

**A study of Radio Zimbabwe's messages and audiences in a time of
crisis**

Selina Linda Mudavanhu

MDVSEL001

Thesis Presented for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Department of Film and Media Studies,

Faculty of Humanities



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Supervisor: Dr Wallace Chuma

August 2014

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Dedication

In loving memory of my mother, *Mhamha* Charity Rushesha Mudavanhu, and my brother, *Mkoma* Lenny, Leonard Mudavanhu, who passed away when I was in the middle of writing this thesis (the former on the 22nd of September 2012 and the latter on the 11th of December 2013).

May your souls continue to rest in peace, I love you both deeply!

Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	vii
Abstract	ix
Abbreviations	x
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Gaps in existing literature and contributions this study makes	3
Why focus on radio during a crisis?.....	6
Why focus on rural women?	7
The contextual landscape of the study	7
Broadcasting context in Zimbabwe.....	12
Radio Zimbabwe.....	14
Structure of the thesis.....	14
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework	18
Introduction.....	18
Theoretical Framework.....	18
The Propaganda Model.....	18
Gramsci and Hegemony.....	20
Media, Power and Hegemony.....	21
Analysing audiences: the critical audience research perspective.....	32
The relevance of poststructuralist approaches to analysing Radio Zimbabwe and its audiences	34
Conclusion	37
Chapter 3: Literature Review	39
Introduction.....	39
Literature Review: Radio.....	40
Radio in Africa.....	40
Radio Studies in Zimbabwe	52
Radio and the sociology of everyday life.....	56
Literature Review: The Media and Crises in Zimbabwe	61
The Liberation War and pre-1980 media discourses	62
Mediating <i>Gukurahundi</i> in Zimbabwe.....	66
Literature on the media’s representations of the post-2000 crisis.....	68

The land and the elections in print media news	69
Depictions of the post-2000 crisis in Zimbabwe in the international media.....	75
Zimbabwe’s crises, the media and their audiences	78
Conclusion	80
Chapter 4: Methodology and Research Design	81
Introduction.....	81
Qualitative research methodology	81
Limitations of the qualitative methodology	83
Feminist research practice.....	83
Insider/Outsider status	85
Data Collection	87
Researching Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts	87
Conducting research in a rural village in a time of political and economic volatility	88
Negotiating entry into the field	88
Interviewing the women.....	91
Selecting interviewees: Purposive sampling.....	92
Semi-structured interviews	93
Field notes.....	94
Analysis	95
Analysing Radio Zimbabwe texts.....	96
Analysing the interviews with the women.....	97
Conclusion	98
Chapter 5: Dominant Discourses: The Land & the Liberation Struggle	99
Introduction.....	99
Radio Zimbabwe presenters: ‘objective’ facilitators of discussion or political activists?	101
Radio Zimbabwe discourses	102
Our land (<i>Ivhu redu</i>)	102
“Our God gave us an inheritance, our land is our inheritance” (“ <i>Mwari wedu wakatipa nhaka, ivhu redu inhaka yedu</i> ”)	103
Politicising the land: “Many sons and daughters sacrificed their lives for the land”	104
The Liberation Struggle (<i>Hondo yeChimurenga</i>)	109
Intruders and callous murderers: constructions of white people on Radio Zimbabwe	110
The liberation struggle and constructions of black people.....	115

Conclusion	126
Chapter 6: Dominant Discourses: The Father of the Nation, Christianity & God.....	128
Introduction.....	128
Radio Zimbabwe discourses	128
Representations of President Mugabe on Radio Zimbabwe: “ <i>Gushungo</i> , You are a messenger sent to liberate Zimbabwe”	128
President Mugabe: the father, the messenger and the visionary	130
“ <i>Mhuri yeZimbabwe</i> ”: the imagined Zimbabwean family.....	134
Normalising Christianity on Radio Zimbabwe: “Let us pray [...] together on the people’s station” ...	136
“ <i>Buruka...handione ndiri ndega...ndiratidze</i> ”: Feeble people and an All-Powerful God	138
Conclusion	142
Chapter 7: Setting the Scene: Radio and Everyday Life in a Rural Community	143
Introduction.....	143
The Context.....	144
The political environment in the community	144
The economic environment in the community.....	147
Ethnographic insights into the place of radio.....	149
Switching off the radio.....	152
Conclusion	153
Chapter 8: Women’s Engagement with Radio Zimbabwe Broadcasts.....	154
Introduction.....	154
Women engaging with Radio Zimbabwe content.....	154
“I never want to miss the news”: the centrality of news for the women.....	154
Engaging with the idea of Mugabe as the head of the Zimbabwean family	159
Women speaking about their favourite programmes	162
Engaging with Christian content on Radio Zimbabwe	167
Conclusion	171
Chapter 9: Conclusion.....	173
Introduction.....	173
A discussion of Radio Zimbabwe discourses	174
Rural women’s engagement with radio and Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts	178
Contributions to scholarship, limitations and future research.....	181
Conclusion	187

References.....	189
Appendix A – Some Images from the Field	222
Appendix B – Radio Zimbabwe Programme Schedule	225

Acknowledgements

Thank you Lord, for bringing me so far, *kunze kwenyu Tenzi, hapana zvandiri!*

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to all my colleagues at the African Gender Institute (AGI), University of Cape Town. Thank you for your immense support and love throughout my Ph.D. journey! *Ndinotenda/Baie Dankie*, Professor Jane Bennett, Dr Adelene Africa, Dr Helen Scanlon, Wardah Daniels, Yaliwe Clarke, Hilda Ferguson, Dr Barbara Boswell, Jennifer Radloff and Gillian Mitchell. *Asante Sana*, Dr Tim Murithi, for your encouragement. Jane, thank you for your kindness and support, particularly during my lowest moments. Thank you for providing me with different spaces within the AGI to present and discuss my work. Thank you for having conversations with me about my thesis. I have grown intellectually as a result.

I am also very much indebted to my supervisor, Dr Wallace Chuma. For your guidance and encouragement throughout the journey...*Ndinotenda zvikurusa*. To the women who agreed to be interviewed by me, a ‘stranger,’ *ndinotenda!* Thank you for taking time out of your busy schedules to speak to me. Although your identities have been kept confidential in this thesis, your voices are heard. Thank you Celia Walter for helping me with editing my thesis. Thank you for your kindness and generosity.

I am also grateful to my family at Calvary Chapel, Cape Town. You guys stood by me and held my hand in the fiercest of storms. You made sure that I continued on in the race of faith...thank you family!

To all my friends, near and far, I appreciate your support throughout this journey. Thank you, Dr Kezia Batisai, for the innumerable times you provided support. Thank you, for reading parts of my thesis and paying meticulous attention to detail. Sueanne Isaac, thank you for your encouragement and the prayers. Thank you, Dr Grascian Mkodzongi, for reading portions of my thesis and giving me advice. *Ndinotenda*, for your friendship, Comrade Andrew Mandeya, Comrades Sarah and Chenai Matshaka, Comrade Innocent Dzikamai Mangwengwende, Sandrine Mengue M' Efoe, Ipeleng Mokhwa, Rutendo Hadebe, *Mai Chari, Mai Clive*...the list is very long.

Where would I be without you, my number one supporters? *Baba, Mhamha, Mkoma* Lloyd, *Mkoma* Leonard, my younger brother, Dylan and my two younger sisters, Daisy *na*Dorothy. Thank you, all for always believing in my intellectual abilities! *Mhamha*, you kept my Grade 1 writing book...you saw something in my scribbles at an early age. I know that you are very proud of me. This Ph.D. is not mine alone...it is yours too, *Mhamha*. The red academic gown will always be a reminder of your red Methodist church jacket (*bhachi renyu reruwadzano*), your love for God, your natural leadership qualities as well as your immense wisdom and creativity. Thank you, *Baba*, for your unmatched knowledge and your prayers! I will always cherish the memories of how proud you were of me when I passed Form 6 and got a place at the University of Zimbabwe. This Ph.D. is yours too, *Baba*. Thank you to my sisters-in-law and my nieces and nephews for the different ways you supported me. *Mwari vedu vakuitirei zvakataka!*

Abstract

The political and economic crisis that beset Zimbabwe since the late 1990s forms the backdrop to this study which examines the discourses that occupied a position of dominance on the state radio station, Radio Zimbabwe, between March and April 2011. This study moves beyond an analysis of texts and also looks at how some women listeners, who were living in a rural community in Zimbabwe, engaged with the radio and the mainstream discourses in the context of everyday life. The analysis of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts is informed by Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony (1971) as well as ideas from the propaganda model postulated by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988). The audience study draws on some ideas by Carragee (1990) on the critical audience research perspective. This study also takes a poststructuralist approach to language, discourse and subjectivity.

Available media scholarship on the post-2000 crisis in Zimbabwe has mostly focused on analysing how the print media represented the land question and the elections. Scholars have neglected to look at hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses that were broadcast on the most pervasive medium in the country and on the continent, radio during this time. In radio studies in Africa and in Zimbabwe, the exploration of radio content is also largely missing. Also conspicuously absent in research that has been carried out in Zimbabwe and in Africa is an understanding of how audiences interact with mainstream meanings embedded in radio texts. In view of the above-mentioned gaps in literature, this study focuses on radio texts and radio listeners. The study combines a critical discourse analysis of Radio Zimbabwe content with a discourse analysis of narratives of 30 women listeners of the station that were interviewed.

Two arguments are made in this thesis. The first is that in the face of waning support, immense opposition at home and abroad and an unrelenting economic crisis, the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) government used the discourses on land, the liberation struggle, the father of the nation, Christianity and God to legitimise its continued stay in power. These discourses were also used to delegitimise political opponents inside and outside the country. The second argument that this thesis makes is that women's engagement with Radio Zimbabwe content and hegemonic meanings broadcast on the station is not straightforward and predictable. Though some women said they listened to the news, a programme embedded with dominant ideas, most of them said they did not remember what was contained in most bulletins. Most women recalled news items that were directly relevant to them. While Radio Zimbabwe content was predominantly political in nature, the programmes that women talked about as favourite programmes had nothing to do with politics. The majority of women in the study singled out *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* and *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* as programmes they enjoyed listening to. In terms of interacting with mainstream ideas, most of the time many of the women affirmed the dominant discourses. There were, however, instances when some women contested hegemonic ideas. Sometimes mainstream ideas were challenged because what the women heard on the radio and their lived realities were not congruent. Interestingly, there were also times when this disjuncture did not drive women to question what they heard on the station.

Selina Linda Mudavanhu

Cape Town, August 2014

Abbreviations

AIPPA	Access to Information and the Protection of Privacy Act
BAZ	Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BSA	Broadcasting Services Act
CNN	Cable News Network
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FAMWZ	Federation of African Media Women Zimbabwe
GEMSA	Gender and Media in Southern Africa
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change faction led by Morgan Tsvangirai
MDC-M	Movement for Democratic Change faction led by Arthur Mutambara
MIC	Media and Information Commission
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MMPZ	Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
Radio VOP	Radio Voice of the People
RBC	Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation

RDC	Rural District Council
RF	Rhodesian Front
RTLM	Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UFP	United Federal Party
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
VOA	Voice of America
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZAMPS	Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey
ZANU	Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union-Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

Chapter 1: Introduction

For over a decade, Zimbabwe made headlines in both the international and the local media. The focus of attention was on a range of issues, for example, the land occupations of 2000 and the immense violence that accompanied it, the different sharply contested elections, the hyperinflation, the shortages of food and pharmaceutical drugs, the disease outbreaks and the mass exodus of skilled and unskilled Zimbabweans. In most media reports, President Mugabe and the former Prime Minister Tsvangirai occupied a central position.

The media broadly positioned themselves as either pro-establishment or anti-establishment. The international media, the private press in Zimbabwe and the online media largely took a side in opposition to President Mugabe and the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) political party. The state owned media in the country as well as a few Western based media like the *New African* magazine aligned themselves with Mugabe, his party and the status quo.

Despite the critical role that different kinds of media at home and abroad played in mediating the crisis in Zimbabwe, available media scholarship has predominantly focused on analysing how the print media represented aspects of the crisis (see Chari, 2008a; 2010a; 2013; Chuma, 2007; 2008; Willems, 2004a; 2004b). Beyond looking at how some newspapers framed the land issue and various elections, researchers have not examined in a detailed manner the discourses that groups supporting and opposing the existing state of affairs drew on to buttress their arguments. With the exception of Winston Mano whose work focuses on Radio Zimbabwe (see Mano, 2004; 2005; 2009; 2011), media researchers have also not explored radio content despite the medium being pervasive on the continent and in the country. Also conspicuously missing is an understanding of how audiences interact with the media and mainstream meanings embedded in media texts.

In view of the above gaps in media research, the aim of this study is to two-fold. First, it is to examine in depth the discourses that were privileged on the state owned radio station, Radio Zimbabwe, between March and April 2011 in the context of the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe. Second, the study seeks to move away from only looking at media texts by analysing

how some rural women listeners of the station engaged with radio and the station's broadcasts. Using critical discourse analysis to examine Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts and discourse analysis to analyse in-depth interviews conducted with women from a rural community¹ who listened to this station, this research seeks to respond to the following questions:

1. In view of the economic and political volatility in Zimbabwe, what discourses were privileged on the state owned radio station, Radio Zimbabwe?
2. What were some of the possible implications for using such discourses?
3. How did women listeners of Radio Zimbabwe who were living in a rural village engage with the radio, its content as well as the elite discourses in the context of everyday life?

The first argument being made in this study is that in the face of immense opposition at home and abroad and an unrelenting economic crisis; the ZANU-PF party used Radio Zimbabwe to legitimise its continued hold on power as well as to delegitimise any political opposition both inside and outside the country. The study firstly outlines four main discourses that were employed to do the hegemonic work of the political elite in ZANU-PF. The discourses that will be discussed are on land, the liberation struggle, the father of the nation, Christianity and God (see Chapters 5 & 6).

The second argument being made in this thesis is that listeners' engagements with mainstream meanings broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe in the context of the crisis were not always predictable and straightforward. The interviewees moved in and out of affirming and contesting hegemonic discourses. While Radio Zimbabwe had several programmes supporting ZANU-PF's quest to retain power, it is interesting that in speaking about their favourite programmes, the women spoke about programmes that had nothing to do with politics.

One main shortcoming that comes with analysing hegemonic meanings over a limited period of time such as is the case in this study is that it masks the complex and changing nature of mainstream ideas (see Carragee, 1993). For future studies, this "complexity and mutability" of discourse can be explored in longitudinal studies (Carragee, 1993:334). Another limitation that emanates from the use of the qualitative methodology in the study of Radio Zimbabwe audiences

¹ The name of the rural community remains confidential in this thesis and subsequent publications because this was one of the conditions the researcher agreed to with the research participants.

is that the findings cannot be generalised to the rest of the country. The results, nonetheless, are important theoretically in so far as they assist in reflecting on the relationship between radio texts and listeners living in authoritarian environments.

Gaps in existing literature and contributions this study makes

A major contribution that this study makes to media scholarship (particularly radio studies) in Africa and in Zimbabwe is the in-depth textual analysis of radio texts (see Chapters 5 & 6). Besides researchers who look at the ways the Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) framed the 1994 genocide in Rwanda (Gatwa, 1995; Article 19, 1996; Metzl, 1997; Kellow & Steeves, 1998; Chalk, 1999; Schabas, 2000; Melvern, 2000; Power, 2001; Temple-Raston, 2002; Levene, 2005; Moghalu, 2005), radio researchers in Africa have not fully explored the content of this medium. Literature on radio in Africa has tended to focus on historical narratives of the genesis of radio on the continent (Bourgault, 1995; Windrich, 2010; Paleker, 2012), accounts of colonial radio broadcasting (Frederikse, 1982; Mosia, Riddle & Zaffiro, 1994; Windrich, 2000; Gunner, 2000; Lekgoathi, 2009; 2011; Davis, 2011) and the extent to which talk radio in post-colonial African countries has facilitated a space for citizen engagement (Mwesige, 2009; Bosch, 2011b; Tettey, 2011; Hungbo, 2012). While the little research on radio in Zimbabwe has focused on both state radio broadcasting (Mano, 2004; 2005; 2009) and clandestine radio stations broadcasting from exile (Wachanga, 2007; Batist, 2010; Moyo, 2010a; Moyo, 2011a; Mabweazara, 2013), none of this research has really provided detailed examinations of radio content.

Though some media scholars and activists have undertaken textual analyses of media content in the context of the political and economic challenges that Zimbabwe experienced post-2000 (see Willems, 2004a, 2004b; Chuma, 2008; Chari, 2008a, 2010a; Nyamanhindi, 2008; Mukundu, 2010; MMPZ reports), none of them have looked in detail at hegemonic discourses that were used to promote the status quo. Researchers have mostly looked at how the land question and the elections were framed by various newspapers. In addition, most research on the mediation of the crisis has primarily focused on the print media, leaving out the broadcast media. Thus, this study is unique particularly in media scholarship in Zimbabwe in that it analyses radio texts in-depth. Besides the analysis of radio content being an input to current research, the discussions

interwoven in Chapters 5 & 6 of the inconsistencies and overlaps inherent in the hegemonic discourses broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe contribute to existing international research on media, power and hegemony. Carragee (1993) argues that most studies looking at the media hegemonic thesis overlook the fact that dominant ideas are not always consistent and coherent.

Another major strength and contribution that this thesis makes to media scholarship in Zimbabwe and in Africa is that it moves beyond the analysis of media texts to also look at listeners' engagement with radio and its contents (see Chapters 7 & 8). Not many media studies in the country and on the continent have discussed audiences using qualitative methodologies. The analysis of radio audiences will also add to existing knowledge around radio and everyday life that has been mostly produced by media anthropologists. Using ethnographic methods, these researchers have invested a lot of time in providing rich accounts of how radio listeners use the medium daily (Hobson, 1980; Moores, 1988; Tacchi, 1997; 2000; Jayaprakash, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; 2002; 2009; Gathigi, 2009; Winocur, 2005; Dominguet, 2003). Dominant themes in this work include the place that radio occupies in and around the home, the spaces in which radio consumption occurs and the companionship that radio provides its audiences. What is missing in this research is how listeners of radio stations engage with the content that is broadcast by the medium.

Though several international media researchers (see Morley, 1980; Lull, 1982; Anderson & Avery, 1988; Liebes, 1988; Livingstone, 1989) have looked at how audiences interact with television, not many scholars that have explored the same topic in the context of radio (see O'Sullivan & Lewis, 2006; Bessirel & Fisher, 2013; Barnard, 2000). Whereas studies on television audiences have yielded interesting findings, Carragee (1990), nonetheless, argues that this research has some shortcomings. Interpretive researchers have generally tended to overemphasize the agency of audiences. In the literature, audiences are framed as active and powerful consumers of polysemic media texts. Carragee (1990:87) also notes that most researchers have neglected to place "media texts and media audiences within meaningful historical, social and cultural contexts." In view of Carragee's observations, this study locates the listeners of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts within daily life of a Zimbabwe going through a political and economic crisis.

While the Gramscian concept of hegemony, the propaganda model and the critical audience research perspective that will be used to frame this study are not unique to this thesis, the combination in one research of these seemingly disparate concepts and theories is innovative. Their combined use enriches our understanding of the presence and workings of hegemonic ideas embedded in Radio Zimbabwe texts and how listeners respond and interact with them in the context of daily life.

Methodologically, this study also offers media scholars ideas on how to navigate politically charged and volatile contexts during data collection. The description in Chapter 4 of how Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts were recorded and stored offers other researchers an alternative way of data collection that evades the bureaucratic, difficult and often time consuming route of asking reluctant radio stations for their transcripts. The difficulties of getting the transcripts are often exacerbated when researchers are working in politically precarious environments like Zimbabwe. While some researchers working in Zimbabwe during the crisis (see Chakona, 2011; Zaranyika, 2012) approached local government officials for permission to conduct their studies, this research offers future researchers an alternative route. Researchers can consider approaching the local village authorities directly for authorisation to carry out their researches.

While in feminist studies, discussions and reflections on the meaning of conducting in-depth interviews is at an advanced stage (see Mies, 1993; Gilbert, 1994; Mama, 1995), such debates are conspicuous by their absence in the few audience studies that have been conducted by media scholars. In that regard, a unique feature and strength of this study is its ability to bring into Media Studies some of the rich discussions from feminist studies around the importance of acknowledging and reflecting on the researcher's positionality during the process of doing fieldwork. Also drawing from feminist studies, Chapter 4 reflects of the issue of power in the context of in-depth interviews. Departing from the idea of the powerful interviewer, Chapter 4 discusses some of the ways an equitable researcher/participant relationship was negotiated.

Although this study specifically focuses on Zimbabwe, the questions that are being asked in this thesis can also be asked generally by other researchers in other contexts studying media hegemonic discourses and audience interaction with them. Besides the study extending academic knowledge on media hegemony and audiences, practically, this study can provide media activists

in Zimbabwe with useful information that could inform their advocacy projects. The qualitative nature of this study affords activists with in-depth information to understand how ZANU-PF legitimised itself and delegitimised opponents. The discussion on audiences also provides activists with information that they can use.

Why focus on radio during a crisis?

In everyday life, the media play a crucial role in producing and organising the knowledges that people use to make sense of the world (see Golding & Murdock, 1992). Ekström (2002:259) elaborates: “People obtain knowledge of the world outside their immediate experience largely from mass media [...]” When a country is going through a crisis, the elite often use the media to construct ways audiences ought to think about the status quo (see Moyo, 2011a). In Nazi Germany, for example, the media was used by Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels (Minister of Propaganda, 1933 - 1945) to spread anti-Semitic propaganda (see Sutter, 2008).

While the analysis of media texts is important given the above-mentioned role that the media plays, radio content in particular needs special attention because of the pervasiveness of this medium (see Barnard, 2000). In Africa, radio is a powerful means of communication surpassing print media and television (Mukundu, 2006; Tolmay, 2006; Moyo, 2010a; Bosch, 2011a). Even during the years of economic hardships in Zimbabwe, radio remained: “the most effective way to reach audiences inside Zimbabwe, as radios [we]re relatively cheap, widely available and often shared with others to spread the information around” (Batist, 2010:163). Because of this ubiquity, Hungbo (2008:3) contends that: “the influence of the media generally, and that of radio in particular, can no longer be taken for granted [...]”

While any of the three state controlled radio stations at the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (Spot FM, Power FM and National FM) could have been analysed in this thesis as they are also rich sources of hegemonic ideas, Radio Zimbabwe was selected because this station is the most popular station in the country (see the Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey report, 2013). Mano (1997) contends that Radio Zimbabwe attracts many listeners, most of whom live in rural areas because the station broadcasts in Shona and Ndebele, two languages spoken by most Zimbabweans. Spot FM and Power FM broadcast in English while National FM uses languages spoken by the minority in Zimbabwe.

Why focus on rural women?

According to a report by the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (2013), 68.6% of Zimbabwe's total population of about 13 000 000 people resides in rural areas. Of the people living in rural areas, 52% of them are women. Combine these statistics with the fact that the bulk of Radio Zimbabwe's listeners live in the rural areas, it was key in this study to understand how women, who are most likely to be reached by the station's broadcasts engage with the mainstream ideas.

Besides the statistical justification, historically, women in Zimbabwe remained in the rural areas carrying out subsistence farming while men went to the cities to work as waged labourers (Makura-Paradza, 2010). Though most men supported their families with the income from the cities, women bore the burden of seeing to the needs of the family on a daily basis. Women had and continue to have an intimate and experiential knowledge of what it means to struggle and survive in the context of everyday rural life. With such knowledge of living through a crisis daily, it was interesting to find out how women interact with dominant discourses that sought to keep a political party that had seen the country degenerate into a crisis on their watch.

In addition, the researcher wanted to highlight women's experiences because so much of women's lives have been marginalised in many social science scholarship (see Stanley & Wise, 1983; Morris, 1992). Most feminist scholars view research as an attempt, in part to redress this neglect. Stanley and Wise (1983:30) explain that doing research with women: "would lead to the concerted reordering of established beliefs and perspectives, and also to a greater understanding of the many different stratifications which exist within society."

Another reason for focusing on radio audiences in addition to the textual analysis is informed by the desire to move away from the textual determinism that characterised early media studies. While media texts are encoded with dominant ideas, meanings are, however, produced during moments of reception (see Carragee, 1990).

The contextual landscape of the study

Before one can interpret the meanings embedded in the Radio Zimbabwe texts or understand the ways that the women who were interviewed in this study spoke, it is important to consider the

context (Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 1999). Although Zimbabwe's post-colonial history stretches over three decades, the focus of this section will only be on the events from the late 1990s onwards, a period that marked the genesis of what later came to be known as the political and economic crisis. While this section refers to a 'crisis' as if there was a singular crisis, it is important to acknowledge that after 2000, Zimbabwe plunged into different 'crises,' for example, the food crisis, fuel crisis, health crisis, cholera crisis, electricity crisis and so on (see Chiumbu, 2012). Having said this, it is, however, beyond the scope of this section to delve into a detailed discussion of these different crises. At the risk of oversimplifying a multidimensional crisis, what follows is a summary of occurrences in Zimbabwe that are useful in locating the study.

One of the most significant developments on the economic front in the late 1990s was the Zimbabwean government's abandonment of development policies informed by socialist ideas and its adoption of neoliberal policies. One policy change was the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) at the behest of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. ESAP was adopted despite vehement opposition from labour and students (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009). Taking on the ESAP meant a radical rolling back of the state's role in providing social services, which left citizens at the mercy of the market. Writing about the ESAP, Chuma (2005a:50) explains:

The implementation of the economic reform programme entailed the lifting of price controls and subsidies, loosening of restrictions on foreign investment, slashing of government expenditure on social services and (consequently) [the] budget deficit, and privatisation of state parastatals. It was envisaged that the first five years of the programme would witness considerable economic growth.

Instead of the ESAP being the much anticipated panacea which would stimulate development, by the late 1990s the gains that had been made in the first decade of independence were quickly eroded by the deleterious Programme. There were increases in the price of food and basic commodities, while incomes remained low. Kanji and Jazdowska (1993) explain that the increase in the cost of living was a result of the government's removal of subsidies and price controls. In addition, MacLean (1997) argues that other contributing factors to the deterioration of social conditions in Zimbabwe were the drought and the effects of AIDS. Saunders (2000:63) elaborates:

[...] the devastating drought of 1992-1994 [...] sent food prices and inflation spiralling above 40% and threw many in the formal sector into what would become chronic unemployment. On top of this was added the deepening impact of the AIDS pandemic which brought with it immense misery and growing economic hardship for households and communities in all parts of the country.

Brett (2004) and Chiumbu (2012) also contend that the hefty payouts made to war veterans by government in 1997 as well as the cost of sending of troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1998 worsened the country's economic situation.² As a result of the economic hardships, there was "increased social restlessness" in the country (Chuma, 2005a:50). The labour organisation, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), organised mass strikes which were supported by many workers at that time.

Another watershed development in Zimbabwe in the latter part of the 1990s was the emergence of the opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by former trade unionist, Morgan Tsvangirai. This newly formed opposition party largely consisting of trade unions, women's movements and students posed a huge threat to ZANU-PF in ways that the liberation party had not experienced since 1980 (see Makumbe, 2002). The creation of the MDC in September 1999 meant the end of the unchallenged ZANU-PF hegemony. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009:951) argue that in 1980, the government enjoyed: "obvious legitimacy [...] after a long protracted struggle for liberation." In 2000, the MDC together with a broad range of civil society organisations mobilised Zimbabweans to vote 'NO' in a constitutional referendum³ and so defeating the government's attempts to push through a new constitution. Chuma (2010:95) argues that: "the rejection of the draft constitution was widely viewed as a rejection of President Mugabe and the ruling party." At this time the MDC⁴ was gaining popularity especially in the urban areas. Although ZANU-PF carried the day in the 2002 Presidential election, the poll was tightly contested (ZANU-PF had 56.2% of the votes and MDC had 42.0% of the votes). Subsequent elections saw ZANU-PF retain power, though the legitimacy of the results remains a source of debate. From 2000 onwards it became obvious that

² By January 2000, the country had exceeded US\$240 million in military costs in the DRC (Maposa, Muguti & Tobias, 2013)

³ Since Zimbabwe got political independence from Britain in 1980, the country had been governed under a constitution that had been drawn up as part of the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979. Twenty years on, there was a sense in the country that this constitution had to change given that it came about in the context of the country's colonial past. On 12 and 13 February of 2000, Zimbabweans voted in a Constitutional Referendum on the adoption of a new constitution that was being proposed by government. President Mugabe and his ZANU-PF party campaigned for a "YES" vote, meaning an endorsement of the constitution while the newly formed political party, the Movement for Democratic Change and sections of civil society campaigned for a "NO" vote. The new constitution was rejected by 54.31% to 45.69% of the votes (Statistics available on the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa website).

⁴ In 2005, the MDC split as a result of disagreement among the party's leaders about participating in the March 2005 senate elections. Two factions emerged after the split, one was led by Morgan Tsvangirai and the other by Welshman Ncube.

ZANU-PF had a serious political rival.⁵ Besides the MDC, some civil society groups and the private media were unrelenting in their strident criticism of the government (Chari, 2013).

Another occurrence that had far reaching consequences was the forced occupation of white-owned farms by the war veterans. Chitando (2002:3) considers the widespread land occupations as ZANU-PF's response to decreasing popularity among the electorate. Chitando (2002:3) further argues that:

It is against the background of an assertive labour movement, a restless peasantry and a worsening economy that Mugabe's appeal to the land issue in the late 1990s should be understood. He encouraged farm invasions, charging that blacks should claim back their land from white settlers [...].

Because of the radical and violent nature of the land occupations, Zimbabwe faced a lot of international pressure and ostracism. Sections of the international media launched vitriolic attacks on the government (see Moyo, 2012a). The British media in particular launched an acerbic critique of the land occupations (Willems, 2005). Western governments argued that the land occupations were accompanied by a disregard of the rule of law and serious human rights violations. The Commonwealth, for example, suspended Zimbabwe's membership.⁶ The land occupations also attracted the interest of local media. Thondhlana (2011) argues that the local media were polarised over land issue. The state run newspaper, *The Herald* took up a position that was sympathetic to ZANU-PF while the privately owned *The Daily News* was opposed to the land seizures (Willems, 2004).

The economic downturn which had started in the 1990s grew worse in the years leading up to the formation of the Government of National Unity in 2009. There were shortages of basic commodities, fuel and pharmaceuticals; hunger, disease and hyperinflation were some of the other challenges that Zimbabweans had to deal with. Raftopoulos (2009:220) writing on the decline of the economy after 2000 notes that: “[...] hyperinflation reached an official level of 230 million percent by the end of 2008, devaluing both earnings and savings.” This situation resulted among other things in the mass exodus of skilled and unskilled Zimbabweans in search

⁵ In the 2008 elections, ZANU-PF gained 43.2% of the votes while the MDC had 47.9% of the votes.

⁶ Subsequently Zimbabwe withdrew from the Commonwealth.

of employment opportunities elsewhere in Africa and beyond. Doctors Without Borders (2009:1) sums up the situation as follows:

Every day, Zimbabweans cross the Limpopo River into South Africa, risking their lives to flee their country. An estimated 3 million Zimbabweans have sought refuge in South Africa. It is Africa's most extraordinary exodus from a country not in open conflict.

The political crisis and resultant economic collapse has led to the implosion of the health system and basic infrastructure which has given rise to a massive cholera outbreak reaching an unprecedented scale and claiming thousands of lives. However, cholera is one aspect of a multifaceted humanitarian crisis that includes poor access to health care; collapsed infrastructure; high prevalence of HIV; political violence; internal displacement as well as displacement to neighboring countries, and food shortages/malnutrition. This situation is by no means new, but it has worsened significantly in the past months, as the political impasse continued and economic collapse accelerated. To make matters worse, there has not been a strong and coordinated international response to the unfolding humanitarian emergency.

To deal with the growing opposition in the country, the ZANU-PF used legal and extra-legal measures (Chuma, 2005a). The Public Order and Security Act (POSA, 2001) was used to curtail freedom of association, while the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA, 2002) dealt a severe blow to media and journalistic freedoms. In the space of eight months, the privately owned newspapers, *The Daily News* (established in 1999) and its sister publication, *The Daily News on Sunday* together with the weekly *Tribune*, were forced to shut down for failing to comply with some provisions of AIPPA (see Chuma, 2010). Chuma (2005b) contends that foreign news organisations such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN) and the Voice of America (VOA) were forced out of Zimbabwe for criticising government. ZANU-PF made use of the media under its control to promote a particular version of Zimbabwe's story. Nyambi (2013:6) comments that: "The official narrative of the nation is characterised by discernible politically-motivated exclusions, deletions and censorship of other narratives."

In addition to the restrictive laws, the state also resorted to using violence against opposition supporters (see Makumbe, 2002; Zamponi, 2005). The Matabeleland killings (*Gukurahundi*), which took place in the early years of independence, had first revealed that ZANU-PF was prepared to bring down its opponents through the use of violence. Intolerance and violent attacks on the opposition were particularly frequent during most national elections (Raftopoulos, 2009). Chuma (2010:95) has this to say about ZANU-PF's response:

As the ruling party's legitimacy came under severe battering in the wake of the failure of market reforms and numerous other crises during the 1990s and beyond, the already authoritarian state became predatory and militarised. It abandoned its coaxing and limited coercion approaches of the earlier decades, and adopted brute force as a key instrument of media policy and control.

The year 2009 marked yet another important development in Zimbabwe's economy. The country started using foreign currency in place of the Zimbabwe dollar. The use of the US dollar and the South African rand was seen as an effective way of curbing hyperinflation (Chiumbu, 2012). The former South African President, Thabo Mbeki's, attempts at mediating between ZANU-PF and the two MDC parties resulted in the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU)⁷ in February of 2009. The GNU saw Robert Mugabe remain President of the country, Morgan Tsvangirai become the Prime Minister and Arthur Mutambara, leader of the other MDC faction take up the position of Deputy Prime Minister.

Beremauro (2013) argues that under the GNU, there was relative economic stability and a general easing of political tensions in the country. Despite this respite, hardships such as unemployment and low salaries persisted (Beremauro, 2013). Some of the structural problems of the early 'crisis' years had not been resolved. State sponsored violence persisted and political polarisation undiminished. President Mugabe was accused of defying the Global Political Agreement by behaving as if he was the sole head of the Government (Chiumbu, 2012).

Elections for the Presidency, the National Assembly, the Senate and local authorities were held simultaneously on 31 July 2013. This marked the end of the GNU. Mugabe was re-elected President and ZANU-PF party amassed a two-thirds majority in the House of Assembly despite the opposition parties' claims that there were election irregularities.

Broadcasting context in Zimbabwe

For nearly two decades after independence, radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe remained more or less as it was before 1980 (Chatora, 2009; Dombo, 2013). In 1980, the incumbent ZANU government hired John Kirk and a team from the British Broadcasting Corporation to assist in the re-structuring of the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) (Mano, 2008). "[T]he BBC consultants suggested an overhaul of the existing broadcast set-up, inherited from the previous

⁷ The Government of National Unity saw the rival political parties, ZANU-PF, MDC-T and MDC-M form a coalition government with the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in September 2008.

government, and formulated a new policy on national public service broadcasting” (Mano, 2008:509). Despite the BBC team’s recommendations and the longstanding call for all governments to deregulate the airwaves (Moyo, 2010a), the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) retained a monopoly over television and radio broadcasting just like its predecessor, the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (see Moyo, 2012b).

In 1980 most of the nationalist broadcasters who had previously operated from exile took over the running of the former RBC (Mosia, Riddle & Zaffiro 1994; Waldahl, 2004) and all former Ministers of Information, such as Nathan Shamuyarira, Chen Chimutengwende and former Vice President Joice Mujuru, were ZANU-PF loyalists (Mano, 2008). Chuma (2005a:47) explains:

Given the pervasiveness of broadcasting as a medium compared to the press, the Zanu PF government was quick to appoint ex-fighters in the liberation war (some had broadcasting experience gained from operating a revolutionary radio station from exile) and other ruling party supporters to control the newly named Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC).

Any hope that the government would liberalise the broadcasting industry faded quickly as the country plunged into a political and economic crisis. Moyo (2012a:182) comments that: “The state-owned media became the lynchpin of a ZANU-PF’s campaign for survival during this stormy period.” Chiumbu and Moyo (2009:180) add that: “as the crisis intensified, the government continued to tighten its grip on the media in order to maintain its dominant position in defining the crisis to its citizens both at home and in the Diaspora, as well as critics abroad.” In addition to restrictive media laws like the Broadcasting Services Act (2001),⁸ state institutions were restructured in ways that ensured that they were staffed with people who were sympathetic to the government. “More far-reaching reforms took place in the broadcasting sector, where the ZBC was radically transformed with regard to both its programming and human resources” (Moyo, 2012a:185).

While ZBC was the ‘official’ broadcaster in the country, three clandestine radio stations (SW Radio Africa, Radio VOP and Studio 7) began broadcasting from outside the country in order to provide ‘alternative’ views to the ‘pro-ZANU-PF’ national broadcaster. It was only in 2012 that the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) which had been established under the

⁸ Although appearing to be liberalising the airwaves, the BSA had stringent conditions that made entry into the broadcasting industry extremely difficult so that in 2011, ten years after its promulgation, no private broadcasters had been licensed in the country.

Broadcasting Services Act of 2001 issued its first two radio licenses to Star FM, which is owned by a subsidiary of the state-owned Zimbabwe Newspaper Group and to ZiFM Stereo which is owned by AB Communications.

Radio Zimbabwe

In February/March 2013 the Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey (ZAMPS) conducted research into the state of all the radio stations in Zimbabwe. The research findings showed that Radio Zimbabwe, or the *gutsaruzhinji*⁹ station as it is commonly referred to, is the most listened to station in the country. Radio Zimbabwe is one of four radio stations run by the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. It has approximately 3.7 million listeners per day and is popular with people living in the rural areas.¹⁰ Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts from Mbare¹¹ studios in Harare as well as from Montrose, Bulawayo.¹² Mano (2009:195) points out that the station's programming schedule is divided into: "zones that matched the daily life of most people in the target listenership. This technique ensured that the programmes were more in tune with individual time and contexts of reception."

The other three ZBC stations that cater for small niche audiences are Spot FM, Power FM and National FM. Spot FM broadcasts in English and has an urban audience. On a single day its listenership is about 138 000. Power FM, a pop music radio station, broadcasts primarily in English to urban youths. National FM was established as an educational station in 1982. It has a daily audience of about 48 000 people (Mano, 1997).

Structure of the thesis

Following the introductory chapter, this thesis is organised as follows:

Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework. The chapter begins by looking at the propaganda model (Herman & Chomsky, 1988), the Gramscian concept of hegemony (1971) as well as the critical audience research perspective (Carragee, 1990) that informed the manner in which radio texts and listeners' narratives were analysed. The chapter also discusses some

⁹ Shona word meaning satisfying the needs of the public

¹⁰ 70% of the country's population lives in the rural areas (Chuma, 2005)

¹¹ Mbare is one of Harare's oldest high density suburbs

¹² Bulawayo is Zimbabwe's second largest city

poststructuralist thinkers' ideas on language, discourse and subjectivities that were useful in this study.

Chapter Three reviews literature germane to this study. The review is broadly divided into two parts; one focusing on radio and the other looking at the ways crises in Zimbabwe have been mediated. In the literature review section titled, 'Radio,' the researcher argues that current radio studies in Africa and in Zimbabwe have generally neglected analyses of the medium's content. Also conspicuous by its absence in international literature, media studies on Zimbabwe and Africa is an understanding of how radio listeners interact with the content broadcast by radio stations. The only researchers that have begun to understand radio listeners are media anthropologists in their ethnographic studies of radio and everyday life (see Jayaprakash, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; Winocur, 2005). This research, nonetheless, hardly discusses audience interaction with actual radio content. In the light of these gaps in scholarly knowledge, this chapter outlines how the researcher sees her analysis of Radio Zimbabwe texts and her discussion of how some rural women listeners engage with radio and the dominant discourses as contributing to knowledge production.

In the section labelled 'The Media and Crises in Zimbabwe,' the focus is on studies that try to understand how the media represented different crises in the course of the history of the country. The first point made is that most of the research has focused on the print media. Very few analyses have dealt with radio texts even though this medium is popular in Zimbabwe and across Africa. The second point is that there is hardly any research on media audiences in Zimbabwe. In view of these shortcomings, this study focuses on analysing radio and its listeners.

Chapter Four focuses on the methodology and research design. The first part of the chapter locates the study within the qualitative research paradigm. Whereas quantitative researchers emphasise the importance of objectivity, this chapter problematises the 'objectivity' ideal. The chapter highlights the subjective nature of the research process. The researcher made many choices, for example, what to study, what radio station to focus on, which community to go to, which participants to interview, what questions to ask and what information to include in the thesis. In the research design section, the focus shifts to the techniques used for collecting and analysing the information. The section also discusses the challenges of negotiating entry into 'the field' given the political polarisation in Zimbabwe. Semi-structured interviews were used to gain

insights into women's engagement with radio and discourse analysis was used to analyse these interviews. In analysing Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts, critical discourse analysis was used.

Chapter Five is the first of four chapters that discuss empirical findings. The researcher discusses two of the four discourses which dominated Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts in light of the crisis besetting Zimbabwe. The two discourses deal with the land and the liberation struggle. One of the main arguments made in the chapter is that in the face of waning support and immense opposition, Radio Zimbabwe positioned ZANU-PF as the only legitimate party to lead the country because of its long history of fighting against imperialism and restoring the land to the black people. Other political parties like the MDC who had no struggle credentials were dismissed as unfit to govern the country.

Chapter Six continues the discussion on the discourses which dominated Radio Zimbabwe's broadcasts. The discussion focuses on the discourse of the father of the nation and the discourse on Christianity and God. In this chapter, the researcher argues that Radio Zimbabwe justified President Mugabe's continued leadership by framing him as the father of the nation and a messenger from God. In a country in which many people identify as Christians, presenting Mugabe in this manner operated to solidify his authority. The researcher also argues that in light of the economic crisis, pointing listeners to God for help served to give people hope. This also eased the pressure on a government that was struggling to provide for its citizens.

Chapter Seven introduces the community in which the women lived. This rural community was not immune to the political polarisation and economic challenges that affected the country as a whole. Just as Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts locked people into a dichotomy of 'good' versus 'bad,' the village head simplistically categorised people as supporters or opponents of ZANU-PF. The chapter also discusses some of the ways that were used to weed out those who were deemed 'traitors' to ZANU-PF.

Whilst Radio Zimbabwe and the village head categorised people as existing in binaries; ZANU-PF supporter versus MDC supporter, 'patriot' versus 'traitor,' this chapter points to the fluidity of some of the research participants' political identities. Instead of neatly fitting into the boxes of

being either ZANU-PF or MDC supporters, some of the participants moved in and out of the two categories depending on the circumstances and people around them.

Chapter 7 also discusses the ethnography of radio. In discussing women's interaction with Radio Zimbabwe, the researcher notes that listening to the radio was something that was embedded in their everyday work routines. It was while women performed domestic tasks like cooking and cleaning that they listened to the radio.

Chapter Eight analyses the narratives of women interviewed in this study. In ways that could not be predicted by doing a textual analysis alone, women moved in and out of accepting and challenging hegemonic ideas broadcast by the station. In some instances, contestation of mainstream views was spurred on when some women realised that what was being said did not match their lived realities. For example, *Mai*¹³ Patience¹⁴ could deconstruct hegemonic ideas when she felt they clashed with her experiences. There were, however, instances when some women stuck with mainstream ideas regardless of the fact that their personal experiences contradicted what was said on Radio Zimbabwe.

Chapter Nine is the concluding chapter. It discusses how the research questions that were set out at the beginning of the study were answered. The researcher also discusses how the study contributed to existing knowledge. The chapter concludes by making suggestions regarding further research in the area of media and audiences.

¹³ Shona word that means "mother of" or "wife of" depending on the context

¹⁴ All names used in this thesis are pseudonyms

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This chapter covers the theoretical framework. The chapter starts with a discussion of the propaganda model, the Gramscian concept on hegemony and the critical audience research paradigm that will be used to frame the study. The theory section also briefly discusses some poststructuralist ideas on language, discourses and subjectivity that will also be useful in understanding Radio Zimbabwe and its listeners in this thesis.

Theoretical Framework

The Propaganda Model

The question about the role of the media in propagating views of the dominant groups in society has received some attention from scholars. In their 1988 book, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky proposed the propaganda model as a framework to understand and explain the performance of the media in the United States. They argued that there are a number of dominant centers of political and economic power in that country that influence news media content.

In their model, Herman and Chomsky outlined five “filters” that affect news choices. The first is the size, concentrated ownership and profit-orientation of the media. They argued that mainstream media are large businesses that are located in the market system and are driven by the profit-making imperative. They further noted that media institutions are owned and controlled by affluent individuals and companies. The second filter they discussed is the dominance of advertising. They contended that the influence that advertisers had was due to the fact that they were primary funders of the media. The third filter was the sources. They argued that the dependence by the media on news sources provided by government and business impacted on the content. The fourth filter that influenced choices of news is what Herman and Chomsky (1988:2) called “flak.” They explained that organised negative responses to some of the media content by business and government controlled news media content. The final filter was the anticommunism ideology prevailing prior to and during the Cold War era.

In discussing the impact of the above-mentioned forces on content, Herman and Chomsky (1988:35) argued that it resulted in a “systematic and highly political dichotomization in news coverage based on serviceability to important domestic power interests.” Herman and Chomsky used the concept of “worthy” and “unworthy” to describe the dualism (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Herman, 1996). They explained that in the propaganda system, people who were victimised by inimical states were depicted as “worthy” victims while people “treated with equal or greater severity by [their] own government or clients [were] *unworthy*” victims (Herman & Chomsky, 1988:37 – italics in the original).

Criticisms and relevance of the propaganda model

Although this study does not primarily focus on the institutional pressures that are brought to bear on Radio Zimbabwe, Herman and Chomsky’s discussion on how views and values of dominant centers of power are privileged in the media is useful in understanding Radio Zimbabwe content. In this study, filters such as ownership and the ideology on patriotism prevalent during the crisis in Zimbabwe will be implicated in the content that was broadcast on the station. Herman and Chomsky’s observation about the marginalisation of views that are not part of the core of economic and political power as well as the binary representations of people will also be a useful lens for looking at Radio Zimbabwe texts.

