomes possible.

Tonga and San representation through the discourse of Politics

In this section the research discusses two stories: **Siwela accuses Matabeleland politicians of betrayal** written by Silas Nkala and published in the *NewsDay Southern Edition* on 2 April 2013, and **Mudenda brings honour to Matabeleland** written by a senior reporter and published in *the Chronicle* on 5 September 2013. These two stories are selected because they reveal how, through an essentialist approach to Matabeleland, it is possible to speak about marginalisation and underdevelopment, and still exclude and further marginalise ‘minority’ ethnic groups. The point is the need for a nuanced reading of the politics of Matabeleland to be able to recover the voices of the San and Tonga people.

Siwela accuses Matabeleland politicians of betrayal

The story captures a war of words between the secessionist movement, Matabeleland Liberation Organisation’s (MLO) leader, Paul Siwela, and the MDC leaders, who favour devolution of power. The central theme is the battle between devolution of power and secession. Siwela sees secession as the permanent solution to the question of Matabeleland’s ills (marginalisation and underdevelopment), and the MDC leaders believe that devolution of power will solve the problems. Siwela’s argument is that the kind of devolution of power enshrined in the New Constitution will not improve people’s lives in that they will still need consent from Harare to use the taxes they collect. Bhebhe’s argument is based on the ‘logic

of constitutionalism': that the constitution cannot say everything; any explanations are left to be expanded on by Bills. Ndlovu is clearly not considering any of the points raised by Siwela as he attacks the man and not the points raised.

Text

The headline, *Siwela accuses Matabeleland politicians of betrayal*, is a very active sentence that privileges Paul Siwela, the secessionist party leader. In using the word "betrayal" it taps into two powerful discourses in Matabeleland politics: that of betrayal by leaders and that of marginalisation. Even Joshua Nkomo, called the father of Zimbabwean nationalism, is revered and reviled in equal measure (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Williems, 2010). Siwela is therefore tapping into an existent discourse. The core issue in this thesis is the question of the representation of the minority ethnic groups, and it is important to point out here that both secessionists and advocates of devolution of power neglect the question of the minority in favour of an essentialist conception of Matabeleland¹⁹. However advocates of devolution may always argue that they pay attention to issues of ethnicity as their model of devolution of power cascades down to district levels. Beyond a sovereign Matabeleland, the secessionists are yet to clearly spell out the kind of independent Matabeleland that they envisage. But as political arguments develop what is clear is that nationalism, of whatever kind, is suspicious of ethnicity and views it as divisive.

The lead of the story works well with the headline privileging Siwela and providing him with a platform as the "leader of the Matabeleland Liberation Organisation (MLO)" [1]. That he uses the name "Matabeleland" instead of "Mthwakazi" could be informed by the criticisms and critiques of the idea of Mthwakazi (See Msindo, 2012). However, the place that he sees as the catchment area of his political party has historically been known as Matabeleland since its colonisation by the BSAC in 1893. The battle over the naming of the area is informed by questions of the representation of minority ethnic groups.

However, it is clear from the headline and the lead paragraph that Paul Siwela is privileged and is allowed to set the rules of discourse; the two other sources are confined to reacting within the boundaries of his agenda. His claim that 40 percent of the electorate in the region had been misled into believing that the new constitution was anchored on devolution of

¹⁹ In arguing for the devolution of power, the political party, Zapu went as far as arguing that Zimbabwe should be divided into 5 provinces. In that plan, Matabeleland is taken as one province.

power is never challenged by the journalist. The clause, “who are part of the inclusive government” [1], is loaded and suggests that they are part of Zimbabwean nationalism, which from Siwela’s point of view, is itself a betrayal. The word “traitor” therefore has implications of “alienating” and othering the MDC officials who are part of the inclusive government. This is because to Siwela, they stand outside his idea of Matabeleland nationalism. However, as a result of silence and taken-for-granted-ness of issues in the region, the minority ethnic subject already exists as the “other”, as Matabeleland nationalism cannot speak for him or her. Matabeleland is a hegemonic region (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009) where the ‘minority’ ethnic groups are still in the peripheries.

The man privileged by the story, “Paul Siwela” [1], is represented as speaking for the “people’s lives” [4], after genuine “political power” [5], a pre-colonialist [5], and believer in “full sovereignty” [5]. He is seen as active, as he “stirred a hornet’s nest” [1], and “said” [3]. He is however “immediately shot down” [5], “doesn’t know what he is talking about” [7], “must shut up” [7], “a confused politician” [9], “has done nothing” [9], and “making noise” [9]. His opponents are portrayed as “Matabeleland politicians” [1], “traitors” [1], advancing a “half-baked constitution” [1], “they” [4], and are associated with “the greatest betrayal” [5]. They are shown as active in that they “are part of the inclusive government” [1], “misled the electorate” [1] and “said” [9]. It is in locating oneself in the middle of this verbal warfare that one sees how the people of Matabeleland have developed a way of talking about their problems and not talking specifically about the minority. It is assumed that the minority are in there²⁰. There is a sense that the people are led or misled by a group of politicians who act on their interests [3]. Representing these groups as victims who are “misled” [1], “coerced” [2] and “betrayed” [3] further constructs them as a ‘minority’.

Discursive practices

There are four types of sources in the story including Paul Siwela [1] who is foregrounded and provides the basis of the discourse. The other sources are the two MDCs [5], two political parties that are called in to rebut Siwela, MDC-T deputy national organising secretary, Abednico Bhebhe [7], and MDC Bulawayo spokesperson, Edwin Ndlovu [9]. What the

²⁰Mhlanga (...) in a seminal essay, *Blame me on history*, appropriates the descriptor subaltern for the Ndebele. However, it is this thesis’ contention that not all Ndebele, if taking Ndebele as a nation, are subalterns. Some may be oppressed but they have a voice. It is the Tonga and the San, among others, who are silenced that fit the description. Blanket representations, such as these, have the effect of silencing ‘minority’ groups and denying them agency even when the intention is to speak for them.

story does is to set up the battle between secession and devolution of power as a political power game. Faced with the question of the ‘minority’ ethnic groups, the battle between secession and devolution of power raises another question about which of the two forms of politics provides answers to their marginalisation. The privileging of Siwela can be seen as pointing to the *NewsDaySouthern Edition*’s values that lie not necessarily in secessionist politics, but on the “emancipation” and “self-determination” of the people(s) of Matabeleland. What becomes clear is that although this position rejects the essentialism of Zimbabwean nationalism, it also takes up an essentialist approach to the question of Matabeleland. This thesis locates itself in questioning not only Zimbabwean nationalism but its constituent parts of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. The binary approach to Zimbabwean nationalism as evidenced in this story, prejudices and neglects minority ethnic groups.