While the propaganda model provides interesting insights that will be useful in framing part of this study, the model has, however, been criticised by a number of scholars (see Herman, 1996). One of the criticisms levelled against the model is that it is too simplistic and deterministic (Eldridge, 1993). Some critics of the model have dismissed it as perpetuating a “conspiracy theory” (Nelson, 1990; Herman, 1996). The model has also been accused of downplaying the agency of and professional contribution by journalists to the news making process (Hallin, 1994). Klaehn (2002) also notes that the propaganda model was criticised for assuming that the ideas and interests of the ruling class were unified. In addition, the model faced a barrage of criticism for assuming that media audiences are passive. The model was charged with placing a lot of emphasis on the dominance of political and economic centres of power in the US in influencing content without further understanding how audiences engage with these hegemonic meanings (see Klaehn, 2002).

In defending the model, Herman (1996:2) writes: “We never claimed that the propaganda model explains everything or that it shows media omnipotence and complete effectiveness in manufacturing consent. It is a model of media behaviour and performance, not media effects.” Herman (1996) further explains that they had acknowledged that factors such as alternative media and public cynicism about the media curtailed the efficacy of elite propaganda.

Gramsci and Hegemony

In addition to the aforementioned propaganda model, the concept on hegemony will also be drawn on to frame the discussions in Chapters 5, 6 & 8 of this thesis on dominant meanings embedded in Radio Zimbabwe texts and how audiences engage with them. Antonio Gramsci’s ideas on hegemony provide a nuanced way of understanding how consent is continually being reproduced by the dominant groups in society and how dominated groups contest mainstream meanings.

Gramsci’s work builds on earlier Marxist theorisations of ideology. In *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (1971), Gramsci made a distinction between two types of political control that sustained capitalist societies; direct physical coercion (domination) and consent (hegemony). Stoddart (2007) explains that coercion refers to the state’s ability to use violence and force on those that are not willing to engage in relations of production that are capitalist. Gramsci assumed that no matter how authoritarian a regime was, it could not maintain itself principally by using organised state power, hence the deployment of “complex cultural and ideological processes that secure popular consent to the established social order” (Carragee, 1993:330). Elaborating on the same point, Bloggs (1976:38) writes, “[...] in the long run, [the regime’s] scope of popular support or ‘legitimacy’ was always bound to contribute to stability, particularly during times of stress or crisis.”

As already alluded to above, hegemony is another way that dominant groups in society gain legitimacy. Carragee and Roefs (2004:221) define hegemony as a concept that refers to “the process by which ruling elites secure consent to the established political order through the production and diffusion of meanings and values.” In establishing consent, the state makes use of civil society (church, media, schools, unions) to establish the legitimacy of the prevailing political system (Carragee, 1993). The dominant groups or the ruling class presents itself mostly

through the media as the only group with the ability to meet the needs of the people. The dominant groups also work to convince individuals and social classes to give into social beliefs and norms that are intrinsically exploitative.

For Gramsci (1971), hegemonic power relies on individuals voluntarily buying into and internalising a certain way to understand how a society operates. Hegemonic power is thus embedded in everyday life and is taken for granted as ‘common sense,’ normal and natural (see Croteau, Hoynes & Milan, 2012). It (hegemony) is depicted as representing everyone’s interests when in fact it represents the interests of the dominant group.

Distinct from Althusser, for Gramsci, hegemonic domination is a constant struggle in which dominant groups have to continually struggle to maintain their hegemony. Drawing on Gramsci’s idea of the impermanence of hegemony, Croteau, Hoynes and Milan (2012:161) explain: “To effectively wield power through consent, ideological work through cultural leadership is an ongoing necessity. The terrain of common sense and the natural must be continually reinforced because people’s actual experiences will lead them to question dominant ideological assumptions.” O’Shaughnessy and Stadler (2005:183) also elaborate in the following manner:

The major point about hegemony is that it suggests that maintaining power over others is always a process of struggle: it is never stable; it involves participation and negotiation on both sides; and it is a two-way process (in contrast to ideology, which tends to be conceived of as a one-way process, imposed from the top down). It is in this two-way process that people can use the media in ways that can challenge the dominant ideas and ideology.

While Radio Zimbabwe will be saturated with mainstream ideas whose main aim is that of constituting the legitimacy of ZANU-PF, it will be interesting to see how the women interviewed in this study interact with the dominant meanings. Will the lived realities of women in this study spur them to contest hegemonic meanings broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe?

Media, Power and Hegemony

Most studies examining the link between the media, power and hegemony have focused their attention on how the news media in particular has represented a wide range of topics such as conflicts, industrial actions, refugees, race relations, gender, class and so on. The premise of this research is that journalists and the news media are involved in constructing reality in ways that

are favourable to powerful groups in society (see Carragee, 1993). Summarising the principal findings of this research, Croteau and Hoynes (2003:169) note that researchers conclude that: “news focuses on powerful people and institutions and generally reflects established interests. [...] news reaffirms the basic social order and the values and assumptions that it is based on.” Another common finding in the aforementioned literature is the oversimplified grouping of people by the media as either ‘insiders’ (‘us’) or ‘outsiders’ (‘them’). Dominant groups and their interests are often depicted as superior to less powerful groups in society in ways that legitimise and perpetuate an unjust social order. Writing in the context of the kind of research that he carried out, Van Dijk (1995:29) elaborates:

Despite occasional conflicts, contradictions, controversies, and varying directions of control, the news media are inherently part of this joint production of a consensus that sustains elite power - that is, northern, white, male, heterosexual, middle-class, politically moderate (that is, more or less conservative) dominance by a small minority over a large majority of non-Western, non-white, female, lower class, poor, or otherwise different others.

While the mainstream media is regarded as perpetuating inequalities, Van Dijk (2005) contends that there is a small group of liberal press that takes complex positions on issues such as ethnic affairs. “It [the liberal press] does not openly advocate discrimination, prejudice, and racism, and it usually maintains a critical distance from the racist right. It advocates tolerance and understanding and may occasionally pay attention to the plight of immigrants or other minorities” (Van Dijk, 1995:18).

In terms of analysing media texts, many researchers have made use of discourse analysis as well as content analysis. Other scholars have also used critical discourse analysis (see most of Teun Van Dijk’s work on the ways the media reproduces racism). Theoretically, some studies draw on the notion of hegemony postulated by Italian philosopher, Antonio Gramsci (see Hallin, 1987; Carragee, 1990; Hall, 1980) as well as the framing theory (see Gitlin, 1980; Ryan, 1991; Entman, 1993; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Shook, 2000; Reese, 2001; Powell, 2011). In studies that make use of the Gramscian concept, “hegemony refers to the processes by which ruling classes and groups shape popular consent through the production and diffusion of meanings and values by the major ideological institutions in a society” (Carragee, 1993:333). In addition to this, Tankard (2001:96) argues that: “Media hegemony can be viewed as a situation in which one frame is so dominant that people accept it without notice or question [...].” In using the framing theory, most researchers often cite Entman’s (1993) discussion about framing

consisting of ongoing processes in which media houses consciously engage in *selecting* and making some ideas *salient* over others. Also regularly quoted is Gitlin (1980:6) who explains the following regarding media frames:

What makes the world beyond direct experience look natural is a media frame. Certainly we cannot take for granted that the world depicted is simply the world that exists. Many things exist. At each moment the world is rife with events. Even within a given event there is an infinity of noticeable details. Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation [...]

Though the notion of hegemony has been useful for many scholars, Carragee (1993) points to some shortcomings that are prevalent in studies that have used the concept. Carragee (1993) argues that there have been differences in the manner in which researchers define and use hegemony in their work. Carragee contends that some researchers have conceptualised dominant hegemony as consistent (see Anderson, 1988). Other researchers have, however, pointed to the contradictions and inconsistencies that are entrenched in mainstream ideas (Carragee, 1990; Kellner, 1990). Following Gramsci's theorisation, these researchers sometimes point to the prevalence of oppositional discourse in media content.

Critiquing some studies in which the framing theory has been used, Carragee and Roefs (2004) argue that some researchers have failed to link the discussion on media frames with that of power. Carragee and Roefs (2004:214) explain:

We contend that a number of trends in framing research have neglected the relationship between media frames and broader issues of political and social power. This neglect is a product of a number of factors, including conceptual problems in the definition of frames, the inattention to frames sponsorship, the failure to examine framing contests within wider political and social contexts, and the reduction of framing to a form of media effects. We conclude that framing research needs to be linked to the political and social questions regarding power central to the media hegemony thesis [...]

The sections that follow provide illustrations of research that has analysed how hegemonic power manifests itself in media content. While there are several ways this research can be categorised, for purposes of this discussion the literature has been divided into three main categories. The first group focuses on research analysing the media's representations of in-country day-to-day matters (see Jones, 1986; Devereux & Haynes, 2000; Devereux & Breen, 2003; 2004; Haynes, Devereux & Breen, 2006; O'Neill, 2007; Murphy, 2010). The second looks at literature on the media's depictions of in-country crises and conflicts (see Hallin, 1986; Halliday, 1999; Yang, 2003; Ryan, 2004; BBC World Service Trust, 2008). The third group

discusses studies on the international media's portrayals of crises and conflicts happening in Africa (see McNulty, 1999; Devereux & Haynes, 2000; Somerville, 2009).

Research analysing the media's representations of in-country day-to-day matters

Though Van Dijk (1995:22) makes the observation that mainstream news media supports the status quo because they are "part of a power structure of elite groups and institutions" in light of his research on the ethnic situation, this statement aptly summarizes the findings of studies that will be discussed in this section.

Although now dated, the work of the Glasgow University Media Group (1976; 1980) on the British television news' depiction of strikes in that country comes to a conclusion similar to Van Dijk (1995). In their studies, the Glasgow University Media Group contended that the British television news was used by dominant groups as a cog in perpetuating hegemonic ideas in their reportage of strikes. The Group observed that the news media aligned themselves with management and government to the extent that their views were emphasised over those of the unions and the workers.

Similar to the study carried out by the Glasgow Media Group, Murphy (2010) analysed how the print media depicted the Irish Public Service Workers. Murphy used the framing theory as well as the Propaganda Model (Herman & Chomsky, 1988) to frame his study. Similar to findings in the research by the Glasgow Media Group, Murphy noted that the media took on a position that was against the public sector workers and was in favour of powerful groups. "This representation is symbiotic and reflective of the dominant discourse of government, business and employer elites [...]" (Murphy, 2010:16).

In a different study, Van Dijk (2000) came to a similar conclusion. In a discourse analysis of a report published in 1989 on immigrant by a British tabloid, *The Sun*, Van Dijk concluded that immigrants were portrayed in a stereotypical manner. In alignment with mainstream thinking, the migrants were constructed as a threat to the United Kingdom and its nationals. The UK on the other hand was depicted as the victims and immigration officials were working tirelessly to keep the 'problem' under control.

Also in a study about refugees and asylum seekers, Haynes, Devereux and Breen (2006) used the frame analysis approach to examine how the Irish print media represented these people. In their findings, they argued that the newspapers represented asylum seekers and refugees as ‘illegitimate’ and a ‘disruption to the lives of the Irish people.’ The migrants were also framed as disturbing the economic prosperity of the country as well as threatening the safety of the nationals. While Haynes, Devereux and Breen’s findings alluded to negative representations of migrants, they also presented findings that showed that the media framed the refugees and asylum seekers in positive ways, albeit minimally. Haynes, Devereux and Breen (2006:5) write:

We have identified three further frames which serve to deconstruct the divide between ‘them’ and ‘us’ – a positive frame wherein asylum seekers and refugees are exclusively depicted as contributors to Irish society; a support frame wherein racism and social closure are actively challenged; and a human interest frame, wherein asylum seekers and refugees are represented not as an amorphous mass, but as individuals with stories which evoke a sympathetic reaction among the readership.

In a study on race and poverty in American news magazines (*The Time, Newsweek, US News and World Report*) between 1988 and 1992, the media paddled white capitalist ideals. Gilens (1996) found that African Americans were mostly represented as the poor. Gilens (1996:521) contends that this “reinforces negative stereotypes of black people as mired in poverty and [the representations] contribute to the belief that poverty is a primarily ‘black problem.’”

In a study on how minority groups were represented in the news media, Saeed (2007) focused on the British press’ representations of Islam and Muslims. Saeed contends that British Muslims were portrayed as the ‘alien other’ and ‘un-British’ in ways perpetuated racism and Islamophobia.

Literature on media depictions of in-country crises and conflicts

There are different kinds of studies that fall under this category. One group looks at how totalitarian regimes in contexts such as Nazi Germany and Apartheid South Africa used the media to legitimise and sustain the status quo. Another group of research focuses on how countries at ‘peace’ use the media to represent crises that befall the country such as 9/11 in the US (see Chermak, Bailey & Brown, 2003; Powell & Abadi, 2003; Li, 2007; Steuter & Wills, 2010). Some studies look how home countries represent international conflicts in which they are

involved in, for example, the British media's depictions of the Falklands war or the US media's portrayal of the Iraqi war. In the bulk of this literature, the key finding is that views of groups such as the government are very dominant in the media (see Kellner, 2002; Ryan, 2004). In complying with the government position, the media vilifies the 'other' or the 'enemy' (Shaheen, 2001).

In a content and discourse analysis of about 1 800 articles published in English and Afrikaans newspapers on the role of the media during Apartheid, Bird and Garda (1996) alluded to the manner the media bolstered the Apartheid government's racist and exclusionary agenda. In reports published about the 1976 protests, for example, white people who died were referred to by name and framed as 'victims' while black people who passed away remained a large group of nameless people; mere 'statistics' (Bird & Garda, 1996:3). Black protestors were also labelled as 'mobs' and 'unruly crowds' in ways that worked to delegitimise the black people's struggle for human rights. Bird and Garda (1996:7-8) contend:

[The media] wittingly or unwittingly, often played a role in legitimising and centralising the system of apartheid. English and Afrikaans papers, whilst operating differently in this regard, nonetheless did not always sufficiently challenge the workings, policies and activities of the apartheid state.

While most studies specifically focus on how the news media are used to sustain hegemonic ideas and values of the powerful, there are some studies that broadly discuss the role the media as a whole played. In the discussion about the anti-Semitic campaign in Nazi Germany, for example, researchers generally refer to how Hitler and Joseph Goebbels (Minister of Propaganda, 1933 to 1945) made use of radio, press, cinema, literature, theatre, music, posters, word of mouth and public gatherings. Even when a range of media are analysed, the findings remain similar to those of researchers who only analyse a single news article (see Van Dijk, 2000); the media was used by the dominant group to sustain an unjust social order.

Writing about media content at the time of Hitler, Sutter (2008) discusses the manner in which the media juxtaposed 'Nazi gods' with 'Jewish devils.' The Nazi media mostly quoted Adolf Hitler's speeches and Joseph Goebbels' articles in which the Aryans were constituted as the 'good' and 'superior' group (the 'ingroup') while the Jewish people were a homogeneous group of 'evil' and inferior people (the main 'outgroup'). According to Hitler, the idea of Aryans ruling other human beings was part of God's will. A distinction was also made between the 'pure'

Aryans blood versus the 'impure and inferior' blood of the Jewish people. Goebbels often referred to the Jews as a 'disease' in ways that assisted in rallying the masses as well as in justifying the need to 'cut them off.' In addition to denouncing the Jews, the media was also used to criticise liberals, people who were left-wing and those who were generally opposed to beliefs of the Nazi party (Nutter, n.d.). The party gave Germans an ultimatum to either take the side of the Germans or the side of the 'enemy.'

What is strikingly similar between the analyses of the ways people were depicted in the Nazi German media and in Apartheid media is the racial distinction that was made and emphasised between 'superior selves' and 'inferior others.' Several submissions to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa highlighted that the mainstream English and Afrikaans print media worked hand in glove with the Apartheid administration to perpetuate racist and discriminatory ideas. Akin to Nazi Germany, presenting the 'Other' as inferior worked to legitimise the racist actions of the Apartheid administration against the black population.

In analysing the broadcasts of the infamous Rwandese radio station, Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) during the 1994 genocide, Des Forges (2007) also observes a similar prejudicial labelling of people. Words like *inyenzi* (cockroaches) and 'extermination' were used on the station to refer to the Tutsis. The authorities also used the RTLM to direct listeners to go and attack specific people. Des Forge (2007:49) writes: "Authorities used both radio stations to give instructions and orders to listeners. RTLM announcers identified specific targets to attack, sending assailants on 8 April to the home of Tutsi businessman Antoine Sebera and later to the home of Joseph Kahabaye."

In a different context like the US during the 9/11 attacks, most researchers concur that the media in America, despite having different political inclinations framed the crisis in very similar ways. The media took the lead from government's position regarding 'terrorists' and 'terrorism.' In the studies, America was broadly represented as the 'innocent victim' of 'extremist terrorists.' Powell (2011) argues that as purveyors of ideology, the media created and distributed ideology by means of framing. Similar findings were also recorded by Kellner (2002:143) in which the mainstream media circulated the dualistic view of 'Islamic terrorism' versus 'Western civilization.' Kellner also notes how the media promoted the "war fever and retaliatory feelings and discourses that called for and supported a form of military intervention" (Kellner, 2002:143).

Also writing about the media and 9/11, Steuter and Wills (2010) analysed the dehumanising metaphors that were used by the Western news media to represent the ‘enemy.’ Steuter and Wills note how the ‘enemy’ was portrayed as a ‘vermin’ and an ‘animal.’ In analysing the ways the US newspapers framed the “war against terrorism,” Ryan (2004) also alludes to the manner in which the media took the cue from the position of the government. “No editorial suggested that military intervention would be inappropriate and none stated that military intervention would not ultimately succeed, although some urged caution” (Ryan, 2004:363).

In analyses of how the news media represented wars, the findings were also akin to the studies discussed above. In a content analyse of the photographic coverage of the Persian Gulf and Iraqi Wars in 1991 and 2003 respectively in the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *New York Times*, King and Lester (2005) argued that the images published were largely pro-military. They also noted that very few of the photographs showed civilian casualties due to the embedding of journalists in the battlefield.

International media’s representations of conflicts in Africa

The analysis of studies looking at the international media’s portrayal of conflicts in Africa reveals the prevalence of Western hegemonic ideas about the continent. Van Dijk (1995:26) explains:

These critical analyses have focused on Western biases in news about the Third World, on the dominance of Western biases in news agencies and communication multinationals, on the cultural hegemony of Western (and especially US) television programs, and so on. Due to the absence of Third World news agencies and a lack of correspondents for Third World newspapers, most news about these countries, even in their own newspapers, is channeled through First World news agencies and inevitably shows a Western perspective.

In most studies, the international media is generally critiqued for negatively reporting about the continent (see Myers, Klak & Koehl, 1996; Ankomah, 2000; Somerville, 2009). The international media is also charged with imposing an “imperialist gaze” when covering political crises in Africa (Silverstein, 1994; Wall, 1997; Moyo, 2011b) and also ignoring the contextual specificities of crises (see Wall, 1997; Dallaire, 2007; Chari, 2010c; Somerville, 2009).

Ankomah (2000) explains that one of the reasons for the unsatisfactory depiction of Africa by the international media is that they lack independence. He argues that Western journalists always take the cue from their government’s position, especially when reporting about Africa. Ankomah

gives an example of the ways the British media adopted the position taken by the British government in constantly constructing Zimbabwe's President Mugabe as a villain. The consequence of this lack of independence on the part of most Western media is that the West's involvement in some of the crises gets ignored (see Willems, 2005).

In an article titled: 'Representation or misrepresentation? The New York Times' framing of the 1994 Rwanda genocide,' Chari (2010c) draws on ideas postulated in the framing theory. Chari argues that the *New York Times*' representation of the crisis in Rwanda relied heavily on "enduring nineteenth-century Eurocentric ideologies whereby the Rwandan genocide is represented as yet another African tragedy signifying darkness and hopelessness" (Chari, 2010c:332). Rwanda was thus portrayed as a place full of "marauding machete and club wielding savages." Chari maintains that this depiction had the potential of fuelling 'afro-pessimism' (Chari, 2010c:339). Chari also highlights that media reports in *The New York Times* (1 April 1994 to 31 December 1994) were dotted with ideas that glorified the West's benevolence towards Rwanda during the genocide.

In a comparative content and intertextual analysis of the manner in which six major US newspapers represented the conflicts in Rwanda and Bosnia, Myers, Klak and Koehl (1996) contend that despite the two conflicts being similar, the media tended to depict the Bosnian conflict much more favourably than the one in Rwanda. Myers, Klak and Koehl (1996:21) note that:

[...] the press distorts Rwanda coverage to fit a frame. This frame relies almost entirely on non-African sources, depicting Africa as a timeless and placeless realm of "tribal" conflict, the repository of deep-seated US fears of African "others." This inscription of difference implicates the news media as a central player in the social construction, categorization and defamation of peoples and places in the emerging post-Cold-War geopolitical (dis)order.

While Atkinson (1999) does not conduct a detailed textual analysis of the Western media on which her article on the media's representations of the civil war in Liberia is based, she, nonetheless, makes observations similar to researchers such as Chari (2010c). Atkinson contends that the civil war was largely framed in the Western media as driven by 'ethnic' differences in ways that overlooked the myriad factors that caused it. Atkinson (1999:209) explains:

Much coverage of the war in Liberia has, since 1990, projected essentialist ethnic representations of the violence. Many articles about the war in the British press and on the international news wires have, up to the present, included a mention of the ethnic divisions both between the Americo-Liberians and indigenous Liberians, and between the Krahn and other tribal groups.

In addition, Atkinson also notes that the fighters were portrayed as ‘barbaric and cannibalistic savages’ who made use of child-soldiers. The war itself was depicted as ‘pointless’ (Atkinson, 1999:210). Atkinson contends that these representations perpetuated racist myths about the African continent. These portrayals also made invisible the role of the international community in sustaining wars such as the one in Liberia.

Similar to the preceding studies, Somerville’s (2009) analysis of the British media’s representation of the post-election violence that took place in Kenya (December 2007 to March 2008) shows the prevalence of words like ‘tribes’ and ‘tribalism’ in the reporting. Somerville (2009:530) writes:

[...] for the UK media, [the cause of the violence] rapidly became one of tribal/ethnic violence resulting from long-standing hatred, rather than violence resulting from a fraudulent election in which supporters of one party attacked supporters of another. Little space was given to the issues or policies surrounding the elections let alone the political, social or economic context in which it was taking place. There was scant reference to even the names of the parties: tribal/ethnic loyalties were portrayed as dominant.

Whereas the British media relied on the tropes of tribalism and ethnicity to explain the conflict in Kenya, Somerville (2009) discusses some inconsistencies in the dominant discourse. He points to some comment and analysis pieces that were well researched and broke ranks with the mainstream stereotypes.

Though Leopold’s (1999) chapter looks at how the press in Uganda represented the conflict between the Ugandan government and the rebels in the North and the North West of the country, it is interesting to note how the local media also framed the conflict as ‘ethnic.’ “Almost inevitably, much of the argument [about the causes of the war in the Ugandan media] was conducted in ‘ethnic’ terms or their standard Ugandan geographical euphemisms, ‘north,’ ‘south,’ ‘north-west,’ and so forth. The war is generally presented as an ‘Acholi’ war [...]” (Atkinson, 1999:223).

Shortcomings of current research on the media hegemonic thesis and suggestions for future studies

Though the studies alluded to above have played a critical role in demonstrating how hegemonic power is exercised through the media, Carragee (1993) maintains that this body of work has some weaknesses. As noted at the beginning of this section, one limitation is that some researchers have presented hegemonic ideas as “relatively consistent and well-integrated” (see Carragee, 1993:333). Very few researchers such as Haynes, Devereux and Breen (2006) and Somerville (2009) have alluded to discrepancies in mainstream ideas. In suggesting a way to deal with this, Carragee proposes that researchers should rethink the “mechanistic definitions and applications of hegemony.” He also contends that researchers ought to view news texts as “sites of struggle between contending discourses” (Carragee, 1993:342).

Another problem linked to research on media hegemony is that most researchers often overlook the complexity and flexibility of hegemonic discourse because studies are often carried out over a short period of time. Carragee (1993) argues that this challenge could be resolved if researchers carried out longitudinal studies of the media’s coverage of conflicts, for example.

Another critique of the existing literature is around the lack of audience analyses to balance out the media hegemonic thesis. Carragee (1993:336) writes: “While a considerable number of content studies have revealed hegemonic meanings and values within news texts, there remains a relative lack of detailed analyses exploring the interpretations of these texts by readers or viewers” (also see Carragee & Roefs, 2004). Carragee, however, cautions researchers undertaking audience studies to be cognisant of some of the limitations that have bedevilled recent audience studies. He argues that there has been a tendency to romanticise the power of audiences in decoding hegemonic media texts. Carragee (1993:345) explains:

Given the romanticized definitions of readers and viewers advanced by some studies, researchers need to remain sensitive to the very real constraints confronting audience members in their interaction with media texts. These constraints include the power of texts to direct audience interpretations, the availability of specific types of texts at particular historical moments, the historical context that influences the production and consumption of these texts and the access of audience members to oppositional codes and discourses.

Although there is value in Carragee’s argument for longitudinal studies to show the shifts in mainstream discourses, it is, however, something that is beyond the scope of this current study.

Having said that, this study tries to take up some of the suggestions that Carragee makes. In the study of Radio Zimbabwe texts, the researcher will make a deliberate effort to look for the inconsistencies, contradictions and overlaps that are embedded in mainstream discourses (see Chapters 5 & 6). This study will also include an exploration of how some of the station's audiences engage with the radio (Chapters 7 & 8). The audience analysis of will be informed by ideas from the critical audience perspective (see Carragee, 1990).

Analysing audiences: the critical audience research perspective

The section that follows looks at the critical audience research perspective that will frame the discussion on Radio Zimbabwe listeners in Chapter 8.

The study of media audiences has come a long way from the times when theorisation about the media was mainly based on textual analyses of media content (see Lasswell, 1948). Since Hall's (1980) model on 'encoding and decoding,' a flurry of research on audiences emerged (see; Morley, 1980; Lull, 1982; Liebes, 1988; Anderson & Avery, 1988; Livingstone, 1989). This research has been referred to using different labels such as reception analysis, new audience research, interpretive research and so on (see Van Zoonen, 1994). Most of these studies were premised on a questioning of textual determinism by looking at the ways audiences interact with the media (see Livingstone, 1989; Morley, 1992). These studies noted that audiences were heterogeneous and were imaginative in their decodings of media texts. Detailing some of the gains of what he terms the interpretive approach, Carragee (1990:86) writes:

The findings of interpretive research relating to readers' and viewers' active role in constructing meanings helped call attention to the inadequacies of exclusively text-based discussions of the mass media's ideological role. [...] By focusing on questions of meaning construction and by emphasizing the variety in audience interpretations of media content, interpretive research has contributed to the growing abandonment of simplistic models of ideological domination and hegemony (also see Livingstone, 1988).

Despite the above-mentioned contributions, the interpretive approach to audience research has not escaped criticism (see Murdock, 1989; Curran, 1990). Carragee (1990) contends that researchers operating within the interpretative framework in mass communication have not taken into account the critiques that have been levelled against the interpretive paradigm in social sciences in general. Researchers have generally tended to over-emphasise the fact that audiences are active makers of meaning of polysemic media texts. Interpretive researchers have been

charged with overlooking the point that media texts are “products of organisations.” Carragee (1990:88) argues that this disregard of the organisational origins of the texts “masks the power of the institutions and ignores the centralization of signifying practices in the media.” Carragee also points out that most audience researchers have neglected or provided limited analyses of the actual texts that the audiences engage with resulting in the perpetuation of the notion that media texts are polysemic (also see Condit, 1989). “Characterizations of texts or indeed media as empty vessels [...] deny the ways in which texts and media help to constitute meanings and realities for their audiences by highlighting certain meanings and values while excluding others” (Carragee, 1990:89). Morley (1992:31) argues that: “the power of viewers to reinterpret meanings is hardly equivalent to the discursive power of centralised media institutions to construct the texts which the viewer then interprets.”

Another critique levelled against interpretive researchers of mass communication is that they do not discuss audiences within historical, social and cultural contexts (see Carragee, 1990; Madianou, 2002). Most interpretive studies have limited the idea of context to the manner in which audiences interact with media within the immediate family, leaving out the broader socio-political context (see Lull, 1980a, 1980b, 1982). Madianou (2002:77) contends that:

[...] audience and reception studies did not extend their focus beyond the point of contact between audiences and texts. They retained a highly mediacentric approach that did not look at wider social, economic and cultural processes of which the media and their reception are a part.

Also critiquing the manner in which audiences have been positioned in interpretive studies, Carragee (1990:92) writes:

Interpretive mass communication research defines readers and viewers of media texts as free-floating ahistorical actors who are busily engaged in the social construction of reality. This definition ignores the textual, historical, and material influences on audience interactions with the media. Media audiences *are* engaged in the construction of meaning, but their constructions are set within and, in part, determined by wider pressures and contexts.

In view of the above-mentioned limitations of the interpretative paradigm to theorise media audiences, in this study, I will turn to the critical audience research perspective. While researchers operating within both the interpretive and critical audience research paradigms share the idea that meaning is produced during moments of reception, critical studies of audiences go further.

Instead of neglecting media texts, critical audience researchers recognise that media texts communicate dominant hegemonic values and meanings. In that regard, they devote time conducting detailed analyses of media texts using Gramsci's concept of hegemony (see Gitlin, 1980; Hall, 1980). Part of this study will focus on analysing the hegemonic ideas that were broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe (see Chapters 5 & 6). In addition, the analysis of narratives by listeners of Radio Zimbabwe in Chapter 8 will not be divorced from the broader historical and political context in which they live.

While the critical audience approach provides useful insights in understanding audiences, some researchers continue to use the encoding/decoding model (Morley, 1980) and the three decoding positions of dominant, negotiated and oppositional to frame their studies. This is despite that the fact that Morley (1981) refined the model. Similar to interpretive researchers, some critical researchers uncritically embrace the concept of polysemy. "There is a growing tendency to romanticize audience members as semiological guerillas who consistently construct oppositional readings of media texts [...]" (Carragee, 1990:93).

The relevance of poststructuralist approaches to analysing Radio Zimbabwe and its audiences

This section discusses ideas about language, discourses and subjectivity found in the works of poststructuralist thinkers such as Michel Foucault that have been useful in framing this study. Although Foucault did not write specifically about the media and he did not use the term 'poststructuralist' to refer to himself or his work, his thinking is nonetheless useful in proposing that the media are mechanisms through which power is exercised discursively. Williams (2003:160) argues that "the media are means of exercising surveillance and control."

Unlike structuralists theorists, who argue that knowledge can be entirely truthful and objective, poststructuralist thinkers see truth as something constructed, contextual and localised (Baxter, 2007). Gavey (1989:462) expounds on the poststructuralist view of knowledge as follows:

Knowledge is transient and inherently unstable- there are few, if any, universal truths. Furthermore, knowledge is understood to be not neutral- it is closely associated with power. Those who have the power to regulate what counts as truth are able to maintain their access to material advantages and power.

Poststructuralist feminist scholars argue that the mainstream structuralist conceptualisations of knowledge have privileged men's experiences, thus protecting men's power and interests at women's expense (see Gavey, 1989).

Poststructuralist theorists argue that the process of constructing knowledge happens through language and discourse. "Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social consequences are defined and contested" (Weedon, 1987:21). Van Zoonen (1994:24) points out that language is never an innocent medium which: "convey[s] one's authentic experiences, or what really happened, [yet it is seen] as constituting subjectivity and reality." The analysis of language and discourse is thus central to understanding how meaning is assembled and how power is exercised.

Moving to discourses, Gannon and Davies (2007:82) view discourses as: "complex interconnected webs of modes of being, thinking, and acting. They are in constant flux and often contradictory." Cammack and Phillips (2002:124) define discourses as: "normalized ideas and practices, the said and the unsaid that constitute our knowing." Discourses validate some ways of acting and prohibit others (Willems, 2013a). Van Zoonen (1994:40) summarises the power of discourses as follows:

The power of discourse lies not only in its capacity to define what is a social problem, but also in its prescriptions of how an issue should be understood, the legitimate views on it, the legitimacy and deviance of the actors involved, the appropriateness of certain acts etc. This holds not only for dominant discourse, as can be appreciated, but also for alternative, insurgent discourse.

Foucault's writings express his concern about the enormous amount of power and control that lies in the hands of "'experts' who are licensed to define, describe and classify things and people" (Cameron, 2001:16-17). Cameron describes the power of words in the following manner:

Words can be powerful: the institutional authority to categorize people is frequently inseparable from the authority to do things to them. Thus for instance, experts define mental health and mental illness, and on the basis of their definitions, individuals can be classified as mentally ill and detained in psychiatric institutions. Experts produce definitions of good and adequate 'parenting,' and parents who do not meet the minimum standard may have their children taken away from them. Experts elaborate a concept of 'intelligence' and devise ways of measuring it (such as IQ tests); this may have real world consequences for individuals' education and employment prospects.

Hall argues that by making a link between knowledge and power, Foucault: “rescued representation from the clutches of a purely formal theory and gave it a historical, practical and ‘worldly’ context of operation” (Hall, 2001:74). Another important point about discourses is that they are not necessarily invested with equal power. Some discourses are hegemonic while others are on the margins (Weedon 1987). Foucault (1972; 1979; 1980) argues that dominant knowledge is not absolute, rather it can be challenged by “counter-hegemonic discourses which offer alternative explanations of ‘reality’” (Parpart & Marchand, 1995:3). A key point that theorists like Foucault raise is the idea that discourses constitute kinds of knowledge which are located in particular historical periods. Hall (1997:46) explains:

Things meant something and were ‘true,’ [...] *only within a specific historical context*. Foucault did not believe that the same phenomena would be found across different historical periods. He thought that in each period, discourse produced forms of knowledge, objects, subjects and practices of knowledge, which differed radically from period to period, with no necessary continuity between them [Italics in the original].

Moving to subjects, poststructuralist scholars argue that discourses offer “subject positions” which individuals can take up (Weedon, 1987). These “positions or “possibilities” for constituting subjectivity (identities, behaviours, understandings of the world) vary in terms of the power they offer individuals.” (Gavey 1989:464) Whereas humanists view individuals as “rational,” “coherent” and “unique” (Weedon, 1987), poststructuralists regard the self as “fragmentary,” “contradictory” and “inconsistent” (Gavey, 1989). Cammack and Phillips (2002:124) argue that the self is a “site of contradiction and conflict” and the individual is not the “origin and guarantor of meaning” (Gavey 1989:465). Poststructuralist thinkers also deconstruct the idea of an authentic individual experience. Weedon (1987:32) succinctly summarises the differences between the views of the two schools as follows:

‘Subjectivity’ is used to refer to the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world. Humanist discourses presuppose an essence at the heart of the individual which is unique, fixed and coherent and which makes her what she *is* [Italics in the original]

In a research project with black women in Britain, Mama (1995:89) theorises that subjectivity is fluid rather than static. She argues that subjectivity is a: “process of constitution and movement through already constituted positions” (Mama, 1995:98). Her study supports Gavey’s (1989:464) statement that: “[...] women can identify with and conform to traditional discursive

constructions of femininity or they can resist, reject, and challenge them (to a greater or lesser extent).” The participants in Mama’s study took up many different subject positions depending on the social context and relationships.

Bringing the above ideas to the Zimbabwean context and to this study in particular, Radio Zimbabwe’s broadcasts are not treated as revelations of the ‘truth,’ but will be regarded as constructed ‘regimes of truth and knowledge’ which promote the interests of the ruling elite within the ZANU-PF party. The researcher will argue that this group of people made use of language and certain discourses to define and delineate how listeners should think and talk about being a Zimbabwean, the governance of the country, among a variety of other things Zimbabwean. In addition to constituting ‘right’ ways of thinking, other ways of being and thinking were labelled as ‘traitorous’ or ‘un-Zimbabwean’ (see discussions in Chapters 5 & 6).

Informed by Foucault’s ideas on history, this study will investigate how the discourses that the station treated as privileged, relate specifically to what was happening in Zimbabwe from the late 1990s onwards. The ZANU-PF government faced immense opposition and the country was faltering under economic hardships. The government used the media under its control to legitimise its grip on power, on the one hand, and to undermine the legitimacy of the opposition parties, on the other (see contextual discussion in Chapter 1).

The researcher began fieldwork with poststructuralist ideas on subjectivity in her mind, the women whom she interviewed took up different positions in relation to the privileged discourses spread by the radio station. Though most of the women accepted the hegemonic ideas broadcast by the station, some women also challenged them (see Chapter 8).

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theories and concepts that inform the analysis of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts and the study of its listeners. These include the propaganda model, the Gramscian concept of hegemony, the critical audience research perspective as well as ideas about language, discourses and subjectivity found in the works of poststructuralist thinkers.

A shortcoming identified in literature on the media hegemony thesis is the manner in which most researchers overlook the complexities and contradictions that are embedded in dominant

hegemony. In addition to identifying this gap in scholarship, the chapter pointed to the different ways this thesis envisions making some contributions to this constellation of studies. The chapter that follows reviews existing literature on radio and the manner in which different crises in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe were mediated.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter offers a review of literature relevant to this study. The chapter is broadly divided into two sections; one focuses on studies on radio and the other on research on the manner in which various crises in the country have been mediated. The section on radio discusses what has been published on radio in Africa and in Zimbabwe as well as on radio and the sociology of everyday life. The crises that will be discussed in the section on the ways crises have been constituted include the liberation struggle prior to 1980, the killings in Matabeleland in the early 1980s (*Gukurahundi*) and the political and economic crisis that has troubled Zimbabwe since the late 1990s.

What stands out when one looks through the literature on the media in Zimbabwe during times of crisis is the predominance of textual analyses (Alexander & McGregor, 1999; Willems, 2004a; 2004b; Chuma, 2008; Chari, 2008a, 2010a; Nyamanhindi, 2008; Msindo, 2009; Mukundu, 2010; Santos, 2011; Rwafa, 2012; Musangi, 2012; Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe reports; Media Institute of Southern Africa reports). Writing about what is missing in the literature, Msindo (2009:663) contends that, “Most of [...] studies do not examine the circumstances that created the propaganda or the responses of the recipients.” In offering an explanation of the absence of literature on the ways that ordinary Zimbabweans “experienced and negotiated” the current crisis, Willems (2011:142) writes:

This could be because intensive fieldwork became difficult during the crisis as a result of the cash and fuel shortages as well as the political sensitivities around doing research. It could also be because politics continues to be conceptualized as the actions of “big men,” with Robert Mugabe most frequently being attributed a leading role in the events unfolding from 2000 onwards in both media accounts and some academic analyses.

In view of Willems’ observations above, Chapter 4 of this thesis discusses some of the difficulties that the researcher encountered in relation to getting permission to interview women listeners of Radio Zimbabwe.

Literature Review: Radio

Radio in Africa

Writing about radio in Africa, Fardon and Furniss (2000) observe that studies about the medium on the continent were scanty. They further note that television and print media has received much more attention by scholars than radio. Since 2000, not much has changed. While there have been articles on radio in Africa (Mano, 2004; 2005; 2009; Bosch, 2005; Straus, 2007; Lekgoathi, 2009; Mwesige, 2009; Batist, 2010; Moyo, 2010a; Moyo, 2011a) and publications such as *Radio in Africa* edited by Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo (2011), compared to research on the print media, radio studies in Africa still lag behind. There is still little evidence to suggest that researchers are working with radio transcripts or off-air audiotapes (see Fardon & Furniss, 2000). The fact that there are not many academic studies on radio on the continent is both paradoxical and disconcerting given the popularity of this medium in Africa (Daloz & Verrier-Frechette, 2000; Mano, 2011; Moyo, 2011a).

Having noted the above, it is important to point out that civil society organisations such as the Media Institute of Southern Africa have produced reports based on their ongoing projects on alternative radio broadcasting in southern Africa. The Johannesburg based, Freedom of Expression Institute has also produced reports on community radio stations. The Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AfriMAP), the Open Society Initiative Southern Africa (OSISA) and the Open Society Institute Media Programme (OSIMP) have published several country reports under the ‘Public Broadcasting in Africa Series.’ Sections in these reports focus on radio broadcasting in different African countries.

The section that follows reviews the kinds of academic writing that exists on radio in Africa. The literature is divided into five broad areas: the historical development of radio in Africa, post-colonial radio broadcasting, radio talk shows, radio and the genocide in Rwanda and radio audiences.

The historical development of radio broadcasting in Africa: Colonial times

The bulk of the writing around radio in Africa provides historical narratives of the genesis of the medium on the continent. While the history of radio broadcasting is diverse, in most African

countries, this history is inextricably linked to colonialism (Matheson, 1935; Head, 1974; Heath, 1986; Bourgault, 1995; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Coplan, 2011). Two broad categories that emerge in this literature include: radio broadcasting by colonial administrators and clandestine radio broadcasting by Black Nationalist fighters based in exile.

In the early days of white colonial settlement in Africa, Bourgault (1995) notes that radio served to maintain ties between expatriates and metropolises. Concurring with Bourgault, Mytton (n.d.:2) also observes that radio was a medium that was primarily “brought in to serve the settlers and the interests of the colonial powers” (also see Windrich, 2010). Paleker (2012) is much more explicit about how radio was used then to service the settlers. She writes:

The imperatives of broadcasting in colonial Africa were first and foremost guided by the needs of the European colonists and administrators. Radio broadcasting was seen as one aspect of civilizing Africa and aiding the task of administration. For European colonists, radio provided a link with “home” (European country of origin) and a vital connection between the widely dispersed settler communities. Coupled with this was the need to “civilize” and educate Africans, and radio broadcasts for local African communities were often used as an educational tool. Health, sanitation, and agriculture were key areas of focus for radio broadcasts aimed at Africans (Paleker, 2012:355; also see Matheson, 1935)

Though it would appear that the introduction of radio came relatively close to the time the Europeans arrived in Africa, Chibita (2010) seems to suggest that in Uganda, radio came later. Chibita (2010) notes that the introduction of radio in Uganda in 1953 was to among many things counter the rising political consciousness of the “natives.” In Mali, the introduction of radio came a few years before the country’s independence from French colonial rule (see Schulz, 1999). Interestingly, although during the war for Angola’s liberation, radio was used by the Portuguese as a military strategy, Moorman (2011) notes that radio broadcasting in that country started as a result of people practicing their hobbies in the 1930s. In addition to stations that crudely perpetuated white supremacist ideals, Paleker (2012) notes that during colonial times, missionaries also operated their own stations. In Christianising the African population, the missionary radio stations assisted in propping up the colonial establishment.

A large body of literature on the history of radio in Africa focuses on African-language radio stations that were created by colonial administrations for the black population (Rosenthal, 1974; Frederikse, 1982; Phelan, 1987; Tomaselli, Tomaselli & Muller, 1989; Ronning & Kupe, 2000; Gunner, 2000; 2002; 2005; Lekgoathi, 2009; 2012; Mhlambi, 2009). Although black people were

hired on African-language radio stations as announcers, the primary aim of these stations was to bolster colonial rule as well as to influence and shape the opinions of black people under colonialism and apartheid (Lekgoathi, 2011). Explaining why black radio stations were formed in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Moyo (2012b:486) writes:

Although the RF [Rhodesian Front] later started black community radio stations, such as *Radio Jacaranda* (1964), *Radio Manica* (1969), *Radio Matopos* (1970), and *Radio Mthwakazi* (1970s), these stations primarily sought to divide black people along regional and ethnic lines, so as to undermine the liberation struggle.

Gunner (2000) and Lekgoathi (2009) concur with the above observation by Moyo (2012b). In South Africa, Bantu Radio stations were set up to among other things foster ethnic separation among the black population. In the case of Angola, the Portuguese administration did not seem to have created separate radio stations meant for black people (Moorman, 2011). The “*Voz de Angola* employed Angolans who spoke local languages in order to broadcast news and information that would reach the widest possible audience” (Moorman, 2011:249).

Chibita (2010) paints a slightly different picture regarding radio broadcasting and the black people in Uganda. She notes that the local population had limited access to radio. Chibita (2010:3) explains:

Under colonial rule the locals had little access to radio as a political space either as employees or participants in the programming. Apart from monopolizing the airwaves, the colonial government enacted or applied specific laws and statutory instruments including the Penal Code Act of 1950 which criminalized a wide range of media offences including defamation, publication of false news, sedition and embarrassing foreign princes and dignitaries. Inevitably, at the height of the independence struggle, the role of radio as a political space was limited.

Looking at a Northern Sotho radio station, Radio Lebowa launched by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) during the Apartheid era, Lekgoathi (2009) draws on interviews that had been carried out in 1980 with founding announcers, interviews that he did with former radio announcers (2006 and 2007), publications such as the journal *Bantu* and annual reports from the SABC. Lekgoathi writes that state propaganda on the station was channeled through radio news, music recordings, women’s programmes and radio dramas. Black announcers were told what to say on air. The SABC also hired white people conversant in vernacular languages to monitor what the announcers said. Lekgoathi contends that while the SABC might have been successful in part in funneling apartheid propaganda, black announcers often diluted some of the “misinformation before it reached the audiences” (Lekgoathi,

2009:589). Writing about a Zulu radio station, Ukhozi FM during apartheid, Gunner (2000) also writes about the agency of the announcers and play writers. She argues that language played a crucial role in bypassing the restrictions of the day. “There was a sense in which the ideology of apartheid did not penetrate the language’s operation as a carrier of multiple signs and discourses and as a medium for the transformation of consciousness” (Gunner, 2000:228).

Unlike Lekgoathi (2009) whose paper mentions something about the research methods and the sources of data that he used, Frederikse (1982) writing about the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation’s (RBC) Africa radio service does not. The reader is left speculating whether she conducted interviews or she got access to transcripts of the RBC. Similar to observations made by Lekgoathi, Frederikse also notes how the black announcers were told by the white managers at the RBC what to say on air. Ben Musoni, one of the black announcers at the RBC’s Africa radio service recalls a moment when they (black announcers) were required to report negatively about the nationalist fighters. He remembers being told to refer to the guerillas as “terrorists” and “armed thugs, criminals bent on taking Africa back to another age, when it was known as the Dark Continent” (Frederikse, 1982:99).