Social practices

This story was written after the constitutional referendum that Siwela actively campaigned against. His party however lost because Zimbabweans overwhelmingly voted for the new constitution. The story, therefore, borders on what can be likened to a dialogue of people not prepared to hear each other. Siwela clearly draws on stereotypes of “traitors” and “sell-outs”; Ndlovu on the other hand, taps into the ‘cry-baby’ discourse. These are ways that Matabeleland has been spoken about by outsiders. It is a common issue that political leaders fight each other and call each other names, especially “traitor,” itself arising out of a discourse based on an essentialist vision of the region. The story is sparked by Paul Siwela’s description of the Matabeleland leaders as “traitors”. Siwela’s quotes are both informative and evaluative; giving information and making an analysis of it. So are Bhebhe and Ndlovu’s quotes. Ndlovu’s quotes are however largely related to the matter at hand, but do not address it directly. They are, however, important because of his reference to “the people”. It is only in this reference that we can glean the subaltern/minorities as “a difference from the elite” (Spivak, 1995:27).

Mudenda brings honour to Matabeleland

The story follows the election of Jacob Mudenda, a Zanu PF central committee member, as speaker of parliament. This is after the 31 July 2013 elections where Zanu PF trounced the opposition parties to regain the majority in parliament. Mudenda hails from Binga and is regarded as Tonga. The source of the story, Zanu PF national chairman Simon Khaya Moyo, wants to claim this as a Matabeleland regional honour and at the same time invokes the idea

of the nation several times. This story has been chosen for analysis because it exhibits the limits of nationalism of any kind. Importantly it allows us to focus on Mudenda as an individual – a subject of both modernity (as represented by nationalism) and ethnic identity. This allows us to appropriate modernity's master tropes of democracy, civil society, state, equality and democratic justice. For most of the subaltern groups these modernity master tropes, "showed their limit and betrayed their own logic in the moment of colonialism" (Shome and Hegde, 2002:254) in that democracy, justice and equality, among others, have always been privileges for elites. In this context, the suggestion is to re-articulate them in a new radical democratic project (Mouffe, 1992, 1999).

Text

The headline, *Mudenda brings honour to Matabeleland*, is a simple sentence that portrays him as active and an ambassador of the region. This message is continued in the lead paragraph where it is implicitly suggested that the honour has been bestowed by some people who are however not revealed in the story and by inference these are fellow Zanu PF MPs who elected him as speaker in parliament. There are contradictions in the story because Khaya Moyo, at first, says it is Matabeleland and not Mudenda who has been honoured. According to the second paragraph, Mudenda earned this honour by his integrity and commendable character traits. The source of the story, Zanu PF chairman Khaya Moyo, ideologically conflates Mudenda with Matabeleland as he claims his election as an honour to the region [4].

Mudenda is represented as a man of "integrity, uprightness, hard-work, diligence, honesty, commitment, humility and accountability" [4] constructing him as a modern subject. The Zanu PF chairman never alludes to Mudenda's Tonga ethnicity and roots in Binga, which were the obvious issues that stood out at his election. This dissimulation or refusal to link Mudenda with his roots, save to link him to Matabeleland, is that Khaya Moyo is operating within a modernist discourse that privileges individuality and universality, linking these to parliamentary democracy and Christian religion. As will be further discussed, this story exhibits what Angela Davis calls, "limitations of civil rights" in that it "produced individual successes but it never produced group successes" (2007: np). Questions of identities such as ethnicity and nationalism are around groups of people and not individuals. Holding up Mudenda as an example that the Zimbabwean nation is not exclusive of the Tonga, and other

minorities, ignores the marginalisation of millions of people described as ‘minorities’ in the language of Zimbabwean nationalism.

When it comes to Matabeleland, Khaya Moyo is apologetic: “whilst this is a national position, it is also appropriate to mention that our region feels highly honoured by this development” [4]. This could be because, in the binary conception of Zimbabwean nationalism, Matabeleland has always symbolised the ‘other’ that at times approaches dissident characterisation (Musemwa, 2004). Zanu PF is represented as a “revolutionary party” [5], notwithstanding that some people see it as representative of the status quo, or that ‘the revolution’ has become the status quo. In his unrestrained praise of the party that he chairs, Khaya Moyo appropriates nobility and sees the speaker of parliament as entailing “noble duties” [6]. In Khaya Moyo’s eulogy, religion, God, royalty, nobility and the nation, seems to stem from Zimbabwe’s British colonial heritage that conflates parliamentary democracy with monarchical sovereignty. In any case the parliamentary system ideologically “fosters the illusion of self-government on the part of the populace” (Eagleton, 1991:112).

Khaya Moyo refers to “the will of God remains supreme” [3] and “noble duties in the service of the nation” [5] to ideologically reify the speaker of parliament’s seat and appropriating “the divine right of kingship” for it. Secondly, nobility and kingship are ethnic notions, and yet ‘the nation’, in the sense of Zimbabwe, is a modernist construct. In this way Khaya Moyo offers a particular construction of Mudenda and those minorities who defy the odds and succeed in occupying high positions in the nation. Their ethnicity is not only masked but their agency has to be deleted, and they are represented as products of external forces or favours outside themselves.

As alluded to in paragraphs above, this article would make better sense if it is read in relation to a story published in the *Southern Eye*, *Obert Mpofu Weeps* and that of the *Independent* and the records of the events as captured in the *Hansard*, the parliamentary bulletin (August, 2013). Such a reading reveals how this text subtly attempts to sanitise Mudenda, ideologically masking his ethnic origin, and thereby downplaying the challenge that ethnicity poses to the nation. Khaya Moyo could be engaged in ensuring that Mudenda, as a Tonga ethnic subject, is acceptable as speaker of parliament, or, in Žižek’s terms as the “decaffeinated other” (2010:np). In other words, he is emptied of his ethnic content (poison).

Discursive practices

The story is single sourced from the Zanu PF national chairman, Simon Khaya Moyo. The reporter supplements what appears to have been a press statement with background information on the election in the house of assembly. The story not only gives Khaya Moyo power, but extends this power to the party and the nation. The news values therefore seem to rely on what the party has said about one of the cadres. This is typical of state media's Zanu PF-inspired journalism evidenced in Zimpapers. There is always no conflict or disensus, only consensus. The story does not raise any conflict at all, but obediently worships at the altar of the Zanu PF chair. The story is in a classic inverted pyramid form where what is valued as the most important information is on the top and the background at the bottom. In the story there is much emphasis on titles as expressions of authority. There is also an overuse of descriptive words such as "colourful ceremony" [3] and "revolutionary party" [9]. The next section looks at how the story is part of a running story on the election of the Speaker, focusing on what it excludes, especially the issues of ethnicity. This has the repercussions of diluting Mudenda and putting him in the shadow of the party and the nation.

Social practices

This news text is a part of a running story about the election of the Speaker of parliament after the election on 31 July 2013. When the story was first reported, the whole event was framed as the rise of an individual from a minority ethnic group and an underdeveloped area to a high ranking position in the country. To show how this text effaces and silences some narratives, it will be worthwhile to discuss the election of the Speaker in relation to two other stories: *Obert Mpofu weeps* (*Southern Eye*, 4 September 2013) and *MPs sworn in* (*Chronicle*, 4 September 2013). This will illustrate how social practices around the reporting and writing of news texts have specific bearing on the stories that ultimately appear in newspapers.

First, all the stories highlighted that Obert Mpofu, an outgoing minister of mines and a Zanu PF MP for Bubi, became emotional on the election of Mudenda. In his congratulatory message he did not hide what this election meant within the ethnic politics of Zimbabwe. For Mpofu it was the vindication of an individual's struggle and hard work, despite his background: "I grew up with Mudenda at (sic) an area which was neglected and his rise to the Speaker's post is amazing" (*Southern Eye*, 4 September 2013). According to Vice President

Joice Mujuru, “what we learn is that there is no tribe or place that is more important than the other” (*Chronicle*, 4 September 2013). This contrasts with the assertions of Zanu PF’s national chairman Khaya Moyo, that Mudenda’s rise should be located in the primacy of Zanu PF, the party. Ideologically, Khaya Moyo is engaging in both dissimulation (hiding the ethnicity of Mudenda), and unification to promote Zimbabwe as one whole, a united nation (Thompson, 1990). This story, *Mudenda brings honour to Matabeleland*, can therefore be read as an attempt to *de-ethnicise* politics or de-politicise ethnicity. However read as a running story, we see the stubbornness of ethnicity as it simply refuses to go away—against the wishes of the nationalists.

Obert Mpofu could, however, not escape the strong hold of the nation as he says: “we thank our ancestors for bringing back the Speaker’s post to Zanu PF as it had gone to the wrong people (MDC-T) during the previous session of parliament” (*Southern Eye*, 4 September 2013). The attack on the MDCs may read like cheap politicking. It is, however the use of the word “our” that is ideological that raises attention. It has the implication of mobilising numbers of people around the symbol of “ancestors,” who are seen as the guardians of the nation. According to the parliament’s *Hansard*, he mentioned who these ancestors are: “the likes of Sekuru Kaguvi, Mbuya Nehanda and Lobengula” whom he jokingly said signed a lot of things (treaties) they didn’t understand. This was to justify his speaking in Ndebele, a language that one story says is his native language (*Independent*, 4 September 2013). There is a need to unpack this, and in the process link it with the broader question of minority representation. Firstly, in Kaguvi, Nehanda and Lobengula, Mpofu is bringing together Ndebele and Shona heritages to create Zimbabwe as a nation. This articulation is deepened as Mpofu disregards history: he conflates Kaguvi and Nehanda, on one hand, who never signed a treaty as they were spirit mediums and not necessarily political leaders, with Lobengula, a king, who signed several treaties. As opposed to Khaya Moyo, Mpofu had done well to raise the issue of Mudenda’s election and how it challenges Zimbabwe’s official national narrative(s). However, he falters by upholding Shona and Ndebele ancestors, as ‘the national ancestors’. His narrative is also silent on, and excludes, Tonga ancestors. If Obert Mpofu grew up with Mudenda in Binga, as he claims, then his native language must be Tonga or Nambya. Ndebele is an imposed language in Binga. In speaking in Tonga or Nambya, Mpofu would have pushed the envelope further. This would have plunged the parliament, a symbol of Zimbabwean nationalism, into one of those moments that Gordon (2013) characterises as ‘violent’, in that those closed outside suddenly appear where they are not expected. As

Zimbabwe's parliament has facilities for translation from Ndebele or Shona to English, or vice versa, Mudenda's election with a 'different' mother tongue not catered for, represents that violent moment of rupture (Hall, 1997). It is how stories are sourced that affects what they privilege. However, how this story, *Mudenda brings honour to Matabeleland*, as part of a running story fails to recognise and note, even as background, the meaning of Mudenda's rise cannot escape our attention in that it lacks an important context.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the difference between *Southern Eye* and the *Chronicle* is evident in the story *When hunger turns villagers into poachers*, where the reporter Richard Muponde went out to the village where the San live and sought to understand the elephant poisoning from their point of view. It became clear to the reporters that attempting to access the story through the police and the courts would not give them the 'real' story. This is a mark of a 'radical' approach to journalism in which journalists deliberately set out to undermine the status quo and give minorities a voice. The *Southern Eye* journalists also experiment with form, combining the hard news forms with feature or soft news forms to attempt a "translation" of the subaltern group's experiences. The aim is to try to tell the story of the San people from their view point. *Chronicle* reporters are content with the classic inverted pyramid.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Summary

This study interrogates the representation of the San and Tonga in the Zimbabwean state-owned *Chronicle*, and the privately owned *Newsday Southern Edition/Southern Eye* newspapers during 2013. First, it analyses the representation of the San and Tonga people to make sense of how their representation in the two newspapers positions them in relation to other ethnic groups, or ‘minorities’ within the discourses of Zimbabwean nationalism. Second, the study analyses the journalistic practices that produced these representations, focusing on how and why the journalists responded in particular ways in their coverage of the groups.

The first chapter introduces the research and also discusses the background and contextual issues. I justify the focus on the San and the Tonga as, in terms of Zimbabwe’s *ethnicised* politics and social life, they are the only two ethnic groups who are most visibly stereotyped in media representations. Other ‘minority’ ethnic groups are either completely missing, or their representations are not stereotyped or cast in a way that overplays their ‘ethnicity’. The San and Tonga groups are covered in such a way that they “perform” (Butler, 1990, 1993, and 1994) their ethnicity. I also discuss the context in terms of how during the constitutional debates ethnic politics once again “appeared”, linking governance issues (devolution of power) with language and other cultural questions. I discuss the uneasy relationship between ethnicity and nationalism. I argue that Zimbabwean nationalism is constructed by setting Shona identity against the Ndebele identity. I argue that these two identities – Ndebele and Shona – could be seen as nationalisms in that they are identities that are hegemonically constructed out of several ethnicities. Finally, I discuss the two newspapers and why they are important to this research.

The second chapter discusses concepts that offer explanatory power in studying media representations: these include the ‘postcolonial’, ‘hegemony’ and ‘discourse’. The strong appearance of minority ethnic groups and their demands at a time of crafting a new constitution to replace the 1979 Lancaster House document – negotiated to end colonial rule in the country - is one of those moments that marked a ‘post-colonial reckoning’ for the nation of Zimbabwe. What emerged were contesting discourses regarding nationalism which begged questions about how different ethnic groups were to be regarded in relation to the

‘nation’. In view of this, I draw on Spivak’s (1995) and Bhabha’s (1990 1994) theories of post-colonialism, as well as Gramsci’s (1971) concept of hegemony, Foucault’s (1970, 1972) concept of discourse, and finally Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) concept of radical democracy, as they all speak to the ways in which discourses about identity, belonging, and citizenship are constructed in situations in which unequal social power is contested. To this end, the concept of the public sphere provides the overarching framework for considering the media’s role in the construction of citizenship in a diversely constituted democracy. Overall, this chapter contextualises the focal points of the thesis: nationalism, ethnicity and identity, which lays the ground for understanding the role of journalism in these processes, which is the focus of the next chapter.