Another body of literature that discusses radio in the context of colonialism looks at offshore radio stations operated by Black Nationalist fighters from exile (Kushner, 1974; Hale, 1975; Frederikse, 1982; Mosia, Riddle & Zaffiro, 1994; Davis, 2011; Lekgoathi, 2010). In their article, Mosia, Riddle and Zaffiro (1994) focus on four stations; Radio Freedom run by the African National Congress, the radio station run by the South West African People’s Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia, Voice of Zimbabwe operated by the Zimbabwe African National Union and the Voice of Revolution by the Zimbabwe African People’s Union. Mosia, Riddle and Zaffiro contend that the main objective of these radio stations was to oppose white minority rule. They also argue that these radio stations’ experiences had an impact on post-colonial broadcasting in their respectively countries.

Frederikse (1982) also writes about a clandestine radio station, Voice of Zimbabwe operating from Mozambique. Frederikse relies on what appears to be parts of transcripts of the station’s broadcasts as well as comments by people who were involved with the station. What is striking when one reads through Frederikse’s section about external radio broadcasting is the absence of

any reference to the Voice of Revolution by the Zimbabwe African People's Union (see Mosia, Riddle & Zaffiro, 1994; Moyo, 2010a).

Whereas Davis (2011) also looks at radio broadcasting from exile during the apartheid period in South Africa, what is interesting is the angle that he takes. Moving away from broadly referring to radio content, Davis focuses on the ways the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) used radio to present a certain image of themselves to people back home in South Africa, to the people in exile as well as to the international community, particularly donors. In the final assessment, Davis (2011:236) contends that: "radio can best be thought of as a kind of political theatre. [...] What foreign patrons and home audiences could not see, but eminently apparent to those behind the scenes, were the frustrations of exile and the stalled momentum of the armed struggle."

Though radio broadcasting from exile stopped with countries attaining independence (see Mosia, Riddle & Zaffiro, 1994), in countries such as Angola and Zimbabwe, these stations re-emerged in the post-colony (see Windrich, 2000; Moyo, 2010a; 2011a). While the anti-colonial role that clandestine radio stations played is largely celebrated in the literature, Moyo (2012b) takes a swipe at them. He argues that these radio stations, "largely operated on a top-down, undemocratic, non-participatory, and propagandistic model that aimed more at mobilization than empowerment." Contrasting underground radio broadcasting during colonial times and underground radio broadcasting that emerged after independence in Zimbabwe, Mabweazara (2013:238) writes:

[...] the adoption of the mobile phone by both SW Radio Africa and Studio 7 has redefined the reception of news content from the radio stations. The stations can no longer be defined simply in terms of the traditional 'underground' radio beaming radical alternative news content extra terrestrially in a unidirectional format that does not allow listeners to 'speak back' to their content. Rather, the collective strengths of the digital transmission platforms used by the radio stations (including the mobile phone) allow listeners to actively engage with the stations' news discourses in exceptional ways.

While the literature tracing the history of radio broadcasting in Africa is extremely useful in as far as it provides background understanding of the medium on the continent, what stands out as missing in the writing is a detailed analysis of the hegemonic as well as the counter hegemonic narratives that were characteristic of the state broadcasters and offshore radio stations respectively. Moorman (2011:245), for example, remarks this about the programme, *Angola*

Combatente: “Owing to the highly politicized nature of the broadcast, it was dangerous to be seen or heard listening to them.” Moorman does not, however, analytically discuss the ‘highly politicized’ content that was contained in the programme.

Post-colonial radio broadcasting in Africa

Literature on post-independence radio broadcasting in Africa generally focuses on discussing ownership patterns of broadcasting stations as well as country specific legislations that govern broadcasting in general (see Kupe, 2003; Moyo, 2006). For most countries in Africa, the early years of independence were characterised by the perpetuation of the state’s monopoly over broadcasting that prevailed prior to the attainment of independence (see Wolters, 2011). A key observation made by scholars writing on radio broadcasting after independence is that state controlled stations continued to play the same propaganda role that they played during colonial times (see Wolters, 2011). In addition to radio being used against opponents of the ruling elite, Moorman (2011:249) writing in the context of Angola states that radio was also important for the ruling MPLA party because it was utilised in “sorting out disputes internal to the MPLA.” Apart from radio being used by the incoming black governments to disseminate propaganda, Paleker (2012) argues that the medium was also used in most African countries to promote national development.

Another key aspect that is discussed in literature on post-colonial radio broadcasting is the liberalisation of the airwaves that saw the introduction of privately owned radio stations. While in countries like Zambia, South Africa, Kenya, Mali and Uganda had many private radio stations entering into the broadcasting sector several years ago (Zambia, for example, opened up broadcasting in 1991), the opening up of the airwaves in a country like Zimbabwe has taken very long. The two private commercial radio stations that were licensed in Zimbabwe in 2012 (Star FM and ZiFM) have been accused of having close links to the ruling ZANU-PF party (see Chuma, 2013). In general, most scholars and human rights activists across the continent celebrate the opening up of the airwaves as something progressive because it allows for an injection of alternative views and counter hegemonic ideas into the mainstream political discourse.

Writing about the Kenyan radio broadcasting context, Odhiambo (2011) highlights that the emergence of FM radio stations in that country has facilitated the dismantling of the monopoly

that was previously held by the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC). The FM radio stations traverse the ‘correct’ ways of doing broadcasting by their use of less formal language. Odhiambo also alludes to the ways the FM radio stations have allowed citizens voice. “FM radio stations in Kenya played a fundamental and significant role in confronting the country’s previous culture of silence and in the process have nurtured a democratic culture by providing dialogic space [...]” (Odhiambo, 2011:47).

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the coming onto the scene of an ‘independent’ radio station, Radio Okapi was something that is celebrated (Wolters, 2011). While this station was created by the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) and the Swiss NGO, Fondation Hironnelle, Wolters argues that Radio Okapi has operated independently. The station is heralded as a “credible and objective source of information on the latest political, economic, humanitarian, social and other developments in the country” (Wolters, 2011:194).

Also focusing on alternative stations, researchers have also invested a lot of time researching on community radios (Siteo, 1998; Myers, 2000; Banda, 2003; Bosch, 2003; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; Mersham & Hooyberg, n.d.). Myers (2000) contends that the coming into being of most community radio stations in West African countries such as Burkina Faso, Benin, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal, is in part a result of the adoption by most countries of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). The SAPs forced most governments to liberalise the media industry. The ownership patterns of community radio stations are diverse. In Mozambique and Zambia, for example, the Catholic Church has been very instrumental in setting up community radios. In Namibia, the formation of the Katutura Community Radio in 1995 was facilitated by donor funding (see Lush & Kaitira, 1998). Although the majority of community radios came into existence after independence, Bosch (2005) writing about Bush Radio traces its history back to the apartheid era. Then called the Cassette Education Trust (CASET), this Cape Town based station produced and distributed cassette tapes with speeches of banned activists as well as revolutionary poetry.

Also writing about post-colonial radio broadcasting, Ellis (1989) discusses the trend of pavement radio that is dominant in countries such as Madagascar and Cameroon since the 1980s. What is unique about pavement radio is that it is not owned by one person or organisation; the owner is

anonymous. Paleker (2012) contends that this type of radio is important because it provides listeners with information that is not carried by the mainstream media. Ellis (1989:322) notes that pavement radio thrives on exposing prominent people and politicians.

Talk Radio

Though most of the writing on radio in Africa does not contain analyses of content, it is interesting that researchers writing on talk radio discuss aspects of what is contained in specific programmes (Mwesige, 2009; Bosch, 2011b; Tettey, 2011; Hungbo, 2012).

A key theoretician drawn on by researchers focusing on talk radio is German sociologist and philosopher, Jürgen Habermas. Researchers such as Mwesige (2009), Bosch (2011b), Hungbo (2012) find Habermas' ideas on the contested notion of the public sphere mostly useful in framing their discussions on talk radio. The dominant research methods are content analysis and interviews with audiences.

Mwesige (2009) interrogates political talk radio in Uganda. His study is based on a content analysis of talk shows as well as in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with producers of content and audiences. Mwesige argues that while the political talk shows opened up spaces for citizens to get information and participate, there were concerns regarding the quality of information. Most moderators and guests on these programmes did not have adequate time to research and prepare for the discussions. Mwesige also notes that the numbers of people who call into talk programmes is fairly small. This group of people is dominated by politicians, aspiring politicians as well as civil society activists. The guest list of the programmes is also made up of a similar group of people. “‘Ordinary’ citizens rarely appear as guests. [...] a majority of ordinary people continue to be at the very best only listeners” (Mwesige, 2009:225). Mwesige observes that in most cases, discussions degenerate into emotional contests than spaces for rational conversation. Despite the challenges, Mwesige (2009:241) concludes: “[political talk shows] appear to count for something, particularly in a political context that has had very limited avenues of citizen participation and political competition.”

Bosch (2011b) looks at a Cape Town based commercial talk radio station, 567MW. She analyses the content of the station and also carries out a survey with 50 of the station's listeners. From her study, Bosch contends that despite the fairly small audience size, 567MW contributes to the

development of a public sphere in Cape Town. Similar to findings by Mwesige (2009), Bosch notes that talk radio is not necessarily always democratic. Bosch (2011b:206) writes: “Not everyone participates – the debate may not be closed to those who are sufficiently imbued with the requisite level of English-language competence or cultural capital, but nonetheless, they do not feel driven enough to participate actively.” Also similar to conclusions reached by Mwesige (2009), Bosch sees the potential value that talk radio has in opening up spaces for people to converse in post-apartheid South Africa.

Using quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, Schulz (1999) discusses local radio broadcasting in rural Mali. The introduction of local radio stations in that country coincided with the era of multiparty democracy. Contrary to the situation in Uganda where talk radio attracts the attention of ‘professionals,’ in rural Mali this programme format is popular with mostly uneducated sections of the community. Talk radio appeals to the communities because of the discussions on matters that listeners can relate to. Listeners also like the recognition and mention on the stations that community members who have excelled in different areas of life get. “Talk radio is particularly popular because the radio speakers in this program carry on the already existent practice of endowing individuals with prestige and public reputation” (Schulz, 1999:181).

Also writing on radio talk shows, Hungbo (2012) analyses the representation of the self on two popular shows in South Africa, ‘The After Eight Debate’ and ‘The Redi Direko Show.’ In addition to using Habermas, Hungbo also draws on ideas from the uses and gratifications theory. Hungbo qualitatively analyses the content of the two shows and also conducts semi-structured interviews with hosts of the programmes, listeners and guests. Similar to findings by Mwesige (2009) and Bosch (2011b), Hungbo also observes that the talk radio format has both positives and negatives. While talk radio formats facilitate spaces for people to share their views, Hungbo (2012:194) contends that:

[...] it is not enough to say people become empowered through participation. The way the participation process and experience is structured really matters in determining the distribution of power among participants and the sections of society they represent. Evidence from the shows analysed in this thesis indicate that access inequalities still exist: the talk shows cannot be equated to a completely free forum where social status or other forms of difference does not matter.

In a chapter on talk radio in Ghana, Tettey (2011) argues that this programme format has allowed Ghanaians to participate in political debates in that country. Tettey also discusses the ways ‘old’ media (radio) and ‘new’ media are converging in Ghana. Tettey observes that listeners contribute to radio programmes by calling in using their mobile phones or by sending text messages. Some listeners in the diaspora are able to engage in the conversation via online spaces linked to the stations’ websites and social media sites. Similar to Bosch (2011b) and Hungbo (2012), Tettey, discusses some of the challenges that are associated with talk radio. Some journalists serving as pundits on panels often exhibit their political inclinations. Another challenge is that talk radio is often hijacked by individuals to exchange personal insults.

A disquieting trend has developed whereby supporters of aggrieved parties storm the radio stations while talk programmes are still on air, in order to ‘discipline’ a guest who, in their estimation, had said something untoward about their political party, leader (s), or some other cause to which they are affiliated (Tettey, 2011:31).

Also akin to other researchers, Tettey is optimistic about the potential for talk radios in opening spaces for citizens to engage in political discourses.

The growing interest in analysing talk radio is understandable given that most countries come from histories in which voices of the ruling elite dominate the airwaves. The possible danger of concentrating on one particular format is that other content on radio that could be useful in understanding the meaning of voice and citizen participation in post colonies might be overlooked.

The case of ‘Radio Machete’: Radio and the genocide in Rwanda

Of all the radio stations on the continent, Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTL) has probably attracted most scholarly attention. The bulk of the literature focuses on the pervasive role that this radio station played in the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 (Gatwa, 1995; Article 19, 1996; Metz, 1997; Kellow & Steeves, 1998; Chalk, 1999; Schabas, 2000; Melvern, 2000; Power, 2001; Temple-Raston, 2002; Levene, 2005; Moghalu, 2005; Thompson, 2007).

While none of the researchers state that they draw on the magic bullet theory postulated by Harold Lasswell in 1948, the dominant conclusion that radio played a very powerful role in the genocide suggests that scholars are unwittingly operating within the framework of this outmoded theory (see the majority of articles in Thompson, 2007). Only a few scholars (Kellow & Steeves,

1998; Carver, 2000; Kuperman, 2001; Higiro, 2007; Li, 2007; Mironko, 2007; Straus, 2011) reflect on and question with varying degrees the idea of a radio station with powerful effects on passive audiences.

Kellow and Steeves (1998) acknowledge one shortcoming of their textual analysis of RTLM transcripts. They argue that a clearer picture of the effects of the radio station could be reached if they had analysed the ways audiences interacted with the station's content. Making a related observation, Straus (2011:84) comments that while a lot has been published about the role radio played in fuelling the genocide, "there has been little sustained social scientific analysis of radio media effects [...]" of this period. Straus (2011:86) continues: "Within the literature on Rwanda, a number of claims about RTLM's effects are evident. The strongest and most common assertion - the conventional wisdom - is that RTLM broadcasts had large-scale and direct effects on behaviour." Straus contends that this 'conventional wisdom,' works to replicate unsophisticated political models in which the people of Rwanda had minimal to no agency. Straus argues that the role of radio in fuelling the genocide is much more nuanced than has been acknowledged in the literature. Face to face communication, for example, played an important role in mobilising the people (Straus, 2011).

Karnell (2003) examines the extent of the impact of the RTLM broadcasts on the Hutu audience in Rwanda in the period leading to and during the genocide. Karnell notes that his study takes up Kellow and Steeves' (1998) challenge of looking beyond RLTM broadcasts. Karnell carried out individual and group interviews and conducted a qualitative content analysis of RTLM broadcasts. The interviews were with ordinary people (Hutu), journalists, genocide survivors and intellectuals. In the analysis of the broadcasts, Karnell (2003:327) contends that: "RTLM texts [...] presented a consistent ideological message casting Tutsi as foreign enemies who posed a mortal threat to the Hutu community." In relation to reception, Karnell (2003:327) argues that: "The audience analysis [...] showed that the three listening communities—eager killers, reluctant killers, and genocide victims and resisters—negotiated their responses to RTLM just as they negotiated their responses to the genocide."

Radio audiences in Africa

Although Ilboudo (2000) makes the observation regarding the paucity of research focusing on audiences in the context of community radios, Ilboudo's comments can also be made about other kinds of broadcasting. There is very little literature on radio audiences in Africa.

The few studies that exist have occupied two extremes. On the one side are quantitative surveys that have been conducted by the likes of Mytton for the British Broadcasting Corporation from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s (see Mytton, 2000). Also using the survey method to research radio audiences are marketing companies and non-profit organisations (see the South Sudan National Audience Survey, 2013; various surveys by the Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation and the South African Audience Research Foundation). Whereas surveys are useful in so far as they provide information about who listens to which station and the programmes they tune into, Furdon and Furniss (2000:10) contend that this method of research has difficulty in "assessing how people listen and what (if any) effects their listening habits have upon them."

The other side of audience studies in Africa has been characterised by the work of media anthropologists. Using ethnography, Spitulnik (2000), for example, locates radio listening within the context of the everyday life. Spitulnik lists the high costs of radio sets as well as the lack of disposable income to readily replace batteries as some of the factors affecting the listening of radio in Zambia (see earlier section on radio and everyday life).

In addition to the above two main groups of research, there is an interesting constellation of literature that mentions radio audiences but does not engage in any elaborate analytical discussion. This literature mostly focuses on radio broadcasting in colonial times. Frederikse (1982), Gqibitole (2002) and Moorman (2011), for example, do make references to audiences of clandestine radio stations, but their discussions lack depth. The fact that Gqibitole (2002) combines the discussion of letters written by radio listeners in response to Xhosa radio dramas with discussions on production and content leaves him very little space to engage in detail with how audiences interpreted the dramas. Moorman (2011) writing about colonial Angola mentions in passing some of the content that people listened to. Moorman singles out *Angola Combatente* as one programme that people listened to secretly. She does not, however, provide a detailed

analysis of the manner in which listeners engaged with this particular programme or any other content broadcast by the station.

In light of the paucity of information on radio audiences in Africa, particularly of a qualitative nature, this study envisions making some contribution, to our understanding of how audiences interact with radio content. Despite the fact that this research is not anthropological, some ideas around carrying out ethnographic research will be drawn on.

Radio Studies in Zimbabwe

A review of the literature on radio in Africa showed that research on the medium is generally scanty. The same can also be said about literature on radio in Zimbabwe. Scholars have tended to focus on analyses of print media (see Chapter 3). Radio studies in Zimbabwe have largely followed two main trajectories: discussions of state radio broadcasting and analyses of ‘pirate’ radio stations. Though in 2012 two private commercial radio stations, ZiFM and Star FM were licensed, there has not been any literature on the stations to review.

State Radio Broadcasting in Zimbabwe

Besides the work by Frederikse (1982) on state radio broadcasting in Rhodesia (see section on Radio in Africa) Winston Mano’s research on the state owned radio station, Radio Zimbabwe in the post-1980 period is somewhat groundbreaking in contemporary radio studies in Zimbabwe (see Mano, 2004; 2005; 2009; 2011). Mano’s work has generally consisted of discussions on specific programmes, issues of scheduling and audience interaction with the station.

Mano (2004) analyses Radio Zimbabwe’s flagship programme, *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*. Mano specifically looks at how the traditional Shona practice of the *dare* (a space and a zone for discussion) was re-incarnated on this programme. Mano (2004:332) contends that although *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* appears as an ordinary talk programme, it “unobtrusively renegotiates traditional relationships and customary practices in ways that are immediately recognizable by all members of Zimbabwean society.”

Beyond discussing specific programmes, Mano (2005; 2009) discusses different aspects of scheduling on the station. In the 2009 article, Mano discusses the manner in which the station organises the music that it plays to correspond with listeners’ everyday routines. While most of

Mano's work focuses on analysing Radio Zimbabwe content, in a book chapter, Mano (2011) looks at the ways the station's listeners engaged with one of the programmes, *Zvizivizo Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa* (Death Notices). In questioning the cultural imperialism thesis, Mano's study tries to understand what happens in local contexts in relation to media consumption. Mano (2011:106) writes: "I suggest that studying the reception of national radio helps unpick the character and role of such indigenized media institutions in post-colonial societies." Mano used material from 20 interviews that he carried out with listeners in different locations in the country as well as material from 120 questionnaires completed by students. Mano argues that the programme was popular with the audiences because of its ability to draw on the "cultural fabric of the society" (Mano, 2011:116).

Clandestine Radio Broadcasting in Zimbabwe

Another group of growing literature on radio studies in Zimbabwe looks at 'pirate' or 'illegal' radio stations that re-surfaced in the country in the post-2000 era as a consequence of the political and economic crisis that engulfed the country (Wachanga, 2007; Batist, 2010; Moyo, 2010a; Moyo, 2011a; Mabweazara, 2012; Moyo, 2012b). Locating his discussion of a 'pirate' radio station, Radio Dialogue that operates from the second largest city of Zimbabwe, Bulawayo, Moyo (2012b:486) explains the following about the Zimbabwean context:

The fact that the post-independent government had maintained a tight grip, especially on broadcast media, since the early years of independence meant that, in reality, citizens had no space through which they could assert their newly found constitutional rights. Freedom of expression, although clearly enshrined in the constitution, was useless if people did not have access to the strategic medium of broadcasting. Despite this protracted and fossilized culture of media control, the post-2000 period has been characterized by the mushrooming of alternative media platforms, such as news blogs, Internet radio, and pirate radio.

Also situating the discussion of 'illegal' radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe, most researchers write about the Capital Radio saga in which the radio station successfully challenged the constitutionality of the Broadcasting Act (1957). Subsequently, the government responded by promulgating the Broadcasting Services Act of 2001 which appeared to be opening way for the licensing of private broadcasting stations (Moyo, 2010a; 2012b). It was not until 2012 that the first 'private' radio stations were licensed in the country.

Moyo (2010a; 2011a) discusses the tactics used by the underground radio station, Short Wave Radio Africa (SWRA) based in London to connect with its audiences in Zimbabwe whom they were broadcasting to. Moyo (2011a:51) also notes that his chapter: “[...] analyses the different ways in which clandestine radio serves as a counterpoint to mainstream media representations of crises unfolding in the country.” The chapter combines internet analysis, document analysis and qualitative interviews with people working for SWRA. Moyo also uses discourse analysis to briefly compare content published by the state owned newspaper, *The Herald* and SWRA. Moyo contends that this station has been able to reach its publics by combining the use of new and old media. SWRA also makes use of their website to post transcripts or to live stream interviews with various civil society representatives. The station also allows listeners to call in and share their experiences and views. Discussing the content of the station, Moyo (2011a:55) writes: “In contrast to the shorthand response from the mainstream media and government officials of blaming the West for all the problems facing the nation, SWRA, for example, enables citizens to question the credibility and ability of the Zimbabwean leadership.”

Like Moyo (2010a; 2011a), Batist (2010) also writes about SWRA. Also similar to Moyo, Batist conducts qualitative interviews with employees of SWRA. The difference with Moyo is that Batist’s article is more descriptive and focuses on how SWRA operates from exile. Batist describes some of the challenges that the station and its employees face. Batist notes that the station has to contend with the potential dangers that its stringers operating in Zimbabwe face in trying to get stories, the hostile and abusive ZANU-PF officials who refuse to be interviewed and MDC officials who do not cooperate to their requests for answers. The station also has to deal with difficulties of securing long term funding to cover the expenses of running the station as well as managing the emotional ordeals of staff that is part and parcel of listening to traumatic narratives coming out of Zimbabwe. Even though the station faces numerous constraints, Batist (2010a:155) notes that: “the personal involvement [of the staff] in the Zimbabwean crisis makes them feel part of an ongoing struggle that they cannot and do not want to abandon until independent media can operate freely from Zimbabwe.”

Another researcher whose article looks at Short Wave Radio Africa is Mabwezara (2013). In addition to looking at this radio station, he also focuses his attention on Voice of America’s Studio 7. Using the reception theory, Mabwezara examines the reception of these two stations

in three major cities of Zimbabwe (Harare, Bulawayo and Gweru). He focuses specifically on the ways digital technologies are appropriated and the implications thereof for reception. In his paper, Mabweazara works with narratives of 24 people he conducted in-depth interviews with in the three locations. Mabweazara finds that while some listeners accessed the broadcasts of SWRA and Studio 7 via the internet, this largely remains a practice by an 'elite' few. Interestingly, the widespread access to mobile phones enabled the radio stations to distribute their content widely as well as provided audiences with an opportunity to interact with the stations. While new media plays a role in the reception of broadcasts of these two stations, Mabweazara argues that traditional radio still plays a central role for people to access the stations' content. Another interesting observation that Mabweazara makes is that although internet access is limited, the stations' websites complemented the live broadcasts in ways that made these underground stations pervasive. The availability of spaces on the websites for audiences to comment and engage with the broadcasts worked in inverting the unilateral flow of information from media houses to audiences that is characteristic of traditional media. Discussing the challenges the interviewees encountered in accessing 'pirate' radio content, Mabweazara writes about issues such as slow internet connections and limited finances for people to pay to use internet cafes. Mabweazara also discusses the issue of the fear that some interviewees felt of being seen in public spaces visiting the 'subversive' stations' websites.

Whereas work by the aforementioned researchers writing on clandestine radio station focuses on stations operating from outside the borders of Zimbabwe, Moyo (2012b) looks at Radio Dialogue, another 'pirate' station operating from Bulawayo. Moyo critically discusses issues of democratic audience participation and engagement with the station. Although Radio Dialogue is riddled by challenges and contradictions such as structural organisation as well as the marginalisation of minority languages spoken in and around Bulawayo, Moyo contends that this radio station plays a vital role in opening up spaces where audiences can participate. Moyo also argues that in an environment in which the state dominates political discourse, Radio Dialogue has facilitated an avenue for citizens to debate and "talk back to the state" (Moyo, 2012b:497).

Though the above studies contribute immensely to our understanding of 'pirate' radio broadcasting in post-colonial Zimbabwe, more research is still needed. Future studies could build on the discourse analysis that Moyo (2010a; 2011a) began with SWRA content. Despite the fact

that the discourse analysis that will be conducted in this study does not focus on understanding content broadcast by an exiled radio station, it, nonetheless, takes up the above challenge by doing a detailed examination of Radio Zimbabwe. Whereas Mabweazara does conduct a reception study of SWRA and Studio 7, what remains unexplored is the ways in which the audiences of these stations interact with what is actually broadcast by the stations. This is something that other researchers can take up in future studies.

Radio and the sociology of everyday life

Most academic work on the media and everyday life has largely focused on audience consumption of television in the context of the home. The bulk of the research carried out by British media and cultural studies scholars (see Silverstone, 1990; Gray, 1992; Morley 1992; Moores, 1993; Gillespie 1995) has drawn on ethnographic and anthropological approaches. A similar pattern can also be observed in studies carried out in the United States (see Radway, 1987; Lull, 1988; 1990; Ang, 1991; 1996). Spitulnik (2002:337) explains the kind of thinking that has anchored such research:

Over the past decade there has been a serious rethinking of the concepts of “audiences” and “reception” within media studies. Most significantly, this work has rejected the familiar assumption that “the audience” is a unified aggregate that receives a fixed message. Scholars have increasingly shifted their attention to the fact that people *use* mass media and thus are not passive receivers but *active participants* in ongoing communication processes. In supplanting a simple picture of the function of media as one-way message transmission, from sender to receiver, such revisionist research has moved into a “post-content” or a “post-text” era [...] and toward more ethnographic accounts of people’s on-the-ground engagements with media.

While theorising on audience interaction with television is advanced, the same cannot be said about radio. Very little academic attention has been paid to this medium despite it occupying a central position in the private lives of its listeners around the world (see Barnard, 2000; O’Sullivan & Lewis, 2006; Bessirel & Fisher, 2013). Interestingly, while the academy has neglected radio and its listeners, the radio industry has not. Driven by the need to ‘sell’ audiences to advertisers, the radio industry has financed many quantitative studies (see Tacchi, 1997; Barnard, 2000; Hendy, 2000; O’Sullivan & Lewis, 2006). Critiquing the industry led research on audiences in Britain, Tacchi (1997:6) argues: “At first glance, this costly, and in some ways, extensive, audience research can appear to paint a detailed picture of radio listening in this

country. Yet rarely does it do more than simply measure. From measurement, it seeks to explain, but it is ill-equipped to do so.”

Similar to research on television audiences, the little academic research that is available on radio and its listeners has also made use of qualitative ethnographic research methods such as participant observation, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews (Hobson, 1980; Moores, 1988; Tacchi, 1997; 2000; Jayaprakash, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; 2002; 2009; Dominguet, 2003; Winocur, 2005; Gathigi, 2009).

Hobson’s (1980) ethnographic study, however, does not focus exclusively on radio but on the role of the mass media in the daily lives of British housewives. Moores (1988) combined interviews with elderly listeners and documentary research to explore the early days of radio within the home. Dominguet (2003) mostly carried out in-depth interviews with retired people living in France on the place of radio listening practices in their everyday lives.

Most of the more recent studies on radio and everyday life have been carried out by anthropologists who are mostly interested in providing “the whole picture of radio listening” (O’Sullivan & Lewis, 2006:179). This has meant that researchers spend a relatively lengthy period of time collecting data in the social contexts in which radio listening happens. Winocur (2005), for example, carried out her study between 1996 and 1998.

In typical anthropological style, most studies provide rich descriptions of the research sites, the research participants as well as various aspects linked to the use of radio in and around the home (see Jayaprakash, 2000; Spitulnik, 2002; Winocur, 2005). In an ethnographic study on the ways in which the Toda people living in the Nilgiri hills, South of India use radio, Jayaprakash (2000) begins the discussion by providing information about his research participants. Jayaprakash (2000:231-232) writes:

Toda men spend their daytime in the fields, devoting mornings and evenings to looking after their buffaloes. [...] In the past their economy revolved around buffaloes and their products such as milk and ghee. The decrease in the number of buffaloes among the Toda community and the welfare schemes initiated by the government [...] prompted the Toda to concentrate on agriculture. Nowadays, they cultivate crops such as potatoes, carrots, cabbages, beans and snow peas.

Similar to Jayaprakash, Gathigi (2009) also provides descriptions of his research site, Kieni West, Central Kenya as well as some information about the research participants before he

delves into a discussion on listeners' interactions with radio. In another ethnographic study of everyday radio use in Zambia, Spitulnik (2000; 2002) begins by discussing in detail the economics of radio ownership among her research participants. She notes that the cost of radios in that country was beyond the reach of many people. She also notes that due to limited budgets, most people could not afford to replace batteries for their portable radios. Spitulnik alludes to the fact that there were several households that had broken radios that they could not afford to repair. Despite these difficulties, Spitulnik narrates some of the innovative ways that her research participants used to ensure that they continued to listen to the radio. One of her participants only switched on the radio to listen to the news. Some participants deployed tactics such as placing batteries in the sun or on warm coals to minimally charge them.

A key point that permeates through most studies on radio listening and everyday life is that of ownership of and control over the radios that people listen to. In her study, Spitulnik (2000; 2002) observes that men and not women were more likely to own and control the radios. In a study with 18 families with different sociocultural backgrounds residing in Mexico City, Winocur (2005) notes that due to the availability of portable radios in the house, individual members of the family determined what they listened to on the radio. Contrary to findings in Spitulnik's study, Winocur observes that women in her study had control over the programmes that were listened to on the main radio in the home.

Another discussion that is common in research that looks at radio and daily life is the different spaces that radio listening occurs throughout the day (see Jayaprakash, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; 2002). Jayaprakash, (2000) notes that radio consumption among the Toda people took place in various spaces. In Jayaprakash's study, radio listening happened in the home, the settlements and the fields. In Githigi's (2009) study, the radio accompanied people as they went about their everyday chores outside the home. Some people carried the radio to the pastures where they were looking after their grazing animals while others carried the radio to the fields. Spitulnik (2000; 2002) also noted that the position of the radio shifted throughout the day. During the day, the participants in her study usually listened to portable radios while sitting outside the house. If the radio was powered by electricity, the volume would usually be pumped up so that people sitting outside the house could hear what was being broadcast. At night, Spitulnik notes that the radio was moved to the dining room during supper time then to the bedroom when the head of the

home went to bed. Spitulnik also observes that people carried the radio to the office or to the fields. Sometimes people carried radios from urban areas to their rural homes. There, the radios were circulated among relatives. Spitulnik also notes that there were instances when some government employees were given radios by their employers which they brought home.

In terms of consumption, all of the researchers find that radio listening occupies a very central place in the lives of the participants in their studies (Jayaprakash, 2000; Dominguet, 2003; Gathigi, 2009). Most radio listening happened in early mornings and evenings (Jayaprakash, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; 2002; Gathigi, 2009). For most research participants, daily listening to the radio was inextricably intertwined with listeners' everyday routines. Winocur (2005:320) elaborates: "[...] listening to the radio [is an activity] deeply rooted in domestic routines and organisation." Dominguet (2003) uses the term 'bundled' to describe how listening to the radio is intricately interlinked with other everyday routines in the lives of the elderly people that he interviewed. Dominguet (2003:50) explains: "'Bundling' refers to the fact that the two activities (listening to the radio and carrying out some other domestic activity) are so interlinked that it would be wrong to attempt to separate them."

Another point that is often made about radio listening is that listeners move in and out of listening attentively to the medium in the course of carrying out various domestic chores (Tacchi, 1997; Barnard, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; 2002; Winocur, 2005). Winocur (2005:323) explains:

If there is something that characterises the everyday relationship with the radio it is that nobody sits down to listen to it, and many times, people do not pay attention to the broadcasts. Systematic observation of domestic practices shows that attention is selective and *floating* amid domestic tasks, family conversations, appliances' noises, sounds of television, and daily gossip [...] (italics in the original).

Researchers observe that participants spoke of the radio as a "companion" (see Jayaprakash, 2000; Dominguet, 2003; Gathigi, 2009). A similar observation was also made by Harold Mendelsohn in one of the earliest researches on radio audiences as far back as 1964 in his article 'Listening to Radio.' Hobson (1980) found that for the housewives in her study, the DJ's talk often kept them company (also see Karpf, 1980). Jayaprakash (2000) writes about how the radio was a companion for the children in his study. Gathigi (2009) observes that the radio was a 'companion' for most women who spent the day alone at home. In Winocur's study, she observes the "*humanization*" of radio in which radio was attributed "*almost human behaviours*

and virtues” (Winocur, 2005:324). Winocur explains that in one home, radio fulfilled the role of an exorcist while in another; it was used to “ease the dog’s loneliness” (Winocur, 2005:324).

Despite the fact that research on radio and the everyday is carried out in different countries, the majority of the studies concur that radio consumption is both an individual and a collective activity depending on the time of day (Jayaprakash, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; 2002; Winocur, 2005). Winocur (2005) notes that in families coming from middle to high sociocultural backgrounds in Mexico, listening to the radio is highly individualised except during breakfast when the family listens to the radio together. Because the radio is always on throughout the day in the kitchen, for families coming from lower to middle sociocultural backgrounds, radio consumption tended to be collective. Winocur (2005) observes that the audience of radio in these homes is often enlarged as neighbours and relatives come to visit. Winocur also notes that in some instances, the consumption of the radio became an individual activity when family members listened to portable radios. In the South of India, Jayaprakash (2000) notes that women listened to the radio collectively when they were busy with embroidery work. Similar to findings in Winocur’s study, Jayaprakash also notes that women and children often went to their neighbour’s houses to listen to the radio (also see Spitulnik, 2000; 2002). Spitulnik (2002) makes an interesting observation relating to collective listening to the radio. She notes that in most cases the owner of the radio was the one who tended to listen to it closely than the other people.

Researchers also discuss the kinds of content that participants listen to. In the studies by Gathigi (2009) and Jayaprakash (2000), for example, radio was a source of news (also see Mendelsohn, 1964; Barnard, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; 2002). In studies by Gathigi and Jayaprakash radio was also a useful source of development-oriented information on health and agriculture. Jayaprakash further explains that women tended to listen to Christian programmes while men and children liked tuning into agricultural and entertainment programmes respectively.

In addition to focusing on everyday radio consumption, some researchers are beginning to focus on the impact of new technologies on this practice. Albarran *et al* (2007), for example, combined focus group discussions with surveys to understand how new technologies have affected the use of traditional radio in young adults aged between 18 and 24 in the United States. Their study concluded that whereas radio continued to flourish in the face of new technologies, the medium had to contend with various new audio forms being used by the young adults. Also writing about

radio listening in the context of new technologies in Britain, Tacchi (2012) contends that whereas what was constituted as ‘radio’ had shifted, “radio-like media and mediated audio continue to permeate domestic spaces and perform a similar role to radio in the mid-1990s, particularly through the affective management of domestic life.” Tacchi (2000:290) continues:

The role of radio in our media future is unclear; however, it seems likely to remain – in one form or another (or, more likely, in myriad forms) – central to the everyday lives of most people in their leisure pursuits, as a soundscape to their domestic and work lives, or in developmental enterprises and the promotion of democracy.

While in television studies, there have been ongoing debates about media content and its effects on audiences; these discussions are less common in radio studies (see Barnard, 2000). Interestingly, the studies discussed above neither get into any in-depth analysis of the radio texts nor discuss in any detailed manner the ways radio listeners interact with the actual content that is broadcast by the medium. This gap in information might be accounted for by the fact that these studies are carried out by anthropologists whose major concern is not conducting textual and audience analyses that media studies researchers would be interested in. In light of the above observation, what this research will contribute to this constellation of studies is an in-depth textual analysis of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts and a discussion on how listeners of the station interact with its content (see Chapters 5, 6 & 8).

Literature Review: The Media and Crises in Zimbabwe

General observations: literature on the media’s representations of the different crises in Zimbabwe

Of the three crises that will be discussed in this chapter, the contemporary period is the most studied by media researchers (Msindo, 2009). The most neglected of the three periods mentioned above, is the *Gukurahundi* period.

As already mentioned above, most media scholarship has taken the form of textual analyses. Frederikse (1982) and to a limited extent Windrich (1981), writing in the context of Rhodesia are a few of the writers who include in their publications some understanding of the ways media audiences engaged with both hegemonic and counter hegemonic texts. The Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation is one of the few organisations in the country that currently do

market research with a component on radio listenership across the country. (Zimbabwe All Media and Products' Survey - ZAMPS). While the information from ZAMPS is important in mapping in statistical terms the general trends in media use in Zimbabwe, there is no detailed qualitative analysis of how audiences engage with media texts in the context of daily life.

Another observation that relates to available media literature on Zimbabwe, particularly in relation to the current crisis is that researchers have tended to focus on the print media. This is ironic given that radio is the “people’s medium” in Zimbabwe and across Africa (see Moyo, 2011a). The only substantial focus on radio discourses is in the context of the liberation struggle and the early 1980s era (Frederikse, 1982; Mosia, Riddle & Zaffiro, 1994). When some reference is made to representations of the current crisis in the broadcast media, most of the time it is in relation to television and not radio (see Waldahl, 2004; Ranger, 2005; Tendi, 2010).

Another comment in relation to the literature is that most scholars have prioritised analysing news texts. There has been no real attempt to make discursive connections between hegemonic ideas in news texts to similar ideas entrenched in other types of texts. While the significance of looking at news texts can be appreciated (Stokes, 2013), in this study, instead of only focusing on news, other Radio Zimbabwe content that will be analysed include statements by presenters, songs and jingles, regular daily and weekly programmes and comments by guests.

Most studies of media representations of the contemporary crisis reveal that both the state and the private media houses consistently took up pro-establishment or anti-establishment positions. Though this might be the consequence of the polarised nature of the Zimbabwean media landscape, unfortunately the few inconsistencies and contradictions in the discourses of these parties seem to fall through the cracks of analysis and thus remain unarticulated. The researcher will use textual analysis in an attempt to unearth some of the contradictions in the pro-ZANU-PF discourse broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe (see Chapters 5 & 6).

The Liberation War and pre-1980 media discourses

The works of Julie Frederikse (1982) and Elaine Windrich (1981) are important studies on the media in colonial Zimbabwe. Windrich’s *The mass media in the struggle for Zimbabwe: Censorship and propaganda under Rhodesian Front rule* discusses the ideas propagated by the

state broadcaster and in the print media. Frederikse's *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the making of Zimbabwe* examines the content of both the state media and the broadcasts of exiled nationalist fighters. Beyond discussing media texts, Frederikse's publication also incorporates black audiences' comments on programmes broadcast by the media they were exposed to.

It is necessary to provide a brief description of what was happening at the time the Smith regime took hold of the state media in order to fully appreciate the significance of Frederikse and Windrich's work. The Rhodesian Front (RF) defeated the United Federal Party (UFP) in an election near the end of 1962 (Msindo, 2009). Msindo (2009:663) argues that the RF government faced many challenges:

Increased political and economic uncertainties arising from the imminent demise of the Central African Federation; a confidence crisis following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) and the pressure of African nationalism[,] all put formerly comfortable white Rhodesians on tenterhooks. The lack of confidence led to increased emigration, which further threatened the economic and political system. Confronted with this situation, the new government needed confidence-building measures, and also resorted to extra-ordinary means of propagating information locally and internationally in an effort to win the hearts and minds of white Rhodesians.

Frederikse and Windrich make the point that these circumstances drove the Smith government to use state media to legitimise RF's assumption and retention of power. In the media, the RF government positioned itself as superior and central to the black population and essential to their development. Frederikse adds that the government positioned the nationalist fighters as terrorists in order to discourage the black population from supporting the war waged by the guerilla fighters. The government dispatched its Mobile Cinema Unit on a "rural propaganda campaign" (Frederikse, 1982:93). The Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) radio service which targeted black audiences constantly reiterated how dangerous and inhuman the nationalists were. Besides the state media, Frederikse also discussed the '*Voice of Zimbabwe*,' an hour long evening programme beamed into Rhodesia by the nationalist leaders. The programme was carried on Radio Mozambique and was directed at the black population. This programme portrayed the nationalist fighters as heroes of the struggle.

In addition to writing about the media content, Frederikse also includes insights from those who produced and presented the content. The interviews with white producers revealed that they thought of the black audiences as “ignorant and illiterate black savages” (Frederikse, 1982:123). Johan Meiring of the Psychological Operations Unit¹⁵ stated that they thought that the content of the programmes they produced for the black population was of a superior quality, but he also admitted that their audiences did not believe what they heard on the RBC (Frederikse, 1982:123). Ben Musoni, an announcer on the RBC’s African Radio Service said that white broadcasters determined what the station aired. The black announcers’ job was to translate and read what had been written by the white staff of the RBC (Frederikse, 1982:99).

Frederikse’s book is like a scrapbook with photographs, drawings and interviews. Windrich’s book is very different, it is concise and there are no illustrations. It focuses on how the Rhodesian Front (RF) government made use of both the broadcast and print media to retain power. Windrich names many of those who oversaw that the propaganda machinery ran effectively. The members of the Board of Governors of the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation were RF apologists. The Board decided who was hired and fired. The Board’s decisions were based on whether an applicant or employee was loyal to the Smith government. The above circumstances meant that the broadcast and print media were heavily censored during the UDI period. Though Windrich does not give the reader as much detail as Frederikse’s, she does provide some information about how the programmes were received by certain audiences. The programme, ‘*From Rhodesia to Rhodesia*,’ for example, was criticised by audiences in Europe and Africa. They rejected it because the content was “‘open propaganda’ and they urged that it be ‘scrapped’ forthwith” (Windrich, 1981:43).

The books by Frederikse and Windrich are important because they examined the Rhodesian era. Nonetheless they have been criticised for being: “written from a viewpoint [that is] openly sympathetic to the liberation cause” (Brand, n.d.:97). Brand argues that the books pay more attention to deconstructing “the propaganda” of the Smith regime than they do to discussing the

¹⁵ The Psychological Operations Unit was established to carryout propaganda and psychological operations during the war. Whitaker (2014:65) argues that the aim of the psychological operations was to: “get the target audience to behave in a manner that benefits the group sending the message.” The Rhodesian government, however, struggled to find a home for the psychological operations. Whitaker (2014:66) continues: “It was seldom coordinated well between the various agencies that were sending out PSYOP messages at home and abroad. Over the course of the Zimbabwe War for independence a variety of organisations engaged in both strategic and tactical PSYOP operations; the Ministry of Information, the PSYWAR Committee, 1 Psychological Operations Unit of the Rhodesian Army, the British South Africa Police, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs all engaged in independent PSYOP efforts oftentimes in an extremely haphazard manner.”

content broadcast by the nationalists in exile. Frederikse particularly celebrates the ‘*Voice of Zimbabwe*’ for its efficacy in the fight for liberation. Msindo (2009:664) is of the opinion that: “Frederikse [...] inadvertently justified a new post-colonial ZANU-PF propaganda.” Her book unintentionally helped create a liberation struggle narrative that centralises and celebrates the contribution of ZANU-PF at the expense of other parties and players. Windrich does not discuss the non-state media content in much detail. Instead, in the foreword, the late Nathan Shamuyarira, the then Minister of Information and Tourism in the ZANU government (1981) criticises the censorship of the media during the Smith regime, and outlines some of the changes to the media that the new government has introduced.

Most contemporary researchers devote their time to analysing media texts in the context of the crisis that started in the late 1990s in Zimbabwe, however, Msindo (2009) and Dombo (2013) are present-day scholars who look at the Zimbabwean media in the context of the colonial era. Between 1962 and 1970, the Rhodesian Front faced a number of political and economic challenges such as “the emigration challenge, the internal political situation, African nationalism and the UDI” (Msindo, 2009:665). Consequently, the Rhodesian Front (RF) used the media to propagate its own ideas. Despite the defeat of the United Federal Party (UFP) in the 1962 elections, the RF government still saw the UFP as a threat because it still had the support of the British as well as the media (Msindo, 2009:671). For this reason, the RF resorted to framing the UFP as sell-outs, and at the same time they positioned themselves as the only party able to safeguard the interests of Rhodesia. Frederikse, Windrich and Msindo (2009:681) all agree that “the Rhodesian government never gained the desired legitimacy after the UDI.”

In his doctoral thesis, Dombo (2013) argues that the *African Daily News* was the first newspaper which targeted the black audiences and their interests. Other newspapers, for example, the *Rhodesia Herald*, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* and the *Sunday Mail* were tailored to satisfy white settler interests. Though Dombo does not undertake a textual analysis of the newspaper, he points out that in its early years the paper could be regarded as ‘moderate,’ but as the years went by, and as the tensions between white and African politics intensified, the *African Daily News* transformed into a ‘radical’ and ‘nationalist’ paper. Dombo argues that this radicalisation eventually saw the paper being closed in 1964.

Mediating *Gukurahundi* in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, the term '*Gukurahundi*' is used mostly to refer to the period (between 1983 and 1987) shortly after independence when the ZANU government used the North Korean trained Fifth Brigade to suppress the supporters of Joshua Nkomo's party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the party's armed wing, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) in the Midlands and Matabeleland. Many people lost their lives. While *Gukurahundi* has been written about (Sithole, 1993; 1997; Tendi, 2011; Mangena, 2012), not much has been published on the ways the media represented it. The few studies on *Gukurahundi* show how the state controlled media became a Trojan horse the state used to legitimise the attack on the 'dissidents' in Matabeleland.