The third chapter links journalism practice with the politics of representation. The normative theories of journalism allow us to link the media with society and what is expected of journalism in a democratic society. Since colonisation in 1890 (in the case of Mashonaland) and 1893 (in the case of Matabeleland), and the introduction of newspapers in the late 1890s, journalism has grown into a profession that occupies a central role and is also heavily implicated in questions of nationalism and citizenship (Saunders, 1999). Approaching this study through a critical assessment of the professional ideology of journalism, focusing on objectivity and news values allows us to unmask the role of social power in journalism’s role of representation. This allows us to account for how the San and the Tonga are constructed as a minority in Zimbabwe’s journalism. In-depth interviews and considering journalists as an ‘interpretive community’ allow us to map ways in which the agency of the journalists has to be considered in relation to the structural features of the media industry in particular, and society in general. Through this approach we are able to account for the media representations they produced: sometimes reproducing stereotypes, at other times, resisting them.

The fourth chapter describes and explains how the research is carried out through a qualitative design that triangulates methods. A qualitative approach is contextual and allows us to consider how the San and Tonga’s ‘minority’ identities are, “produced and enacted in historically specific situations” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:14). A textual analysis of news texts drawn from the *Chronicle* and *NewsDay Southern Edition/Southern Eye* allows us to map a range of representations on the San and Tonga. In-depth interviews allow us to get an explanation from the people directly responsible for constructing this range of

representations. CDA allows us who to understand how power works through the practices through which these representations are produced. The research is designed following an “interactive model” (Maxwell, 2008:217) locating the research question at the centre to mediate between research goals, research methods, trustworthiness (validity) and the conceptual framework.

Primary findings

Chapters 5 and 6 analyse and discuss the findings from textual analyses and in-depth interviews with journalists. There are five key findings.

1. Nationalism and ‘minority’ ethnicities as pre-given identities

Journalists from the *Chronicle* and the *Southern Eye* show a slightly different attitude towards Zimbabwean nationalism and the minority status of the San and Tonga ethnic groups. The close reading of the news texts and the analysis of the interviews with the journalists show that at the *Chronicle*, very little effort is put into probing Zimbabwean nationalism: what it is, how it works, and whether it is necessary at all. At this state owned newspaper, where news values are influenced by the prominence and power of the ruling Zanu PF officials referred to as “Cdes”, there seems to be no need for the scrutiny of this nationalism because in this discourse the “Cde” leaders are beyond reproach. The reason for this seems to be that they operate with a hegemonic view of Zimbabwean nationalism which is informed by Samora Machel’s view that ‘for the nation to live, the tribe must die’. On this ‘principle’, Zanu-PF worked on the ‘ideological assumption’ that ‘Zimbabwean nationalism’ is sufficient as rooted in, to a large extent, ‘Shona’, and to a minor extent, ‘Ndebele’ sensibilities. In contrast, at the *Southern Eye*, Zimbabwean nationalism as it is currently constituted is questioned from what might be regarded as a reformist perspective, rather than a ‘revolutionary’ one. On the one hand, there seems to be a tacit agreement that there is something unequal about Zimbabwean nationalism as currently constituted; and on another, that it is still necessary. In this way, Zimbabwean nationalism and the minority status of the San and Tonga, as well as other ethnic groups, is “naturalised” (Richardson, 2007: 136) in these newspapers. This is also achieved, most notably, through the sourcing patterns that favour the elites.

2. *Sourcing patterns, agency and voice*

In terms of sourcing, the research finds that elitist sources dominate news items in both newspapers. Out of 20 sources quoted in the eight stories analysed, 14 belong to dominant voices mostly associated with the government, and only six could be characterised as associated with the “people”. Of the six sources associated with the people, five could be characterised as having positions (e.g. councillor, village head, chiefs, and ZILPA chairperson), and only one voice belonging to an anonymously quoted villager can be regarded as a subaltern voice (see annexure for the table on Agency and voices in the stories). In this regard, the thesis supports Richardson’s view that “the sourcing and construction of the news is intimately linked with the actions and opinions of (usually powerful) social groups [...] it is flawed to consider issues such as contemporary democratic politics, social values and the continuing existence of prejudice and social inequalities without reference to the formative influence of journalism” (2007:1).

3. *The play of invisibility and hyper visibility in representing ‘minorities’*

The institutionalisation of inequalities in media representations is manifest in two strategies used to represent the dominated: invisibility and hyper visibility (Moon and Rolison, 1998: 129). In most stories analysed in this thesis (e.g. *Hwange disaster opens \$5m Pandora box*, *Siwela accuses Matabeleland politicians of betrayal*, and *Mudenda brings honour to Matabeleland*), the San and the Tonga are mostly invisible. Even in a story about a Tonga subject like *Mudenda brings honour to Matabeleland*, their ethnicity is masked or downplayed, and they are rendered invisible. On the other hand, in a story like *San people resist civilisation: Mugabe*, the ethnic minorities are rendered hyper-visible through stereotyping. The strategies function to make the underdog unworthy of recognition through *invisibility* or as symbols of ridicule, disdain and fear through, among other techniques, stereotyping, and hence *hyper-visibility* (Moon and Rolison, 1998: 129).

4. *Journalism forms*

All the stories that were analysed are news stories, and save for one, *When hunger turns villagers into poachers*, all the stories adhered to the hierarchical inverted pyramid form and the 5 Ws and an H of straight news. Most of the sources are elite and belong to dominant classes in government, who are almost always Ndebele or Shona. Given this, it is not surprising that most of the news texts studied naturalised the primacy of nationalism over ethnicity by smoothing over the injustices that the minorities contend with. The story, *When*

hunger turns villagers into poachers, experiments with form, combining feature and hard news techniques. This hybrid form allows the journalist to “translate the experiences” of the San, allowing their agency and giving them a voice. Combining feature and hard news techniques, to an extent, expanded the story’s capacity to represent the San.

5. *Journalists’ background*

Cunningham (2004:31) notes that the oft-proclaimed role that journalism is meant to play, namely “comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable”, is negated by the fact that most journalists “are the comfortable”. All 13 journalists interviewed spoke of themselves as coming from Shona or Ndebele identity spaces where Zimbabwean ‘nationalism’ and the minority status of the Tonga and San is taken for granted. In a sense, not only do most journalists belong to the dominant ethnic groups that make up Zimbabwean ‘nationalism’, but as part of the middle class - those whose position is dependent on education rather than ownership of capital or property (Richardson, 2007: 143) – they share little in common with most minority ethnic populations. As has been argued in this thesis, the ‘minority’ ethnic identity is, therefore not pre-given, but constructed in the representations of journalism produced by these reporters who are positioned in specific cultural spaces. It is partly through the journalists’ identity and self-understanding, their training and the communities they were socialised in that the poor minority ethnic subjects become increasingly *invisible* or *hyper-visible* (Cunningham, 2004:32) in Zimbabwe’s mainstream media.

Conclusion

Discussing ethnicity in the context of Zimbabwean nationalism outside the country’s colonial history is unintelligible because Zimbabwean nationalism is a colonial construction. The idea of national parks and how the minorities are then constructed, “adjacent” to these national parks is a testimony to the continuation of this colonial mentality. This is made worse by the fact that the San and Tonga people were evicted from the areas that have now turned into huge tourism attractions. President Mugabe calling the San people “uncivilised”, is similar to an orientalist perspective which ‘others’ the victims of colonialism. By carefully studying the media constructions of the San and the Tonga, and through interviews with the journalists who produced them, this thesis provides further empirical evidence for the ways in which the media participate in the practice of ‘politics’.

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ANNEXURE

Agency and voices in the stories

| | Dominant voices | Subaltern voices |
|---|--|--|
| Story 1 Hwange disaster opens \$5 m Pandora box | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Caroline Washaya Moyo – Zimparks spokesperson 2. The document 3. Anonymous sources 4. US organisation | |
| Story 2 Binga border post nears completion | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Joshua Muzamba – Binga RDC CEO | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Councillor Saina Mutanga – Lunga Ward councillor |
| Story 3 When hunger turns villagers into poachers | | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Village head 2. Village head's brother 3. Villagers who are anonymous |
| Story 4 Govt sets up taskforce to probe rampant poaching | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Savious Kasukuwere – Minister of water and Climate | |
| Story 5 San people resist civilisation: Mugabe | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Robert Mugabe – President 2. David Coltart – Minister of education | |
| Story 6 Chiefs summon Coltart | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. David Coltart - Minister of education 2. Matabeleland North P.E.D | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chiefs 2. ZILPA chairperson |
| Story 7 Siwela accuses Mat'land politicians of betrayal | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Paul Siwela – MLO leader 2. Abednico Bhebhe – MDC-T deputy organising secretary 3. Edwin Ndlovu – MDC Bulawayo spokesperson | |
| Story 8 Mudenda brings honour to Matabeleland | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Simon Khaya Moyo – Zanu PF national chairman | |
| Total | 14 | 6 |

List of journalists interviewed

Southern Eye

Kholwani Nyathi, *Editor*

Njabulo Ncube, *Assistant Editor*

Nqobile Bhebhe, *Chief Reporter*

Nqobani Ndlovu, *Reporter*

Richard Muponde, *Senior Reporter*

Nduduzo Tshuma, *Reporter*

Silas Nkala, *Reporter*

Chronicle

Prosper Ndlovu, *Deputy News Editor*

Bongani Ndlovu, *Entertainment and Arts Reporter*

Mernat Mafirakureva, *Business Editor*

Temba Dube, *Senior Reporter*

Pamela Shumba, *Senior Reporter*

Yoliswa Dube, *Features Writer*

Interviews questions

1. Tell me briefly about yourself, if you don't mind; that is how your personal background relates to your work. Where you were educated? Where you learned journalism? How did you come into journalism? Who do you think you are, i.e. your identity? What do you take to be your ethnicity?
2. What is your job and what are your responsibilities here? Let's talk briefly about these responsibilities.
3. What is your definition of culture and identity? What do you understand about multiculturalism? Let's talk briefly about it. How do you think of it in terms of your work?
4. What is your understanding of Zimbabwean-ness? What is your understanding of Zimbabwean nationalism?
5. What is your understanding of ethnicity? What is ethnicity to you?
6. How does ethnicity matter? Or it doesn't matter? And why?
7. How does ethnicity fit into issues of Zimbabwean nationalism?
8. What is your understanding of the word, "minority"? What do you see as the difference between the San and Tonga? What do you see as similarities between them?
9. Have you ever thought of them as individual groups, not in relation to other groups? What will be those circumstances? What, do you think are the implications of thinking about the San and the Tonga in relation to the Ndebele and the Shona? How does this bear in your work?
10. Talking about Zimbabwean-ness, Zimbabwean nationalism and ethnicity in relation to your work, how does all this fit into your work?
11. How do you see all this as informing the work you do, i.e. how you think about your stories?
12. What are the routines that you follow when you are doing your story/stories? How much do you always refer back to your immediate supervisor?
13. What are the implications of technology, time and other issues like space in the newspapers in terms of the way you work on your story?
14. In terms of the San and Tonga, these are rural communities and there is an issue of driving there, the terrain; how does this affect your coverage of these ethnic groups?
15. What are the unwritten rules that you constantly keep at the back of your head in terms of your relationship with the powers that be in the newspaper company? How does this affect your work?
16. What could be the issues that you hear and hold back, that is never write about, sort of self-censor yourself?
17. I would like to talk about the CSOs as sources of news. What relationship do you have with these organisations? What is your view on them speaking on behalf of the San and Tonga people?
18. How come you rarely speak to 'ordinary' San or Tonga people but always to people with some position?
19. Is there any story you particularly remember, its circumstances of sourcing and so on? Can we talk about that story, can you recall and just narrate to me how you did it. Or can we talk in general terms about the stories that you have done around the San and the Tonga. How did you get the story idea? How was it easy to source the story?
20. What do you see as the relationship between what you do, as a journalist, and the idea of Zimbabwean-ness?

STORIES

TOURISM



Hwange disaster opens \$5m Pandora's Box

THE country could have lost over \$5 million following the killing of about 100 elephants by cyanide poisoning in the vast Hwange National Park recently.

MERNAT MAFIRAKUREWA, Staff Reporter

This brought the figure to \$50 million after poachers killed almost 1 000 elephants in the last five years. Between 2009-2012 some 847 elephants, at least 300 buffalos, 42 rhinos and 21 lions were killed by poaching syndicates across the country — the bulk of which were in Hwange.

Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority spokesperson Caroline Washaya-Moyo confirmed that already the authority could have lost over \$5 million — the replacement value of the poisoned jumbos.

According to the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority Statutory Instrument 57 of 2012 CAP 20:21 gazetted in April last year, an elephant has a replacement value of \$50 000.

However, the buffalo, rhino, lion and other plain game were not quantified although the cost could also run into several millions of dollars in lost revenue.

“The statutory instrument calls for payment for trapping of wildlife species. It is against this background that the compensation of an elephant (tuskless, with tusks etc) has been pegged at \$50 000,” Washaya-Moyo said.

This came amid disclosures that some security details, safari operators and politicians could have been involved in the Hwange jumbo saga.

Impeccable sources told our sister paper NewsDay last week the poaching syndicates also involved some top Tsholotsho Rural District Council officials, Campfire and businesspeople.

“Most of the poisoned elephants that were found in the Pelandaba communal area (on southern part of Hwange National Park) were driven out of the park area using a small plane and shepherded to poisoned waterholes outside the park where they drank, died and had horns harvested,” the sources said.

The jumbo scandal has sucked in a detective police assistant inspector Alois Gakata and his three subordinates and businessman Farai Chitsa among others.