A chapter by Alexander and McGregor (1999) is one of the few works that discuss how *Gukurahundi* was represented in the state media, the private press and in unmediated online spaces. Alexander and McGregor argue that the state media depicted the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) party and its military wing, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) as dangerous aggressors and armed dissidents. The actions of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) party and the government forces, were framed as legitimate actions carried out in defence of "the hard won independence" (Alexander & McGregor, 1999:246). By presenting the power between the ZANU government and its armed forces and ZAPU and ZIPRA in terms of good versus evil, the ZANU government sanctioned the use of extreme violence to subdue the resistance in the Midlands and Matabeleland. After ZANU and ZAPU joined together and signed the 1987 Unity Accord, the privately owned press started questioning and challenging the state media's accounts of the violence.

Alexander and McGregor also focused on Zimnet, an online forum whose audiences are elite Zimbabweans who live abroad and many are also studying outside the country. Posts on Zimnet discussed the violence in Matabeleland. The discussion was sparked by a report by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, *Breaking the Silence, Building True Peace: A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands - 1980-1988*. Excerpts from the report were published by the *Mail and Guardian*, and subsequently, the report received coverage in the *Zimbabwe Independent*, a privately owned paper and in two monthly magazines, *Parade* and

Horizon. The posts demonstrate that some audiences read the government propaganda in ways that countered the hegemonic meanings (Alexander & McGregor, 1999:258). Alexander and McGregor give details of the various subject positions that the contributors took up in relation to the report. Some contributors drew on the dominant ideas propagated by the state during the 1980s, and others deviated totally from the dominant ideas. Some contributors challenged the motives of the Catholic Commission, some framed the report as divisive, and others drew on historical and ethnic discourses to make their arguments. Alexander and McGregor (2009:262) point out that:

[...] the internet was not a straightforwardly democratizing and liberating instrument of free discussion: Zimnet debates demonstrated that discussion was only as free as the political views of the participants allowed, and showed the lasting and profound influence of the interpretations of the violence propagated in Zimbabwe's media during the conflict.

Santos's (2011) MA dissertation looks at how *The Chronicle*, a state owned newspaper, represented *Gukurahundi*. Santos's findings do not differ from Alexander and McGregor's observations about the state media. As early as 1983, *The Chronicle* framed the government and the Fifth Brigade as 'good' and the opponents of the government as 'rogue dissidents.' Santos argues that this depiction was meant to mobilise support for the government as well as justifying any future government action against the 'dissidents.' Santos also points to the ways in which the ZAPU leader, Joshua Nkomo and Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Front leader, were delegitimised by being presented as supporters of the rebels. In sharp contrast to this picture, members of the ZANU 'in-group,' like the late government minister Eddison Zvobgo were presented as figures of authority worthy of respect. Santos's analysis is interesting, but one is left wondering how readers of *The Chronicle* engaged with these ideas given that a large number of the paper's readers were directly affected by *Gukurahundi*.

Rwafa's (2012) paper looks at the representations of *Gukurahundi* in a 2007 documentary film titled, '*Gukurahundi: A Moment of Madness*' produced by Zenzele Ndebele. Although Rwafa celebrates the documentary for breaking some silence about the atrocities, he also critiques how the documentary itself constructed other silences. He argues that the documentary depicts the night vigils (*pungwes*) held during the liberation struggle in a negative light, yet there were positive things about these meetings. Rwafa comments that the narrative of Thambolenyoka (one

of the ‘dissidents’) excluded the experiences of other ‘dissidents’ who had caused havoc during this period.

Literature on the media’s representations of the post-2000 crisis

The number of studies that focus on the media’s representations of the current political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe is far greater than the studies devoted to the previous two periods of crisis discussed above. This can be attributed, in part, to the fact that in addition to individual researchers, who are located in university departments analysing media texts,¹⁶ civil society organisations have also contributed greatly in the production of knowledge. A very large portion of the studies devoted to the post-2000 crisis were produced by local and regional organisations that monitor the content of the state media, for example, the Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ), the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), the Federation of African Media Women in Zimbabwe (FAMWZ) and the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA). The MMPZ’s organisational profile which appears on its website explains the organisation’s interest in state media content, “[...] the publicly funded media remain the main focus of MMPZ’s attention since they are obliged to reflect all shades of opinion in Zimbabwe in addition to reporting issues fairly and accurately.”

Most of the studies coming from civil society organisations mostly use quantitative research methods (see MMPZ website for example, the ‘*Eye on ZBC March 2013*’ report), university based researchers incline towards qualitative approaches or sometimes combine the two approaches. Qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA) are the most commonly used methods in qualitative research. The point of departure for researchers using CDA is that all media texts are constructions which represent reality rather than reflect it.

Most researchers who analysed the ways the news media have represented the current crisis period have drawn on the framing theory. Entman (1993) contends that media framing is the process of choosing certain ideas and giving them greater eminence than others. By privileging some ideas over others, the media create a “codified definition” of what audiences should regard as the truth of the event (Allan, 2004:81).

¹⁶ One of the few exceptions is a study by Mwarire (2007) who interviewed journalists from two newspapers, *The Herald* and *The Daily News*, about the “absence of a gender equality discourse” in stories about the land occupations of 2000.

A seminal work for researchers doing qualitative analyses of media texts in Zimbabwe is Terrence Ranger's (2004) paper, '*Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: the Struggle over the past in Zimbabwe.*' Ranger is a historian, yet his observations on the ZANU-PF government's systematic and concerted drive, which began in the late 1990s, to construct their own version of the history of Zimbabwe, which he terms "patriotic history," has been of great use to scholars in many disciplines (Ndou, 2012). Ranger (2004:215) sees the intention behind the creation of this patriotic history as the desire to assert the "continuity of the Zimbabwean revolutionary tradition." The patriotic history narratives celebrate ZANU's role in liberating the country from colonial bondage. The experiences of the combatants, members of ZAPU and of ZIPRA, are subsumed into the master narrative of the struggle. Ranger also notes how the dominant account of Zimbabwe's past creates one group, the nationalists, and another group, sell-outs. The opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and its factions, are dismissed as people who have no part in the history of the liberation struggle, and, therefore, are not qualified to or worthy of governing the country. ZANU-PF has appointed itself as the watchdog and the guardian of Zimbabwe's "hard won independence." In this narrative, ZANU-PF sees its central role as that of preventing the MDC from facilitating the re-colonisation of Zimbabwe by its erstwhile British colonial masters. According to Ranger, patriotic history has different manifestations; from the overtly crude oversimplifications to the sophisticated works by intellectuals who support it. Ranger also notes that this type of history manifests in different spaces, for example, in the state controlled media, teaching manuals used in youth militia camps, in school text books, in books written by government ministers, in speeches by President Mugabe as well as in articles penned by intellectuals who support the government. In his book, *Making History in Mugabe's Zimbabwe: Politics, Intellectuals and the Media*, Tendi (2010) expounds on Ranger's idea of patriotic history. Ranger's paper provides useful ideas that will be drawn on to inform the analysis of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts in Chapters 5 & 6.

The land and the elections in print media news

Two of the most researched topics in relation to the latest crisis are representations of the land issue and the hotly contested elections in news stories. The reason for the interest in the land might be explained by the fact that the land has "[...] been viewed as the epicenter of the

Zimbabwean crisis particularly after the introduction of the ‘fast-track’ land reform programme [...]” (Chari, 2010a:134). The bulk of the studies are comparative analyses of the state media and the private media’s representations of the land issue (see Chari, 2013). The overarching argument presented in the studies on land is that the state media rallied behind the programme while the private media opposed it.

Even though the significance of the land and the elections after 2000 in Zimbabwe is understandable, the continued focus on these two topics has resulted in other issues connected to the crisis remaining under-researched. A few researchers, for example, Chari (2008a, 2010a), Nyamanhindi (2008), Pindayi (2010) and Mukundu (2010), go beyond the matter of the land and look at other issues pertaining to the crisis. The focus on media representations of elections (times when political tensions in the country are at an all-time high) has resulted in a gap in knowledge around media depictions of the crisis when the country is not going to the polls. In light of the above-mentioned paucity of knowledge, this study focuses not only on the favourite topics of many researchers (the land and the elections), but also analyses the manner in which Radio Zimbabwe depicts the liberation struggle, the country’s friends and enemies as well as the President.

A researcher who has published on the Zimbabwean media’s portrayal of the land issue is Wendy Willems (2004a, 2004b). In her papers, Willems does a comparative analysis of the ways the state media (*The Herald*) and the private media (*The Daily News*) reported on the land. Her analysis focuses on the period prior to the June 2000 elections (between February and June 2000). Willems (2004a) points out that the two newspapers represented the land issue along partisan lines. *The Daily News*, for example, constituted the land occupations as “invasions” that had negative effects on the economy of the country while *The Herald* celebrated the occupations as a long overdue land “reform” programme whose results benefited communal farmers (Willems, 2004a:8). Willems adds that the depictions of the land programme in *The Herald* worked to legitimise the programme while the portrayal of the land in *The Daily News* served to delegitimise it. Willems (2004a) concludes that the fixation of the two papers on framing the land in narrow and partisan ways prevented them from engaging in a meaningful debate about the programme.

Though Chari (2010a) looks at constructions of the land in the media, he includes in his analysis the ways the media covered other issues like Zimbabwe's economy and foreign relations. Chari's analysis examines the Zimbabwean state and private press between 2000 and 2008. Although Chari's study looks at a wider range of private papers than Willems who looks at *The Daily News*, it is interesting that the findings by the two researchers are similar. Like Willems, Chari (2010a:136) notes that the private press attempted to delegitimise the land programme by focusing on "the violence" that accompanied the programme, as well as the likely adverse effects that the programme would have on the country's food security. Chari argues:

[...] the private press characterized the programme as 'violent seizure of farms,' 'land grab,' 'barbaric,' or 'illegal farm occupations.' War veterans and peasants who occupied farms were labelled 'thugs, squatters,' 'goons,' 'hoodlums,' 'Mugabe cronies,' etc. (Chari, 2010a:135).

Writing about the state press, Chari says:

If the private press is guilty of cynicism which prevented it from acknowledging 'positive' aspects of land reform, the public press should be faulted for viewing the land issue through rose-tinted lenses and for constructing it through the narrow prism of government (Chari, 2010a:136).

Chari also looks at the way the economy is represented. He points out that the media's depictions of the economic situation in Zimbabwe follows the same polarised style of reporting. Chari describes the headlines in the privately owned papers as alarmist as they focused on the tragic humanitarian consequences that followed the implementation of the policy. Chari (2010a:139) argues that the private newspapers placed the blame for the country's economic challenges on President Mugabe, Gideon Gono (the Reserve Bank governor) and government corruption as they wished to "nudge citizens to take a more active role in the politics of the country." Chari (2010a:147) concludes that the private media's "intoxicated and blind loyalty to political causes" resulted in it missing the chance to analyse the latest complexity of the Zimbabwean crisis: "thus abdicating their social responsibility to inform and educate the public and to chart a viable way forward" (Chari, 2010a:147). His analysis of the way the state and private media represented the contemporary international relations again highlights the polarised positions taken by the media houses. The state media framed the dispute between Zimbabwe and Britain as having been brought about by the land policy, the private media depicted the same dispute as having resulted from human rights violations sanctioned by the government.

In his 2004 book, *Politics and Persuasion: Media Coverage of Zimbabwe's 2000 election*, Waldahl discusses the content of the main television news (News@eight) on the ZBC, and the coverage of the election related content (excluding letters to the editor) in *The Herald*, *The Chronicle*, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Daily News*, *The Financial Gazette*, *The Standard*, *The Zimbabwe Independent* and *The Zimbabwe Mirror*. The book is based on a qualitative study that was conducted from the beginning of March up to a week after the election. Waldahl notes that with the exception of *The Zimbabwe Mirror*, the aforementioned media took up positions for or against ZANU-PF and Mugabe. Though *The Zimbabwe Mirror* seemed to be neutral, Waldahl (2004:130) argues that “beneath its openness there was underlying sympathy for ZANU-PF and clear support for its continuing rule.”

Chuma (2008) draws on ideas from the framing theory to analyse the manner in which the state-owned and private press mediated the 2000 Zimbabwean elections (June and July 2000). Most studies only analyse *The Herald*, *The Daily News* and *The Standard* newspapers, Chuma's study includes an analysis of *The Zimbabwe Mirror* (also see Waldahl, 2004) in addition to the above mentioned newspapers. He uses qualitative content analysis in his examination of some editorials and front page news articles. Chuma argues that the three newspapers (*The Herald*, *The Daily News* and *The Zimbabwe Mirror*) frame the elections very differently.

He categorises the three approaches as “patriotic” (*The Herald*), “oppositional” (*The Daily News*) and “independent nationalistic” (*The Zimbabwe Mirror*). The “patriotic” approach was employed primarily by ZANU-PF which framed Zimbabweans as either patriots or traitors. Chuma argues that in labelling opposition members as traitors, ZANU-PF sought to undermine its opponents during the highly contested elections. “Oppositional” journalism had existed since 1980, Chuma argues that it was only in the post-2000 era that it emerged as a significant political force. The objective of the opposition media was to discredit ZANU-PF by emphasising its political and economic mistakes and by presenting the MDC as the only hope for the future. “Independent nationalistic” journalism was associated with the *Zimbabwe Mirror* newspaper. The position adopted by this paper was framed as serving the national interest.

The “opposition” press, positioned itself as the “voice of the voiceless” (Chuma, 2008:32), for it gave space to groups whose voices were systematically excluded from the patriotic press such as the civil society and opposition political parties. Reports in *The Daily News* consistently

constructed the state as the enemy. Most of the reports mentioned the state's "repressive strategies," the use of violence and the intimidation of those who supported the opposition. ZANU-PF was presented as "incompetent" and voting the party out of power was presented as the solution to some of the challenges that faced the country. While ZANU-PF was presented as bad, the MDC was presented as the "victim" of a rogue state (Chuma, 2008:33).

In the independent nationalist media (the *Zimbabwe Mirror*), most of the paper's editorials identified with ZANU-PF's ideas. The paper depicted ZANU-PF as having the ability to rule the country. It dismissed the MDC: "as lacking in both technical and political competence to assume the reins of the Zimbabwean state" (Chuma, 2008:34). The news pages presented "a diverse and nuanced coverage of the election, from multiple perspectives" (Chuma, 2008:34).

Against the background of the 2008 harmonised elections,¹⁷ Mushohwe, Hattingh and Economou (2011) produced a comparative analysis of cartoons that appeared in *The Herald* newspaper and on the website *zimonline.co.za*. The study came to the conclusion that the two media outlets represented the elections in similar ways. The cartoons were "propagandistic representations of Zimbabwean politics that are more of an extension of political ideology than they are a reflection of the country's socio-political landscape" (Mushohwe, Hattingh & Economou, 2011:36).

As noted at the beginning of the literature review section, the researchers categorised the state-owned and private media's representation of issues that characterise the latest crisis into discrete pro-and anti-establishment boxes. However, the ideas that do not necessarily conform to the template have been overlooked.

Although the major focus by most researchers is on the media's representations of the land issue (also see Dombo, 2013), there are some studies that look at other issues which pertain to the latest crisis. Chari (2008a) and Nyamanhundi (2008), for example, look at the media's framing of the government instituted *Operation Murambatsvina* (Operation Clean Up) that lasted from May and July 2005. Both these articles use content and discourse analysis to examine the manner in which the state-owned and private media portrayed this programme. Chari focuses on the coverage given the Operation between 22 May and 13 November 2005 by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard*. He notes that most of the reports on the clean-up operation appeared in *The*

¹⁷ Harmonised elections refer to the synchronised elections for the Presidency, the National Assembly, the Senate and the local authorities (Masunungure, n.d.)

Sunday Mail while the campaign was underway. *The Standard* newspaper continued its coverage of the campaign well after July 2005. In his analysis, Chari argues that in their reports, the newspapers mirrored the polarisation at that time. While on the one hand *The Sunday Mail* backed *Operation Murambatsvina*, *The Standard* critiqued it.

Nyamanhindi's findings in his study of the cartoons which commented on *Murambatsvina* are similar to Chari's conclusions: the cartoons' depictions of *Murambatsvina* were either positive or negative depending on the newspaper that published them. What distinguishes Nyamanhindi's article from the rest of the literature on the way that the crisis is represented, is his dedication of a small section to discussing how gender is represented in these cartoons on *Murambatsvina*. Nyamanhindi's inclusion of gender is laudable, but, he focuses solely on women and children as if to imply that when one talks about gender men are excluded. The government programme affected men and women differently. Nyamanhindi does not provide a detailed discussion of how men were represented in the cartoons. In his analysis, the women were depicted as 'another vulnerable group' which stripped them of any sense of agency.

Mukundu's (2010) MA dissertation also deals with the coverage of *Operation Murambatsvina*. Like Chari (2008a), Mukundu looks at the ways *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* newspapers covered *Murambatsvina* between 18 May and 30 June 2005. Mukundu analyses the media texts using critical discourse analysis. Mukundu's findings also point to the partisan reporting by the two newspapers. Often these papers carried conflicting reports about the reasons for *Murambatsvina* and the extent to which it affected Zimbabweans.

Pindayi's (2010) MA dissertation focuses on the manner that the 2008 cholera outbreak was framed in two newspapers, *Zimbabwe Independent* and *The Herald*. His conclusions are akin to those of other researches who have been discussed in this chapter. Both papers abdicated their responsibilities to give their readers 'factual' information about the outbreak; instead they sided with either ZANU-PF or MDC-T on the matter.

While most researchers have prioritised analysing news texts in relation to the latest crisis, a few researchers like Nyamanhindi (2008) and Musangi (2012) look at other genres. Musangi (2012) looks at internet humour and the crisis. He focuses primarily on the website www.bob.co.za.¹⁸

¹⁸ This website is now defunct

He examines the ways that President Mugabe was depicted on the website which subverts the dominant constructions of the President as “the father of the nation” and a “revolutionary.” Musangi notes that in the images, “Mugabe is presented as a baby, a woman or a gay man who is highly sexualised, often bordering on whoredom” (Musangi, 2012:168).

Depictions of the post-2000 crisis in Zimbabwe in the international media

While the above discussion looked at research that dealt with the local media, the section that follows looks at the growing body of literature that focuses on depictions of various aspects of the current crisis in Zimbabwe in media beyond the borders of Zimbabwe (Ndlela, 2005; Willems, 2005; Ogenga, 2010; Moyo, 2011b; Musangi, 2012; Musila & Moyo, 2012).

Moyo (2011b) uses the CNN as a case study. He looks at the manner in which this US based cable news channel, which has immense power to “influenc[e] international public opinion about events and processes in the developing world,” represented the March and June 2008 elections in Zimbabwe (Moyo, 2011b:123). Moyo uses critical discourse analysis to examine ten news texts that were broadcast on the Network between March and June 2008. Though the CNN editorial policy frames its news as “always independent” among other things, Moyo argues that the news channel’s worldview is Eurocentric. Its representations of the latest crisis in Zimbabwe did not aid international audiences to understand what was taking place in the country (Moyo, 2011b:126). He argues that President Mugabe was consistently portrayed in terms of “typical [Western] frames of yet another African dictator who is merely interested in consolidating his rule regardless of the fact that the country is collapsing because of his long stay in power” (Moyo, 2011b:127). Moyo adds that the CNN’s depiction of Mugabe as the hero of the liberation struggle who turned into a reprobate dictator and destroyed his own country, fails to engage with other factors that might explain Mugabe’s radical methods, particularly how he dealt with the land. Moyo argues that the country’s history of colonialism and post colonialism is hardly ever discussed in the CNN reports. The CNN’s coverage of the land issue was reduced to a black versus white story, in which the white farmers were the “victims” of black “land grabbers.”

While Moyo criticises the CNN for its “flawed” representations, it is interesting to note that he acknowledges the cable news channel’s “critical role in exposing the human rights abuses” particularly in the context of the run-off election (Moyo, 2011b:131), something that is rarely

found in most analyses that appear in international media. While Moyo celebrates the manner in which the CNN exposed the violence, he also argues that these exposés were always in service of “neoliberalism, global capital, and Western governments” (Moyo, 2011b:131).

Ndlela’s (2005) article focuses on the Norwegian media’s coverage of the land occupations and the 2000-2004 Zimbabwean elections. He uses critical discourse analysis to examine three Norwegian newspapers, *Aftenposten*, *VG* and *Dagbladet*. Ndlela describes the manner in which the Norwegian media covered these events. The reporting exhibits the same “typical problematic frame” found in most international media reporting about Africa. Ndlela (2005:73) writes:

Negative events in Africa increase the chances of those events being reported while positive events rarely attract the attention of the Western media. There has thus been a tendency in the Western media to represent Africa as a continent ravaged by diseases, tribal conflicts, despair and depression. Negative developments or events in Africa easily fit into these stereotyped categories.

Ndlela traces the source of news on Zimbabwe in Norwegian papers to the national Norwegian news agency, Norsk Telegrambyrå (NTB) whose source is predominantly Reuters and AFP. Ndlela explains that the interest of the Norwegian media in Zimbabwe can be accounted for by the fact that Zimbabwe had been a beneficiary of Norwegian aid since 1980. Ndlela (2005:81) notes that the dominant question that the Norwegian media asked was around the logic behind continued donor support to a “dictatorial regime.” Although the necessity of the land reform programme was acknowledged in the Norwegian media, Ndlela writes that there was, however, consensus on the point that the methods that the Zimbabwean government used to carry out the process were wrong. Leaving out other historical factors pertaining to the land issue as well as Britain’s role in the land story, Ndlela (2005:82) argues that the Norwegian media only focused on the “war-like method” used by government to acquire farms. Ndlela also points to the ways the Norwegian media constantly accentuated the victimhood status of the whites by mentioning them by name while downplaying the deaths of many black people. The role of the white farmers in placing Zimbabwe on the map as the “breadbasket” of the region was also emphasised in the media. In relation to coverage of the 2000 parliamentary elections and the 2002 presidential elections in Zimbabwe, Ndlela (2005) argues that the Norwegian media took the side of the main opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Writing against ZANU-PF, the dominant argument in the Norwegian media was that since the government was “responsible” for the crisis in Zimbabwe, there was need for a “regime change” in the country.

Willems (2005) analyses the ways two British newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* represented the crisis in Zimbabwe. In addition to conducting a textual analysis, Willems (2005:92) also interviewed foreign journalists from different British newspapers and foreign news agencies to gain an understanding into the processes of news-making. The paper begins by arguing that the interest of foreign media like the British over some African countries like Zimbabwe and South Africa stems from the fact that there is/was a large number of their “kith and keen” in these countries. In the interviews with the correspondences, Willems surfaced the ways the editors of the British papers would guide correspondents in relation to what was newsworthy. Most of the journalists said they followed the template that positioned the white farmers as good, innocent and victims of the bad and militant black land grabbers.

Harvey (2000) analyses for a week (17 to 21 April 2000) the ways the British and American media represented the land occupations in Zimbabwe. Harvey observed that the British media tended to be sympathetic towards the white commercial farmers. Harvey argues that the British media took up this position as a way to divert attention from the imperialist part it played in Zimbabwe during the colonial times as well as it being implicated with the issues of payment of compensation to the Zimbabwean government. The American media on the other hand was more nonchalant. Harvey notes that the lack of excessive interest displayed by the American media might be attributed to the fact that there were no direct political interests for them in Zimbabwe.

While most researchers analyse European and American media, Musila and Moyo (2012) look at the South African press. Musila and Moyo (2012) analyse the manner in which President Mugabe was depicted in cartoons published in the South African press. In addition to cartoons on Mugabe, Musila and Moyo discuss the ways in which Thabo Mbeki was represented in cartoons carried by the newspapers. While some of the Mbeki cartoons criticised the former South African President for his quiet diplomacy, others celebrated him as the “saviour of Zimbabwe.” Mbeki was criticised in some cartoons for offering financial assistance to Zimbabwe yet many South Africans needed the money. Some of the cartoons depicted Mbeki as indifferent to “the violence being perpetrated by his neighbor” (President Mugabe). In other cartoons, Mbeki was portrayed as “foolish” in the ways he sided with Mugabe as well as in the manner in which Mugabe “hoodwinked” him. The Zimbabwean President on the other hand was constituted as an errant child who bullied other children (the press and the MDC) through the use of violence.

Musila and Moyo (2012:214) also note that Mugabe was presented as an animal in ways that were reminiscent of the “evolutionary narrative of social Darwinism and its accompanying racist ideas about black savagery and primitivism.” Musila and Moyo (2012) critique these cartoons for being devoid of the history of the country, considerations of the land issue as well as the evolved relationship between Mugabe and Britain. They argue that the Mugabe cartoons tended to nourish fears by white South Africans regarding the black leaders who should never be trusted to run a country.

Whereas the above-mentioned studies highlight and critique some of the ideas that dominated international news, Chapters 5 & 6 of this study will focus on analysing Radio Zimbabwe discourses that were in part a response to these anti-ZANU-PF discourses.

Zimbabwe’s crises, the media and their audiences

Although researchers like Mare (2013) do incorporate information from interviews with audience members into their analysis of media texts, very little is known about Zimbabwean audiences. In his paper entitled: ‘Beyond the construction of crises: the voice of an ordinary Zimbabwean,’ Zegeye (2010) makes this point and argues that there is a gap in the literature about the latest crisis (also see Li, 2007). The overarching idea in the limited literature on audiences is that people are not passive dupes of hegemonic messages. Instead, they actively and critically interact with the ideas perpetuated by the media.

Writing in the context of Rhodesia, Frederikse is one of the few writers to include excerpts from interviews with radio listeners. While Frederikse does not carry out a systematic analysis of the interviews with audiences, Frederikse’s work shows that the interviewees were far more discerning than the media producers gave them credit for. Most of them took up anti-hegemonic positions in relation to the state media content. Contrary to efforts by the state to position black fighters as ‘terrorists,’ Flavio Paradza, a school teacher from Chibi, for example, said that they (the black audiences) never believed any of the propaganda by the state (Frederikse, 1982:122). Asked about the films that discouraged the black population from supporting ‘the dangerous terrorists’ shown to rural communities via the Mobile Cinema Unit,¹⁹ another audience member,

¹⁹ Mobile Cinema Unit was one of the media that was established by the Rhodesian government targeted at the black population to promote the interests of the Rhodesian administration (Willems, 2013b). The other media was Radio Three and *The African Times*. Their aim was

one Leonard Gwanza, a shopkeeper in Murehwa commented that the people in the communities never believed them. Gwanza said: “We just knew that all those films were propaganda. They wouldn’t move us, not an inch, not even a small child” (Frederikse, 1982:95).

While the interviews with the audiences are interesting, Frederikse’s work, however, almost leaves one with the impression that her interviewees were always critical of dominant ideas broadcast by the RBC and unquestioningly supportive of everything said by Radio Mozambique. Frederikse’s book fails to show the complexity of the audience’s subjectivity. Since most of the interviews were carried out in the late 1970s, it is possible to argue that the respondents were merely acting politically correct given the circumstances.

In a MA dissertation titled: ‘Too young to remember: the framing of collective memory in Zimbabwe’s post-independent generation,’ Ndou (2012) questions if the dominance of ZANU-PF’s narratives of the liberation struggle in mainstream media has influenced the post-independent generation. Working with material from 100 participants who participated in an online survey, Ndou’s study also analyses how young Zimbabweans regard the liberation war discourse. Ndou found that the majority of the participants resisted the influence of patriotic history scripts that characterised state controlled media. Despite subverting the master narratives, Ndou (2012:52) argues that: “[...] resisting the influence of patriotic history does not amount to creating a counter-narrative which is something that the youth have a limited capacity to do because they do not remember or did not experience the historical events that are being referred to.”

Although Manganga (2012) writing in the context of the current crisis in Zimbabwe, does not look specifically at people’s engagement with specific media texts, his article is interesting in that it underscores the idea that people living in contexts like Zimbabwe in which dominant ideas are pervasive do not necessarily passively and uncritically take up dominant positions when they speak. Citizens sometimes position themselves outside the confines of the dominant ideas. Munganga’s paper looks at some political jokes that Zimbabweans circulated via text messages during and after the March 2008 elections in Zimbabwe. Contrary to mainstream tropes in the state media that positioned Britain, America and the European Union as solely responsible for the economic crisis in Zimbabwe, in some jokes President Mugabe was constituted as responsible for the country’s downturn hence the need to remove him from power (Manganga,

2012:252). While Manganga's study is interesting, the focus only on citizens challenging mainstream ideas gives the impression that Zimbabweans were consistent in deconstructing the status quo. Representing people in this way also neglects the idea that individual subjectivity is complex, fluid and sometimes contradictory.

Conclusion

In reviewing the literature on radio in Africa, radio in Zimbabwe and radio and the sociology of everyday life, several gaps were identified in the research. In current radio studies in Africa and in Zimbabwe, analyses of the medium's broadcasts have not received much attention. Also visibly missing in international media research, media studies in Zimbabwe and Africa is an appreciation of how radio audiences interact with the content broadcast by radio stations. Media anthropologists are the only ones who have produced ethnographic accounts of the ways listeners interact with the medium in the course of everyday life. This research, nevertheless, barely looks at audience interaction with actual radio content.

In the literature on how diverse crises in the country were mediated, a major observation was that most researchers have focused their attention on analysing media texts at the expense of understanding how media audiences actually engage with the ideas that they are exposed to. In this chapter, the researcher has argued that this scenario has inadvertently sustained the myth of the all-powerful media. In that context, this study envisions making a contribution to the discussion of audience interaction with certain mainstream ideas broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe.

The researcher examined various textual analyses. She noted that scholars dealt with print media texts and ignored radio broadcasts despite the popularity of radio across Africa and in Zimbabwe. While most researchers have concentrated on how the land issue and the elections were depicted in the news, Chapters 5 & 6 of this study seeks to provide an analysis of mainstream discourses aired on Radio Zimbabwe.

The next chapter looks at the research methodology and the research design. It also reflects on the researcher's experiences of gaining entry and conducting research in a rural community in Zimbabwe during a time of crisis.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Research Design

Introduction

This chapter deals with two main issues, the research methodology and the research design. The first part locates the study within the qualitative research paradigm. The initial section of the chapter also looks at how thinking on research by poststructuralist feminist scholars influenced this research particularly in relation to the ways the researcher/research participant relationship was conceptualised. The second part of the chapter discusses the research design. While collecting data on Radio Zimbabwe was fairly straightforward, the process of gaining entry into the research field as well as doing the actual interviews with women who listened to the station was much more complicated. This chapter ends by looking at how the researcher analysed information that she collected.

Qualitative research methodology

This study is broadly located within the qualitative research paradigm because this approach is better suited to dealing with the type of research questions that the researcher had chosen to ask around Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts and listeners. Griffin and Phoenix (1994) argue that for some research topics a qualitative approach is more suitable because it is able to handle contradictory data and provide insight into a respondent's views on a matter.

The researcher did not start with a specific hypothesis that she would then test, nor did she begin with the need to "access the connections between variables" (Flick, 2011:82) as is usual in the case with most quantitative researches.

Most studies located within the quantitative methodology place a lot of emphasis on standardised procedures in order to generate results which could then be compared with the findings of other studies. This was not essential to this study. When administering a survey or questionnaire, researchers usually stick to a list of predetermined questions. Though the researcher developed a set of questions that guided her during the interviews, she did not necessarily adhere to the set of questions or their exact wording (Priest, 2010; Flick, 2011). Most interviews did not follow the trajectory that the researcher had expected. Some questions were prompted by what the women said during the interviews. Other questions, particularly those asked in the later interviews were

re-framed based on the experiences of earlier interviews. Esterberg (2002:87) describes the process of conducting semi-structured interviews in this manner: “The process resembles a dance, in which one partner (the interviewer) must be carefully attuned to the other’s movements.” The researcher used semi-structured interviews because their versatility allows participants to talk about and explain issues that they feel are important (Longhurst, 2010).

This study can also be categorised as qualitative because it took place within the everyday context in which women lived. Departing from quantitative studies where researchers strive for controlled and ‘independent’ environments which are free of societal values, the context was considered as adding value to the study.

Although quantitative researchers value the idea of ‘objective’ and ‘value free’ research, the point of departure for this study was the acknowledgement of the inherent subjective nature of the research process (Savin-Baden & Howell Major, 2013). The researcher made a set of decisions that were far from being ‘objective,’ for example, the researcher chose to focus on Radio Zimbabwe and no other radio station, she selected a particular village in a specific rural area, and she decided which women she would interview and which information to include in her analysis. The researcher did not expect that her interviews would provide the same kind of information that is gathered during ‘objective’ interviews. Her intention was to understand the meanings that women attributed to their experiences as Radio Zimbabwe listeners (Hennik, Hutter & Bailey, 2011).

Instead of attempting to be a neutral, distant researcher, feminists focused on the mutuality of the research process[,] intersubjectivity not objectivity and dialogues in place of monologues became the goals. The relationship between the researcher and the researched was thereby made visible and open to debate. (Gilbert 1994:89)

Contrary to the idea that lack of objectivity is a weakness, Bhavnani (1994) argues that the acknowledgement of partiality and subjectivity is a strength because it brings to the surface any biases and so contributes to a study that does not mask the researcher’s involvement. Making a similar observation, Oakley (1981) cited by Esterberg (2002:19) notes that a much richer understanding of the women’s lives she interviewed in her study came about after she shared her own experiences of mothering.

Limitations of the qualitative methodology

One of the major criticisms levelled against qualitative studies is that their findings are not generalisable to larger populations beyond the contexts in which the research was conducted. This lack of generalisability is largely because qualitative research is interested in understanding “particulars” (Strelitz, 2005) thus sample sizes are generally small (Schröder et al., 2003).

While there might be parallels and overlapping in terms of findings from one qualitative research to another focusing on similar issues, it nonetheless remains fundamental for an understanding of a phenomenon such as audience engagement with media to be located within the context of everyday life. In a bid to address the generalisability quandary, maybe similar context specific studies can be extended to other communities to obtain a more ‘holistic’ picture and a better understanding of diverse experiences.

Another challenge associated with a qualitative perspective is that the fieldwork generates huge amounts of information and the task of dealing with this large volume of information can be overwhelming and time consuming particularly when it comes to transcription and analysis (Griffin, n.d.). Because of the large quantity of Radio Zimbabwe recordings, the researcher ended up transcribing only certain sections of the broadcasts (also see Mama, 1995).

Feminist research practice

The researcher found ideas on ways of conducting research postulated by some poststructuralist feminist thinkers of great use. Gilbert (1994) argues that the aim of feminist research is to produce knowledge that foregrounds women’s experiences, thus challenging the myth prevalent in non-feminist research that men’s experiences are representative of human experience. Oakley (1998) argues that this bias stems in part from the use of positivist and quantitative approaches to research. In the context of the androcentric bias, Hesse-Biber (n.d:3) writes that engaging in feminist praxis means:

Challeng[ing] knowledge that excludes, while seeming to include—assuming that when we speak of the generic term men, we also mean women, as though what is true for dominant groups must also be true for women and other oppressed groups. Feminists ask “new” questions that place

women's lives and those of "other" marginalized groups at the center of social inquiry. Feminist research *disrupts* traditional ways of knowing [Italics in the original text]

While this study contributes to filling the gap in media scholarship in Zimbabwe by interviewing women radio listeners, Mama (1995) notes that just by conducting research with marginalised groups does not necessarily guarantee that the resultant knowledge will challenge the status quo. Mama (1995:66) continues: "Studies of 'Other' groups have lent themselves to an unequal relationship in which the Other is kept at a distance and objectified, in the interests of science." The quantitative research paradigm requires that the researcher keeps the participants at a distance as the only way to produce 'objective' knowledge. As the researcher stated in the previous section, following ideas of other feminist researchers, the researcher has not endeavoured to be distant or neutral (Gilbert, 1994).

There are several ideas that feminist scholars have put forward to address the issue of the top-down researcher/participant relationship. Mies (1993:68) elaborates:

The vertical relationship between researcher and 'research objects,' the *view from above*, must be replaced by the *view from below*. [...] Research, which so far has been largely an instrument of dominance and legitimation of power elites, must be brought to serve the interests of dominated, exploited and oppressed groups, particularly women. Women scholars, committed to the cause of women's liberation, cannot have an objective interest in a 'view from above.'

The women were not passive, simply "confined to the role of data source" as is typically the case in the positivist tradition (Walsh, 1989:437). They asked questions in order to understand what they were getting themselves into to 'avoid trouble' with the authorities.

Before the interviews, the researcher told the participants about herself and the study. She also made provision for the women to ask questions. During the conversations, the participants sometimes asked the researcher personal questions to which she responded. Some of the questions were very personal: "So are you married?"/"How old are you?"/"How many children do you have?" Achebe describes a similar experience of having to answer questions that bordered on the invasive when she interviewed women. She also found that responding to these questions worked to "break down some of the walls of distrust and fear that are intrinsic to the qualitative research setting" (Achebe, 2002:13).

While every effort was made to address the issue of power imbalances between the researcher and the participants during the interview process, the fact that the researcher is the one who ended up writing and representing the women in the thesis is something that needs to be mentioned. Although some feminist scholars suggest that researchers take back the information to their research participants for verification, this was something that was not possible to do in this study due to time and resource constraints. In future work, this is something the researcher considers doing.

Insider/Outsider status

While early accounts of the insider/outsider discussion in Anthropology and Sociology conceptualised the researcher as either an insider or an outsider, Merriam et al. (2001) note that recent discussions on the insider/outsider status have alluded to its complexity. In practice, the researcher's identity is not static and fixed. Merriam et al. (2001:405) write: "In the real world of data collection, there is a good bit of slippage and fluidity between these two states."

Being a black Zimbabwean woman living in Cape Town, going back home to Zimbabwe to conduct fieldwork presented several advantages. ChiShona was the researcher's first language and the researcher was generally aware of 'acceptable' ways of being a woman in a rural setting. The researcher was also cognisant of the economic and political situation in the country. In a country that had been rocked by racial tensions since the late 1990s/early 2000s,²⁰ being black in a rural village seemed to present some benefits for the researcher. The researcher seemed to 'blend' in seamlessly with the villagers. It should, however, be noted that the researcher's initial thoughts about having effortlessly blended into the community were later challenged when some villagers (talking to the researcher) said they noticed her the day she arrived in the village. They said they could even describe the car that accompanied her.

While the researcher was an 'insider' by virtue of being Zimbabwean and black, during the initial meeting with the village head it became apparent to the researcher that she was an 'outsider.' For him (the village head), anyone who did not reside in the community was an outsider who had the potential of bringing in opposition political ideas to *his* village. Being a

²⁰Although in 1980 President Mugabe extended an olive branch to former 'white enemies,' in the early 2000s, his stance changed. The occupation of white owned farms by alleged war veterans marked a turning point in the ways white Zimbabweans were viewed. White people's presence in the country became pernicious reminders of British colonial rule.

student at a South African university and not possessing a ZANU-PF membership card rendered the ‘insider’ status of the researcher somewhat inconsequential. It was interesting that even though the researcher was accompanied by male relatives (read ‘insiders’); the researcher largely occupied the ‘outsider’ status in the eyes of the village head. While the *sabhuku*²¹ subsequently gave the researcher permission to carry out the study in the community, the village head nonetheless regarded the researcher as someone he could not fully trust, hence the need to be constantly monitored.

With the women who were interviewed, the researcher’s insider/outsider status was fluid. In the first encounter with them, the researcher was an outsider whom they did not trust. In addition to being a suspected MDC activist, one woman thought the researcher was a radio license inspector. The researcher’s class was also a source dissonance; the researcher was a middle class woman who at the time of the study had lived in South Africa for five years. There were things that happened in the country in 2008 (read height of the crisis) which the research participants made reference to which the researcher was not familiar with. While the researcher sometimes felt awkward because she did not know things that the women assumed that everyone knew, such moments of difference presented the researcher with opportunities to ask the women to explain what they meant.

Although all the women in this study consented to being interviewed, almost all of them proceeded with caution. As already mentioned in the previous section, the women asked the researcher many personal questions in an attempt to ascertain who the researcher was. When the researcher responded to the questions, the initial scepticism and distrust seemed to show signs of thawing. The researcher also felt like less of a stranger in a discussion on Radio Zimbabwe programmes. Because the researcher was listening to the radio station closely during the time, she was able to have detailed conversations about the station’s programmes and presenters in ways that impressed the women who initially viewed the researcher as someone who would not necessarily listen to Radio Zimbabwe. In addition to this, the fact that the researcher was ‘the same’ with the women (i.e. she was also a woman) contributed to the moments of closeness. Participants felt that because the researcher was a woman, she was able to understand the daily struggles that they faced as women in ways that men could not. *Mai Mutsa* said: *Semunhu*

²¹ Village head

wemukadzi unongozivawo matambudziko atinosangana nawo semadzimai mumba [As a woman I am sure you know the challenges we women encounter in the home].

Although the women talked about the station, its programmes and their work quite openly, when it came to any topic that erred on the side of being political, the researcher again became an outsider who could not be trusted particularly because there was speculation about a national election²² that was to take place that year. This heightened tensions and distrust in the community. Only one woman who became very close to the researcher (*Mai Patience*) during the two months was able to discuss politics with some degree of openness.

Data Collection

Researching Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts

Between March and April 2011, the researcher was based in a rural village in Zimbabwe conducting fieldwork. During this time, the researcher listened consistently to Radio Zimbabwe either on a solar powered radio set which was in the lounge²³ or on a mobile phone. Although the researcher had a fairly good idea of Radio Zimbabwe content by virtue of having grown up with the station and also having worked for the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) in 2003 when contemporary discourses were re-emerging, listening to the station's broadcasts while conducting fieldwork assisted the researcher in having meaningful and relevant conversations with the research participants about specific programmes and presenters. As mentioned in the section above, showing knowledge of the station in the interviews assisted the researcher in building rapport with the women. In the interviews, some women would remark: "*Saka munototeererawo Radio Zimbabwe?!*" (So you also listen to Radio Zimbabwe?!). Some women confessed that they had not viewed the researcher as someone who would know anything about the station. The women assumed that because the researcher was young and grew up in the city,²⁴ she would be interested in listening to radio stations that broadcast in English such as Power FM and Spot FM.

²² From what *Mai Patience* said, most people in the community (particularly known opposition party supporters) loathed national election times because in previous years (2000 onwards) politically motivated violence against them escalated in the community.

²³ The homestead that the researcher stayed at had three brick structures; a round grass thatched hut which was the kitchen, a four roomed house with a corrugated roof as well as blair toilet. The four roomed house had three bedrooms and a lounge that was complete with a lounge suite, a kitchen unit and a solar powered radio set.

²⁴ The information about where the researcher grew up was made known to the participants as a response to the initial questions the women asked the researcher.

Along with listening to the station, the researcher had assistance with recording Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts daily. Although Radio Zimbabwe is a 24 hour radio station, most of the recordings were done between 6am and 12am. There were, however, some days when this process was interrupted by loss of transmission. A recording session consisted of placing an audio recorder next to the radio set; after every four hours when there was no more recording space on the recorder, the researcher or an assistant would download the recordings onto a laptop and continue the recording process. The downloaded broadcasts were arranged in carefully labelled and dated folders.

Conducting research in a rural village in a time of political and economic volatility

As already alluded to in previous sections, other than analysing Radio Zimbabwe texts, this study is also interested in understanding the everyday experiences of some women in a rural community with radio. To gain an understanding of the women's experiences, the researcher carried out semi-structured interviews. Before the interviews could take place, the researcher went through a process of seeking permission to carry out the study. While Chakona (2011), whose research site was Goromonzi district (Eastern part of Zimbabwe) involved approaching officials in district and local government offices for permission to carry out a survey, in this study, there was a conscious decision to avoid the bureaucracy associated with such offices because of time and resource constraints. The researcher decided to approach the village authority, the village head directly for permission to conduct the research. Although this seemed like a better option, the researcher was cognisant of the fact that there was a chance that the village head would refer her back to the same structures she was trying to avoid (see Zaranyika, 2012). Fortunately, the *sabhuku* did not do that.

Negotiating entry into the field

While gaining entry into any research field in any context presents several challenges particularly for qualitative researchers, the challenges faced in this study were exacerbated by the political polarisation in Zimbabwe since 2000. As will be discussed later in this section, the village authority, the *sabhuku* was unapologetic in his support for ZANU-PF. The village head also prided himself in having the ability to “weed out” opposition supporters from *his* village.

Writing in the context of an election, Compagnon (2000:451) observes the following about the relationship between some traditional leaders and ZANU-PF:

In several Communal Areas, local chiefs and headmen were promised a financial reward if their people made the right choice [i.e. voting ZANU-PF] and threatened with violent reprisals if, on the contrary, they voted MDC. Conservative traditional leaders- many of them long-time political associates of Mugabe's party- still enjoy some influence over their rural populations who have little, if any, exposure to independent information.

Getting hold of the village head was not an easy task. It was only on the third visit to his homestead that the initial meeting with him took place. In all the visits to the village head's homestead, the researcher was always accompanied by two male relatives who resided in the village. Prior to this meeting, the researcher had several conversations with the relatives about the study.

The meeting with the village head proved very tough. Present at the meeting was the village head, an elderly man in his late seventies, his wife and his grandson who occasionally repeated to him some of the things that he had not properly heard. At the beginning of the meeting, the two relatives introduced the researcher to the village head. Addressing the village head, one of the men said: "*Sabhuku, uyu mwana wedu uyu, Selina, ari kuita zvidzidzo zvake kuUniversity kuSouth Africa*" (Village head, this is Selina, our child; she is studying at university in South Africa) - Field Notes: March, 2011). The relatives then went on to tell the village head what the researcher had mentioned to them about the study. After the introduction, the visibly sceptical *sabhuku* directly asked the researcher questions to which the researcher responded. Some of the questions were:

Why did you think of doing your research in this community out of all the possible rural communities in Zimbabwe? /What exactly is going to happen during this research of yours? /Why do you want to interview women only? /How long will the research last? /Do you work for an NGO? Which NGO do you work for? (Field Notes: March, 2011)

In responding to the question: "Why did you think of doing your research in this community out of all the possible rural communities in Zimbabwe?" the researcher explained to the *sabhuku* that this village was conveniently located for the researcher who was operating on a very tight budget. This village was also attractive because the researcher had some relatives residing there that were willing to host her.