Cyanide poisoning at the park's salt licks has also affected the food chain killing other game species where plains game were left to rot by the poachers.

As a result, elephants and other species were still dying en masse from the effects of the cyanide poisoning in the park.

“The Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority has so far managed to recover a total of 51 elephant tusks during its field operations in Hwange National Park,” Washaya-Moyo said. “Therefore, the authority is still making concerted efforts towards further recoveries of valuable trophies — a balance of 123 tusks from a total of 174 tusks.”

Investigations showed that last year alone 212 elephants were poached across the country.

Documents showed that key wildlife species illegally harvested last year included buffalo (46), kudu (74), zebra (36), impala (106), waterbuck (9), white rhino (5) black rhino (3), lion (15), eland (11), nyala (16), crocodile (9) and warthog (31).

In 2011, poachers hunted down 223 elephants, buffalo (68), kudu (58), zebra (48), impala (88), waterbuck (9), nyala (5), sable (3) and warthog (21) while in 2010, 77 elephants, 80 buffaloes, rhino (22), 9 eland, 12 giraffe, 63 kudus, and 20 zebras were killed and 145 elephants were poached in 2009.

US-based International Conservation Caucus Foundation said the recent rise in wildlife product prices “has been met by the increased involvement of more organised, better funded and better armed criminal and terrorist networks, and even “militias” in poaching.

Source: <http://www.southerneye.co.zw/2013/10/07/hwange-disaster-opens-5m-pandoras-box/>

Binga Border Post nears completion

November 11, 2013 [Local News](#)

Senior Reporter

THE proposed Binga Border Post, which has been on the cards for nearly five years, is likely to be completed during the first quarter of next year as the Government steps up efforts to facilitate trade and movement between Zimbabwe and Zambia. In an interview last week, the chief executive officer of Binga Rural District Council Mr Joshua Muzamba said the local authority had held several consultative meetings with other key stakeholders such as the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (Zimra) and immigration on the issue of the border post.

“We have held a series of productive stakeholders’ meetings on the issue of Binga Border Post with another meeting scheduled to take place at the end of this month and the general understanding is that the project is likely come to fruition during the first quarter of 2014.

“The border post will help boost the socio-economic development of the district. If a formal border post is set up in Binga it will actually help the local people to tap into the Zambian market for a lot of Zimbabwean products,” said Mr Muzamba.

At the site of the border, there are three staff houses, which have since been completed and ready for occupation.

He said the border post would also foster the development of tourism in the district.

“The border post will blend in well with the Kavango-Zambezi Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas (TFCA), which covers Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana and Zambia to foster the development of tourism and the conservation of natural resources in the mentioned countries.

It will also facilitate the movement of traffic and commercial cargo between Zimbabwe and Zambia,” said Mr Muzamba.

Presently, Binga has an informal border post which is only open to locals for social visits. Locals are, however, not allowed to export or import goods to Zambia under the current arrangement forcing them to travel to the Victoria Falls border, which is very far and inconvenient.

“A fully-fledged border post would be ideal given the prevailing conditions and we therefore urge the Government to speed up the Binga Border Post project,” said Mr Muzamba.

He said there was also a need to upgrade the Siabuwa-Gokwe road to facilitate and enhance the movement of agricultural produce such as maize and cotton to and from neighbouring Gokwe District.

“The Siabuwa-Gokwe road is the most critical road linking Binga district and the rest of the country. It is in a bad state and we are appealing to the Government to tar it as that will also speed up the movement of goods, especially maize for distribution to the remotest parts of the district,” he said.

Meanwhile, the councillor for Lunga Ward in Binga District, Cllr Saina Muntanga, said his area lacked communication and radio coverage.

“We are appealing to telecommunication companies to install boosters at Lunga so that people have access to communication just like other people in the country.

“There is no radio coverage and Chunga Clinic, which services the entire area, requires a radio communication system to make it easier to contact an ambulance in the event of an emergency,” he said.

Source: <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/binga-border-post-nears-completion/>

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE LAW



When hunger turns villagers into poachers

HUNGER and neglect by the government has driven villagers from Tsholotsho's Phelandaba area to poison elephants after being manipulated by criminals who deal in ivory from urban areas.

Richard Muponde, Senior Reporter

Phelandaba, located about 100km from Tsholotsho business centre has hogged the limelight following the death of more than 100 elephants through poisoning of watering holes in the Hwange National Park.

Four villagers were recently jailed for between 15 years and 16 years for poisoning elephants and illegal possession of elephant tusks.

ThabaniZondo (24), Robert Maphosa (42) and DedaniTshuma (25) and AckimMasuku were convicted on their own pleas of guilty to contravening the Environment Management Act and illegal possession of ivory.

Zondo and Maphosa were jailed for an effective 15 years in prison with labour and ordered to restitute \$600 000 to the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority of Zimbabwe (Zimparks) by December 31.

Tshuma was sentenced to an effective 16 years with labour and is also supposed to restitute \$200 000 by the same date. Masuku was jailed for 15 years.

However, villagers said circumstances forced most people to resort to criminality as they have to provide food for their families amid abject poverty that engulfs the entire district.

Southern Eye visited Phelandaba on Thursday to get the real story why villagers resorted to poaching elephants for survival.

Villagers said they were living in poverty and hunger stalked them as they had not harvested anything for the past five years because of erratic rains and elephants which destroyed their crops while authorities did nothing to help them.

The government is mostly to blame for the neglect of these people as it has never provided food assistance to starving villagers leaving them at the mercy of criminals who brought in

cyanide to poison elephants for kickbacks ranging from between \$100 to \$500, the villagers charged.

The villagers could not resist the temptation because they wanted money to buy food.

“We are starving here. For the past five years we have not harvested anything from our fields because of erratic rains and our crops being destroyed by elephants,” headman Owen Dladla from Vukuzenzele Village in whose jurisdiction the jailed reside, said.

“Since 2010 elephants have been a problem to us. We have been reporting to Zimparks rangers about the elephant menace, but we received no joy. No one came to our rescue.”

He said criminals then took advantage of the villagers’ plight and brought in cyanide to poison the elephants and get ivory for a fee.

“Because of that, cyanide found its way into the area and our people were so receptive because they had no one to cry to or help them since everyone seemed to shy away from them.

“They then took things into their own hands hence this catastrophe,” Dladla said.

“The government on the other hand was not helping villagers with food aid. Villagers had to rely on buying mealie-meal from Bulawayo.

“However, you should understand that most of these people here are unemployed so to get money they had to engage in these criminal activities.

“Our people are not criminals but are taken advantage of because of their circumstances.”

Another villager who spoke on condition of anonymity said the collapse of Campfire in the area also contributed to the problem.

“Campfire money was not being remitted to the people as before. So people were left with no option but to kill the elephants,” he said.

“In this area we don’t have any self help projects like other areas which have dams and rivers and embark on irrigation.

“Phelandaba has nothing of that sort, no river or dams. The only thing we have is the wildlife.”