Still not convinced, the village head asked to see proof that the researcher was indeed a ‘genuine’ student. The researcher then produced a student identity card and a proof of registration letter from the University of Cape Town. All this seemed inconsequential to the village head. While the documents were passed around, the village head made it clear to the researcher that he and *his* people were ZANU-PF supporters and that he had previous experiences with opposition supporters (read MDC activists) trying to “infiltrate *his* community” (Field Notes: March, 2011). He mentioned that opposition party activists had tried to “bribe *his* people” with food in exchange for their support. Sounding very proud of his achievements, the village head said he had closed down a church in his village that was preaching “opposition politics.” Being suspected to be an opposition agent is not something peculiar to this study (also see Mandiyanike, 2009; Chakona, 2011). Chakona explains that during the time she was conducting her study in Goromonzi district, local ZANU-PF authorities also suspected her research team of being on a campaign mission for the Movement for Democratic Change. In his study on Rural District Councils (RDC) in Zimbabwe between October 2003 and February 2004, Mandiyanike argues that despite him being a Zimbabwean researcher returning ‘home’ to do research, his presence at the RDCs was largely met by a lot of suspicion and apprehension particularly because he was coming from a university located outside Zimbabwe. Mandiyanike (2009) writes that the fact he had previously worked for several years within local authority environments did not help in dispelling the misgivings that people had about his research and his intentions.

After almost 45 minutes of the meeting with the village head, the researcher left the *sabhuku*’s homestead with nothing but a promise that he would consult the chief regarding the request to conduct research. The next meeting to hear the chief’s verdict was scheduled for the evening of the following day. On returning to the village head’s homestead, the *sabhuku* came and announced that he had indeed met with the chief, but he had unfortunately forgotten to mention “the case” to him and hence was still not in position to grant the permission. The relatives accompanying the researcher then pleaded with the village head to make a decision pointing out that the researcher had limited time to do the research before going back to university. The village head then asked the researcher similar questions he had asked in the first meeting as way to “check if the researcher told the truth.”

After a little more pleading from the researcher's relatives, the *sabhuku* reluctantly gave the researcher the go ahead to carry out the study in the village (also see Mandiyanike, 2009). The permission was, however, granted with a number of stern warnings. The village head declared that he had "eyes and ears" in the village so the researcher was not "to try anything funny with *his* people" (Field Notes: March, 2011). The village head elaborated that what he meant by "funny" was "trying to confuse his people with anti-ZANU-PF nonsense" (Field Notes: March, 2011). He also made it clear that if the researcher was an "MDC activist disguised as a student," he would soon find out and he would not be held liable for any harm that befell the researcher as a result.

Interviewing the women

Even though the village head had granted the researcher permission to carry out the interviews in the community, consent was also sought from the individual women before the interviews commenced. The researcher explained the purpose of the study to each woman and also that participation in the study was voluntary. The women were also informed that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point. The researcher assured the women who took part of confidentiality; this meant that only pseudonyms would be used in the thesis and any subsequent publications emanating from the interviews. The researcher also assured the women that the name of their village would not be mentioned in the study. All the interviews were audio recorded with the permission of each woman. The women who declined to be part of the study felt uncomfortable with having their voices recorded. One woman remarked: "For all I know you might be a secret agent. I don't want to end up in trouble" (Field Notes: March, 2011). Even after explaining that participation in the study was voluntary, some of the participants still expected some form of payment from the researcher. While the researcher would have wanted to offer a few of the women small food parcels, the researcher decided against giving any of them anything given what the village head had said about opposition activists bribing *his* people with food in the past. The researcher felt that disproportionately giving out food in the village had the potential of being misread and misunderstood.

The majority of the women mentioned to the researcher that they were not interested in speaking about politics because "that was not allowed" (Field Notes: April, 2011). Even in instances

where women did not say upfront that they were not interested in talking politics, it was interesting that some of them commented at the end of the interview that they were glad that the questions “were good,” meaning that they had nothing to do with politics. One elderly woman seeming relieved said: “Your questions do not get anyone into trouble” (Field Notes: March, 2011).

Some of the women initially mentioned that they “did not know what to say” to which the researcher explained to them that they were the experts of their daily experiences which she was interested in hearing. Due to the fact that the rural village had had previous experiences with politically motivated violence against opposition party supporters and ‘outsiders’ (mostly NGO employees) coming to ‘poison’ the people, everyone in the community was on high alert to avoid being drawn into conversations and associations with strangers that would cause them problems. Thus, almost none of the women were passive respondents; there were moments before and during the interview that they took on the role of interviewers. In addition to the questions that were mentioned previously, most women asked the following:

Who did you say your father was? /What did you say you want the information for? /Are you affiliated to any NGO? /Where do study? /How long did you say you have been in South Africa? /Do you plan on returning home (Zimbabwe)? (Field Notes: March, 2011)

Selecting interviewees: Purposive sampling

In total 30 women were interviewed. While in quantitative studies researchers employ several techniques to ensure that they have a random sample of the population (Marvasti, 2004) to enable them to generalise their findings to larger populations, in this research no elaborate sampling techniques were made use of. In this study, purposive sampling was used. Those participants that could offer the “greatest possible insight” on the topic were included in the study (Esterberg, 2002:93). Thus, all the women who were interviewed either owned or had access to a radio which they switched on daily to listen to programmes broadcast by the Radio Zimbabwe. Only three women who were not part of the study said that they did not listen to the radio because the radio sets in their homes were not working or the batteries were flat and could not immediately afford to replace them.

In order to gain different perspectives on the diverse ways women interact with the station, the researcher intentionally interviewed a diverse group of women (see Schröder et al., 2003). The interviewees were of different ages, ranging from 18 to late 70s. Some of the women were single while most of them were married and had two or three young children. Most of the elderly women were widowed and had a number of grandchildren. All the interviews were conducted in ChiShona and lasted between 45 minutes to 90 minutes. The interviews were later transcribed by the researcher and sections of them translated into English for purposes of this thesis.

Finding women to interview was not difficult. After a few days in the village, the researcher observed that in general (with the exception of weekends and *musi wechisi*),²⁵ most women left home very early in the morning to go to their gardens or fields and came back around midday. After 2pm, the women would go out to work again and return around 5pm. With this general work pattern in mind, the interviews with the women typically took place around midday or in the early evening. It was interesting to observe that while most women spoke of lunch hour as a time to take a break from work, when the researcher arrived at the women's homesteads, the women would be doing some kind of work around the home. The women would either be preparing lunch or feeding their toddlers. A few of the interviews were interrupted as both the participant and the researcher tried to calm a crying baby or to respond to calls by some toddlers or to answer to greetings of people passing by. Sometimes the women would stand up to attend to the fire while the interview was going on.

As already mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the interviews with the women took place in the village, in the context of the women's everyday lives. Most of the interviews took place around the homestead (in the kitchen, on the veranda of a brick house with a corrugated or asbestos roof, under a tree in the yard etc.). A few of the interviews happened when women were outside the home, for example, at the garden, at the pastures and at the shops.

Semi-structured interviews

Giving people a multiple-choice questionnaire obliges them [research participants] to choose one option from a set constructed by someone else: they check box A, and that makes them look as if they are committed to A while rejecting B and C. Yet when people talk it often becomes clear that matters are more complex than that: they don't dismiss B and C out of hand, and they have doubts about A. Standardized

²⁵*Musi wechisi* is a day set aside for resting. On this day, no one in the village was allowed to work in their fields.

instruments produce the impression of certainty and consistency which is, arguably misleading (Cameron, 2001:14).

In this study semi-structured interviews were used to access women's experiences that would otherwise have been inaccessible (Perakyla & Ruusuvuori, 2013). Marvasti (2004:21) notes that this kind of interview is predicated on the idea that the researcher delves into the "subject's 'deeper self'" or gained "access into the hidden perceptions of [...] subjects." The semi-structured interview allowed participants to speak about their experiences, views and thoughts (Reinharz, 1992), in ways that a highly structured interview would not. Creswell (2013:47) elaborates:

In the entire qualitative research process, the researchers keep a focus on learning the meaning that the participants hold about the problem or the issue, not the meaning that the researchers bring to the research or writers from the literature. The participant's meaning further suggest multiple perspectives on a topic and diverse views.

The ways the semi-structured interviews were conducted departed from the textbook prescriptions of how 'proper' interviews ought to be conducted. Instead of the interview encounter being directed by a 'powerful' interviewer whose role was that of asking the questions to the interviewees, the interviews took the form of a symbiotic relationship (Esterberg, 2002). The researcher was open to being asked questions and responding to them directly during the interview. In this way, the interviewer and the interviewees came together to co-create meaning about the topic (Esterberg, 2002:85). In a study over a three-year period with homeless people, Marvasti (2004) mentions that in some of the interviews, the text-book prescribed protocols in an interview set up were reversed. Marvasti often got asked questions by the respondents regarding his social and academic background.

In this study, interviews often started with the researcher asking the participants an open-ended question like: "Could you please narrate to me what you do when you wake up in the morning." The women would often be asked follow up questions drawn from what they had said prompting them to explain their statements further.

Field notes

In addition to conducting interviews, a lot of effort went into keeping a journal for field notes. Although it was not always possible to make notes straight after an interview, the researcher tried

as much as possible to make entries into the journal regularly. The notes included descriptions of the setting and things that particularly stood out during interview encounters as well as personal reflections and thoughts (Schröder et al., 2003). The following are three excerpts from the field notes:

It was just before midday when I approached *Mai* Shamiso's homestead. From the gate, smoke could be seen coming out of the grass thatched kitchen. As *Mai* Shamiso warmly welcomed me and invited me to enter inside the rather dark and smoke filled hut, I could immediately see a small clay pot *pachoto* (fireplace). *Mai* Shamiso said she was preparing lunch for the children who would be back from school anytime now. I shook her hand and asked how she was before I introduced myself and my study. Across from where I had been offered a seat, I could see a photograph of a man in white with a staff. I could not quite see the face of the man in the frame. [...] As the interview progressed, *Mai* Shamiso occasionally leaned towards the fireplace to add more cow dung to the fire, to blow air into the fire to make it burn better as well as to pour more water to what she was cooking in the clay pot [Field Notes: 9 March 2011]

*Mbuya*²⁶ *vaMutsa* could hardly hear me greeting her as I approached her brick house where she was busy polishing the red floor of the veranda. I had heard music playing from her radio from a distance away. Although I did not have a watch with me, I knew it was sometime after 12pm because I could hear snippets of theme song of the popular greeting and musical request programme, *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* playing in between the presenter's voice greeting the nation and welcoming them to "their favourite programme." It was only when I was very close to the veranda that *Mbuya vaMutsa* finally saw me [...] [Field Notes: 17 March 2011]

Mai Marjory was standing by a patch of green grass a few meters from her home. She was watching over one cow with an injured leg while it grazed. In the first few moments of meeting her, *Mai* Marjory told me that her cow had fallen into a ditch and had broken its leg and that she could not send the cow to the pastures together with the rest of the herd. She complained that looking after this one cow was extra work for her. In her hand, Marjory was holding a mobile phone that was tuned to *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* [...] [Field Notes: 13 April 2011]

Analysis

One challenge that cuts across the analysis of Radio Zimbabwe texts and the women's narratives is that of language. Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts were in ChiShona and the interviews were also conducted in ChiShona. The eventual translating of the material into English for purposes of writing this thesis meant some meaning was lost in translation.

²⁶ Shona word that means "grandmother"

Analysing Radio Zimbabwe texts

Critical discourse analysis

In analysing Radio Zimbabwe texts, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used. Key to CDA is the study of power and social imbalances as they are expressed implicitly and explicitly through texts. Van Dijk (2001:352) contends that critical discourse analysis is a kind of: “discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.” Moving away from descriptions of unequal social and political practices, CDA is critical of them. Critical discourse analysis helped in surfacing aspects of reality that were disguised by the use of language that appeared neutral and transparent. Paying close attention to issues of power, the intention of the scholars using CDA is to: “expose the causes and consequences of specific discourses and to denounce the social, cultural or political wrongs which they sustain” (Carvalho, 2008:162). The following questions raised by Carvalho (2008:166) were very useful in analysing Radio Zimbabwe texts: “Why do some things get said and others do not? How were things said and what were the possible implications of that? What was absent from a particular text (factual data, arguments, points of view, etc.)?”

One challenge encountered in analysing Radio Zimbabwe texts was that the researcher had been generally familiar with discourses broadcast on state owned media in Zimbabwe prior to embarking on the study. The researcher had been an employee of ZBC television (ZTV) in 2003 and came into daily contact with the pro-establishment ideas. Because of this familiarity, the researcher found it difficult to treat some of the ideas as discourses (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002).

The analysis of Radio Zimbabwe texts started when the researcher was listening to the station during the two months of fieldwork. The researcher started making notes of ideas that were being repeated on the station as well as things that were also not being said. After doing the fieldwork, the researcher listened and re-listened to the recordings, again making notes. Because of the large volume of recordings, the researcher made a decision not to transcribe everything. Only those sections that were identified by the researcher as contributing to the discussion in the thesis were transcribed. Making a similar point, Mama (1995:86) explains:

As was the case in my selection of participants, I did not sample extracts at random, or in accordance with a predefined sampling technique. Instead I chose to transcribe and subsequently to select extracts for quotation on the basis of the ideas that I was developing. I make no claims about the use I made of the material at my disposal being the best or only use that could be made. On the contrary, I regard the material as having a potentially infinite number of possible interpretations and uses to which it could be put.

While CDA was useful in this study, the central question that has been posed to critical discourse analysts is: “Would readers or listeners of media necessarily engage with the texts in the same way analysts do?” Attempting to respond to this question, Machin and Mayr (2012:217) argue that it is useful to add an ethnographic study of audiences to the CDA in order to: “connect production and textual analysis to the way that people live their everyday lives. This in turn will allow us to speak more confidently about the nature of the way ideology works and the way that dominant discourses are used by people.”

Analysing the interviews with the women

Discourse Analysis

After the fieldwork, the interviews with the women were all transcribed by the researcher. The form of discourse analysis that was used to analyse the interview material is the type that is mostly associated with poststructuralism (Gill, 2000:174). The foundational tenet in this kind of discourse analysis, similar to the kinds of other discourse analyses is the idea that language does not reflect reality; rather it constructs it. Another key factor in this kind of discourse analysis is a rejection of a: “the notion of the unified coherent subject that has long been at the heart of Western philosophy” (Gill, 2000:174). Cameron (2001:15) argues that when people speak, they almost never say something novel. Rather, people draw on “resources that are shared with others in their communities.” In light of this, Cameron contends that discourse analysis is a “method for investigating the ‘social voices’ available to the people whose talk analysts collect” (Cameron, 2001:15).

While in most research methods textbooks, the process of collecting data appears separate from the analysis, in this research and in most qualitative studies, there is often an overlap between the data collection and the analysis. In this study, the analysis process started during the time of the fieldwork through to the transcription. The ‘analysis’ that took place during the fieldwork,

particularly in relation to the initial interviews with women allowed the researcher to focus subsequent interviews.

While transcribing the interviews, the researcher made notes of the issues that occurred most frequently in the interviews. After this, she read all the transcripts with the purpose of identifying themes and discourses linked to the research questions. As the researcher read and re-read the transcripts other themes emerged. She used insights from dominant discourses on Radio Zimbabwe when she examined the individual women's statements in order to see how the latter could be linked to specific discourses broadcast on the station. Her aim was to see how the women positioned themselves in relation to the hegemonic ideas perpetuated by the station and how the women might challenge these ideas based on their lived experiences.

Conclusion

This chapter located this study within the qualitative research paradigm. Though in quantitative studies, the emphasis is on objectivity, in this study, the researcher's subjectivity was acknowledged. The chapter also discussed how the research was informed by feminist research practices. The researcher noted that feminist researchers place great emphasis on creating a relationship between the researcher and the participants that is as equitable as possible; the researcher endeavoured to do this. The chapter also looked at issues to do with the research design. Whereas it was fairly simple to collect information on Radio Zimbabwe programmes, the process of interviewing women was complex. Before the interviews could take place, the researcher had to negotiate access to the village with the village head, something that was difficult given the polarised political environment in Zimbabwe. The next chapter is the first analytical chapter. It discusses the discourses that emerged as the dominant ones on Radio Zimbabwe.

Chapter 5: Dominant Discourses: The Land & the Liberation Struggle

Introduction

This chapter is the first of two chapters that analyse recordings of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts. The aim these two chapters is to bring to light some of the dominant ideas that the station normalised in light of the post-2000 political and economic crisis in the country. The analysis of Radio Zimbabwe texts provides an important background to Chapter 8, which looks at what some women in a rural community in Zimbabwe say about their experiences with radio. The information presented in Chapters 5 & 6 will assist in understanding the discourses which the women in this study drew on as they spoke about Radio Zimbabwe.

As noted in Chapter 1, from the 1990s onward, the ZANU-PF government was faced with a “crisis of legitimacy” (Chitando & Togarasei, 2010:154; Willems, 2010:8); the economy was collapsing and Zimbabweans were struggling to survive which led to many leaving the country in search for greener pastures in neighbouring countries, Europe or North America. The political situation was dire; ZANU-PF was losing popularity and many urbanites were joining the newly formed opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). In addition to the domestic woes, there was growing international pressure for the government to conform to what was termed “democratic standards.”

In response to this catalogue of woes, the government made use (among several other things) of the state-controlled media, for example, Radio Zimbabwe, to justify its position as the only party which could legitimately govern the country. The broadcasts drew on militaristic discourses which was similar to the discourses used by Afrikaner nationalists in South Africa during the Apartheid era (Blaser, 2012). The discourses were predicated on ZANU-PF’s claims of a ‘unique’ relationship with the land (the empire), the liberation struggle (the gun), the father (President Mugabe - leader of the struggle) and Christianity and God. ZANU-PF positioned itself as a party of nationalists and patriots with a deep love for the country. President Mugabe was presented as a super patriot and a messenger from God. The Zimbabwe/ZANU-PF love story was framed as a history that stretched from the colonial period through the liberation struggle to the present, a history that no other political party could match.

Juxtaposed with the favourable portrayal of ZANU-PF was the negative depiction of the opposition. The MDC-T faction,²⁷ in particular, was represented as a political grouping comprised of people who could never be trusted to govern the country because of their close ties to the country's 'enemies.' To delegitimise the opposition, ZANU-PF politicians and the presenters on Radio Zimbabwe often referred to the MDC as a party of "sell-outs," "puppets" and "agents of Western imperialists." The party was also framed as a party of neo-liberals, who lacked a "revolutionary" track record that ZANU-PF had. The political goal of the MDC was constructed as facilitating the re-colonisation of Zimbabwe by its former colonial master. Zimbabweans were discouraged from aligning themselves with the MDC. In order to create what Willems (2010) calls a "patriotic citizenry," Radio Zimbabwe encouraged listeners to be "loyal to the country." 'Loyalty' was construed as not taking the side of the Western imperialists as the MDC had done. Interestingly, loyalty to one's country was presented as embracing ideas similar to those espoused by ZANU-PF (see Chuma, 2008).

Of the four discourses that were referred to above, namely, discourses on the land (*ivhu redu*), the liberation struggle (*hondo yechimurenga*), the father of the nation (*baba vedu vaMugabe*) and Christianity and God (*Mwari*), this chapter discusses ideas about the land and the liberation struggle that pervaded Radio Zimbabwe. Chapter 6 will focus on the discourse of the father of the nation and the discourse on Christianity and God. Though the four discourses will be discussed separately, it is important to mention that there was a lot of overlapping between them. Although these ideas generally complemented each other, there were a few instances when they contradicted one another.

²⁷In 2005, six years after the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party was formed, internal disputes within the party saw it split into two factions. One faction was led by Morgan Tsvangirai and the other by Professor Arthur Mutambara. To distinguish between the two factions, the initial letters of their leader's surname was placed at the end of the party name. Thus, the Tsvangirai led faction was called MDC-T while the Mutambara led faction was named MDC-M.

Radio Zimbabwe's Programme Schedule²⁸ (see Appendix B)

Radio Zimbabwe presenters: 'objective' facilitators of discussion or political activists?

Though some journalists regard themselves as purveyors of 'objective' information, the researcher came to question this claim to objectivity after listening to Radio Zimbabwe between March and April 2011. Far from being neutral facilitators of discussion, the station's presenters were political activists themselves, who quite explicitly produced and reproduced dominant political ideas. Moyo (2010b:127) comments on the type of journalists who emerged in the context of the latest crisis:

The patriotic journalism of the public media, and the antithetical, anti-establishment journalism of the private media, seem to have produced a new breed of journalists who see themselves not as disinterested, critical or objective commentators on the conflict in Zimbabwe, but as active participants in the conflict.

In ways that were consistent with the ZANU-PF version of patriotic history, a Radio Zimbabwe presenter Richmond Siyakurima said:

[...] Do not forget that in all four corners of the country there are many without graves...some of them are being exhumed now from disused mines that they were dumped by *mabhunu* (Boers), *maBritish* (the British), *vadvanyiriri* (the oppressors), *mhondi dzavanhu* (murderers). They murdered us because we said we wanted to have a share in their prosperity...they were selfish...they wanted to benefit alone [...] that is why they murdered us at Nyadzonja, Chimoio, Tembwe, Morogoro, Mboroma [...] (Tuesday 5 April 2011 before 6:45pm)

During the programme, *Madzimbabwe* (Friday 18 March 2011, 8:30pm), the presenter, Thandekile Simango spoke of the Rhodesian government as "blood suckers" and "thieves." Simango contrasted the idea of the "parasitic" colonial government with that of the "brave freedom fighters." Simango said:

[...] we value the bravery that united us not to turn back from removing the government of *yezvimwasungata* (blood suckers), [the] government of thieves that was led by Ian Smith [...] they looked for means and ways to destroy the black race by attacking them... arresting them and murdering them...especially those black people who opposed the British rule [...]

²⁸ Because of the political situation in Zimbabwe at the time of the study, when the researcher went to Radio Zimbabwe's Mbare studios to ask for a programme schedule, the officials were very suspicious of the ways the researcher was going to use the document. After a lot of explaining, one of the officials grudgingly handed a 2010 programme schedule to the researcher. While a few changes had been made on the programming schedule between 2010 and 2011, the line-up provided in Appendix C is important in so far as it gives a broad idea of the programmes that were broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe.

Another presenter who identified herself just as Elsie had this to say after playing the song *Kuminda* by Tambaoga on the programme, *Rudziya Kamwe* (Thursday 7 April 2011):

It is true that the land issue...is the one that pained many [so] that they left their homes and parents...and went to fight for our country. A country that we are happy to celebrate our 31st independence anniversary...we say to Zimbabwe, Congratulations! Congratulations! Congratulations! [...]

Her remarks echo what ZANU-PF politicians say about the land. Though most presenters made explicit their support for President Mugabe and his party's policies, Mano's (2009) study of Radio Zimbabwe, notes something slightly different. In as much as presenters played the '*Hondo yeminda*'²⁹ songs prior to the 2002 Presidential elections, some presenters refrained from making comments. Mano (2009:212) points out that "the Radio Zimbabwe music DJs strategically avoided party politics."

Radio Zimbabwe discourses

Our land (*Ivhu redu*)

The subject of land, "our land" occupied a substantial part of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts. While land has always been an issue in Zimbabwe (see Sachikonye, 2003), it was the large-scale 2000 occupation of white-owned commercial farms by war veterans that catapulted the issue into the international limelight. These occupations were followed by announcers making spirited references to the land issue. The next section discusses two ideas that dominated Radio Zimbabwe discourse on the land. The first was the idea that in Zimbabwe the land was a God-given inheritance. The second was that the land was returned to Zimbabweans because of the many comrades who sacrificed their lives during the liberation struggle. The contribution of these 'selfless cadres' was not only celebrated on Radio Zimbabwe, every year they were also honoured on national holidays such as Independence Day (18 April) and Heroes Day (celebrated in August). These comrades were also mentioned at the funerals of top ZANU-PF politicians who were laid to rest in the National Heroes Acre.³⁰

²⁹ *Hondo yeminda* literally means war over land. The phrase has, however, come to be associated with a genre of music that emerged after the 2000 land occupations, which sought to drum up support for the land reform programme.

³⁰ The National Heroes Acre or the National Shrine is a place set aside for the burial of 'top' ZANU-PF officials accorded the status of 'national hero/heroine' by ZANU-PF's highest decision making body, the Politburo.

“Our God gave us an inheritance, our land is our inheritance” (“*Mwari wedu wakatipa nhaka, ivhu redu inhaka yedu*”)³¹

One of the prominent ways the land was presented on Radio Zimbabwe was in relation to God. The station depicted the land (Zimbabwe) as a God-given inheritance. The ‘original’ beneficiaries of the land were represented as black people (also see Chiumbu, 2012; Maposa, 2012). In what Chitando (2005:224) refers to as President Mugabe’s “theology of land,” God is presented as having set aside Zimbabwe as the sacred space for black people. It is interesting to see the parallels between this way of thinking and the theological justification given for Afrikaner nationalism prior to 1940. In Afrikaner nationalism, the justification given for separating people was framed as God’s will (Fourie, 2008:249). On Radio Zimbabwe, listeners were constantly reminded of the land being a God-given gift to black people through several ways. A jingle played on the station every thirty minutes began with the words: “Zimbabwe is our inheritance/Our land is our birth right/Our God gave us the inheritance/Our land is our birth right/ [...]”

The national anthem played daily at the opening and closing of the station made direct linkages between God and the land. Presenters and guests on programmes like *VaMugabe Mutungamiri*³² also repeated this association. The President himself repeatedly stated that God gave Zimbabwe to black people. Presenters and guests on the station also spoke of God giving the country to Zimbabweans. In an interview broadcast on Tuesday 12 April 2011, the Zimbabwean musician, Hosea Chipanga, said: “We did not buy this country...it was given to us by the Creator [...]” Just as God was presented as having blessed black people with the land, the Devil was constructed as being responsible for colonisation and the colonisers’ stealing of the land from black people. At the burial of Harare Governor, David Karimanzira, the President repeated the idea that Satan had sent white people to “steal our land” (Sunday 27 March 2011).

The significance of linking the land to God should be understood within the context in which the majority of the people have a great reverence for God. Zimbabweans believe in the Christian God³³ or in *Musikavanhu*, the Creator in African beliefs. Incorporating the idea of God with the

³¹This line is taken from a jingle that was played at least every thirty minutes on Radio Zimbabwe.

³²*VaMugabe Mutungamiri* was a programme meant to spruce up the image of President Mugabe in the imagination of the station’s listeners. The justification for the programme was that the ways the President had been represented in the international media left a lot to be desired. Various ZANU-PF loyalists were interviewed to corroborate the idea that President Mugabe was nationalist leader par excellence.

³³About 90% of the population identify as Christian (Maposa, 2012)

issue of the land helped justify and legitimise the occupation of white-owned commercial farms in 2000 (see Chitando, 2005). Framing the land in this manner was also meant to unite black Zimbabweans because they shared the God-given inheritance, the land. Interestingly, other discourses prevalent on the station like the one on the liberation struggle emphasised the differences between black Zimbabweans. By representing white people as “agents of Satan” Radio Zimbabwe gave credibility to the Government’s stance on land. It also served to delegitimise the MDC as it was framed as having links with the Devil’s proxies.

Politicising the land: “Many sons and daughters sacrificed their lives for the land”

“This is what they died for...children of the soil...their desire was for us (black people) to rule...to take back our land...to walk freely...to get something out of the minerals that are in our country” (Presenter: Tarisai Chipere, Friday 8 April 2011- 10:16am)

Another prominent idea perpetuated on Radio Zimbabwe regarding the land was the notion that many people/sons and daughters sacrificed their lives for the land/Zimbabwe during the liberation struggle (also see Moyo, 2010b). These people (who sacrificed their lives) were described as having a genuine love for their country. The President’s speech at the burial of David Karimanzira differentiated between a love for the country that was ‘genuine’ (that is, a love displayed by the likes of ZANU-PF cadres such as Karimanzira) and a love that was ‘superficial.’ The President elaborated that ‘superficial’ love for the country was driven by greed and a selfish desire to benefit from what the country offers. Although the President did not in this instance refer to any political party as having ‘superficial love for the country,’ it was interesting that ZANU-PF cadres were framed as having a ‘genuine’ love for Zimbabwe.

The opening verse of the national anthem also framed the land (Zimbabwe) as having come about as a result of a bloody struggle that saw many comrades losing their lives. In addition to the national anthem, specific programmes, news bulletins, some songs, poems, radio dramas and presenter links in between songs and programmes also emphasised the sacrificial nature of the comrade’s commitment to Zimbabwe. In one poem recited repeatedly at regular intervals on the station a few days after the burial of David Karimanzira, the poet eloquently spoke of the fighters as: “those who sacrificed themselves to liberate Zimbabwe/(those whose) hearts vowed to die for Zimbabwe/brothers and relatives and heroes.” Below is the poem:

Police band instrumental tune

We thank all those who sacrificed themselves to liberate Zimbabwe...heroes...
Their hearts vowed to die for Zimbabwe
Until their spear brought back Zimbabwe
In the mountains and in the rivers...they lie there
Until their spear brought back Zimbabwe
We remember them...brothers and relatives...who perished because of Zimbabwe
We thank those that work for it (Zimbabwe) even today

The reference to the anonymous fighters as “brothers and sisters” was particularly interesting because it worked to bridge the gap between the fighters and the listeners created by time that had elapsed since the war ended and the fact that the fighters were a faceless mass of people.

The same idea of having given all for the love of the land was also reiterated in some songs played on the station. Prominent Zimbabwean musician Oliver Mtukudzi’s song, *Nyika yedu yeZimbabwe* (Zimbabwe, our country), for example, presented in a vivid manner the idea of sacrifice alluded to above. In another song, *Ropa Remagamba* (the Blood of Heroes), played on Wednesday 6 April 2011 (after the 11pm news), the singer interspaced singing about many having died for Zimbabwe at Chimoio and Nyadzonia with sounds of mourning. The song moved from speaking generally about “those whose blood was split” to actually mentioning names of specific people who died fighting for the country, for example, Nehanda, Kaguvi,³⁴ Chitepo and Tongogara.³⁵

Sometimes Radio Zimbabwe played a song in which the narrator was a ghost of a liberation fighter. Drawing on dominant ideas on selflessness, the ghost presented a story of the hardships fighters endured for their love for Zimbabwe. In other songs played on the station, the narrators were ex-combatants who shared personal experiences of crossing the border to join the war. One of these songs was ‘*Zimbabwe*’ by the late musician and ex-combatant, Simon Chimbetu. In the song, Chimbetu narrates the journey of going and fighting for the country. He presented his motivation for joining the struggle as a deep seated love for Zimbabwe. After playing the song the presenter commented:

³⁴Nehanda and Kaguvi, commonly referred to as *Mbuya* (grandmother) Nehanda and *Sekuru* (grandfather) Kaguvi are revered icons of the first *Chimurenga* (the first uprising) – 1896 to 1897

³⁵Chitepo, full name Herbert Chitepo (15 June 1923 – 18 March 1975) was the leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Chitepo was also the first black lawyer in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. He was assassinated in March of 1975. Tongogara, full name Josiah Tongogara died in December of 1979. He was the commander Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and attended the Lancaster House Conference.

Zimbabwe, the country that stole the hearts of many. It (Zimbabwe) stole the hearts of brothers, sisters and relatives so much that they were willing to fight for it. They asked the question: ‘Until when are we going to living under this oppression?’ ...No! (the comrades said) let us go and fight for our country...Zimbabwe [...]

It is interesting to note that it was not only those who experienced the war who spoke and sang about sacrificing for the land/country. Even the young people who were born after 1980 celebrated the sacrifices made for Zimbabwe. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009) contend that one of the challenges that ZANU-PF faced at the beginning of 2000 was to try and foster ‘patriotism’ based on memories of the struggle to young people who had not experienced the war. The other problem ZANU-PF encountered in trying to reach the young people was a mismatch of interests; the youth were mostly concerned with issues of employment while ZANU-PF focussed the land³⁶ (see Compagnon, 2000). One of the ways that ZANU-PF tried to deal with this disjuncture was to incorporate young people playing a musical genre popular with young Zimbabweans (urban grooves) into the musical galas that were broadcast on ZBC from August 2002 onwards (see Willems, 2013a). On Radio Zimbabwe, music by urban grooves bands such as the Born Free Crew was often played. On Friday 25 March 2011 before the programme, *Madzimbabwe*,³⁷ for example, a song by the Born Free Crew was played in which they talked about remembering the heroes “that died for us.” The song also mentioned that although the band members were born frees,³⁸ they, however, knew and understood where freedom came from. They also encouraged the listeners to remember these heroes.

In addition to representations of sacrifices made in the past, Radio Zimbabwe also linked these sacrifices to the ‘benefits’ Zimbabweans enjoyed today as a result of some people having given up their lives. In the 9am news bulletin broadcast on Saturday 2 April 2011, the news reader said:

The spilling of the blood of sons and daughters of the country during the liberation struggle has made it possible for many in Zimbabwe to get land through the land reform policy established in 1985 [...]

³⁶ It should, however, be noted that in 2013, ZANU-PF’s election campaign did speak to the issue of employment creation for the youth.

³⁷ *Madzimbabwe* was framed by the presenter, Thandekile Simango as a programme that: “looks at stories that unite us as Zimbabweans...looking at what we can do to continue to build unity amongst us...whether it is for fighting challenges we face or sharing ideas for the betterment of the country” (12 April 2011, after 8pm news)

³⁸ Born frees in Zimbabwe refer to the people who were born after 1980.

Making the link between the past and the present was important because it ensured continued relevance of the idea of the sacrifices made to Radio Zimbabwe listeners, some of whom might not have experienced the war.

While the ideas of land as a God-given inheritance and land as a result of sacrifice seem detached, there were instances when these two ideas were blended together on Radio Zimbabwe. In a speech delivered at the National Shrine, President Mugabe brought these two ideas together in the following way:

Did I just get thrown into this country? The Word comes and says ...we were allocated ...you here...you there by God...[pause]....God said this is your place [...] A true child of the soil will say I will die for the soil...because that is where I get life from...[...]

The constant reminders that the country came about as a result of some people having given up their lives served several purposes. Firstly, it operated to justify the land reform programme despite the inconsistencies and the violence that accompanied it. Secondly, presenting the land in this manner created a feeling of perpetual indebtedness to those fighters who made these huge sacrifices, some of whom were still living members of ZANU-PF. It also assisted in the creation of a “patriotic citizenry.” It therefore became difficult for those who did not have such a history of selflessness to gain acceptance as legitimate contenders in the bid to govern the country.

Though the dominant picture painted on Radio Zimbabwe was that of a war that was waged by patriotic people who were inspired by a love for the land/country, Muwati, Mutasa and Bopape (2010:160) critique this as an attempt to “recast nationalism in positive terms.” Muwati, Mutasa and Bopape (2010:160) argue that:

[These constructions] functioned to varnish and camouflage the pitfalls of national consciousness which had threatened to derail the progression of the war. Such pitfalls are manifest in Sithole’s phrase, “struggles within- the-struggle,” which is also the title of the book (Sithole, 1999).

Whereas Radio Zimbabwe presented a glorified picture of the struggle, Lyons (2002) described the ways sexual violence against female fighters was prevalent during the liberation struggle. Ingrid Sinclair’s 1996 film, *Flame* set during the liberation struggle also challenged the dominant narrative of a seamless liberation war. The film brought to the fore some experiences by some female combatants of being raped during the struggle.

Critiquing the ways the issue of the land was covered in the state media, Ndlela (2005:77) notes that the state media failed to address a number of pertinent issues. He argues that it failed to account for the violence used in taking the farms yet government could have employed legal means at its disposal. Ndlela also surfaces the silence in the state media regarding the reasons for failure of the first resettlement programmes as well as the corruption by government officials around allocation of commercial farms. Writing in the context of the representation of the Zimbabwean crisis in the local press between 2000 and 2008, Chari (2010a) argues that the marginalisation of the voices of those who opposed the programme resulted in the stifling of a potentially vibrant debate (also see Willems, 2004).

Although it is accurate to say that land relations were predominantly structured along racial lines in the country prior to 1980, it should, however, be noted that the manner in which Radio Zimbabwe emphasises this point overshadows other less obvious structuring like patriarchy. Chakona (2011:1) argues that “[...] patriarchy was intrinsic to colonial land dispossession and became embedded in resultant agrarian structure.” Gaidzanwa (1994) explains that customarily, Ndebele and Shona women’s access to land was predominantly linked to a man through marriage or birth. In some instances, access to land was facilitated by the presence of a brother or a son. Goebel (2005:154) argues that:

Women’s lack of primary land rights was not only culturally produced and sanctioned, but also was underpinned historically by the definition of their legal status as minors, and the dual legal system that placed most African women under the dictates of customary law in the colonial period (Stewart et al., 1990; Maboreke, 1991). After Independence, the new government instituted the Legal Age of Majority Act in 1982 (LAMA), which gave women majority status at 18 years. Despite the provisions of LAMA, customary law still dominated legal practice in Communal Areas throughout the 1980s (Maboreke, 1991; Stewart, 1992). This meant that women did not gain access to Communal Area land in their own right, but the practice of assigning land mainly to married men continued (Chimedza, 1988).

In light of the challenges that women faced in trying to gain access to land, organisations such as the Women and Land in Zimbabwe (formerly the Women and Land Lobby Group) were formed in 1998 to lobby government to give women access to land particularly at the time of the land reform.

The Liberation Struggle (*Hondo yeChimurenga*)

The liberation struggle discourse is closely linked to the one on the land discussed above. At the core of the discourse was anti-colonialism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). Radio Zimbabwe presented the anti-colonial drive as going back to the colonial resistance in the 1890s as well as 1970s liberation struggle and continued in the form of the Third *Chimurenga* in the post 1999 era. Radio Zimbabwe thus effectively suspended the nation in a perpetual state of struggling against different forms of colonial subjugation. This ensured that ZANU-PF as the architects of the anti-colonial drive forever remained pertinent to Zimbabwe. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008:104) explains that during the 2000 and 2002 general and presidential elections in Zimbabwe: “Liberation war credentials were raised to a new pedestal [by ZANU-PF leaders] as the guarantor and only path through which one would graduate into state house.”

Although talk of the liberation struggle was always present on the station in everyday broadcasting, it nonetheless heightened towards national holidays like Independence Day, Heroes Day and Unity Day. In everyday broadcasting, however, the liberation struggle discourse was drawn on in news bulletins, in political programmes as well as in some non-political programmes. It was also visible in some songs, particularly those produced during the liberation struggle and in the early 1980s as well as songs by contemporary groups like the *Mbare Chimurenga* Choir.

Conspicuous in the liberation struggle discourse was the racialised ways of referring to people as either black or white. Black people were mainly depicted as ‘good’³⁹ (the Black Nationalist comrades) while white people were generally labelled ‘bad’ (in the previous section the researcher noted how the President constructed white as “agents of Satan”). Writing about the binary classifications of people, Moyo (2010b:121) argues that: “these categories are represented simplistically by the public media as rigid, distinct, immutable and endemic, yet in reality they are a product of a media discourse that has characterized the public media since 2000.”

³⁹The only exception to this was the black people from the opposition who were labelled as ‘sell-outs.’

Although ZANU-PF's version of the country's history was presented on Radio Zimbabwe as undisputed fact, Ranger (2004), however, challenges the historical narratives as not being as unassailable as the party would want everyone to believe. Ranger calls the dominant accounts of history perpetuated in militia camps, schools and on the state media "patriotic history" – a narrow version of the liberation struggle that centralises and celebrates ZANU-PF comrades as protagonists in the war. This sanitised version of the struggle conveniently leaves out the intricacies and the inconsistencies of the struggle. Ranger (2004:216) alludes to some of the contradictions of the liberation history – the "so-called Nhari rising"⁴⁰ as well as the "assassination of Herbert Chitepo."⁴¹ The section that follows unpacks the racialised binary constructions in greater detail.

Intruders and callous murderers: constructions of white people on Radio Zimbabwe

"Only a dead imperialist is a good one" (President Mugabe at the burial of David Karimanzira, Sunday 27 March 2011)

Contrary to the idea perpetuated in the international media and some sections of the South African media that white commercial farmers were victims of Mugabe's government, there was a concerted effort on Radio Zimbabwe to portray white people as perpetrators of violence particularly in the era prior to 1980. Also seeming to go against colonial ideas that positioned white commercial farmers as 'messiahs' as well as the backbone of Zimbabwe's economy before 2000 (see Chuma, 2005a; Chari, 2010a), Radio Zimbabwe dismissed them as nothing more than fraudulent beneficiaries of a very unjust system (Ndlela, 2005). There was also an attempt to marginalise white people by labelling them as supporters of the MDC, which was synonymous with being enemies of the state (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009). These depictions effectively negated government's policy of reconciliation of the 1980s (Raftopoulous, 2003; Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009). Taking a reconciliatory stance, Mugabe is quoted in

⁴⁰ The Nhari rising was a revolt of junior officers against senior officers within ZANLA. It happened in 1974 and was led by Thomas Nhari and Dakarai Badza. Chung (2006) argues that the uprising was spurred on by a number of reasons which include the growing disillusionment among junior guerillas in ZANLA brought about by shortages in food and ammunition. Chung also argues that ex-ZIPRA guerillas that joined ZANLA began to question the authority of their superiors who had less education. Another reason for the insurgence was that junior officers felt that the leadership in ZANLA had neglected them on the battlefield while they were enjoying the luxury of city and overseas life. While the rebellion was thwarted, Chung (2006:92) argues that its aftermath was to: "divide and confuse ZANU and ZANLA even further, and its repercussions were to echo in ZANU and in Zimbabwe itself decades later."

⁴¹ Hebert Chitepo was head of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) *Dare reChimurenga* (the War Council) headquartered in Lusaka, Zambia. He was killed when a bomb planted in his VW Beetle exploded in 1975 in Zambia. White (2000:15) argues that: "between 1976 and the mid-1990s, there were many accusations, confessions, and accounts about who killed him. The Zambians had a commission of enquiry and decided that internal splits within ZANU had led to Chitepo's assassination."

Shamuyarira (1995:32) as saying: “I urge you, whether you are black or white, to join me in a new pledge to forget our grim past, forgive others and forget, join hands in a new amity, and together as Zimbabweans trample on racialism.”

At the burial of Karimanzira, Mugabe spoke of the presence of white people in the country during colonial times as “weird” and “unnatural.” He added that the then young Karimanzira was able to notice that the country was occupied by “people, who did not belong, strangers who colonised it.” The President said that the presence of white people “hindered us, the owners to be free and happy.” Some of the music played on the station produced by ‘born frees’ also reiterated how the white people were evil to the black population. In one such song played on the station on the morning of Independence Day (18 April 2011), the song talked about *mabhunu* (Boers) having forced us (black people) to work for nothing.

In addition to labelling white people as evil, Radio Zimbabwe also provided examples of the ‘heartless’ acts committed by the white Rhodesian government. There was repeated mention of classic places where “massacres of sons and daughters of the soil” occurred like Nyadzonia, Chimoio, Tembwe, Morogoro and Mboroma. The introductory song to the programme, *Madzimbabwe* (broadcast on Mondays at 8:30pm) graphically painted a picture of what happened to the corpses of the black fighters after Rhodesian forces bombed their camps. Part of the words of the song said: “[...] breasts were popping, maggots were thriving and flies were all over the dead bodies, vultures were all around.” The ‘inhumane’ acts by white Rhodesians were also constantly referred to on the station in the context of the remains of fighters that were discovered in 2011 in a disused mine in Chibondo, Mt Darwin. The story of the remains of fighters was carried in news bulletins over several days and was also widely discussed on programmes like *Madzimbabwe* and *VaMugabe Mutungamiri*. Some presenters randomly made reference to the story.

The dominant idea that all white people were synonymous with evil oversimplifies and masks what happened during the liberation struggle. There were white liberals who worked diligently to fight the colonial establishment. Tendi (2010) argues that even top officials within ZANU-PF had acknowledged the role white liberals played in the war. Tendi notes that in 1979, Mugabe

had made a distinction between “progressive” and “non-progressive” whites (Tendi, 2010:129). In the overall analysis, depicting white people as evil served to justify the government’s position on the land (Shaw, 2003). The depictions acted to counter the dominant international media narrative that framed commercial white farmers as innocent victims who suffered at the hands of Robert Mugabe, the tyrant. The depictions also worked to discredit the opposition MDC since it was constantly being accused on the station of being a party with an umbilical connection to its white financiers in the country and abroad.

“Western imperialists who want to effect regime change in Zimbabwe”: constructions of white foreigners on Radio Zimbabwe

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the anti-colonial drive as presented on Radio Zimbabwe was not only confined to the period of the armed struggle. After 2000, the government positioned itself as still fighting against another form of colonialism, neo-colonialism. The enemies of the state were constructed as being Britain, America and their allies. In some instances the enemy was referred to as “the countries from the West,” or “Western imperialists.” Former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair and former American President, George Bush were two individuals who were regularly singled out on the station as personifying the enemies. The British in particular were depicted as wanting to re-colonise Zimbabwe. They were also accused of wanting to effect a regime change in the country using their attack dogs, the MDC; hence the dictum, “Zimbabwe will never be a colony again.”⁴² Britain was also presented as the reason the European Union imposed sanctions on the country (6pm news bulletin, Thursday 17 March 2011). The idea that Britain and the West were the enemies permeated most of the station’s broadcasts including news bulletins, current affairs programmes, songs as well as comments by presenters. The enemies were constructed as “very cunning” and “underhanded.” In his speech at Karimanzira’s burial, President Mugabe said the following: “[...]as we do good we must always remember that the enemy...we are fighting in an open manner, we take the land from him, we take [pause]...we take economic power from him in the open way and in his own subtle, clandestine, hidden ways of fighting us.”

⁴²The words, “Zimbabwe will never be a colony again” were originally coined by the then Minister of Information and Publicity, Professor Jonathan Moyo (2000-2005). The words were later used by other ZANU-PF politicians and presenters on Radio Zimbabwe. The words could also be seen on placards held by ZANU-PF supporters at rallies as well as at national events at the National Shrine.