NkosanaDladla the headman’s younger brother urged the government to look into their plight and provide food urgently so that villagers desist from killing elephants and other wild animals.

“People need food as a matter of urgency so that we could curb this vice of killing wild animals,” he said.

Source: <http://www.southerneye.co.zw/2013/10/20/hunger-turns-villagers-poachers/>

Govt sets up taskforce to probe rampant elephant poaching

September 17, 2013 [Headlines](#), [Top Stories](#)

Mashudu Netsianda and Temba Dube Senior Reporters

THE Government has set up a ministerial taskforce comprising ministers of Environment, Water and Climate, Cde Saviour Kasukuwere, Tourism and Hospitality, Cde Walter Mzembi and Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Professor Jonathan Moyo, to investigate rampant poaching of elephants at Hwange National Park.

The three ministers on Sunday visited the national park to assess the situation during which they had an aerial view of some of the carcasses of the elephants, which were killed by poachers that are reportedly using poison.

In an interview yesterday, Cde Kasukuwere said the Government was extremely concerned about the killing of elephants and general poaching of game at the country's national parks. He said this had prompted the Government to set up the taskforce to investigate and get to the bottom of the problem.

"The Government is really concerned about the poaching activities, particularly the elephants which are being killed by poisoning at Hwange National Park. It is actually the responsibility of Government to protect our wildlife and we are therefore making a strong statement that we have intensified the fight against poaching. We actually went to Hwange National Park and saw the carcasses of the poisoned elephants at various sites and it is really bad," said CdeKasukuwere.

He said investigating teams comprising game rangers from the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority and police have since been deployed to the national park to conduct 24-hour patrols.

"We have put teams at the national park and surrounding areas and they are conducting investigations and patrols," said CdeKasukuwere.

He said they have also roped in the communities living in areas adjacent to the national park in the fight against poaching.

"We want to ensure that communities living in areas near the national park complement our efforts in fighting poaching. We actually want them to have a shared responsibility as well as a sense of ownership of their natural resources so that we are able to preserve our wildlife which we must bequeath to future generations," he said.

CdeKasukuwere said efforts were being made to flush out the poisonous substances by burying contaminated carcasses to prevent predators such as lions and vultures from feeding on the remains.

“We have also tightened our efforts to flush out poisonous substances and our teams are going around the sites digging holes so that they are able to dispose of the bones to prevent other animals from feeding on contaminated carcasses,” he said.

According to police, 69 carcasses of elephants have so far been recovered at Hwange National Park while nine suspects have been arrested since the start of the ongoing anti-poaching exercise.

Meanwhile, three of the six suspects who were recently arrested for allegedly poisoning and killing 41 elephants with cyanide at the Hwange National Park, have been freed after being exonerated of the offence. The three, Mr Tinashe Semwayo (23) of Number 2 Hoffmeyer Square, Mr Nqobizitha Tshuma (25) of 14 Taylor Avenue both of North End suburb and Mr Alexander Ngwenya of Tshabalala were freed when the other three suspects said they were not involved in the poaching “deal.”

Mr Semwayo and Mr Tshuma visited Chronicle newsroom yesterday and narrated their story. “We are unhappy about the negative publicity we got when the story came out. As a kombi crew, we were hired by Farai Chitsa who said he needed us to take his relatives to Harare, from Tsholotsho, for a funeral,” said Mr Semwayo who owns the vehicle that was hired.

He said Chitsa called him at about 8pm on 30 August and he called his friend, Mr Tshuma and also his driver, Mr Ngwenya to accompany him.

“We went to Tsholotsho with Chitsa, who grew up in North End. But when we got to Pelandaba Village the kombi got stuck in the sand. Chitsa got off saying he was going to collect his relatives as we were near where the relatives were. We were therefore surprised when two vehicles filled with armed park rangers arrived and arrested us at 2am,” said Mr Semwayo.

The trio did not appear in court as they were released after Chitsa and other suspects, told the police that the trio knew nothing about the elephant poaching activities.

Source: <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/govt-sets-up-taskforce-to-probe-rampant-elephant-poaching/>

CULTURE

NEWS DAY

San people resist civilisation: Mugabe

May 14, 2013 in [Africa](#), [News](#)

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe on Sunday said the San community in Tsholotsho are resisting integration with neighbouring communities, saying they were refusing to get more civilised.

REPORT BY NQOBILE BHEBHE

Speaking at a memorial service for the late Vice-President John Nkomo, who succumbed to cancer in January this year, Mugabe said the Landa John Nkomo High School still had little appeal among the San.

“I used to ask John: ‘How are you treating them?’ He would say: ‘They look after my cattle, but we have tried to get them to the culture of going to school and getting more civilised, but some of them continue to resist’,” he said.

“When he formulated the idea of the secondary school, I still asked: ‘Will you have room for the Bushmen?’ He said: ‘Yes, yes, yes of course’.”

Mugabe said the community still liked the “bush and meat more than we do”.

“But last night (Saturday) when I met Jabu (Nkomo’s son), he was telling me that they are facing challenges in getting some children from the Bushmen to attend school. It is still a difficult exercise,” he said.

“He (Jabulani) said the number is four or five. So they still want to just look after cattle and be in the bush. They have a culture which is very resistant to change.”

Mugabe said the government had a responsibility of treating the Bushmen equally with other tribes.

“We know in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa they have a similar problem of the Bushmen, but they are trying,” Mugabe said.

“John used to talk much about them. When they are together, they like slaughtering cattle and like meat more than we do and we should make sure we acculturate them.”

The San people, also known as the Bushmen or Basarwa, inhabit remote areas of southern Africa, particularly Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Recently, Education minister David Coltart called for urgent government intervention to address what he called the marginalisation of the San community.

“It is a marginalised community and we will have to assist them with policy implementation to address their problems on education,” Coltart was quoted saying after meeting San community leaders in Bulawayo.

Source: <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2013/05/14/san-people-resist-civilisation-mugabe/>

Chiefs summon Coltart

March 22, 2013

Chronicle Reporter

Chiefs from minority language-speaking communities yesterday summoned the Minister of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture, Senator David Coltart to a meeting to complain over the treatment of their languages at schools.

The Zimbabwe Indigenous Languages Promotion Association (ZILPA) coordinated the closed door indaba in Bulawayo, where chiefs from Sotho, Tonga, Nambya, Venda, Shangani and Kalanga speaking communities presented their concerns to Minister Coltart and his directors.

In separate interviews after the meeting, the chiefs said they were angered by a circular from the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (Zimsec), which they felt downplayed the teaching of their languages.

Item 7(a) of Zimsec Circular 1 of 2013, which was shown to the Chronicle, states that Grade 7 candidates should register a minimum of four core subjects and a maximum of five subjects including one national language between Shona and IsiNdebele.

According to the circular, other minority languages are treated as optional.

“The core issue about this meeting was the Zimsec circular which compelled our children to write examinations on other languages than their own.”

“We want our mother languages to be given prominence first and others could be optional,” said Chief Siansali of Binga.

“Even in Government offices we want people who speak the local language in our communities. We need our language to preserve our culture.”

The chiefs demanded that the Government reverses the circular and ensure that their languages were given equal treatment with other languages.

“We are not happy with the Zimsec circular and that is why we are here. We want our children to write examinations on their mother language,” said Chief Tshovani of Chiredzi.

“We had a good meeting with the Minister and he promised us that the circular would be reversed. In Chiredzi we want our children to be taught Shangani at school and not Shona.”

The chiefs urged the Government to deploy qualified educational officers who would effectively teach minority languages in their schools.

They called for affirmative action in the training of teachers, saying pupils from their communities should be enrolled at colleges even with lower passes.

The traditional leaders also sought clarity as to why there were delays in the publication of minority languages' textbooks and learning material.

ZILPA chairperson Mrs Maretha Dube said the issue of languages should be handled properly as it impacts an individual's sense of identity.

"What worries us most is the imposition of teaching of other languages in our own communities when our own languages are not taught in other areas."

"Language is the carrier of culture and identity and pupils should be taught their mother language."

"It is surprising that when we presented our concerns to the Minister, he professed ignorance on some of the issues," said Dube.

"However we are happy with the outcome of the meeting."

"Our goal is to uplift respect for marginalized indigenous languages in schools and in the provision of key services such as hospitals."

In his presentation after the meeting, Minister Coltart said the Government appreciated the chiefs' concerns and pledged to address them.

He said his ministry was going to conduct investigations into the concerns raised and the Government had enough funding to publish textbooks on minority languages.

Minister Coltart said Nambya and Venda languages would be examined at Grade Seven level this year.

He said his aim was to ensure that all minority languages were taught at all levels in schools up to tertiary level.

Minister Coltart said the promotion of minority languages was in line with the provisions of the new constitution, which calls for equal treatment of all languages.

"The new constitution places obligation on the Government to treat all languages equally. The problem is we do not have teachers for those subjects."

"We also do not have a sufficient number of students from these communities who are qualified to enroll in our colleges," said Minister Coltart.

"There is a need for us to have affirmative action that will allow pupils from marginalized language communities to enroll in colleges even if they have low academic qualifications."

"Such students will be able to go back to their communities and help improve standards. The Cabinet, my ministry and related ministries need to do something about this."

On the Zimsec circular, Minister Coltart said he had engaged officials from the examinations body and announced that its initial provision on minority languages had been reversed.

Speaking at the same occasion, Matabeleland North provincial education director Mrs BoitatheloMnguni said examinations on the Tonga language, which were introduced last year, were done successfully and the pass rate was impressive.

“More than 4 000 pupils wrote Tonga examinations last year and only one third wrote IsiNdebele. The pass rate for Tonga was above 78 percent,” she said.

Source: <http://www.davidcoltart.com/2013/03/chiefs-summon-coltart/#sthash.N4XbaWfT.dpuf>

POLITICS

NEWS DAY

Siwela accuses Mat'land politicians of betrayal

April 2, 2013 in [National](#), [News](#), [Politics](#)

PAUL Siwela, the leader of the Matabeleland Liberation Organisation (MLO), stirred a hornet's nest yesterday after he described Matabeleland politicians who are part of the inclusive government as "traitors" who misled the electorate into accepting a half-baked draft constitution at the just-ended referendum.

Report by Silas Nkala

Earlier on, Siwela had told NewsDay that about 40% of the electorate in the region had been coerced into voting for the draft constitution after being misled into believing the document was anchored on devolution of power.

"So, politicians in Matabeleland betrayed their own people," he said.

"They will regret when the time comes for them to realise that they are not able to exercise the power they claim is enshrined in that constitution. With that kind of devolution even if we collect tax locally, we cannot plan independently. We have to go to someone in Harare for consent. This devolution will not improve people's lives here," Siwela said.

However, his remarks were immediately shot down by politicians from the two MDCs who described Siwela as "a rabble-rouser and noisy gong".

"There is no devolution in that constitution. Matabeleland wants political power than just having a Bill of Rights without power. The draft constitution, having failed to devolve power to Matabeleland, leaves us with one option — that is to revert to the pre-colonial positions where Matabeleland enjoyed full sovereignty just as Mashonaland. Anything else would be the greatest betrayal," said the MLO leader.

But MDC-T deputy national organising secretary Abednico Bhebhe dismissed Siwela's sentiments as a reflection of his ignorance on constitutional matters.

"Devolution is there in the constitution and what Siwela is saying shows that he is ignorant," Bhebhe said. "The constitution cannot include everything, but the supporting clauses will be included through an Act of Parliament. He must know that it is not only Matabeleland that wants devolution, but most provinces in the country. If he does not know what he is talking about, he must shut up."

MDC Bulawayo spokesperson Edwin Ndlovu said Siwela was a "confused politician who has jumped from one political party to the other in search of position to no avail".

“Siwela has done nothing for the people of Matabeleland except making noise. It’s high time he stopped talking and do something for the people. We are tired of people who complain without giving,” Ndlovu said.

Source: <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2013/04/02/siwela-accuses-matland-politicians-of-betrayal/>

Mudenda brings honour to Matabeleland

September 5, 2013 [Headlines](#), [Top Stories](#)

Senior Reporter

ZANU-PF national chairman Senator Simon KhayaMoyo has said the election of Cde Jacob Mudenda as Speaker of Parliament on Tuesday was an honour to the Matabeleland region. In his congratulatory message to CdeMudenda yesterday, Sen KhayaMoyo described the former Governor of Matabeleland North as a man of integrity with commendable character traits.

“I take liberty to congratulate you on your resounding election as Speaker of the National Assembly at a colourful ceremony on 3 September 2013.

“Your attributes speak for themselves, that is, integrity, uprightness, hard work, diligence, honesty, commitment, humility and accountability. You are imbued with these characteristics and there could be no better candidate for such a revered post. The will of God remains supreme. Whilst this is a national position, it is also appropriate to mention that our region feels highly honoured by this development,” said Sen KhayaMoyo.

He said CdeMudenda had a traceable record of executing his duties well in Government and assured him that the revolutionary party would give him all the necessary support in his new office.

“As national chairman of our party Zanu-PF, I must state that you have done us proud in the past by your exemplary leadership qualities and wish you tremendous success in all your endeavours. Any assistance, guidance and support from the party will always be at your disposal as you discharge your noble duties in service of the nation,” said Sen KhayaMoyo.

Tuesday’s swearing-in ceremony also saw Cde Edna Madzongwe retaining her post as President of the Senate.

Cde Mudenda is deputised by Cde Mabel Chinomona while former Cabinet Minister Cde Chenhamo Chakezha Chimutengwende was elected Deputy President of the Senate.

The four candidates were elected unopposed after MDC-T did not field any candidate in the wake of the landslide election victory by Zanu-PF which saw the revolutionary party securing more than two thirds majority in Parliament.

Source: <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/mudenda-brings-honour-to-matabeleland/>