The bone of contention between Zimbabwe and the West was presented on Radio Zimbabwe as being the land issue. Britain, America and their allies were depicted as having imposed illegal sanctions on Zimbabwe after the government decided to take back from white commercial farmers the land that rightly belonged to the black people. The 9am news bulletin broadcast on Thursday 17 March 2011, for example, carried a story in which development in the country was said to have: “been hindered by illegal sanctions imposed on the country by countries from the West.” Commenting on the ways the state media in general presents the crisis in Zimbabwe, Moyo (2010a:30) writes:

Almost invariably, the state-owned media have placed the blame for the economic malaise facing the country on ‘western imperialists,’ ‘illegal economic sanctions,’ the ‘pirate’ or foreign funded radio stations and an unpatriotic, intransigent, puppet opposition that does everything to please its handlers at the expense of the national interest.

By linking the country’s economic challenges to Western imperialists and illegal sanctions, ZANU-PF was effectively freeing itself from taking accountability for the crisis in the country. Although the crisis that emerged in Zimbabwe after 2000 can be attributed to some extent to the sanctions, it was not accurate to say that the cause of the crisis had to do only with the sanctions imposed on the country. Stone (2007) argues that Zimbabwe did not suffer from a single problem but multifaceted and interwoven problems that stemmed from many causes. This oversimplified a complex issue in which the government’s bad policy choices also contributed in a big way to the economic downturn. Radio Zimbabwe, for example, did not mention anything about the negative effects of the government’s adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in the late 1980s. Writing in the context of news reporting, Moyo (2010b:119) argues that: the “repetitive and consistent coverage of the so-called imperialism theme in Zimbabwean politics invariably amounts to the marginalization of news that gives salience to the initiatives of the opposition parties and other social movements in the struggle for the re-democratisation of the country.”

In addition to painting a picture in which Britain and its allies were enemies of Zimbabwe, they were also presented as “enemies of other African countries.” In a story broadcast in the 7am news bulletin on Wednesday 23 March 2011, Britain, France and America were reported to have interfered with the internal affairs of the oil rich North African country, Libya. In the bulletin, President Mugabe was reported to have said:

[...] the bombing of Libya by Western countries is being caused by greed... (He said) countries from the West want oil from Libya [...] Comrade Mugabe said Western countries always lusted after and wanted to take Africa's resources and in the case of Libya, they want Colonel Gaddafi to die after the bombing of his house yesterday in Tripoli [...]

The depiction of Western countries as invaders of another African country worked to justify assertions by ZANU-PF that framed Britain, America and their allies as global bullies that had no regard for the sovereignty other countries, especially countries in Africa.

While Britain and its allies were busy “plotting Zimbabwe’s downfall,” God was presented as being on the side of President Mugabe and the country. After the programme, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* (Monday 11 April 2011), a song was played in which part of the lyrics gave assurance of God’s protection over Zimbabwe against the machinations of the enemy. Some of the words of the song were as follows:

When the enemies think of destroying (Zimbabwe)...God raises His Hand (to protect Zimbabwe)...When Bush thinks of destroying (Zimbabwe)...God lifts up our Zimbabwe... When Blair thinks of destroying (Zimbabwe) ...God lifts up our Zimbabwe

Similar to the ideas discussed in the section on land, presenting God as being on the side of Zimbabwe operated to authenticate positions taken by the government against its enemies. It also served to help in allaying fears and anxieties the predominantly Christian listeners might have had regarding the future. It also instilled some hope in the listeners knowing that God was on the side of Zimbabwe.

While Britain, America and their allies were labelled as enemies, China was presented as a friend and a supporter of Zimbabwe. In the bulletin aired at 6pm on Sunday 20 March 2011 was a report of a visiting Chinese delegation in which China was named “a friend of the country since the days of the liberation struggle.” The Governor of Matabeleland North, Thokozile Mathuthu praised the Chinese saying: “China has always been an all-weather friend of Zimbabwe. China supports Zimbabwe’s different development programmes particularly the agricultural programmes.”

Put next to America and EU countries' support for the sanctions,⁴³ China was depicted as taking the anti-sanctions stance. Drawing on dominant ways of speaking about the sanctions on the station, China was reported as having condemned the sanctions as illegal. In the 6pm news bulletin broadcast on Monday 21 March 2011, the visiting Deputy Premier of China, Wang Qishan said his country was prepared to assist Zimbabwe and also to condemn the sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe. Also drawing from mainstream ideas presented on Radio Zimbabwe, Qishan said the: "problems that faced Zimbabwe should be solved by Zimbabwean political leaders and not by interfering outsiders."

While Radio Zimbabwe's depiction of the West was largely negative, there were some instances when the station presented some European countries in a less venomous manner. This occurred in instances when these countries were reported as changing their stance on Zimbabwe. In the 1pm news bulletin broadcast on Sunday 20 March 2011, Germany was reported as having started to reconsider the way it viewed Zimbabwe following the encouragement by SADC for Western countries to remove sanctions. In a way that seemed to contradict the mainstream narratives of the West as bad, France, one of the EU member countries was reported as "basically good" but was "influenced by Britain to adopt an anti-Zimbabwe stance." In the 6pm bulletin aired on Thursday 17 March 2011, France was reported to have admitted that it was the European Union that encouraged it to endorse the sanctions. In the same bulletin, America was reported as having imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe because it (America) wanted to be helped later by Britain to invade Iraq. Also seemingly departing from the trope that all Americans were bad, the station carried a news item in which some American citizens protested against the presence of American forces in Libya (1pm news bulletin, Monday 21 March 2011).

The liberation struggle and constructions of black people

While white people were generally portrayed as villains, Radio Zimbabwe presented black people as basically the heroes (with the exception of members of the MDC). Although white people were spoken of as a homogenous group of evil people, Radio Zimbabwe, however, did make distinctions between people in the group of 'good black people' despite the fact that the

⁴³ In 2002, the European Union and United States imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe accusing President Mugabe of using brute force to clamp down on his opponents. Mugabe has continuously rejected this accusation.

differentiation remained rudimentary. In the context of the liberation struggle, black people were categorised as either victims or heroes. The group of heroes was further divided to surface the hierarchies in the group (national heroes, provincial heroes and general liberation war heroes).

Black victims and black liberators

The idea that black people were victims was largely propagated on Radio Zimbabwe in the context of the colonial and liberation struggle eras. The black population was depicted as having been dispossessed from their land and suffered many injustices at the hands of the white colonial settlers. These ideas were articulated in various ways on the station. They were evident in news bulletins, songs and current affairs programmes, in speeches by politicians as well as in random comments by some presenters. At the burial of Karimanzira, the President told those gathered that during the colonial era black people were conditioned to think they were an inferior race.

In introducing the programme, *Madzimbabwe* (Friday 18 March 2011, 8:30pm), the presenter, Thandekile Simango spoke about some of the words that were used by the colonisers to refer to black people. Simango said:

This rule (Ian Smith's government) valued a person on the basis of their skin colour...black people were looked down upon...they were oppressed. They were called names like *Kaffir*, *baboon*, *nigger* and *bhobhojani* [...]

Building on the idea that black people were victims, the station contrasted black people's disadvantages with white people's privileges under the colonial system. Part of the lyrics of a song, *Kuminda* by Tambaoga played on the programme, *Rudziyakamwe* (Thursday 7 April 2011) said: "[...] they (the white people) used to give one another vast tracts of land...they were used to having it easy...they were used to use irrigation systems while we (the black people) waited for the rains to fall [...]."

Enunciating white privilege, Radio Zimbabwe also made an attempt to show that before 1980 the privileges that were restricted to white people became part of the black man's reality after independence. The change was attributed to "many people having lost their lives for freedom." At the beginning of the 6pm news bulletin broadcast on Sunday 10 April 2011, the listeners were

reminded that since 1980 black Zimbabweans were able to enter into the house of Parliament that was previously filled with white people.

Reminding listeners of the ways black people were treated and the advantages white people enjoyed during the colonial era and how this changed in 1980 was used to validate ZANU-PF's claim to power as the party whose sacrifices brought independence. This was designed to create in the listeners a sense of indebtedness to the party and the President for fighting and defeating the oppressive colonial system. It is interesting that the picture of a glorious post-1980 Zimbabwe left out the narratives of times when the government made up of 'selfless' and 'benevolent' comrades turned on its own people. The suffering, for example, that people in Matabeleland experienced during *Gukurahundi*⁴⁴ in the early 1980s was completely obliterated. Also conveniently left out were stories of government sponsored violence that MDC supporters lived through. Accounts of pieces of legislation that curtailed the freedom of citizens and that of the media were also not mentioned (Ndlela, 2005).

While on the one hand the black population was depicted as victims of the colonial establishment, some black people were portrayed as the heroes (*magamba*) or the comrades who rescued the helpless black population by fighting and defeating the oppressor. After the 8am news (Friday 8 April 2011) Elizabeth Chengeta said: "The things that we enjoy today are because of the blood that was spilt (during the liberation war)." As already mentioned in preceding sections, the account of the country's liberators was a narrative which gave prominence to ZANU-PF as nationalist heroes and heroines. Dansereau (2003) argues that the version of history presented by ZANU-PF was problematic because it reduced a multifaceted struggle with various players to a simplistic narrative that privileged the role of ZANU-PF. Dansereau (2003:188) writes:

This version of history excludes labour not only from the independence struggle but from the entirety of the country's colonial history. Understanding the independence struggle as multifaceted, with roots in both the countryside and the urban areas, with a variety of social and political messages, helps us to see the more elitist nature of ZANU-PF leadership, both before and after independence, with a purely nationalist message, led largely by intellectuals.

⁴⁴The literal meaning of the term, *Gukurahundi* is early rains that come before the spring rains. These rains usually wash away the chaff (*hundi*). The term is also used in Zimbabwe to refer to the suppression of predominantly Ndebele people in Matabeleland who supported Joshua Nkomo in the early 1980s.

It was the stories of the people who held the gun that were celebrated on the station. In songs that re-created on radio the atmosphere of the liberation struggle, the hardships faced by the fighters were the main focus (for example, the song *Taigara Mumakomo* produced after independence by the Zimbabwe African National Union Choir). This effectively marginalised the contributions and sacrifices made by many Zimbabweans towards the war effort. Work that was mostly done by women and girls like cooking and doing laundry for the fighters as well as being messengers and spies was erased from the dominant account. Muvingi (2008:89) writes:

The liberation war was a guerrilla-based movement that could only have been successful with the active participation and support of the majority of the population, but the contribution of the masses to the liberation struggle was excluded from the discursive accreditation for liberation. Although ZANU PF portrayed itself as a people's "revolutionary party," a class fracturing took place after independence. There was a selective memorialization of the liberation experience.

It was only for political expediency that ordinary people were recognised as liberation fighters. For example, according to ZANU-PF Senator Mandi Chimene, all the people whose remains were discovered in the disused mine in Chibondo were freedom fighters (*Madzimbabwe*, Friday 18 March 2011). Below is a conversation the Senator had with Radio Zimbabwe.

Interviewer: Does it mean that those who are being excavated were freedom fighters not ordinary people?

Mandi Chimene: During the liberation struggle, everyone was a liberation fighter because when they were killed...they were killed among the comrades...meaning that they were also fighting the war...whether someone brought *sadza*⁴⁵ or someone brought clothes or someone was at a *pungwe*...they were in the process of fighting the war...

As stated at the beginning of this section, the comrades who were credited for liberating the country were not presented as one unified group; there were hierarchies within ZANU-PF. There was an elite group of comrades, those that were part of ZANU-PF's leadership. These were contrasted with the 'Other' comrades who did not belong to the top echelons of power in the party. The President's speech at the aforesaid funeral summed up the hierarchies in the following ways:

[...] Those who are good are many...I always say...good people are many...*ululation*...[...] they might be people who teach God's word...*pause*...they are good...Bishops and Fathers...[...] they might be farmers...those who invite others for a demonstration...experts...we respect

⁴⁵ This is a very thick porridge made with ground maize or millet

them...they are good. Good people are so many...in their respective fields. This place (the Heroes Acre) is, however, not for them....*ululation*....this is not their place....*ululation*....[...]

[...] some sacrificed [their lives] but did not come here (at the National Heroes Acre)...a resting place reserved for the leaders like Karimanzira who sacrificed a great deal; Heroes of a superior quality are the ones we inter here. There are some who fought for independence...but because the space is limited here (at the National Heroes Acre) they will be buried elsewhere. But...we praise them all the same...we say they fought for the country...they are liberation war heroes [...]

In speaking about the liberation fighters, Radio Zimbabwe made a distinction between national heroes, provincial heroes, and masses of nameless and faceless liberation fighters. National heroes were depicted as superior comrades to the provincial heroes and the general liberation fighters within the ranks of the ZANU-PF party. When a national hero passed away, the Politburo declared him/her to be a national hero or heroine. Being declared a national hero/heroine meant among other things that the person will be buried at the National Heroes Acre where others who were conferred the same title were buried. It was interesting to note that upon the announcement of someone's national hero or heroine status, Radio Zimbabwe played a signature mourning song that alerted the nation that a national hero or heroine had passed on. After the late Deputy Director General in the President's Office, Menard Livingstone Muzariri's national hero status was announced, this song was played after the 6pm news bulletin on Tuesday 12 April 2011.

In addition to the signature mourning song, the station also intensified the playing of liberation songs even on programmes whose content was not usually political in nature. For example, after the 6pm news bulletin on Friday 25 March 2011, the presenter Helen Venganai started the programme, *Hoza Friday* which was usually a winding-down-into-the weekend programme by playing a song dedicated to remembering the life of the "late Harare Governor, Comrade David Karimanzira" by playing Simon Chimbetu's song, *Ndarangarira Gamba* (I remember the hero).

Framing people who contributed to the liberation struggle as heroes and heroines aimed to normalise the idea that respectability and legitimacy in the political sphere in Zimbabwe could only be based on one's participation in the liberation struggle. Involvement in the struggle was some kind of rite of passage for politicians without which credibility and loyalty to the country would always be questioned. The further grouping of "comrades" into national heroes, provincial heroes, and liberation fighters naturalised the idea of the continued holding of top leadership

positions by a select few inside the party. The hierarchies also attempted to substantiate why other people in ZANU-PF could never be buried at the National Heroes Acre. It is, however, ironic that the separation of people based on their contribution in the struggle or lack of it thereof seemed to contradict other ideas presented on the station that presented the country as unified (e.g. the news item carried in the 6pm news aired on Sunday 17 April 2011 as well as another running jingle on the station that encouraged Zimbabweans to be united; the President also emphasised unity in the country in his speech at the burial of Muzariri, Thursday 14 April 2011).

It is interesting that while Radio Zimbabwe and ZANU-PF continued to construct heroism as inextricably intertwined with the liberation struggle, when Adam Ndlovu, former national soccer team player passed away on 16 December 2012, Zimbabweans challenged the dominant ideas that defined who qualifies to be a national hero. The Matabeleland province, for example, requested that the President declare Ndlovu a national hero. Despite the request being denied, the story sparked a lively discussion on social media sites like Facebook. In these discussions, the contributors constituted the meaning of heroism as going beyond the dominant parochialism. There were calls for conferment of national hero or heroine status on Zimbabweans who had excelled and represented the country well in whatever their field was. On the social media sites, Ndlovu was referred to as national hero.

In questioning the criteria used to confer national hero status, Compagnon (2011:3) discussed the discrepancies surrounding rejecting nationalist leaders such as the late Ndabaningi Sithole (the first president of ZANU) and the late Enoch Dumbutshena a place at the Heroes Acre while Hitler Hunzvi and Border Gezi: “who had a limited or non-existent liberation war record were buried there [...]” (also see Muchemwa, 2010). Tendi (2010:163) also writes that despite Wilfred Mhanda’s (Dzinashé Machingura)⁴⁶ substantial contributions during the war he was marginalised in mainstream history. He was actually labelled as a ‘sell-out’ because his version of history threatened ZANU-PF’s depiction of the history of the struggle. Tendi (2010:167) explains that:

His (Mhanda’s) account is seen as a threat by ZANU-PF, because it questions the legitimacy and the liberation credentials of the ‘politicians’ who came to dominate politics in the independence

⁴⁶ This was Wilfred Mhanda’s liberation war name.

period. Moreover, Mhanda's account characterises the 'politicians' as the real 'sell-outs' for their 'bickering,' 'tribalism' and 'factionalism,' which threatened to derail the liberation struggle.

Despite Mhanda being a senior ex-ZANLA commander, when he passed away in May 2014, he was refused the title of national hero by ZANU-PF. State owned newspapers like *The Herald* and *The Chronicle* did not celebrate his achievements. *The Herald* newspaper (May 30, 2014) framed Mhanda as a "controversial war veteran" while *The Chronicle* (May 30, 2014) presented him as a "polarising figure." In a report,⁴⁷ 'Dongo blasts ZANU-PF over Mhanda' posted on the *Nehanda Radio* website (June 4, 2014), the media house reported that:

The ruling party flatly refused to entertain recognition of the distinguished former ZANLA commander, whose nom de guerre was Dzinashe Machingura, with the party's top brass ruling out the honour for the ex-war commander who turned into a staunch critic of the ruling ZANU-PF.

Mhanda was thus buried at the Glen Forest Cemetery "without notice from his former party Zanu PF" (*Nehanda Radio* website: June 4, 2014).

**"ZANU-PF is the one in charge. Without ZANU-PF, there is no Zimbabwe"⁴⁸ -
Representing ZANU-PF as the bulwark of the liberation struggle**

While Radio Zimbabwe spent a great deal of time celebrating ZANU-PF's achievements linked to the liberation war, the station also presented the party as still relevant to Zimbabwe now. Some songs played on the station affirmed that this political party was there to stay (see Manyawu, 2013). After the programme, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* (Monday 11 April 2011), for example, the song that was played had the following words: "We just want you to know that ZANU-PF is the one in charge...Without ZANU-PF...there is no Zimbabwe. Victory is certain...*aluta continua*...everyone, ZANU-PF [...]." What is interesting is that songs such as these seemed to show disregard for the Government of National Unity (GNU) that was formed in 2009. The GNU saw ZANU-PF and the two MDC factions forming a coalition government (see Manyawu, 2013).

There was frequent reference on the station to government initiated development after 1980. These references intensified towards Independence Day (18 April). The success of government

⁴⁷ This report was originally published in *The Daily News* newspaper.

⁴⁸ This line is taken from a song that was usually played on the programme, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri*.

programmes after independence was juxtaposed with the ‘bad situation’ that prevailed during the Ian Smith regime. In the programme, *Murimi Wanhasi* (Today’s Farmer) broadcast on Sunday 20 March 2011, the presenter, Richmond Siyakurima paid tribute to the government for giving good and fertile land formerly owned by the white farmers to the black population. Siyakurima said:

As you know, provinces such as Mashonaland West together with Mashonaland Central are some of the provinces labelled, the ‘bread basket’ (of the country). Eeee....that is why you see that in this country (Zimbabwe) the whites were concentrated in these provinces....there are good farms...there is good soil. They (the whites) did not want to let go of even one hectare of that fertile land to give to a black person to farm. Today, we are able to farm the land ourselves after the government put in place a programme to give blacks land... Blacks are now able to farm for themselves and get their own money...the wealth of the country is in our (black) hands as the wealth of the country is in the soil. [...].

In another programme, *Empowerment/Indigenisation* broadcast at 6:30am on Monday 21 March 2011, the presenter, Thulani Siziba introduced the programme by celebrating the government’s efforts in uplifting black people in the country. Programmes such as these seemed to be rebuttals of reports in newspapers such as *The Sunday Times* that framed the Zimbabwe government’s land reform programme as a complete disaster (see Chuma, 2005b).

Government related development after 1980 was depicted as having taken a linear trajectory; the government was the initiator of successful innovations that Zimbabweans benefited from. In the 9am news bulletin on Thursday 7 April 2011, the news reader began the bulletin by saying that after Zimbabwe attained independence, government built 1 200 clinics in places that had no clinics built for black people by the Smith government. This was contrary to the idea prevalent in the international and regional media that the crisis emanated as a result of ZANU-PF’s bad governance (see Chuma, 2005b). As discussed in the previous sections, uncritically focusing on the successes of ZANU-PF as a government served to legitimise the party’s continued claim to power. The celebration of ZANU-PF’s achievements also worked to divert attention from the challenges the country was going through.

Puppets, sell-outs and agents of Western imperialists: Framing the Movement for Democratic Change on Radio Zimbabwe

While ZANU-PF was given a lot of space in state controlled media to articulate its ideas, opposition parties and factions (particularly MDC-T) received little to no space (Mano, 2008). Instead of being given space to communicate their position, the opposition was basically talked about on Radio Zimbabwe. The few times they were referred to on Radio Zimbabwe, it was in a negative manner. Their cardinal sin was that they did not have a liberation struggle history to speak of. If ZANU-PF's legitimacy to rule Zimbabwe was based on their contribution to the struggle, constructing the MDC as a party devoid of any links to the struggle helped to delegitimise the party's claim to power.

The opposition MDC was referred to as a party of sell-outs, traitors and puppets created by the British to assist them to implement their agenda of regime change in the Zimbabwe. Willems (2004a:11) observes that the MDC was also accused in the state media of being a party funded by white farmers and dominated by Rhodesian interests. Also writing about how the MDC was framed, Alexander and McGregor (2001:523) write:

The organized hierarchy of ZANU-PF supporters and war veterans consistently spread rumours that the MDC was a 'front' for the interests of white farmers and 'Rhodesian' and British interests. They said the MDC would reverse the gains of Independence and had no land policy.

Contrary to mainstream ideas on Radio Zimbabwe that represented the MDC as a party made up of agents of Western imperialists, Dansereau (2003:188) argues that the opposition party in fact represented the interests of: "a broad alliance of organisations, many of which have a mass constituency."

It was interesting to note that sometimes ZANU-PF politicians on the station pathologised the MDC as "having a recurrent disease of selling out." In the programme, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* aired on Tuesday 12 April 2011, the guest on the programme, Ambassador Christopher Mutsvangwa said this about the MDC: "[...] this disease of being a sell-out is difficult to deal with...the MDC is continuing to be troubled by this diarrhoea of selling out [...]." Pathologising the MDC worked to stigmatise and dismiss the party as neither stable nor suitable to lead the

country. In a speech at Karimanzira's funeral, Mugabe made a link between 'the enemy' (the West) and 'sell-outs' in the country. Mugabe said:

Here we find amongst us some who can easily...*pause*...swallow the bait. He (the enemy) fishes...he fishes amongst us...there are those sell-outs (*zvimbwasungata*)...those amongst us who will stand with the enemy and say...*ahhhh* ...what is happening in Zimbabwe is not good...the country is going to come to nothing...if you listen to the word being preached by President Mugabe...you are all destroyed [...]

Although the President did not in this instance name the MDC as "the ones us who stand with the enemy," this statement was, however, consistent with the ways the MDC has been spoken about in the past by ZANU-PF politicians. In the context of the horrific picture painted on Radio Zimbabwe about the West, linking the MDC to 'the enemy' operated to discredit the opposition political party as having people with no genuine interest in the well-being of country and its people. Labeling the MDC as a party of traitors operated to render the violence perpetrated against the opposition justifiable. Singling out people as traitors also had the effect of creating fear in the opposition supporters as they belonged to a group of 'transgressors' and 'deviants.'

It is interesting to note that the demarcation between 'nationalists' and 'traitors' was something that can be traced back to the liberation struggle. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008:85) contends that: "Even within white politics those who deviated from the mainstream right-wing beliefs and manner of doing things as presented by the Rhodesian Front (RF) were immediately labelled sell-outs and some were deported."

Prior to the emergence of the MDC in 1999, Kriger (2005) argues that in independent Zimbabwe political opposition was also not tolerated by ZANU-PF. Kriger argues that:

Despite their profoundly different contexts, the four general elections [1980, 1985, 1995, 2000] since 1980 expose startling similarities in the ruling party's discourse and coercive mechanisms. Opponents were cast as reactionary enemies of the state, often — in 1990, 1995, and 2000 — as mere puppets of the whites (Kriger, 2005:31).

In the 1985 election in Zimbabwe, Kriger (2005:10) documents the ways some ZANU candidates discouraged voters from "voting for death" (i.e. voting for ZAPU). The then leader of ZAPU, Joshua Nkomo and his political party were depicted as "enemies of the country" (Kriger, 2005:10). Chitando (2005) notes how the state media embarked on a mission to disparage the Edgar Tekere led opposition party, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) in the 1990s. In

various adverts, voting for ZUM was presented as “one way to die.” Contrasted to this idea was the notion that voting for ZANU-PF was the same as “choosing to live” (Meredith, 2002:91). The intolerance of opposing political views in Zimbabwe should also be read in light of the fact that in the early 1980s, ZANU proposed that Zimbabwe be a one-party state.

In order to make visible the demarcation between heroes and traitors, ZANU-PF and Radio Zimbabwe used the title ‘Comrade’ to refer to heroes while non-comrades were referred to as ‘Mister.’ For example, the 1pm news bulletin broadcast on Monday 21 March 2011, the visiting Chinese delegation was said to be scheduled to meet several people who included: “The President and the Commander of the Armed Forces, *Comrade* Robert Mugabe, the Vice President, *Comrade* Joice Mujuru and the Prime Minister, *Mister* Morgan Tsvangirai.” The use of the title ‘Comrade’ worked to present ZANU-PF politicians as superior to other politicians from other political parties. The state media dismissed Tsvangirai as a novice in politics. Waldahl (2004:78) observes that Tsvangirai was framed as lacking in the: “political experience it took to lead the country, he was not personally skilful enough, and he did not have the background a head of state needed for dealing with other heads of state.”

In direct contradiction to the construction of ZANU-PF as a party of “violent thugs,” by the international media, Radio Zimbabwe positioned the MDC, particularly the Morgan Tsvangirai faction (MDC-T) as a violent party. In a report carried in the 4pm news bulletin on Thursday 7 April 2011, ZANU-PF members and the police were reported as victims of the violence perpetrated by MDC-T supporters in an incident that occurred at the Warren Hills cemetery. On Sunday 10 April and Monday 11 April 2011, the news carried reports in which a MDC-T meeting and election failed to progress due to violence among MDC factions. In the 6pm news bulletin broadcast on Sunday 10 April, unnamed political analysts said that these violent clashes: “clearly showed that the MDC-T is on its own a disorderly party that thrives on violence yet blames ZANU-PF for beating up its members.” The report in the 2pm news bulletin aired on Monday 11 April 2011 portrayed the violence that occurred as something “that was part of the political party.” The news reader added that: “this was the second time that elections of this party were stopped because of violence.”

It was interesting that while political violence perpetrated by ZANU-PF was well documented by some NGOs like Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum and Crisis Coalition, Zimbabwe, Radio Zimbabwe insisted on positioning the MDC as the only perpetrators of violence in the country. The above-mentioned news reports worked to exonerate ZANU-PF of any violent acts. While Radio Zimbabwe spoke negatively about the Tsvangirai faction, it was interesting to note that the Mutambara faction (MDC-M) was rarely spoken about in negative terms on the station. One of the few instances that the MDC-M faction was referred to, its leader, Professor Arthur Mutambara was given space to articulate his views on rebuilding the economy of the nation (8pm news, Sunday 6 March 2011).

Conclusion

In the context of the economic and political crisis, Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts positioned ZANU-PF as the only legitimate party to lead the country because of its long history of fighting against imperialism. The opposition Movement for Democratic Change and its factions were dismissed as unfit to govern the country on so many levels. The MDC-T in particular was constructed as a political grouping of traitors and puppets of Western imperialists. Also vilified on the station was Britain, America and their allies who were depicted as enemies of the country and other African countries. Their agenda was presented as that of trying to institute regime change in Zimbabwe. While the West was the much maligned enemies, China was portrayed as a friend of the country since the days of the liberation struggle.

The government's position on land occupations was framed as justified because government was restoring the natural and logical order of things. God was presented on the station as having given Zimbabweans land which was later stolen during the colonial era. The land was also constructed as valuable to Zimbabwe because many sons and daughters of the country had sacrificed their lives for it. The researcher argued that this served to vindicate ZANU-PF's stance on the land issue.

It was also argued that the 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy that ran through the discourses on land and the liberation struggle on Radio Zimbabwe were very problematic for various reasons. It sought to limit the ways citizens thought about themselves, the country and its history as well as

ways of engaging with politics. It was also be argued that singling out some people as ‘patriots’ and others as ‘sell-outs,’ for example, created fear in people of transgressing and being on ‘the wrong side.’ The next chapter discusses the father of the nation discourse and the discourse on Christianity and God.

Chapter 6: Dominant Discourses: The Father of the Nation, Christianity & God

Introduction

This chapter continues the discussion on dominant discourses. While the previous chapter discussed discourses around the land and the liberation struggle, the focus of this chapter is on the father of the nation discourse as well as the discourse on Christianity and God. This chapter will argue that in the quest to authenticate President Mugabe's stay in power, Radio Zimbabwe framed Mugabe as the father of the nation as well as a messenger from God, qualities that leaders in the opposition camp did not have. The chapter will also argue that in view of the difficulties that people were facing to survive, Radio Zimbabwe pointed its listeners to God in ways that gave people hope and also assisted in taking off pressure from the government that was failing to deliver basic services to its citizens.

Radio Zimbabwe discourses

Representations of President Mugabe on Radio Zimbabwe: “*Gushungo*,⁴⁹ You are a messenger sent to liberate Zimbabwe”⁵⁰

The Zimbabwean state drama has one lead actor – the head of state – with a supporting cast and spectators participating in the multi-layered performance that he scripts. The head of state plays a complex role as author, protagonist, spectator and commentator in the state drama (Muchemwa, 2010:508)

[...] We were blessed with a good leader...*baba* Mugabe. He knows that the land is yours...he gives it to you and says: “plough”...the minerals are yours...the companies are yours...he gives you and says: “lead.” What more do you want? [...] (Presenter, Tarisai Chipere, Friday 8 April 2011- 10:16am)

While the discussion in Chapter 5 looked at the ways in which Radio Zimbabwe celebrated ZANU-PF's role in the liberation and development of the country, the focus now moves to discussing the manner in which the station depicted the President as a nationalist leader par excellence. In framing the President as an honourable leader, presenters, news readers and ZANU-PF politicians used a number of different honorific prefixes before they uttered the

⁴⁹*Gushungo* refers to President Mugabe's totem. In Shona, calling someone by their totem is a sign of immense respect for them.

⁵⁰This line is from a song titled, *Muri Nhume* (You [reference to the President] are a messenger) by the *Tafara Mabvuku Chimurenga* Choir. This song was usually played on the station after the programme, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* (President Mugabe, the leader) in which guests would have spoken gloriously about the President.

President's surname. The following were some of the titles: "His Excellency," "Comrade," "*Mutungamiri wenyika uyezve vari Mutungamiri webato riri kutonga*" (leader of the country as well as leader of the ruling party), "Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe" and "Commander of the Defence Forces." Sometimes the President was referred to using his totem, "*Gushungo*" as a sign of respect for him. In other instances, the President was called: "Comrade Robert *Gabriel* Mugabe" in ways that dually reminded listeners of Mugabe's close link to the struggle as well as to God. While in most cases one honorific title sufficed, there were times when a combination of the titles were used at once, for example, in the 6pm news broadcast on Sunday 17 April 2011, the President was called: "The leader of the country and government who is also the Commander of the Defence Forces, Comrade Robert Mugabe [...]." Interestingly, no other politician, either from ZANU-PF or the MDC had so many titles placed before their names. Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that the use of 'functional honorifics' such as 'President' suggest seniority as well as importance of the person being referred to. Machin and Mayr (2012:82) contend that: "A person's level of authority can be strategically diminished by removing honorifics [...]." Thus, the fact that President Mugabe was the only one who was referred to in this manner worked to set him apart as exceedingly superior in comparison to the other politicians. As already mentioned in previous discussions, the MDC-T leader, Morgan Tsvangirai was always referred to as a "Mister." This difference served to position Tsvangirai as very junior in politics, hence not good enough to be the President. The song played on the programme, *Dzandakusarudzirai* (Friday 8 April 2011) categorically stated that Mugabe was the leader of the country. The artist congratulated the nation of Zimbabwe for having Mugabe as President. Some of the words of the songs were:

The leader of Zimbabwe is President Mugabe/Clap your hands...clap your hands [...]/Congratulations Zimbabwe for having *Gushungo/va*Mugabe (as the leader) (Ululation) Celebrate child of the soil/Celebrate child of Zimbabwe [...]/Let's respect him...thanking him (for doing a sterling job of leading the country)

In the continuing to distinguish Mugabe as the best leader for the country, Radio Zimbabwe always made reference to his remarkable leadership qualities that dated back to the days of the struggle. Some songs enforced the idea that President Mugabe deserved to lead because he had "paid his dues" during the struggle. In a song⁵¹ played on Saturday 9 April 2011 before the 11am

⁵¹The presenter did not give the title of the song.

news, the artist said the following words: “VaMugabe should lead...[heeee heee] He should lead...During the war he was there...he was in jail...he finished his studies...[heee heeee] he should lead the country... VaMugabe should lead the country [...]”

As if to remind listeners that Mugabe was the “right person” for the job of President, Radio Zimbabwe often played a clip of the President being sworn in as Prime Minister of the country in 1980.

Short piece from Bob Marley song... ‘Zimbabwe’ which he performed during Zimbabwe’s independence celebrations in 1980

Voice of Robert Mugabe: I, Robert Gabriel Mugabe do swear (ululation) that I will be faithful (ululation) and bear true allegiance (ululation) to Zimbabwe and observe the laws of Zimbabwe (ululation) so help me God (ululation)
Short piece from Bob Marley song

Linking the President to the liberation war had the effect of disqualifying other Presidential hopefuls, particularly those that had not been part of the struggle. As argued in previous sections, according to the mainstream narratives, participation in the liberation struggle was the only way one could gain acceptance as a credible and worthy politician in Zimbabwe.

President Mugabe: the father, the messenger and the visionary

(President Mugabe) is a father figure, he is a person who unites people, he is a person who loves everyone, and he is a person who likes to see everyone living well. He is also a person who sacrifices...he sacrifices for other people [...] You (Mugabe) are a reservoir (*isiphala*) of knowledge...you are a reservoir of *ubuntu*...You are the one who makes Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe that we see today...You are the one who makes Zimbabwe known the world over [...] Kembo Mohadi, Minister of Home Affairs speaking on *VaMugabe Mutungamiri*, Thursday 7 April 2011.

Drawing on patriarchal ideas, presenters as well as politicians who were guests on Radio Zimbabwe programmes constructed the President as the father of the nation. One presenter, Elsie said this about the President on Thursday 7 April 2011 (9:41am): “[...] if we look there are some comrades who still stand up (against imperialism)...people such as *baba* Mugabe, our President...who still fights that our country’s wealth be restored to our (black) hands.” It was interesting to note that the image of Mugabe as the father of Zimbabwe was not peculiar to him. In the past, a similar title had been extended to other ZANU-PF elite politicians like the country’s two late Vice Presidents, Simon Muzenda and Joshua Nkomo. Muzenda, for example,

was referred to as “the Soul of the nation” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011:12). Contrary to Nkomo’s “rogue father of dissidents” image in the early 1980s, after his death, he became popularly known as “Father Zimbabwe” (Chitando, 2005:222; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011:11). Writing about the fleeting nature of the nationalist/traitor titles within ZANU-PF, Ranger (2005:15) argues:

[...] People pop in and out of the pantheon of heroes and shame-lists of traitors. And I have found it fascinating to watch how nationalism and the freedom struggle, those key ingredients of patriotic credentials, are constantly redefined and reassembled. The historic churches were once allocated a positive role in the liberation struggle – there were once even admired bishops. Now bishops are ‘evil little men’ and we are told that Tutu was a worshipper of apartheid all along. Once the Zionist and Apostolic churches, with their resistance to statism and development, were seen as dangerous mavericks. Today Mugabe dances with them at Heroes Acre.

Presenting Mugabe as the guardian of the nation (“father of the nation” and “head of the family”) secured him a lifelong position at the helm of the country. It also justified the violence that he unleashed on ‘errant children’ since he was ‘the ultimate authority figure’ in the family/country.

In some instances, Mugabe was referred to as a patient and forgiving father who had on several occasions forgiven the MDC for their ‘transgressions’ of ‘selling out.’ The President had also been gracious by allowing the MDC to be part of the unity government. On the programme, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* (Tuesday 12 April 2011), Ambassador Christopher Mutsvangwa said: “If they (the MDC) were wise, they would accept the grace by the President that has seen them in government [...]” The picture of a gracious father had the effect of countering the dominant hegemonic constructions prevalent in the international media of President Mugabe as a merciless tyrant. The picture also positioned Mugabe as the senior partner, while the MDC was the junior partner in the in the Government of National Unity; thus, emphasising the idea that President Mugabe was ultimately the person in charge in the country.

In less political terms, President Mugabe was portrayed as a human being who was generally kind and sympathetic towards the suffering people contrary to the “heartless African dictator” image that was prevalent in the South African newspaper, *The Sunday Times* (see Chuma, 2005b). In the programme *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* (Monday 21 March 2011), Minister of Agriculture, Dr Joseph Made mentioned that the President was a person who sympathised with other people. Also singing Mugabe’s praises was Christopher Mushowe, Government Minister and Governor of Manicaland Province who urged Zimbabweans to thank the President “for his

generosity” (*VaMugabe Mutungamiri*, Tuesday 29 March 2011). Mushowe said that: “many children had benefited from the Presidential scholarship.”

In some instances, the President was presented as a messenger sent by God to liberate Zimbabwe. Chitando (2005) notes that President Mugabe was even likened to the biblical Moses by the late Vice President, Simon Muzenda. In the analogy, Mugabe was said to have: “delivered the Promised land to his people” (Chitando, 2005:225). This idea was naturalised in political programmes like *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* and *Madzimbabwe*. Songs like *Muri Nhume*⁵² by *Tafara Mabvuku Chimurenga* Choir played regularly on the station also normalised the idea of Mugabe as having been divinely sent to help the country. Depicting the President as being sent by God gave the President a level of authority that his opponents could never have. This also landed credibility to decisions that the President made around the land as the sent one of God.

Radio Zimbabwe also spoke of the President as a visionary whose policies, in particular on the land policy had benefited the country and were admired by the rest of the continent. Contrary to constructions in privately owned media of the land occupations as chaotic and nothing more than an attempt on the part of ZANU-PF to gain political mileage after losing the Constitutional Referendum in 2000, the land programme was presented on Radio Zimbabwe as part of a broader vision which the President had since 1980. On the programme, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri*, broadcast on Monday 21 March 2011, the guest, Dr Joseph Made, the Minister of Agriculture said that during the time he was writing his Ph.D. thesis (which he got in 1982) he was hugely inspired by the words of the President regarding the land. Made said:

[...] The President said words that were key to my studies (while Dr Made was writing his PhD) [...] the President said these words...without land, we will never get control of our economy...land must go to the people first...that is the basis of economic power. Nothing else beats the principle of land distribution as a basis of economic power [...].

Positioning the President as a visionary worked to legitimise the land programme and also to build the idea that President Mugabe was indeed the right leader for the country. Including the notion that the President had been consistent on the land issue over the years had the effect of deflating criticisms that Mugabe resorted to the land occupations as a desperate attempt to hold onto power. Beyond being a visionary in the context of Zimbabwe, Radio also positioned

⁵² You are a messenger

Mugabe's vision as extending beyond the borders of Zimbabwe. He was often referred to as a pan-Africanist who learnt from the likes of Ghana's first President, Kwame Nkrumah. Framing the President as a pan-Africanist was aimed at countering dominant ideas in the international media of Mugabe as the embodiment of evil itself. Willems (2005:97) highlights that in the British media in particular, parallels were often drawn between: "the evil of Milosevic and that of Mugabe." Chuma (2005b:3) also argues that both the international and regional media positioned Mugabe as being at: "the helm of an exhausted nationalist social infrastructure which [wa]s driving Zimbabwe to perdition."

Although the President was generally celebrated on Radio Zimbabwe, the programme, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* together with the Mugabe praise songs by the *Mbare Chimurenga* Choir⁵³ played on the programme dwarfed other attempts at hero worshipping on the station. *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* was broadcast twice daily during the week. The programme was constituted as a space dedicated for listeners to "understand the kind of person the President was." One of the presenters of the programme, Patricia Jacob introduced the programme aired on Monday 11 April 2011 in the following manner:

[...] the aim of the programme is for us to know the leader of the country...what kind of a person he is [...] (on the programme) is where we learn about the President because there are lots of things that are said about vaMugabe especially by stations outside the country...newspapers also outside the country write [...] that is why we decided to do the programme *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* ...to understand what kind of a person the President is [...]

From what Jacobs says, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* was framed as a programme in which listeners could access the 'truth' about the President. For Jacobs and other presenters of the programme, 'the truth' was something that could be arrived at by having conversations with different people who have worked closely with the President as well as his friends. This assumption invisibilises the constructed nature of what counts as 'the truth.' It also overlooks the idea that 'truth' is not singular but multiple.

⁵³The article by Musvoto (2012) analyses the musical album by the *Mbare Chimurenga* Choir, *Nyatsoteerera* (Listen Carefully) whose songs consistently disregard the Government of National Unity in the country favouring instead to position President Mugabe as well as ZANU-PF as legitimate to lead Zimbabwe.

“Mhuri yeZimbabwe”: the imagined Zimbabwean family

Whereas the President was presented as the father of the country, Zimbabweans were all positioned as children (*vana veZimbabwe*). Zimbabweans were also constructed on the station as belonging to a huge family (*mhuri yeZimbabwe*). The significance of representing Zimbabweans in this manner should be understood in the context of a people who attach a huge premium on the idea of family in the country. Thus, imagining audiences as family serves hegemonic functions. It casts ‘the father’ into this permanent superior role and the children perennially indebted for their very existence to this one man. It also makes it difficult for the so called children to challenge the authority of ‘their father.’ Portraying Zimbabweans as children should also be understood in the context of “the colonial discourse of domination” in which citizens (‘children’) were supposed to remain unquestioningly obedient to the ‘fathers’ of the country (see Muchemwa, 2010:510).

The majority of the news bulletins began with news readers greeting the listeners in the following manner: “Good morning/good afternoon/good evening Zimbabwean family...the news read by [Name of the Presenter]...” The idea that Zimbabweans were part of one big unified family was also repeated in programmes like *VaMugabe Mutungamiri*. In the programme broadcast on Monday 21 March 2011, the presenter, Perfect Hlongwane introduced the programme in the following way:

Dear Zimbabwean family...we meet again in this programme [short pause] a programme in which we trace the life of the President [pause] Comrade Robert Mugabe. The aim is to know him more [short pause] what kind person our father is...looking at different things he did in his life [...].

Other programmes in which the idea was normalised were *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana*⁵⁴ and *Dzemhuri/Ezemhuli*.⁵⁵ At one level, the notion that Zimbabwe was one family almost erased the divisions within the country which the liberation struggle discourse as well as constructions around heroes and non-heroes seemed to have surfaced.

⁵⁴*Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* was a greeting and musical request show broadcast on the station during the week between midday and 2:30pm. The programme was sometimes broadcast on Saturdays.

⁵⁵*Dzemhuri/Ezemhuli* was a programme in which listeners wrote into the programme and said what their family members enjoyed doing. At the end of each letter, the listener usually requested that the presenter play a song for the family.

While on the one hand the family was generally portrayed as happy, there were instances when the family was shown as facing social challenges. In the introduction to the programme, *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*, the presenter welcomed *mhuri yeZimbabwe* (the Zimbabwean family) to the programme that focused on family issues, marital issues and so on. The problems brought to the programme were discussed by two guests who took on the roles of *tete* (aunt) and *sekuru* (grandfather). In the programme broadcast on Tuesday 22 March 2011, the presenter set the stage for a discussion by saying the following:

We present to you the programme, *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*. We hope we find you all well wherever you might be...we meet again in the family programme...a programme that aims to minimise or to end various domestic problems [...]

In another programme, *Usandikanganwe/Ungangilibale* that portrayed the family in crisis, listeners whose relatives had gone missing had the opportunity to write in and ‘look’ for their loved ones. Other programmes like *Mwana Wako/Umtwana Wakho* also touched on social issues. In the programme, *Tsika Dzedu* aired on Friday 8 April 2011, the presenter, Killian Butu and the panellists discussed the issue of *rushusho* (being a bothersome person in the family).

Ironically, while Radio Zimbabwe dedicated a lot of time to the discussion of social issues bedevilling the family, the glaring economic and political challenges facing the country were never discussed as openly. It seemed like ZANU-PF politicians had the monopoly over when and how issues related to economic and political problems were raised on the station. Chari (2010a) makes a similar point in relation to the ways the state press reported the economic crisis in the country. After detailing the parochial ways the privately owned press reported Zimbabwe’s economic situation, Chari (2010a:140) argues:

The public press is equally culpable. Apart from shying away from the word ‘crisis,’ particularly during its formative stages (preferring the word ‘challenges’), the public press demonstrated a flagrant disregard for the truth. The public press was largely silent about inflation figures and other negative economic indicators.

In cases when the state media carried a story on the crisis, Chari further argues that it was usually tucked away in the inside pages of state owned papers. Chari (2010a:140) also notes that the state press was explicitly optimistic in their reporting of the crisis, “often insinuating that there is ‘light at the end of the tunnel.’”

Normalising Christianity on Radio Zimbabwe: “Let us pray [...] together on the people’s station”⁵⁶

Of all the religions in the country, Christianity was by far the most dominant religion on Radio Zimbabwe; this is despite the existence of different religions in Zimbabwe (also see Mano, 2005). Chari (2010) writes that talking about religion in the country has become synonymous with speaking about Christianity. Chari further explains that the general monopoly of Christianity on the state broadcaster is nourished by the void in terms of policy on religious issues at ZBC.

The continued dominance of Christianity on the station as well as the lack of public outcry against the supremacy of this religion on Radio Zimbabwe should be understood in light of the fact that the majority of Zimbabweans consider themselves Christians and that Zimbabwe is “a de facto Christian state” Chitando (2002). Chitando explains that although Zimbabwe was not on paper a Christian state per se, the reality showed that Christianity took centre stage at state functions like Independence Day celebrations and Heroes Day celebrations. While African traditional indigenous religions played an important part during the liberation struggle, in the post-1980 era, Christianity became the preferred religion at national events (Chitando, 2005:222). Even the country’s new 2013 constitution makes specific reference to the Christian God in its preamble.

There seemed to be a symbiotic relationship between some churches⁵⁷ and ZANU-PF politicians on Radio Zimbabwe. Chitando and Togarasei (2010) observe that the relationship between the church and the state is not unique to the period after 2000; this connection can be traced back to 1890 with the arrival of the Pioneer Column in the country when Christian ministers worked hand in glove with the colonial officers. Chitando and Togarasei (2010:152) add that the close co-operation between the church and the state: “Facilitated the rapid expansion of Christianity in Zimbabwe [...]. Although the missionaries had struggled to gain converts prior to the colonial

⁵⁶ These words said by Radio Zimbabwe presenter, Tilda Karidzamimba when she introduced the programme, *Dzechitendero* on Sunday 20 March 2011.

⁵⁷ The church- state relationship in Zimbabwe was never uniform; it went through different phases of closeness and coldness. Chitando and Togarasei (2010) note that before 1980 there were churches that supported the Rhodesian government while others supported the guerrillas. After 1980, the church became close with the state in light of Mugabe’s policy of reconciliation. The then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe considered the church, “a partner in national development” (Togarasei, 2010:153). There were, however, other times when some churches criticised the government, for example, during the *gukurahundi* era in the early 1980s.

period, they enjoyed notable increases in the number of converts once the colonial administration was in place.”

During the time the study was carried out, politicians generally acknowledged the role of the church in the country on Radio Zimbabwe and the church endorsed government programmes on the station. For example, the former Vice President, Joice Mujuru, a well-known member of the Salvation Army church, for example, constructed Zimbabwe as a “God fearing nation” (6am news bulletin, Monday 21 March 2011). In the 1pm news bulletin aired on 17 April 2011, the government was reported as being grateful to the great role played by churches in the country. The newsreader read:

The government has praised the hard work done by churches in developing the nation through building churches and colleges as well as in encouraging peace and stability in the country. This was said by Comrade Ignatius Chombo who was speaking at a gathering convened by the Bethesda Apostolic Church [...].

As a show of support for government led initiatives, the Apostolic Faith Church was also reported as having joined in the signing of the anti-sanctions petition (Sunday 20 March 2011, 8pm news). Drawing on ZANU-PF rhetoric regarding the sanctions, the church said the sanctions were bad and affected everyone in the country regardless of their political affiliation. The Apostolic Faith Church encouraged Zimbabweans “to unite and speak with one voice against the sanctions.” In a separate news item broadcast on Tuesday 5 April 2011 (8am news), a leader of the Johane Masowe church encouraged Western countries to remove the sanctions it imposed on Zimbabwe. He encouraged Zimbabweans to also sign the anti-sanctions petition.

There were several ways in which Radio Zimbabwe normalised Christianity on the station. The most conspicuous was the way in which the station started its daily broadcasts with a morning devotional and a prayer. The station also had specific programmes and music that enforced Christian values, for example, Christian musical programmes like *Vaimbi Venziyo Dzechitendero/Ezokholo*. In less predictable ways, some Radio Zimbabwe presenters and some politicians shared their own Christian convictions and also encouraged listeners to be good Christians. Throughout the week, for example, a lot of Christian music was played on Radio Zimbabwe on programmes that had nothing to do with Christianity. Thabani Gambiza, for example, used a house music rendition of the popular Christian hymn ‘Amazing Grace’ as her

theme song to start the programme, *Ramba Waraira/Yekele Kukhule Lokhula* (Saturday 26 March 2011, 3pm). Tarisai Chipere had a song *Ndire Ndire* by the Zion Christian Church (Defe Dopota Brass Band) as a theme song (Wednesday 30 March 2011, before 10am news). It was also interesting that some programmes that were not specifically on religion also drew on Christian values. The programme, *Radio Zimbabwe Top 20*, for example, in which the most popular songs were played, more than half of the songs had Christian teachings. Similar to observations made by Mano (2009), this study also found that Sunday was a day in which Christian ideas overtly dominated the airwaves. Besides music programmes like *Nziyo Dzechitendero* (Gospel Music) set aside specifically for playing Christian music on Sunday mornings, in the programme *Sunday Morning Church Service* the preacher actually preached to those believers/listeners who might not have gotten the opportunity to go to church.

Listeners who wrote or phoned into various programmes also contributed to making Christianity the norm on the station. In the programme, *Nguva Yevarwere/Isikhathi Sezigulane*, for example, broadcast on Monday 21 March 2011 just after 9am, most listeners writing into the programme encouraged loved ones who were not feeling well by quoting scriptures from the Bible (also see Mano, 2009). In the programme *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* (Sunday 17 April 2011), listeners who phoned in mostly requested presenters to play music by gospel artists like Baba Charamba, Vabati VaJehovha and Kudzi Nyakudya.

“Buruka...handione ndiri ndega...ndiratidze”⁵⁸: Feeble people and an All-Powerful God

One of the central ideas communicated on Radio Zimbabwe after the evangelistic call for everyone to receive salvation was the idea that God’s might and power far exceeded that of human beings; hence the need for people to look to Him. The idea of looking to God for solutions in difficult times was not peculiar to current Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts. Chitando (2002b:61) notes that in the face of challenges that resulted from the failure of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), gospel music artists called on God to “come and save the country.”

⁵⁸ These words are taken from Charles Charamba’s song, ‘*Buruka*,’ an invitation for the Holy Spirit to descend and help people.

On Radio Zimbabwe, God was depicted as the self-existent deity who was outside of human time. In the programme, *Nguva Yevarwere* (a greeting and musical request programme for the sick) broadcast in Ndebele and Shona respectively, presenters and people writing into the programme encouraged the sick to put their trust in God. The song, *Nyarara Kuchema* (Stop Crying) played on Sunday 10 April 2011 tried to console people who were in difficult situations with the words “God hears” their prayers. Bidding farewell to the listeners, the presenter who identified himself as *Ndundu* asked God “to bless the listeners” and also for God to “lead him as he travelled (home).” As a way to substantiate the idea that God helped weak people, some presenters and songs provided listeners with examples of people in Biblical times God has helped. One of Charles Charamba’s songs⁵⁹ that was played regularly on the station spoke of how God “walked with Enoch and Esther.” In another song, *Usatye* (Don’t be afraid) played before the 1pm news on Tuesday 12 April 2011, the artist encouraged listeners to trust in the Lord because “God does not fail even when troubles mount” (*Mwari havakundikane nyangwe nhamo dzako dzikawanda sei*). The artist gave examples of how God had helped the Israelites cross the Red Sea as well as how God assisted Paul on his missionary trips to Rome. The song also gave the example of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego who were not consumed by the fire in the pit because God was with them.

While God was presented as superior and powerful, the presenters positioned themselves and their listeners as weak and in need of God’s help to deal with the wide range of problems in life. In the song, ‘*Don’t wanna walk alone*’ played on the station on Sunday 10 April 2011 after 10pm news, the singer, Donna Chibaya sang about her weakness by calling on “the Lord to walk with me (her).” Commenting on the words of the song, the presenter also reiterated the idea that without the guidance of God, she would be lost. Another presenter, Tilda Karidzamimba in the programme, *Dzechitendero/Ingoma Zokholo* aired on Sunday 20 March 2011 at 8:15pm encouraged Christians to “look to God in times of difficulty.” She said: “[...] True, there are some burdens that are extremely heavy [...] in those situations; you are called not to give up (look to God).”

⁵⁹ This song was played on *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* (Tuesday 5 April 2011).

In the context of the challenges that most Zimbabweans faced to survive, pointing listeners to God as the helper worked to give people hope and comfort in knowing that God was able to deliver them. Framing God as all-powerful also helped in diverting attention from a state that was failing to deliver basic services to its citizens. The idea of looking to God apparently contradicted other constructions on the station that presented ZANU-PF, the liberation fighters and the President as the people with solutions to the country's problems.

While Radio Zimbabwe centralised Christianity, there were some instances when the station allowed space for the articulation of ideas from indigenous religions, for example, on programmes like *Dzavana Gwenyambira*, *Amasikho Ethu*, *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* and *Musha Matare*. In these programmes (especially *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*, *Tsika Dzedu* and *Musha Matare*), the presenters largely drew on indigenous religions to advise listeners who wrote into the programme with various social problems.

In ways that seemed to refute the idea that God is the shepherd, sometimes the station played songs in which the ancestors were credited with leading the people during the liberation struggle (for example, Chiwoniso Maraire's song played on Wednesday 13 April 2011). In the story of the discovery of the remains of liberation struggle fighters at Chibondo, Senator Mandi Chimene responded to the question about how the exhumers would identify the people whose remains were found by saying that: "there were spirit mediums on site that were able to give positive identifications of the people."

While African beliefs were allowed space on Radio Zimbabwe, at a certain level there seemed to be tension between proponents of Christianity and those who supported indigenous beliefs. There were instances on the station when adherents of African beliefs often held ethnocentric views (see Chari, 2010). Most of them depicted Christianity as the religion of the colonisers. In a song that narrates the history of the occupation of the country by the British, the musician emphasised how the colonisers established several churches in the country; "St Peter, St Luke, St John and St Mark." The song went on to question why Zimbabwean heroes and heroines like *Kaguvi*, *Nehanda*, *Takawira* and *Chitepo* were not celebrated in the same manner the heroes of the Christian faith were celebrated. In another instance, the presenters of the programme, *Dzavana Gwenyambira* (Sylvester Tapfumaneyi and Cain Chikosha) on Thursday 7 April 2011

stated that some people (Christian missionaries) wanted *mbira*⁶⁰ to be suppressed because they said it was a demonic instrument. Steve Makoni in the song, *Haagadzwe*, played on Sunday 20 March 2011 at 6:30pm lambasted black people for abandoning their own beliefs in favour of Christianity. Makoni argued that the cause of the incessant droughts in the country was because Zimbabweans had “turned their backs on their culture.” Part of the song had the following words:

We exposed the sacred things to amuse ourselves...we turned our backs on the ancestors and the Creator...we abandoned our clan sacrifices...we valued the beliefs of the strangers who have not been here for long. We said things to do with ancestors and the Creator belong to Satan and demons. As a result there is drought (in the country)...whatever we try to do does not prosper...look at the barns that are empty [...]

The ways Makoni frames some of the challenges facing the country as a result of “people abandoning their own beliefs” is interesting in that it works to divert attention from government whom the opposition groups had been blaming for the difficulties. It also insinuates that the solution to Zimbabwe’s problems lay in people returning back to their culture. This has the effect of watering down the opposition’s regime change prescribed solution to the country’s problems. Makoni’s position in one way goes against mainstream Christian ideas presented on the station that called on Zimbabweans to be prayerful believers. His ideas also contradicted Radio Zimbabwe discourses that framed God as the solution to the country’s problems. Ironically, Makoni’s position is in stark contrast to assertions by one Pastor quoted in one Zimbabwean magazine, the *Parade* (December, 2000) in which he argued that the problems that the country faced were as a result of people “deserting God” and turning to African beliefs (see Chari, 2010b:180).

As already mentioned, there were times on Radio Zimbabwe when those standing for Christian worldviews distanced themselves from ‘evil’ traditional beliefs. In his song *Muchandivhiringidza* (You will mess things up for me) Trymore Bare distanced himself from those who followed traditional beliefs. In the song, Bare said: “when you do things associated with African tradition...go ahead and do it...just don’t call my name because I belong to Jesus.”

⁶⁰ Mbira is a traditional musical instrument

Also critiquing indigenous beliefs, the preacher⁶¹ doing the morning devotional on Wednesday 30 March 2011 said:

Jehovah God is the only one who should be worshipped this morning. We are tired of people worshipping *zvikwambo* (goblins)...some worship *zvidhoma* (goblins)...some worship evil spirits and ancestors [...] We do not have another lord who deserves to be worshipped except Jesus...He is the Son of God. We might worship whatever we might worship...He is there who deserves our worship...Lord of lords [....]

While there were these tensions alluded to above, it should be noted that like proponents of Christian worldviews, those who represented African beliefs also did not question or contest dominant notions presented on Radio Zimbabwe. In their own ways, they also endeavoured to support the status quo.

Conclusion

In view of the challenge to Mugabe's authority, Radio Zimbabwe framed ZANU-PF's point man as the father of the nation, a visionary and a messenger from God. In a context like Zimbabwe that is patriarchal and the majority of people identify as Christian, framing President Mugabe as the father as well as God's emissary worked to give him a level of authority that his opponents could never have.

The chapter also noted how Christianity was used to support the status quo. Juxtaposed to the weakness of the presenters and the listeners was the power and might of God. Radio Zimbabwe presenters regularly directed listeners to God regarding the various challenges that they faced in life. While this idea had the effect of giving listeners hope, it also effectively worked to shift the focus of people from the government which was failing to provide for its citizens.

While Chapters 5 & 6 focused on Radio Zimbabwe texts, the next chapter sets the scene for the discussion in Chapter 8 of ways that some audiences engaged with Radio Zimbabwe content.

⁶¹ The preacher's surname was not clear in the recordings

Chapter 7: Setting the Scene: Radio and Everyday Life in a Rural Community

Introduction

The previous two chapters discussed dominant discourses on Radio Zimbabwe in the context of the political and economic crisis. An overarching idea running through these chapters was that the station by and large privileged the voices of politicians belonging to ZANU-PF. These politicians were given space on Radio Zimbabwe to position themselves and the party as legitimate to govern the country while dismissing the opposition party (MDC) as a party of puppets and sell-outs.

In light of some of these hegemonic ideas, principally around what constitutes political legitimacy, there have been concerns particularly by media rights activists in Zimbabwe (see MISA⁶² and MMPZ⁶³ reports) around the power (in almost absolute terms) of these discourses on Zimbabweans. Because studies by these activists have largely focused on media texts, an understanding of the ways audiences engage with these hegemonic discourses remain largely missing in their analyses. Zegeye (2010:176) terms the disproportionate focus on representation, “the spectacle of excessive representation of a crisis” which causes a “crisis of knowledge” which impedes a more detailed understanding of the crisis (also see Chuma, 2005b).

The following two chapters shift the attention from Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts to discussions on the rural community and the accounts of the women in this community regarding their everyday interaction with radio. Before analysing the women’s narratives (Chapter 8), this chapter focuses on providing insights into the meaning of everyday life in the rural community the study was conducted as well as insights into the ethnography of radio.

⁶²MISA- Media Institute for Southern Africa

⁶³MMPZ- Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe

The Context

The political environment in the community

The community in which this study was conducted was not spared the effects of the political and economic crisis that beset Zimbabwe after 2000. Insights into the dominant political ideas in the community were gleaned through initial conversations with the village head during the process of gaining entry into the field and also talking to and observing several other people in the community throughout the period of research. Writing in the context of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe; a polarised environment similar to the one that re-emerged in Zimbabwe from the late 1990s onwards, Frederikse (1982:82) notes that leaders in rural communities, chiefs in particular took up positions in support of either the ‘enemy’ (the Rhodesian forces) or the ‘comrades’ (the nationalist fighters). It is interesting to note that in the first meeting with the village head, he made very clear that he was a ZANU-PF supporter. His talk drew on the mainstream ideas in which he positioned support for ZANU-PF as normal, logical and a sign of one’s patriotism (Field Notes: March 2011). He also said support for ZANU-PF was an indicator of a person’s love for the country. It was also interesting that in very patriarchal ways, the *sabhuku* spoke of the village under his leadership as a community that supports ZANU-PF. For him, attending party meetings was a measure of the community’s allegiance to the party. The way the village head foregrounded and emphasised the centrality of one’s membership and allegiance to ZANU-PF basically worked to trivialise other multiple identities people (particularly women) often had, making it almost impossible to have any acceptable excuse for not attending ZANU-PF meetings.

In ways that seemed to contradict his earlier confident assertions that everyone in his community was ZANU-PF, the village head did, however, acknowledge that there was a ‘problem’ in the community of some people supporting the MDC. He blamed the division in the community on outsiders (MDC activists coming from the cities and some NGO workers) as responsible for “contaminating *his* people.” In ways reminiscent of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts, the village head constructed opposition party supporters as “bad elements” (Field Notes: March 2011). At other points in the conversation, the village head said the MDC was like a “disease.” The idea of the ‘Other’ being diseased is not peculiar to contemporary Zimbabwe. Burke (1996:20) also

notes that during colonial times the bodies of black people were also framed as diseased by the Native Commissioners. There were fears that black people could contaminate the white man's 'purity.' The village head's diagnosis of the opposition as diseased worked to accomplish several things. Firstly, it served to stigmatise and delegitimise the MDC as the 'wrong' party to support. In a context that was characterised by political intolerance, this also operated to create fear among the party's supporters of being seen as deviant, thus exposing themselves to potential violence. The idea of classifying the MDC as diseased also worked to justify as well as condone any violence perpetrated against opposition members in the community. Matereke (2012:93) elaborates: "[...] violence against the enemies is vindicated because the nation is under siege from its detractors, both within and outside, both black and white."

By making his position known early on in the conversation, the village head was later able to justify the ways he policed the community to: "stop intruders (MDC activists) from infiltrating" the community. The village head mentioned that in the past he had been forced to shut down a church that was "preaching opposition politics." He also said that he had stopped people posing as aid workers from distributing MDC flyers. In his own words, he was able to: "keep the community clean" (Field Notes: March 2011).

From observing the community, surveillance occurred at several levels. The village head made use of 'his police.' It should, however, be noted that the village head's 'police' are not unique to this community and to this particular period. Most traditional authorities in rural areas always had people known as police. However, during the period of the crisis, the 'police' took on the role of spying on behalf of the village head of any opposition supporters and clandestine meetings happening in the community. In addition to the people designated as the 'village head's police,' some people who openly supported ZANU-PF took it upon themselves to police other people in the community. Because of the visible and sometimes invisible surveillance, many community members self-regulated themselves. *Mbuya vaMutsa* responded to a general question on whether she listened to any other radio stations other than Radio Zimbabwe in the following manner:

That is not allowed [short pause] that is not allowed [...] We listen to Radio Zimbabwe...as you can hear [when I was doing the interview, the volume of the radio was high while the programme, *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* was being broadcast]

Without having the physical presence of the village head's police, *Mbuya vaMutsa* was complicit in her own oppression because she continued to speak in ways that were expected of her. She drew on dominant constructions by positioning herself as a 'good' citizen (read not an MDC supporter) because she listened only to stations that were permitted.

One of the participants in the study, Memory, for example, postponed the interview to attend a ZANU-PF meeting called at the nearby shops. She explained the importance of attending the meeting in the following way: "I have to attend, lest I am accused of supporting the MDC." The woman went on to explain the implications of being perceived as an MDC supporter: "If you are suspected of supporting the MDC, when food comes from the donors, then you know that you will receive nothing" (Field Notes: March 2011). In the same conversation, Memory elaborated that 'transgressing' could at times have severe consequences. She mentioned how one family known for supporting the opposition was beaten up and had their homes torched by suspected ZANU-PF youths. Thus, the dominant ideas that depicted ZANU-PF as 'the right' party to support contributed greatly, at least in the above quotations to surface the fear Memory in this instance felt regarding not presenting as a supporter of ZANU-PF. While on one level, the statements above (made in confidence) point to Memory's fear, it is interesting that she strategically performed as a supporter of ZANU-PF. This meant that she was likely to benefit from being perceived as a supporter. It is interesting to note that the pressure that Memory felt to be seen as a ZANU-PF supporter is not only characteristic of the crisis years. Writing about the formation of nationalist politics prior to 1980, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008:87) elaborates: "If one did not share the ideas of the majority and the dominant, then one was not with the people and was easily identified a sell-out if not an enemy of the nationalist revolution itself." As characteristic of polarised political environments, *Mai* Sheila, an ex-liberation war collaborator's⁶⁴ commentary on political party affiliation rehearsed ideas similar to those presented on Radio Zimbabwe. She constructed herself as appreciating and supporting ZANU-PF because she had lived through the war and had bad experiences at the hands of the Rhodesian soldiers during the war of liberation. As a result of her war experiences, she located other people in the community with dissenting ideas as "misguided traitors." In her talk, *Mai* Sheila depicted opposition

⁶⁴ The words, 'war collaborators' are used in Zimbabwe in the context of the pre-1980 war against the British to refer to members of the black public who assisted the nationalist fighters in the war effort. 'Assisting' could mean several things; spying on behalf of the fighters, informing the fighters of the whereabouts of the Rhodesian forces, doing laundry and cooking for fighters etc. Female war collaborators were known as *vanachimbwido* while male collaborators were called *vanamujibha*.

supporters in the community (she names them) as “lacking in wisdom” because they had not experienced the war first hand. She said:

I usually sit and listen to *Mai* Sharon saying ...together with *Mbuya va*Yvonne [laughs] speaking opposition ideas...I usually say...you (the two ladies) you don't know anything regarding politics because you were in the cities when we were facing all the hardships in the rural areas during the liberation war.

While Memory and *Mai* Sheila engaged directly with the ZANU-PF/MDC dichotomy, the other women like *Mai* Anna and *Mbuya va*Elphias who indicated prior to the interview that they were not interested in talking politics at the end of the interview said surprisingly: “Your questions (research questions) are good...they don't get anyone into trouble” (Field Notes: March 2011). Probed on what they meant by the statement, one of the women, *Mbuya va*Elphias said: “the questions had nothing to do with politics.” This same point that was also expressed by some other women was important in constructing and commenting on the politics of the repressive environment in which they lived in. It also indicated the manner in which the women had internalised the ideas around what was permissible to openly discuss in the community without getting into trouble with the authorities. Consequently, even in a one-on-one interview women were careful with what they said.

The economic environment in the community

During the time of the research, there were fewer men resident in the community compared to women. Most interviewees narrated how their husbands, sons and sometimes daughters went to the cities and neighbouring countries in search of job opportunities. It should be noted that the movement of men from rural areas to urban areas is not confined to the post-2000 crisis period. Pasura (2010:444) notes that during the colonial era only men were permitted to live and work in towns and mines. The colonial government preferred that women and children remain in the rural areas or reserves. As a result, laws were passed to restrict women's movement to towns.

Most women interviewed in this study said that life was generally hard (also see survey by Bratton, Chikwana & Sithole, 2005). Asked to elaborate what they meant by this, most women expressed frustration at the disjuncture between them working hard but at the end of the day still struggling to provide for their families. Even women who would have long retired if they were employed in the formal labour force (*Mbuya va*Kizito, 72 and *Mbuya va*Joyce, 69) still continued

to work to provide for their families. Ironically, according to *Mai Tichaona*, people who were HIV positive in the community “had it easier” than those who were HIV negative because they received some food from the donors at the clinic to take with their medication.

As was the case during the colonial era, the women and children who remained in the rural areas relied on subsistence farming for survival (Schmidt, 1991; Gordon, 1996). Although the women interviewed said that family members had gone to look for better opportunities in the towns and neighbouring countries, the women admitted that the financial benefits coming from their husbands and relatives were not that much. Women like *Mai Nomatter*, for example, still bore the burden of getting children into school as well as looking after the family in general. The challenges that women faced were worsened because it had not rained in a very long time and crops were showing signs of strain. At the time of the research, most people in the community would end their greetings to one another by lamenting that the heat was too much and that the crops were under immense stress (Field Notes: March 2011).

It is interesting to note that for two women, *Mai Shamiso* and *Mai Nomatter* who talked about the solution to the problem of “hunger in the country”; they drew on popular ideas presented on Radio Zimbabwe that viewed the increased agricultural productivity as a solution. *Mai Shamiso* explained:

Sometimes ... I am not concerned with listening to the radio...Because my mind is occupied with farming...I am concerned about hunger...because hunger continues to persist in the country...maybe hunger will disappear (if we work hard) When you work...hunger will also disappear....so sitting down and listening to the radio becomes a luxury we cannot afford [...]

While most women spoke of tough times, many of them singled out 2008 as a year in which they experienced the most suffering. *Mai John* expressed the difficulties she faced in 2008 in the following ways:

Um... 2008 was a bad year! It was a very difficult year...I remember we had no money...and if we had the money...there was no food in the shops...we lost a lot of weight [laughs] we looked like we were sick...everyone [...]

Even though the women could clearly articulate the challenges that they faced, it was striking that the women were not willing to go beyond a description of the status quo to a detailed analysis of the underlying causes of the economic difficulties. It was also interesting that

whereas the women consciously tried to avoid speaking politics, the moment they began to talk about the meaning of everyday life in the community, they inadvertently moved into arena of politics. Also striking in the women's accounts was the absence of the idea that the West was the culprit in Zimbabwe's economic challenges that was touted as gospel truth on Radio Zimbabwe.

Ethnographic insights into the place of radio

This section gives ethnographic insights into the place of radio in the rural community. While research on the everyday use of the radio by anthropologists (see Spitulnik, 2002; Tacchi, 2000) has yielded very rich accounts, this section, however, does not discuss the participant's interaction with radio in nearly as much detail as the anthropological work cited above does. Anthropological accounts come about as a result of researchers spending years in specific communities systematically observing and interviewing people. This was not the case in this study. This section is based primarily on interview material and field notes made from unstructured observations of the ways women interacted with the radio over a two month period. Within the confines of what could be done in a short period of time, the discussion highlights issues like the type of radio sets women owned or had access to, the radio station(s) that they tuned into, the times of the day that they listened to the radio and the people with whom they listened to the radio with (also see Jayaprakash, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; 2002; 2009; Winocur, 2005; Gathigi, 2009).

As an introduction, it is important to state that for the majority of women interviewed in this study, radio was the only source of information that they had. Only one woman, *Mai* Margaret, said in addition to listening to the radio she also watched television. In relation to the radio stations they listened to, all the women in the study singled out Radio Zimbabwe as the only station they listened to. As noted in the quotation by *Mbuya vaMutsa* above, none of the women professed to listening to 'other' radio stations. This might be because of the threat to personal safety that admitting to listening to other radio stations might pose for listeners (see Moyo, 2010a). The only woman (*Mai* Sheila) who spoke of listening to alternative radio stations said she did so in the context of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. In the interview with *Mai* Sheila, she gave a detailed account of how during the liberation war she and her family clandestinely listened to Radio Mozambique, a station people were prohibited from listening to by the Rhodesian

government. She narrated how her family would huddle around a radio set at night in order to hear how the war was progressing.

In terms of the types of radio sets they owned or had access to, the women said they either listened to solar powered radios (the ‘big’ radios) or portable radios powered by disposable batteries. The ‘big’ radios were normally located in the bedrooms or the dining rooms. During the daytime, the radios were open on full volume while the women carried on with their work around the homestead. It was not uncommon to hear radio music playing loudly in the distance. The portable radios were usually kept in the bedroom and brought out to listen to particular programmes. While researchers like Spitulnik (2002) whose work focused on radio in Zambia showed that people carried portable radios beyond the home, the women interviewed in this study said they mainly listened to the portable radios at home. One of the women, *Mai Marjory*, said she also listened to the radio on her mobile phone. She explained that she only switched on the radio on her mobile phone when she was not at home when the programme, *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana*⁶⁵ began. *Mai Marjory* labelled herself a “serious” radio listener, differentiating herself from the other people in the community. After *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana*, *Mai Marjory* noted that she switched the radio off to save on her phone battery in case someone wanted to call her. Besides the home, the women also occasionally came into contact with radio at the shops. These radio sets were among the few powered by electricity in the community. Almost each shop had the radio playing on full volume music by artists from Zimbabwe as well as neighbouring Botswana and South Africa.

In terms of radio ownership, few of the elderly women said they owned the radios they listened to. Most of them highlighted that they listened to radio sets that belonged to their sons and daughters-in-law. When they were growing up, most of the women said the radios that they listened to belonged to their fathers (see Spitulnik, 2000; 2002). In cases that the women did not have radio sets in the home, the women recalled listening briefly to neighbour’s radios or radios that belonged to relatives when they visited them. Two of the women (*Mai Tiny* and *Mbuya vaKim*) remembered being discouraged by their parents from going to the neighbour’s homes to listen to the radio. Responding to the question: “What then entertained you in the absence of

⁶⁵*Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* was a write-in and sometimes phone-in greeting and musical request programme.

radio sets?” *Mbuya vaKim* said she and her siblings used to be entertained by “working in the fields with their parents.”

For the majority of the women, daily listening to the radio was embedded within their everyday work routines (also see Hobson, 1980; Jayaprakash, 2000). The working day for most women generally started at 5am and ended at 8pm. For most women *work* meant unpaid domestic work (looking after children, cooking, cleaning the home, fetching water from the well, fetching firewood etc.) and agricultural work (going to the fields and going to gardens which were usually a distance from their homes). In addition to this work, two of the participants (*Mai Nomatter* and *Mbuya vaJoyce*) said they were also engaged in entrepreneurial work of buying and selling fruit and vegetables as well as medium scale chicken rearing and selling to neighbouring towns. *Mbuya vaKizito* also brewed and sold traditional beer.

In the context of the work mentioned above, most women said during week days they listened to the radio in the early morning, at lunchtime and in the early evening. *Mai Victor* and *Mai Marjory* said they switched on their radio sets around 6am to listen to the daily morning devotionals and prayer as well as the news. After that they either switched the radio off or left it playing in the background while they moved around the homestead doing their work. Asked if she paid attention to the radio at this time, *Mai Marjory* said: “Not really. My mind is on my work...I will be busy focusing on the several things that need doing...the radio is just a companion...sometimes I vaguely hear songs being played.”

Regardless of the season, most women said they usually came back home at midday from the fields, or the garden, or from doing business. It is while they prepared lunch that they switched on the radio again. The most popular programme women listened to at this time was *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana*. After lunch, the radio was usually switched off except in cases when they were working in fields close to the home (*Mai Victor*). *Mai Kuda* and *Mbuya vaJoyce* were the women who said they did not listen to radio during the day because they wanted to “save their batteries” (also see Spitulnik, 2000).

In the evenings, some women (*Mbuya vaJoyce*, *Mai Joyce* and *Mai Kuda*) brought the portable radios to the kitchen to listen to the 7pm news while they prepared and ate supper (also see Jayaprakash, 2000; Mano, 2005; Gathigi, 2009). *Mbuya vaJoyce* explained that after the news,

they usually switched off the radio because they wanted to rest after a day of hard work. Other women like *Mai Peter* and *Mai Mutsa*, however, stayed up for another popular programme, *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*.⁶⁶ *Mai Chido* said after listening to the news, she left the radio switched on for a while so that she could listen to one or two songs before retiring.

In addition to the fairly predictable times mentioned above, some women kept the radio switched on the whole day when they were at home on the community day set aside for resting (*musi wechisi*). *Mai Kumbirai* also said on Sundays her routine of listening to the radio was slightly disrupted. Depending on whether she went to church or not, *Mai Kumbirai* said she usually left the radio on the whole day. It is interesting that although the radio would sometimes be left on the whole day, the women oscillated between paying attention and not paying attention to it.

In relation to people women listened to the radio with; most of them said this largely depended on the time of day and sometimes on the programme. So, during the day the majority of women listened to the radio 'alone' with small children and grandchildren. Occasionally, some women like *Mai Chido* went to listen to particular programmes like the news at a neighbour's house. In the evenings, most women said they listened to the radio with other family members; husbands, sons and daughters-in-law.

Switching off the radio

While all the interviewees did switch on their radio sets at some points during the day to listen to Radio Zimbabwe, there were times when the women chose not to listen to Radio Zimbabwe. Three women, *Mai Tiny*, *Mai Godfrey* and *Chipo* said they sometimes did not concern themselves with radio programmes. *Mai Godfrey* said she sometimes enjoyed playing on her radio 'her own' music by gospel musicians, *Vabati VaJehovha*. Speaking about listening to 'her own' music, *Mai Marjory* spoke of listening to music by the late Zimbabwean musician, James Chimombe.

The idea of choosing not to listen to Radio Zimbabwe is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, the women were constructing themselves as active participants in relation to the choice they made to

⁶⁶*Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* was a programme 'modeled after the traditional Shona dare' (Mano, 2004:315). In the programme, listeners wrote in presenting to the radio 'aunt' and 'grandfather' various social problems. The 'experts' together with the presenter deliberated on the issues and gave the listener advice.

listen or not to listen to Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts. Secondly, it is interesting to note that although the women showed agency in terms of opting to listen to their own music, the songs that they listened to, however, reinforced the same hegemonic and conservative ideas broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe particularly on the place of women.

Whereas women made the choice regarding what to listen to (as in the above instances) there were times when other family members (particularly those who owned the radio sets) decided what they listened to. *Mai* Tracy and *Mai* Sheila, for example, said their brothers and sons respectively often “took over the radio and played loud music.” *Mai* Sheila pointed out that this “disrupted her from listening to the news.” For *Mai* Revai who worked in a bottle store at the shops, the other people who made the decisions on what to listen to were the customers who patronised the bottle store.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the community in which the interviews with listeners of Radio Zimbabwe were conducted. It gave an idea of the political and economic situation in the rural village. The underlying point made was that this community was not immune to the challenges that were facing the rest of the country. In accordance with popular beliefs that rural areas in Zimbabwe are ZANU-PF strongholds, the village head described *his* community as populated by ZANU-PF supporters. The village head constructed his role in the community as that of weeding out proponents of opposition ideas. The chapter also provided ethnographic insights into the place of radio in the everyday lives of the women who were interviewed. One point that was made was that for the women, listening to the radio was embedded within their day to day work routines. The chapter that follows discusses the women’s engagements with Radio Zimbabwe content.

Chapter 8: Women's Engagement with Radio Zimbabwe Broadcasts

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the accounts of 30 women living in a rural community in Zimbabwe on their engagement with Radio Zimbabwe. The chapter contends that although media discourses: “have built into them a subject position [...] actual viewers or listeners or readers have to negotiate a relationship with the ideal subject” (Fairclough, 1989:49). In light of Fairclough's point, this chapter reflects on the different and sometimes contradictory positions that women in the study took up in the process of negotiating androcentric discourses. The chapter also reflects on some of the factors that could have made moments of contesting mainstream ideas by some women possible. Thus, contrary to the image of the unquestioning Zimbabwean appearing to be embracing the “rituals of the state” (see Willems, 2011:131) on the state owned Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) during music galas that the station broadcasts, this chapter posits that audience engagement with hegemonic ideas is far from predictable. The chapter also discusses the kinds of programmes that the women listened to. Whereas there were many pro-establishment programmes on Radio Zimbabwe like *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* and *Madzimbahwe*, it is interesting that when the women spoke about their favourite programmes, none of them mentioned these programmes. They singled out *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* and *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*, programmes that had nothing to do with upholding ZANU-PF's quest to remain in power. Even when many of the women spoke about listening to the news, a programme rich with dominant meanings, it was striking that some of them noted that they did not necessarily commit the contents of the bulletins to memory.

Women engaging with Radio Zimbabwe content

“I never want to miss the news”: the centrality of news for the women

Eleven of the women interviewed spoke about the news as something that they regularly listened to on Radio Zimbabwe (also see studies by Gathigi, 2009 and Jayaprakash, 2000). Emphasising the significance of listening to the news, *Mbuya vaGodfrey* said that when she missed some bulletins, she would sometimes go to her neighbour's house to get an update on what was contained in the bulletins. *Mbuya vaGodfrey* explained: “If I miss the news...sometimes I ask

other women what the news bulletins carried...because I usually follow what is happening in the country by listening to the news.”

Mai Victor was also another woman who placed great value on the news. She said: “I never want to miss the news.” Two of the women, *Mai Sheila* and *Mai Tiny* wished they owned their own radio sets so that they “would not miss the news.” *Mbuya vaJoyce* and her daughter-in-law, for example, said that they did not listen to the radio during the day because of their busy work schedules. However, both women said the only time they listened to the radio was during the evening when all the family members were in the kitchen having supper. The two women said they only had time and patience to listen to news bulletins after their long days of hard work. After the news bulletins, *Mbuya vaJoyce* and her daughter-in-law said they switched the radio off. *Mbuya vaJoyce* explained:

Mbuya vaJoyce: We only switch it (the radio) on at night. We do not, however, listen to it for long time because we want to sleep early after a day of working hard in the fields and in the garden.

SM: At night, when you switch the radio on, which programmes do you listen to?

Mbuya vaJoyce: We listen to the news because we want to hear what is happening [pause] what is happening in the country [...]

Asked why they listened to the news, most women gave a response similar to what *Mbuya vaJoyce* said; they constructed news bulletins as a window to what was happening in the rest of the country. *Mai Sheila* said the news were a “good and important source of information.” *Mai Victor* taking up non-critical position in relation to the news, said she prioritised listening to the news at 6am before she started her day: “to stay abreast with what was happening in the country.”

In constructing Radio Zimbabwe news as a good source of information, the women positioned the news as reflecting accurately ‘the truth’ of events happening in the country. They did not engage with Radio Zimbabwe news as constructed texts made by journalists and media houses that were far from being objective purveyors of information. They did not challenge what Moyo (2011a:54) calls the: “Zimbabwe government [...] monopoly of power to define the political and economic crises facing the nation.” The women did not question some of the inconsistencies

between what they heard on the news and their own lived realities. On the news broadcasts aired on Sunday 10 April 2011, Monday 11 April 2011 and Thursday 7 April 2011, for example, MDC-T supporters were presented as violent while ZANU-PF supporters were talked about as victims of MDC violence. It is interesting that none of the women challenged news like this in light of accounts women like *Mai* Patience and Memory had narrated to the researcher in confidence about the different forms of violence families of suspected MDC supporters in the community had faced at the hands of alleged ZANU-PF youths. They did not deconstruct these news items in the context of a heavily policed community with a village head who openly declared that he was a ZANU-PF supporter and had had a church shut down because “opposition politics were being preached.”

In speaking about Radio Zimbabwe news bulletins, *Mai* Nomatter occupied a position that was inconsistent with her own experiences. She constructed the news as a reliable source of information yet her own reality of struggling to send her children to school negated Radio Zimbabwe’s depictions of “people’s lives having been made better” because of ZANU-PF. In presenting the news as reliable, *Mai* Nomatter explained:

Mai Nomatter: I like listening to the news...

SM: Why do you like listening to the news?

Mai Nomatter: Because it (the news) reliably informs me what is happening in the country. When I meet other people...you hear them asking, ‘Did you listen to yesterday’s news?’ [Our children are being sent home from school because of not paying school fees...so people are saying to one another] ‘Did you hear that it was announced on the news that children should not be sent home for not paying school fees?’ Things are very hard...children are being sent home because we do not have money to pay the school fees [...]

While *Mai* Nomatter spoke about the tough situation in the country that was causing her children and those of others in the community to be sent away from school because of lack of school fees, she did not go further to deconstruct the underlying causes giving rise to such hardships.

In speaking about listening to radio news, *Mai* Kuda said that she only switched the radio on at night to listen to the news. She explained that this was so because she could not afford to regularly replace the disposable batteries her radio used because they were expensive for her. In ways similar to *Mai* Nomatter, *Mai* Kuda did not question why it is that she could not afford

batteries that would allow her to listen to the radio whenever she wanted. Instead, she found a way to avoid the frequent purchasing batteries.

One of the women (*Mai Mutsa*) highlighted that she listened to radio news out of habit. She elaborated that she had grown up in a home where her father in particular always demanded that the children be silent when the news started, so, when she grew up, she was conditioned to do the same in her own home.

While the women managed to articulate the centrality of news in their everyday lives, interestingly most of them were, however, not able to engage in a discussion on specific news items. Asked on the disjuncture between the great value women placed on not wanting to miss the news on one hand and not being able to engage in a detailed conversation on actual news contents on the other, *Mai Tiny* explained: “We do not keep it (what they heard on the news) in our minds because we will be so tired from working the whole day.”

Responding to the question: “Do you ever discuss with other people in the community about what was on the news?” *Mai Sekai* said: “Yes, we do (discuss). We say to one another; ‘did you hear that such and such happened in such and such a place?’” Probed to spell out what she meant by “such and such,” *Mai Sekai* said that the news items were “too many to remember [...] it is only the major news items that I remember.” Asked to clarify what “major” meant for her, *Mai Sekai* said major news for her included news on price controls,⁶⁷ for example. She said that it was important for her to hear which food stuffs had been reduced in price by the government so that she would not be cheated when she went shopping.

The fact that the majority of the women could not readily speak in depth about particular news items was interesting. In a way it dispelled dominant assumptions particularly among media activists in Zimbabwe that conceptualised news by the state media as having powerful effects on passive audiences. From their narratives, the women actually had the power to select what they prioritised as important enough to warrant being remembered. So for women like *Mai Tiny*, her work and feeding her family were of greater importance than spending time making mental notes of everything that she heard on the news. *Mai Sekai* had the power to categorise some news as important and others not so important.

⁶⁷ Price controls were one of the ways the government used to fight inflation at the height of the crisis.

Of the women who said they listened to the news, Chipo, *Mai* Nomatter, *Mbuya va*Chipo and *Mai* Sekai (to a certain extent) were the only four women who engaged in a discussion about what they expected to hear on the news. Chipo and *Mai* Nomatter said they listened to the news because they wanted to hear about the issue regarding school fees. Chipo explained:

We listen to the news to hear what the President said about school fees. We do not want to miss it when the President announces that children... particularly in rural areas should attend school free of charge [...]

From what Chipo said, it is interesting that although she burst the bubble of passive audience by saying what she expected to hear on the news, she, however, spoke about the President in very dominant ways. Drawing on mainstream ideas, Chipo constructed the President a figure of authority as well as concerned father of the nation.

*Mbuya va*Chipo said that when she listened to the news she expected to hear about the weather conditions in the country particularly because she was a farmer. From what some of the participants said, the things that they expected to hear on Radio Zimbabwe news had to do with matters that affected them personally in their lives as consumers, farmers and parents.

While the majority of women referred to listening to the news in the present, *Mai* Sheila and *Mbuya va*Mary were the only women whose narratives of listening to radio news incorporated a reflection on listening to radio news during the liberation struggle. Although *Mbuya va*Mary categorised the act of listening to outside stations during the liberation struggle as “not allowed,” *Mai* Sheila admitted to listening clandestinely to news broadcasts from Radio Mozambique. It is interesting to note that even though the Rhodesian army was no longer present to punish *Mbuya va*Mutsa for admitting to listening to ‘illegal’ stations, she was still not willing to engage in this discussion. In her account, *Mai* Sheila drew on mainstream ideas that simplistically categorised people as either good or bad. In her narrative, she portrayed the nationalist comrades broadcasting from exile as the heroes of the struggle who “told the truth of what was happening on the battle field.” She said she and her family were willing to risk being caught by Rhodesian soldiers listening to the then ‘illegal’ radio station because they valued the information that they got from the news. *Mai* Sheila said she thought the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation news was “propaganda.” *Mai* Sheila said:

We used to listen to it (Radio Mozambique)...because that was not propaganda... we were at one time arrested and put in prison. The Rhodesian soldiers said to us, ‘What!?! You war collaborators...you are listening to this radio station and also cooking for the guerillas?’

Although *Mai Sheila*’s narrative repeated prevailing ways of constituting the history of the liberation struggle similar to Radio Zimbabwe, her construction of ‘the heroes of the struggle’ was ambivalent. At one point she deconstructed the mainstream ideas that celebrated people who ‘held the gun’ as the heroes of the struggle. Based on her experiences as a war collaborator, *Mai Sheila* presented the idea that war collaborators were equally as important as the comrades during the war. She narrated that the war collaborators were the ones who did all the cooking and providing the comrades with information on the whereabouts of the Rhodesian forces. Later in the interview *Mai Sheila*, however, reclined back into the dominant constructions that celebrated the comrades as more important players in the war.

Speaking about Radio Zimbabwe news, *Mai Sheila* took up a position of passive citizen. She said she listened to the radio to “hear what they (the country’s leaders) were planning for them” as citizens. Asked what she would do if she did not agree with the plans made by the leaders, she smiled and argued that since leaders are “appointed by God” she was happy with whatever decisions they made.

Engaging with the idea of Mugabe as the head of the Zimbabwean family

While Radio Zimbabwe was awash with content that celebrated *VaMugabe* as a remarkable leader, in the interviews, only three of the women interviewed made reference to him. Other women simply did not speak about him. One of the women, Chipso (already mentioned in the above discussion) spoke of the President as a “concerned father who was interested in the well-being of his family.” While positioning the President as the father, she took the place of a child who anticipated help from the father regarding the issue of school fees. By expecting the President Mugabe to address the issue of school fees, Chipso enforced an idea popularised on Radio Zimbabwe by politicians on the programme, *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* that the President as a person who greatly valued education.

Speaking about farming, *Mai Kumbirai* also drew on dominant ideas on Radio Zimbabwe that framed the President as a visionary for “taking land from white commercial farmers and giving it

to landless black people.” *Mai Kumbirai* said she liked listening to *New Farmer*⁶⁸ programmes on radio because she learnt a lot and always felt encouraged to continue with farming. She continued:

Mai Kumbirai: Our forefathers were dispossessed of good land, so, we should be grateful to what *baba vedu VaMugabe* (our father President Mugabe) did for us (in reference to the land programme) and be motivated to work hard for the country.

SM: So, did you get a piece of land during the land redistribution programme?

Mai Kumbirai: No, I [pause] no, I, I, I didn't. But I hear that many black people got land [...]

SM: Ok...so...do you personally know of someone who got land?

Mai Kumbirai: Well, not really...but I hear on the ‘New Farmer’ programmes of many new farmers [...]

While *Mai Kumbirai* was happy to rehearse dominant ideas regarding the President, when asked further about whether she benefited from the land programme (since she and pretty much everyone in the community needed ‘new’ land), she paused and then stuttered probably realising the shortcomings of her continued glorification of the President and the land programme. This did not make her reflect on some of the flaws of the land programme that came and went and left out some people like her without arable land. She went on to mount some form of defense on behalf of government. Probed even further regarding beneficiaries of the land redistribution programme, *Mai Kumbirai* conceded that she personally did not know anyone who benefited from the programme. Constructing the ‘New Farmer’ programmes as reflecting reality, *Mai Kumbirai* said that the accounts on the programmes were evidence of people having benefited for the programme.

While Radio Zimbabwe narratives on farming mostly privileged the voices of resettled farmers, three of the women (*Mai Nomatter*, *Mai Tiny* and *Mai Sekai*) shared their experiences as subsistence farmers in ways that overturned ideas of ‘the father’ (President Mugabe) and ZANU-PF being involved in issues to do with the land in Zimbabwe. Contrary to ideas broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe, *Mai Nomatter*’s narrative, for example, of how she and her family settled in the community and started farming had nothing to do with the government or the President. *Mai*

⁶⁸‘New Farmer’ is a term that is used in Zimbabwe to refer to the black farmers who got land after the land occupations of 2000. A ‘New Farmer’ programme was a term commonly used to refer to programmes that had any agricultural content.

Nomatter explained how they (her family) came to the community when it was still a forest in the early 1980s. It was then that they started clearing the forests and started ploughing. In her account, *Mai* Nomatter said she was motivated to farm by the need to feed her family. It was not some act of gratitude to the comrades who “sacrificed their lives for Zimbabwe” that drove her to farming. She also talked about the challenges that she faced trying to make it as a subsistence farmer. She talked of the droughts and the ways that she survived them. *Mai* Sekai also said she engaged in farming not out some loyalty to the country but for the good of her family. She said she looked forward to selling the maize and groundnut crops to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). She added that she also derived pleasure in entering her crops into annual Agricultural Show contests and seeing her crops being judged among the best.

Of the women who spoke about the President, *Mai* Patience was the only woman who contested the idea that the President as the caring father of the nation. Based on her experiences of struggling to survive every day, *Mai* Patience argued that the difficulties in the country were a result of “a bad leader at the helm of the country.” Moving even further away from mainstream ideas, *Mai* Patience drew on the ‘change’ discourse that is synonymous with the main opposition party and its factions in Zimbabwe (the Movement for Democratic Change) to present what she saw as the solution to the “mal-administration of the country by the President and ZANU-PF.” She said:

People (in the community) speak sometimes amongst each other. They do say, ‘things are expensive...we should change the one to lead us...we should do such and such...’ Yes... people do talk...they don’t keep silent [...] It is only that people are forced (to support ZANU-PF)...*rumanikidzo*...but in our hearts we are done with him (in reference to the President).

In ways that dislodged dominant constructions, *Mai* Patience painted a picture of the President as a tyrant who forced people to support him. *Mai* Patience was clear that if people were “not forced to vote for Mugabe,” they would change the leadership.

Although *Mai* Patience occupied in her account the position of the much maligned traitor, according to mainstream political discourses, her critique of the status quo was pitched not at the personal level but at the level of ‘what other people say.’ So, for *Mai* Patience while it was important to articulate how she felt about the leadership in Zimbabwe, she was also very much aware of the dangers associated with doing so hence her decision to attribute her comments to

“other people in the community” whom she did not name. In ways similar to Memory’s account (see previous chapter), *Mai* Patience admitted that she was afraid of being conceived as an opposition supporter. While in private conversation, *Mai* Patience was critical of the President, in public spaces, however, she posed as a ZANU-PF supporter. Like Memory, *Mai* Patience would attend ZANU-PF meetings. While mainstream ideas on Radio Zimbabwe insisted on categorising people as either MDC or ZANU-PF, women like Memory and *Mai* Patience demonstrated that political identity was something that was not rigid. Rather, it is fluid especially in communities that were under constant surveillance like the one the women lived in.

Even though not directly engaging with the idea of the President as the father figure, most accounts of the women in the community of everyday life showed that they were in fact the father figures within their families. The women were the ones who performed the stereotypical roles of fathers. Women like *Mai* Nomatter, for example, narrated how through her hard work she was able to feed and send her children to school for many years. As Willems (2010) argues, contrary to mainstream ideas of who a hero is and is not, the stories of these women of survival in a difficult economic environment made them heroines albeit unsung ones. In other interviews, the women drew on their Christian beliefs to critique some of the ideas popularised on Radio Zimbabwe. For example, in dismissing the idea that President Mugabe was the father of the nation, *Mai* Patience said that as a Christian, she believed that beside her biological father, God was the only other father that she had. She explained that God (not a human being) was able to watch over the country. Whereas this was somewhat of a radical dismantling of hegemonic views, what was interesting was the manner in which one patriarchal construct (Mugabe, the father figure) was replaced by another one (God, the Father).

Women speaking about their favourite programmes

While Radio Zimbabwe broadcast programmes such as *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* and *Madzimbahwe* that buttressed ZANU-PF’s quest to remain in power, it was striking that none of the women singled out these and other overtly political programmes as programmes that they listened to. In speaking about specific programmes that they enjoyed, the women talked about *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* and *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*, programmes that had nothing to do with the pro-establishment political agenda. Other programmes that the women mentioned

include: *Nguva yevarwere* (a greeting and musical request programme for the sick), *Nguva yevanhukadzi* (a programme geared towards giving women advice) and *Pamhepo nachiremba* (the radio doctor).

Speaking about *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana*

Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana was a programme that was broadcast between 12:00pm and 2:30pm during week days and sometimes on Saturday afternoons. Similar to the findings in studies by Mano (2005; 2009), *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* was one programme that was popular with the listeners. Mano (2005:99) writes:

The big draw was *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana*, whose two presenters bantered and read letters from listeners. They cracked jokes and teased each other about life in Harare and Bulawayo. The programme was designed to fit in with listeners relaxing during lunchtime.

Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana was one of the programmes in which the idea of the imagined Zimbabwean family was presented. The family was framed as a cohesive unit, in sharp contrast to a politically polarised people mentioned in other spaces on the station. Any traces of divisions among Zimbabweans seemed to vanish on the programme.

The fifteen women who talked about *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* as their favourite programme on Radio Zimbabwe said they usually listened to the programme during their ‘lunch break’⁶⁹ regardless of what season of the year it was. The women said they moved in and out of attentive listening to the programme. While in speaking about the news, women largely took up the position of passive listeners, on *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana*, however, two women (*Mai* Nomatter and *Mai* Tracy) in particular were very much active. The women said when they were growing up they took turns with their friends to write into the programme. *Mai* Trevor noted that she and her friends found writing into the programme entertaining. *Mai* Trevor said the ‘surprise’ then and now of hearing your name being mentioned on the programme was and is still always a source of joy for her. “Sometimes you will not be expecting to be greeted...and when that happens...you feel happy for days to come,” *Mai* Trevor remarked with a broad smile on her face.

⁶⁹ The phrase ‘lunch break’ assumes that this is a time of eating the midday meal while resting, when one looks at the lunch breaks of women interviewed in this study, one observes that very little rest took place during this time.

Speaking on why she liked the programme, *Mai* Nomatter said *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* “connected her to the rest of Zimbabwe as well as to her close friends and relatives” (also see Mano, 2005). *Mai* Chido said that a programme like *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* was particularly important in a context like Zimbabwe, going through an economic crisis. She elaborated that as part of a huge family, it was not always possible for people to travel and meet each other due high transport costs, so she liked *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* because it: “facilitated a space for family members to come together without using a lot of money.” *Mai* Anna and *Mai* Margaret framed *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* as a programme on which their “voices were heard and taken seriously.” *Mai* Margaret, for example, explained that on the programme, the presenters played the songs that listeners who wrote into the programme requested. *Mai* Anna said that: “On the programme, the presenters read what the listeners wrote and also played the songs that were requested.” The idea that women appreciated a space where their voices could be heard was interesting. In a way it challenged the ways Radio Zimbabwe privileged voices of particularly male politicians as the only ones worthy of being heard. Explaining why she liked the programme, *Mai* Marjory said when she was growing up her family owned a portable radio set that could not play music records, so she listened to *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* to hear her favourite songs. *Mbuya va*Monica said she listened to this and other music programmes on the station because of the possibility of hearing the songs of her musician son playing. *Mbuya va*Monica elaborated:

I like *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* because my third born child is into musicI think you know him...*Muyimbi*⁷⁰...he is my third born child...yes...I am the mother...Peter Zvoushe⁷¹...he is my son...I want to hear if they play his music [...]

Similar to what a 30-year-old bank-teller cited by Mano (2009) said, *Mai* Chido said that she liked *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* because it “makes me forget for a short time the many problems that I face. While the programme is on, I cease to think about things like children’s school fees or about the erratic rains. The programme has a way of drawing you in.”

From what the women said about *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana*, it was interesting to note that the reasons they gave regarding why they liked the programme mostly centered on the benefits they

⁷⁰Not his real name

⁷¹Not his real name

could derive from it. This in a way dismisses the notion that audiences are passive when it comes to interacting with media content.

Listening to *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*

Fourteen of the women interviewed said that they regularly listened to *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*. Mano (2004) explains that the title of the programme, points to the often unspoken about challenges embedded in family settings. Mano (2004:318) continues: “Such problems are not easy to talk about with others in the spaces in which they immediately occur. But the faceless *dare*⁷² that radio creates somehow seems to make this possible.” During the time the study was conducted, this programme was aired on Tuesday evenings between 9pm and 10pm. Various family and marital issues are discussed on the programme with *tete* (aunt) and *sekuru* (grandfather) representing traditional authority figures giving advice on the different matters. The conversations were always facilitated by a Radio Zimbabwe presenter.

Most of women who were interviewed said they had a history of listening to the programme. They said they started listening to it ‘illegally’ when they were growing because they were not allowed to listen it. When the women spoke about their childhood experiences with *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*, none of them spoke of their fathers prohibiting them from listening to the programme. All the women drew from dominant ideas that stereotypically positioned women/mothers as central to the raising and disciplining of children. The fathers were conspicuous in their absence in the women’s narratives about reprimanding the children. Interestingly, in accounts about who owned the radio sets in the home when the women were growing up (see Chapter 7), the fathers featured prominently in ways that reinforced hegemonic ideas that the man are responsible for the economic well-being of the family. As adults, most women said they listened to the *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* alone when their children and grandchildren had gone to bed. *Mai Peter* is the only woman who listened to the programme with her husband. While the majority of women said they listened alone, they, however, added that they would discuss the following day with other women stories that were discussed the previous night.

⁷² Although the word *dare* has a number of meanings, Mano (2004) defines the word in his paper as both a space and zone for conversation

Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga was framed by the participants as a programme for adults, a programme for the family and a programme for women. Elaborating on the idea that the programme was “for adults only,” *Mbuya vaJoyce* said the reason she would not allow her young children and grandchildren to listen to the programme was because the “things that were discussed were not suitable for young children.” While the majority of the women interviewed classified *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* as “bad programme for children,” women like *Mai Marjory* narrated how she circumvented her mother’s restrictions when she was young. She said she would pretend to sleep and end up listening to it because she slept in a room next to where her parents listened to the programme. *Mai Tracy* said she always made sure she listened to *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* when her parents were not at home.

In talking about *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* as a “family programme,” women did not critically engage with the ideas presented on the programme around what constituted ‘good’ and ‘bad’ ways of being human in society. What constituted ‘good’ behavior for women, for example, usually meant taking up of the roles of wife and mother as well as submission to the authority of the husband. For men, ‘good’ usually meant providing for the family. Anything outside of this was construed as ‘bad.’ In taking up this dominant position, *Mbuya vaGodfrey*, for example, said: “*Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* was a good programme because it helped family members know their rightful positions.”

Some women (*Mai Tendai*, *Mai Peter* and *Mai Kuda*) spoke of *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* as “a programme for women.” Asked to explain what she meant by this, *Mai Tendai* explained that the programme taught her: “valuable lessons about how women can maintain cohesion in the family.” *Mai Peter* said *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* “instructs women” (*chirongwa chine dzidziso kumadzimai*). She elaborated that the programme: “taught her a lot of things about treating her husband as well as managing her in-laws.” Both women did not interrogate the idea that it was the responsibility of women to keep their families together. Asked to give an example of “a lesson for women” (*dzidziso*) she derived from listening to the programme, *Mai Kuda* said:

There was one episode on *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* in which a woman was refusing to be intimate with her husband resulting in the husband having an affair with his mother-in-law. The two women were wrong...if you look at it [...] So, in stories like these, we as married women learn valuable lessons of not refusing our husbands conjugal rights [...]

In drawing on conservative notions of how women ‘ought to behave,’ *Mai Kuda* was quick to judge both women in her story as wrong because they “failed to comply with what was expected of them as women.” She said the one refused to “perform her conjugal duty” and the other was “immoral.” In her analysis, the man in the story literally escaped her judgment.

While the majority of the women considered the programme as beneficial to the family and to them as women, *Mbuya vaChipo* is the only woman who did not share this view. For her, *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* was “just another programme” and she did not think much about the content after the programme was over.

Mbuya vaChipo: I really do not think much about what was said in the programme after it is over. As soon as the programme ends, so do my thoughts regarding whatever was being discussed...there are other more important things on my mind.

SM: What are those things that are more important for you?

Mbuya vaChipo: Making sure that we have enough to eat. Besides, I am old woman...I can’t waste thinking about programmes [...]

In deconstructing the idea of the programme as useful, *Mbuya vaChipo* prioritised her struggle to survive as more important than radio programmes.

Engaging with Christian content on Radio Zimbabwe

Before discussing the ways women in this study engaged with Christian programmes and ideas on Radio Zimbabwe, it is important to state that most of them identified as Christians. *Mai Marjory* and *Mai Patience* referred to themselves as “church women” (*madzimai eruwadzano*). *Mai Marjory* added that she spent some of her free time reading the Bible. Another woman, *Mai Shamiso* had a framed photograph of the national leader of her church hanging in her kitchen. For most women, being a Christian was spoken of as something ‘good’ while belief in ancestors and spirit mediums was positioned as ‘evil.’

There were two specific Christian programmes on Radio Zimbabwe that most women talked about; the daily morning devotionals broadcast after the national anthem was played when the station opened at 6am and the *Sunday Morning Service* aired around 10am every Sunday. Most women said they listened to these programmes regularly. Besides specifically naming the above

programmes, the women also spoke broadly of liking “church programmes,” and “Bible programmes.” Referring to programmes that she and her husband listened to, *Mai Anna*, for example, said they liked “Bible programmes.” *Mai Sekai* continually referred to listening to “church programmes.” *Mbuya vaGodfrey* mentioned that depending on whether or not the battery was fully charged, she also liked listening to “church programmes.” Asked to explain what she meant by “church programmes,” *Mbuya vaGodfrey* said: “all the programmes that talked about *Jesu Kristu* (Jesus Christ).” The fact that these women could not name specific programmes yet they still liked Christian programmes spoke to the importance of these programmes as well as the ideas that were embedded in them.

In addition to listening to Christian programmes, the majority of the women said they also liked Christian music played on the station. The women made a distinction between Christian music and secular music. Some women mentioned a name of at least one of their favourite Christian artists first before moving to the secular artists. All the women who spoke of their favourite songs started by mentioning artists who sang Christian music like the Charamba’s, *Vabati VaJehovha* and so on. When some women like *Mai Peter* spoke about the secular music that they liked, they did so in a way that showed some discomfort for liking this type of music.

Although the majority of the women were openly proud of being Christians, three of the women positioned themselves outside the religion’s boundaries. *Mbuya vaElphias*, for example, narrated that when she was growing up, her family did not own a radio set. So, she looked forward to the various traditional ceremonies because they were a “break from the ordinariness of daily life.” For her, ancestral worship was something that was not evil.

Also seeming to live her life outside mainstream Christian values, was *Mbuya vaKizito*. She explained that she did not go to church; rather she brewed and sold traditional beer at her homestead. For *Mbuya vaKizito* playing ‘secular’ songs on the radio was not something she was embarrassed of because it was critical to the success of her business.

Mai Tracy (24) was the only young woman who spoke about the importance of teaching the young generation about the “Shona culture.” She said if she was to be given an opportunity to determine what was listened to on the station, she said she would: “increase the number of programmes that spoke about our traditional values (*zviringwa zvinokurudzira chivanhu*

chedu)." Part of the reason why Mai Tracy, a young woman felt the way she did about 'traditional values' might be attributed to the fact that she was the first born child and that she grew up with her grandmother who might have influenced her ideas on the importance of upholding these values.

Christian programmes as adding value to the lives of the women

Two ideas surfaced in conversations in which women spoke about Christianity, Christian programmes and songs that they listened to on Radio Zimbabwe. The first idea was that Christian programmes added value to their lives. Some women spoke of these programmes as playing a pivotal role in making them better wives and mothers. The second idea that permeated conversations regarding Christianity was that God was omnipotent and that He would deliver them from their hardships.

In speaking about the morning devotionals that she listened to, *Mai* Marjory said she liked them because "they helped her start her day on a blessed note." She added: "The devotions enable me to distinguish between good and bad." *Mai* Peter said she found Christian music invaluable in her life because the "messages in the songs guided her on how to be a good wife and mother to her family...church programmes and songs help me in my life" (this is similar to what respondents said in Mano, 2009). She continued:

Most of the time the messages (in the Christian songs) stop me from doing bad...I see the messages guiding me a lot in my marriage...they (the messages) stop me from getting overly upset when I encounter difficult situations in my life...so when I listen to songs that speak about God...the content of the songs stops me from doing bad [...]

Mai Chido said in addition to the "lessons that I get from church on living harmoniously with other people, I usually listen to the *Sunday Church Service*. The Pastor always has valuable lessons for life...if you are prepared to listen." *Mai* Sheila mentioned twice in the interview that she liked listening to music by gospel artists because they "helped her become a better daughter-in-law." *Mbuya va*Godfrey spoke of Christian music by the Charambas as "assisting her in running the family." She elaborated:

There is *Mai* Charamba and *Baba* Charamba...I like their songs because they sing about how to live a life that honours God. The words of their songs teach us women how to make God the foundation of our homes and marriages.

The idea that Christian programmes and songs made the women better people is interesting. In ways similar to Radio Zimbabwe presenters, the women constituted themselves as inferior to a superior and all-powerful God who added value to their lives.

The Omnipotent God

What was striking in the narratives by the women is how they repeatedly spoke about God in ways akin to Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts. While the women acknowledged the difficulties that they faced in their lives (see Chapter 7), the majority of them were hopeful that their circumstances would improve because God was in control and that He would deliver them. Reminiscent of messages embedded in Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts, some women referred to scriptures in which God's omnipotence was demonstrated. *Mai* Sekai, for example, made reference to the well-known Psalm 23 in which the Biblical King David stated that God was his shepherd and that he lacked nothing as a result.

Drawing on the dominant ideas on Radio Zimbabwe of the 'all-powerful God,' *Mai* Peter explained that she liked Christian programmes because "they taught her how to rely on God." Making reference to Sebastian Magacha's song, 'Ridza Bhosvo' (Play the trumpet) that was played often on the station; *Mai* Chido spoke of having a God of miracles who was able to assist her. Quoting the lyrics of Magacha's song, she says: "we have a God of miracles [...] even when they throw me in the pit of fire...I will not be consumed [...] David, you will beat Goriath." Also speaking about the superior power of God, *Mai* Sekai said: "Jesus, you are my hiding place." She explained that although they were often encouraged at church to place their trust in God, gospel songs that were played on Radio Zimbabwe throughout the week reminded her to constantly run to Christ for assistance, particularly when life gets tough. "*Baba naMai* Charamba's songs that are played on the station are always blessing me," said *Mai* John. She continued: "that song called *Mhinduro iriko* (The answer is there) encourages us to call to Him anytime." "Life is difficult [...] As a woman I am sure you know the challenges we women encounter in the home," said *Mai* Mutsa. She continued: "We just look to God for help. What else can we do?"

What was interesting is that none of the women interviewed in the study challenged the idea popularised on Radio Zimbabwe that human beings were weak and God was powerful. Instead, some women reinforced the idea in their accounts. In view of adversity, they found hope in trusting and looking to God.

Conclusion

While Chapters 5 & 6 focused on Radio Zimbabwe texts, this chapter looked at the ways audiences engaged with the content that was broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe. While there were several programmes that perpetuated the pro-ZANU-PF agenda aired on the station, none of the women talked about any of them. Interestingly, some women singled out programmes such as *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* and *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* as their favourite programmes. These programmes had no direct connection to the pro-establishment discourses.

In ways that could not be predicted by doing a textual analysis alone, the chapter noted how women sometimes affirmed hegemonic ideas presented by the station while other times they contested them. One of the factors that influenced contestations of dominant meanings was some women's realisation that their lived realities ran contrary to what was being articulated on Radio Zimbabwe. For *Mai* Patience, for example, the struggles she faced daily to survive were not compatible with the notion of the benevolent and caring father of the nation that was presented on the station in relation to the President. While lived experiences helped other women like *Mai* Patience deconstruct hegemonic thinking, there were instances discussed in the chapter when women still took up mainstream ideas regardless of the fact that their reality negated what Radio Zimbabwe said. *Mai* Kumbirai, for example, was one woman who was steadfast in her glorification of the President and the government's land programme. She framed the land programme as beneficial to black people despite she and several other people in the community not having benefited from it. Another point that was discussed in the chapter was that while Radio Zimbabwe simplistically categorised people as either ZANU-PF or MDC, the interviews with women like Memory and *Mai* Patience showed that political identity was not as rigid as presented on Radio Zimbabwe. The two women introduced to the discussion the idea of the fluidity of one's political identity. Depending on the circumstances and the people around, *Mai* Patience, for example, moved in and out of being a ZANU-PF supporter.

The Conclusion Chapter that follows pulls to an end this particular study. Beyond providing a summary of the findings with regard to the research questions, the chapter draws on comparisons with literature. The chapter also discusses some of the strengths and shortcomings of this study as well as suggests areas that need further research in media and audiences in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter offers the concluding discussion to the study. Looking at the existing body of media research that emerged in Zimbabwe after 2000, one main observation is that these studies have been oriented towards analysing representations of specific issues in print media texts such as the land question and the elections. There are no detailed analyses of hegemonic discourses that buttressed ZANU-PF's quest to retain political power. Also missing in the literature are analyses of radio texts. This is despite the fact that this medium is dominant in the country and on the continent.

Moving beyond literature on Zimbabwe, conspicuously absent in research on radio in Africa is also an understanding of how dominant discourses are communicated through the medium. Furthermore, there is an absence in current literature on radio on the continent (and in Zimbabwe) on how audiences interact with the medium's content particularly in times of crisis. Commenting on research that overly focuses on media texts, Gill (2007:17) argues:

One of the limitations of textual analysis [...] is that it tells us very little about how audiences might actually consume and make sense of different media products. The early research within media studies is often accused of 'textual determinism,' that is, of implying that audiences are simply passive dupes who uncritically absorbed the messages sent to them in particular broadcasts or articles. This is closely related to criticisms of the 'hypodermic model' of effects research which dominated early communication studies in the 1940s and 1950s.

The only research that is available that looks at radio listening in the context of everyday life has been carried out by media anthropologists (see Chapter 3). While this research provides thick descriptions of the place of radio in the home and the ways people listen to radio, these studies do not discuss the manner in which audiences interact with actual content.

In light of the above mentioned gaps in literature, this study set out to do two things. The first was to explore dominant discourses broadcast by radio. The second was to understand how some radio listeners engaged with radio as well as its content in the course of their everyday lives. Using Zimbabwe a case study, discourses that were broadcast on the state radio station, Radio Zimbabwe in light of the post-2000 crisis were examined using critical discourse analysis while interview narratives of some of the station's listeners were analysed using discourse analysis. In

the thesis, the empirical findings are contained in four analytical chapters: Chapters 5 & 6 (Exploring dominant discourses on Radio Zimbabwe), Chapter 7 (Setting the scene: Radio and everyday life in the rural community) and Chapter 8 (Women's engagement with Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts).

In terms of structure, this chapter begins with a synthesis of the key findings, discussing how the research questions posed in Chapter 1 were answered. The chapter then considers the contribution that this study has made to knowledge; ending with discussions on the limitations of this study and possible directions that future research could take.

A discussion of Radio Zimbabwe discourses

“It is through discourse that material power is exercised and that power relations are established and perpetuated” (Gavey, 1989:464)

The quotation by Gavey is relevant to the analysis of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts undertaken in this thesis. Chapter 5 noted that in light of the crisis in the country and waning support, ZANU-PF used Radio Zimbabwe to construct a narrative that presented the party and its leader as legitimate in their pursuit to hold on to political power. The kind of content that was broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe was in line with what Chuma (2007) calls “patriotic journalism.” Chuma defines patriotic journalism as:

A form of highly partisan and propaganda journalism which is embedded to the ruling party and the state. It shuns critical-rational debate and shuts out voices other than those of the dominant bloc of the ruling party except where the former are up for ridicule. It frames political contestation as a matter of simple struggles between good and evil (Chuma, 2007:254).

While part of the literature review showed that current media scholarship around the post-2000 crisis in Zimbabwe has largely focused on representations of specific issues like the land and elections in the state-owned media (see Chari, 2008a; 2010a; 2013; Chuma, 2007; 2008; Willems, 2004a; 2004b), this study broadened the discussion and looked at mainstream discourses that permeated the state radio station's broadcasts. Informed by some global studies on the media hegemony thesis that draws on the Gramscian concept on hegemony, Chapters 5 & 6 discussed four discourses that the beleaguered ZANU-PF party used to constitute consent. The discourses were on land, the liberation struggle, the father of the nation, Christianity and God.

Though the four discourses were discussed separately, there were, however, points where they intersected, overlapped and sometimes contradicted one another.

After the violent occupations of white owned farms by war veterans in 2000, ZANU-PF faced a barrage of criticisms both locally and internationally. Using music, comments by station announcers as well as statements by ZANU-PF politicians, Radio Zimbabwe constructed a narrative that justified the land occupations (see Chapter 5). The first idea that permeated Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts was that the land was a God-given inheritance to the black people. The white people ('agents of the Devil') were depicted as having dispossessed the 'rightful owners' of the land during colonialism. Thus, taking back the land in 2000 was framed as legitimate restoration of the divine order of things. The second idea that was part of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts was that many sons and daughters of the soil sacrificed their lives during the Second *Chimurenga* in a bid to take back the land (Zimbabwe) from the white people. Interestingly, ZANU-PF was credited in this narrative as the party of these selfless comrades who had liberated the country. In addition to justifying the land occupations, the Manichean terms deployed by Radio Zimbabwe in speaking about the land also worked to exonerate ZANU-PF from any wrong doing; the party was acting in the will of God and honoring the lives lost in the struggle for liberation. The researcher also argued that depicting the land in these terms obscured a lot of the contradictions and problems that were associated with the land occupations. Chari (2007) comments that the parochial and partisan frames employed by the Zimbabwean print media were devoid of critical analyses.

In the final analysis, it could be argued that the Zimbabwean press has been part of the problem rather than the solution to the Zimbabwean crisis. In their intoxicated and blind loyalty to political causes, the press lost an opportunity to analyse the multiple layers attendant...[on] the Zimbabwean crisis, thus abdicating their social responsibility to inform and educate the public and to chart a viable way forward. (Chari 2010a:147)

In discussing the liberation struggle discourse, the main point that was raised in Chapter 5 was the use of dualistic categories in representing people. The binary depictions of people were not confined to Radio Zimbabwe (see studies on media, hegemony and power in Chapter 2; see Williems, 2004a). In Nazi Germany and Apartheid South Africa, for example, a similar 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy was used to differentiate between the dominant group and the 'enemy' (see Narayanaswami, n.d; Nutter, n.d.; Bird & Garda, 1996; Evans, 2001; Sutter, 2008). In this thesis, people such as the President, ZANU-PF politicians, the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe

who sacrificed their lives for the liberation of the country, as well as the Chinese were framed as ‘good.’ Other people like white Zimbabweans, people from the opposition MDC (particularly the Morgan Tsvangirai faction) and the British and Americans and their allies were constituted as ‘bad.’

White Zimbabweans were constructed as agents of Satan, imperialists, villains, thieves and murderers in an attempt to counter the idea of the white man as a victim, a picture that dominated the privately owned Zimbabwean media and the international media (see Chapter 5). The image of the innocent black victims who were dispossessed of the land was juxtaposed with the picture of white villains. The saviours in the narrative were the nationalist combatants (mainly from ZANU-PF) who fought and defeated the white enemies. The researcher argued that this account of the liberation struggle that was popularised was devoid of the complexities and contradictions that characterised the actual war (also see Ranger, 2004; Tendi, 2010). This simplistic and linear narrative also left out a lot of the people and political parties, for example, ZAPU, that were part of the liberation war. The researcher also argued that one of the objectives of this story of the struggle was to cast ZANU-PF as the only legitimate political party with the right to govern the country (Ranger, 2004). While the liberation struggle discourse celebrated ZANU-PF, on the one hand, on the other, it dismissed the opposition MDC (especially the Morgan Tsvangirai led faction, MDC-T) as a party which lacked the ‘pre-requisite’ liberation struggle credentials to back their political aspirations to lead the country. Radio Zimbabwe framed the MDC as a party of sell-outs whose allegiance lay with the country’s former colonisers. The researcher argued that depicting the opposition in this manner worked to delegitimise them. It also worked to validate any violence that might be perpetrated against the opposition.

Though some international researchers focusing on media, power and hegemony present the dominant discourse as well-integrated (see Carragee, 1993), Chapter 5 showed some disparities that were inherent in the groups of ‘nationalists’ and ‘traitors.’ In the group of ‘nationalists,’ for example, President Mugabe and national heroes were depicted as superior to the other comrades (provincial heroes and liberation war heroes). In the group of ‘traitors,’ former Prime Minister, Morgan Tsvangirai and his faction (MDC-T) were ridiculed more than former Deputy Prime Minister, Arthur Mutambara and his faction (MDC-M).

The third idea that was popular on Radio Zimbabwe was the idea that President Mugabe was the father of the nation (see Chapter 6). The station celebrated Mugabe as the patriarch of the nation in ways that rendered all other Zimbabweans perpetual children. Mugabe was also represented as the head of the most powerful institutions in the country. He was referred to as the Head of State, the Chancellor of all the Zimbabwean universities and the Head of the Defence Forces (see Sutter, 2008). Drawing on Christian ideas, President Mugabe was also constructed as God's messenger to the people of Zimbabwe. These kinds of representations made it almost inconceivable for anyone in the country to question or challenge the authority of the President. Putting a leader on a pedestal was quite common in authoritarian states, for example, Adolf Hitler in Nazi Germany. Kohl (2011) writes that the media represented the leader of the Nazi party as a demigod who could save Germany. Government officials also referred to Hitler as a saviour and messiah. Yourman (1939) argued that representing Hitler in these god-like terms served to legitimise him. The image of Mugabe that was broadcast by Radio Zimbabwe stood in sharp contrast to his image in global and regional media. In the South African newspaper, *The Sunday Times*, Mugabe was featured "as the principal player and architect of the Zimbabwe crisis" (Chuma, 2005b:8).

In the discussion on the discourse on Christianity and God (Chapter 6), the researcher noted that, of all the religions in the country, Christianity was dominant on Radio Zimbabwe. Although not focusing specifically on media representations of Christianity, studies by Chitando (2002; 2005) and Chitando and Togarasei (2010) discussed the manner in which ZANU-PF politicians, in particular, have used religion to achieve their own ends. The researcher discusses the ways Christianity was normalised on the station, for example, in the morning devotionals, the playing of Christian music, and the broadcasting of special Christian programmes. An analysis of Radio Zimbabwe texts also showed that Christianity was primarily used as a mechanism to support government programmes. Some churches were depicted as supporting the government. God was represented as the ultimate go-to place for feeble people in face of life's challenges. Framing God as all-powerful helped to divert attention from a state that was failing to deliver basic services to its citizens. The section on Christianity also mentioned times when African traditional indigenous religions were allowed space on the station, a practice which seemed to contradict the dominant Christian ideals. Like the proponents of Christianity, those who advocated for African beliefs did not question the status quo.

Rural women's engagement with radio and Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts

Many studies that have been carried out by civil society organisations in Zimbabwe on the media have predominantly focused on media content. Within the academy, most researchers have also spent a lot of time on textual analyses in ways that have inadvertently paddled the idea of a very powerful media (see Willems, 2004a; Chari, 2008a; Nyamanhindi, 2008; Chuma, 2008; Chari, 2010a; Mukundu, 2010; Santos, 2011). Not many researchers have looked at media audiences. The bulk of the studies on media audiences in Zimbabwe have been quantitative surveys such as the Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey (ZAMPS).

While there are very few qualitative audience studies in Zimbabwe, Chapter 3 alluded to research conducted by media anthropologists that looks at radio listeners in the context of everyday life (see Jayaprakash, 2000; Tacchi, 2000; Spitulnik, 2002; 2009). This research covers issues such as radio ownership, the place of radio in and around the home as well as the times people listen to the radio. Though this research has provided detailed accounts of the ethnography of radio, these studies have not, however, explored the manner in which listeners interact with radio content.

In this study, the interviews with women listeners of Radio Zimbabwe began to explore how some audiences engage with radio as well as the dominant regimes of truth discussed in Chapters 5 & 6. For almost all of the women in this study, listening to the radio was inextricably intertwined with their daily work routines (Jayaprakash, 2000; Tacchi, 2000; Spitulnik, 2002; 2009; Winocur, 2005; Gathigi, 2009). The women mostly listened to the radio while they were busy cleaning the homestead or preparing meals for their families (also see Hobson, 1980; Winocur, 2005). The women in the study said they moved in and out of listening to the radio attentively; sometimes the radio was in the background while they carried on with their chores (also see Winocur, 2005).

In analysing the interview accounts, the women interacted with the programmes broadcast by Radio Zimbabwe in interesting ways. Though some women said they listened to the news, a programme embedded with dominant ideas, most of them did not remember the contents of the bulletins. The women said they had many more important things to think about than to spend time committing what they heard on the news to memory. Contrary to the idea of passive

audiences, women like *Mbuya vaChipo*, *Mai Sekai*, *Chipo* and *Mai Nomatter* spoke about what they expected to hear on the news. *Mai Sekai* wanted to hear about price controls, *Mai Nomatter* and *Chipo* were interested in the issue of school fees while *Mbuya vaChipo* wanted to get regular weather updates.

While Radio Zimbabwe content was predominantly political in nature, the programmes that women talked about as ‘favourite programmes’ had nothing to do with politics. The majority of the women in the study singled out *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana* and *Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga* (also see Mano, 2009). None of the women mentioned that they listened to programmes such as *VaMugabe Mutungamiri* or *Madzimbahwe* – programmes that largely perpetuated the pro-ZANU-PF agenda.

In discussions about how listeners interact with hegemonic discourses broadcast on Radio Zimbabwe, it emerged that the women did not necessarily engage with the dominant ideas in linear and predictable ways. The women took up different subject positions (see Weedon, 1987; Gavey, 1989; Mama, 1995). The women had a very fluid relationship with mainstream ideas; they moved in and out of positions of power and powerlessness in the course of one interview (see Baxter, 2007). A similar observation was also made by Mama (1995) in her study with black women in Britain. In Mama’s study, women’s subjectivity was fluid, ambiguous and was in constant production.

In a community that was highly policed to ensure loyalty to ZANU-PF, most women in this study did not openly challenge the status quo. The majority of women rehearsed the unwritten ‘official’ line; “we do not talk politics” when the researcher first approached them. ‘Talking politics’ in the community meant challenging ZANU-PF ideas. In discussions about Radio Zimbabwe, most women drew on hegemonic ideas and unquestioningly complied with parameters set out by ZANU-PF. In a conversation about the land, *Mai Kudzi*, for example, reiterated the same dominant ideas perpetuated by Radio Zimbabwe. She said: “Our fore fathers were dispossessed of good land, so, we should be grateful to what *baba vedu VaMugabe* (President Mugabe, our father) did for us (in reference to the land programme) we are motivated to work hard for the country.” Even as the contradictions of supporting the dominant narrative began to surface in the conversation (she and others in the community had not benefited from the land programme), *Mai Kudzi*, nonetheless, did not default from the precepts of the dominant

script. Speaking about the President, two women (Chipo and *Mai* Kumbirai) celebrated him as a concerned father and a visionary in a manner that did not depart from Radio Zimbabwe prescriptions. Chipo explained that she was expecting the President to address the issue of the high school fees and *Mai* Kumbirai celebrated the President's vision regarding the land question in the country.

There were, however, times when women resisted the dominant ideas. Ironically, while in some instances inconsistencies between mainstream ideas and the women's lived realities failed to trigger a critical engagement with Radio Zimbabwe discourses (for example, in the instance with *Mai* Kudzi on the land), there were other times when the challenges women encountered in their everyday lives helped them to deconstruct dominant ideas. In a conversation about the land, *Mai* Nomatter, *Mai* Tiny and *Mai* Sekai narrated that the pieces of land that they had and their engagement with farming was not connected to the government's land reform programme. The women noted that they were the ones who had allocated themselves the pieces of land that they farmed in the early 1980s and that their farming was motivated by a need to feed their families. Instead of viewing President Mugabe in the same messianic terms dominant on Radio Zimbabwe, for *Mai* Patience, Mugabe was nothing more than a tyrant who had seen many Zimbabweans being reduced to paupers on his watch. *Mai* Patience saw the struggles around survival as continuing in the country as long as people did not vote Mugabe out of power. Part of the reason that *Mai* Patience could be outspoken was because she felt she could trust the researcher after having spent a lot of time with her. Looking at their family set-ups some women challenged the elevation of President Mugabe to the position of 'father of the nation' and noted that they had in fact become the 'fathers' in their families ever since their husbands went to the nearby cities and neighboring countries in search for job opportunities.

In the analysis of Radio Zimbabwe texts, the researcher noted how people were categorised as being 'good' or 'bad.' In the village, the community head also used the same frame of reference. In the initial meeting of gaining entry into the field, the *sabhuku* stated that the people in *his* community were ZANU-PF supporters. He continued to say that despite this, *his* community had in the past been infiltrated by non-governmental organisations and opposition political party activists (read MDC activists) who tried to influence *his* people to oppose the government. Despite what seemed to be clear demarcations on Radio Zimbabwe and for the village head,

talking to and observing the women in the rural community revealed that in real life the situation was much more complex. *Mai* Patience, for example, constantly traversed the ZANU-PF/MDC and patriot/traitor binary. In private conversation, *Mai* Patience largely occupied the much disparaged traitor position as she expressed “other community member’s” displeasure at the idea of President Mugabe continuing to be at the helm of the country. In public spaces and in speaking to other people in the community, *Mai* Patience presented as a ZANU-PF supporter. She said all the ‘right things’ and attended most of the party’s meetings. Although Memory did not openly critique the status quo she, however, made a huge effort to be seen to be a supporter of the party.

Contributions to scholarship, limitations and future research

In the literature review, it was noted that despite radio being listened to by many people, research focusing on this medium, at least in Africa, is scanty (see Fardon & Furniss, 2000). The same observation was also made in relation to radio studies in Zimbabwe. Most researchers have tended to focus on analysing television and print media content. In light of this, one main contribution to scholarship that this study has sought to make is to deliberately zero in on the oft neglected medium, radio. The study analysed radio texts and also looked at the medium’s audiences in the context of the political and economic crisis that ensued in Zimbabwe post-2000.

Another contribution to scholarship that this study made is specific to existing research on representations of the crisis in the media in Zimbabwe. While various scholars have written about the ways in which the print media in Zimbabwe framed issues such as the land and the elections, none of them have looked at discourses that were used by ZANU-PF to ‘manufacture consent’ (see Willems, 2004a; 2004b; Chuma, 2007; 2008; Chari, 2008a; 2010a; 2013). In view of this lacuna, this study presented a much broader picture of ideas that were dominant on Radio Zimbabwe during this time that assisted in propping up the pro-ZANU-PF agenda. While most researchers writing on the mediation of the crisis in Zimbabwe localise their analyses to specific genres like news (also see Herman & Chomsky’s 1988 discussion of the propaganda model), this study examined a wider range of content. In addition to analysing news content, the study also examined lyrics of songs and jingles as well as words by presenters and guests to various programmes. This all-encompassing approach allowed the researcher a much richer

understanding of both blatant and subtle ways dominant meanings were embedded on Radio Zimbabwe. This approach also demonstrated the ubiquity of hegemonic ideas on the station.

This study also made a contribution to research that focuses on the role of the media in constituting and perpetuating hegemonic ideas of the political elite (see Chapter 2). While there is literature on the different ways the Mugabe administration used brute force to sustain their stay in power (see Machakanja, 2010; Matereke, 2012), drawing on Gramsci's notion of hegemony, this study was particularly interested in discussing how consent was used by ZANU-PF to legitimise its continued stay at the helm of the country. This thesis discussed four discourses (on the land, the liberation struggle, the father of the nation, Christianity and God) that dominated Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts that the beleaguered ZANU-PF party drew on during the time of the political and economic crisis (see Chapters 5 & 6). Taking up the call by Carragee (1993), the analysis of Radio Zimbabwe broadcasts alluded to some of the inconsistencies and overlaps between discourses that entrench mainstream ideas. Contrary to studies such as Anderson (1988), hegemonic ideas broadcast by Radio Zimbabwe were not always "consistent and well integrated" (see Caragee, 1993:333). While Radio Zimbabwe generally lambasted Western nations for imposing sanctions on the country, there were times on the station when countries such as Germany and France were not blatantly attacked. The reason these countries were spared the typical venomous denunciation was because they were said to be "reconsidering their position on Zimbabwe" (see Chapter 5). Another illustration that points to the internal dynamics within the hegemonic discourse relates to the disparities regarding how the MDC-T and the MDC-M were spoken about on Radio Zimbabwe. Although the MDC-M was hardly spoken about negatively, the MDC-T was at the centre of the campaign to delegitimise opposition political parties. Chapter 5 also highlighted the overlay between ideas embodied in the discourse on land and the one on the liberation struggle. Although the two discourses were discussed separately, the overarching argument made in the chapter was that both discourses served to prop ZANU-PF's mission of preserving its political power.

In explaining the Gramscian conceptualisation of what spurs people to challenge mainstream ideas, Croteau, Hoynes & Milan (2012:161) write: "[...] people's actual experiences will lead them to question dominant ideological assumptions." This was partly confirmed in this study. While *Mai* Patience's circumstances assisted her in questioning what she heard on Radio

Zimbabwe, it was not every woman who did this. For women like *Mai Kumbirai*, her experiences of not having benefited from the government's land programme did not lead her to question the dominant narratives. She continued to draw on mainstream accounts that celebrated the President and the land programme as if they were natural and logical (see Gramsci, 1971). In light of the situation where lived experiences both enable and do not enable people to question dominant assumptions, I propose that Gramsci's idea be qualified. Instead of generalising that a disjuncture between mainstream ideas and lived experiences necessarily leads to a contestation, the theory ought to state that this is only applicable in some instances.

Though the propaganda model, whose ideas were useful in framing the textual analysis in this study was developed in the context of a capitalist, liberal-democratic society (Mullen & Klaehn, 2010), this study applied it to understand the performance of the media in an authoritarian context. Whereas this study did not focus primarily on discussing the institutional forces impacting Radio Zimbabwe, in totalitarian contexts like Zimbabwe, the government and the prevailing patriotism discourse influenced mainstream media content.

In their discussion of the effects of the dominant centers of political and economic power on news content, Herman and Chomsky note the dualism of 'worthy' versus 'unworthy' victims that exists in the media's representations of international relations. In this study, a similar dichotomy was noted in how people were depicted on Radio Zimbabwe (see Chapters 5 & 6). People belonging to ZANU-PF were mostly presented as 'patriots' who could legitimately govern the country by virtue of having participated in the liberation struggle while people from the MDC were depicted as 'traitors' who were illegitimate contenders for political office as they did not possess the requisite war credentials. Although it appears as if the representation in the media of 'worthy' and 'unworthy' victims is consistently seamless in Herman and Chomsky's model, in this study, the depictions of people constituted as 'patriots' and 'sell-outs' was often fraught with inequalities (see Mudavanhu, 2014). Far from the elite group being unified as suggested in the propaganda model, in this study, President Mugabe's patriotism was represented as exceeding that of the other 'patriots.' The group of 'patriots' was further divided into national heroes, provincial heroes and general liberation war heroes. In view of this, I propose that the issue of internal dynamics inherent in the groups of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' be taken into account when researchers conduct their studies.

Whereas international research and theorising on television audiences is somewhat advanced, in Africa and in Zimbabwe, research on media audiences is underdeveloped. In this regard, the analysis of how women listeners of Radio Zimbabwe interact with radio and the content that was broadcast by the station is somewhat groundbreaking (Chapters 7 & 8). In addition, this study also contributes to international research on media audiences in a specific way. While most international audience researchers operate within the interpretive perspective (see Carragee, 1990), this study drew on insights from the critical audience research paradigm. The study examined the hegemonic power entrenched in Radio Zimbabwe discourses and also analysed how women living in a country going through a political and economic crisis interacted with the mainstream ideas. By doing this, the study was able to move some steps away from “romanticising and sentimentalising media audiences” (Carragee, 1990).

Methodologically, this study made significant input to Media Studies. In relation to data collection, this study offered future media researchers ideas on how they can navigate politically charged environments. Instead of spending a lot of time seeking to get access to radio transcripts from often reluctant broadcasting stations, researchers could consider recording the broadcasts using an audio recorder and storing the content on a laptop. In terms of gaining permission to conduct studies in communities, researchers can consider approaching local village authorities directly instead of spending time and energy seeking approval via bureaucratic channels at district offices (see Zaranyika, 2012; Chakona, 2011).

Drawing on ongoing methodological discussions in Anthropology and Gender Studies, Chapter 4 contained a reflexive discussion on the researcher’s positionality and how it affected the process of data collection. Discussions such as these are not currently part Media Studies research. While Gender Studies scholars are very advanced in terms of their discussions on power dynamics inherent in the process of conducting in-depth interviews (see Mies, 1993; Gilbert, 1994; Mama, 1995), media scholars are lagging behind in this conversation. In this regard, Chapter 4 brought into Media Studies some ongoing debates around power and the politics of conducting in-depth interviews. The Chapter also highlighted some of the ways an equitable relationship between the researcher and the participants was continually negotiated.

While the study did contribute to knowledge in the above-mentioned ways, the research had some shortcomings. One of the limitations is linked to the adoption of the qualitative

methodology; the findings of the audience analysis in particular cannot be generalised to a larger population (Strelitz, 2005). Although the women's accounts about their interaction with radio and its discourses were interesting, these findings cannot, however, be generalisable to other settings even though parallels and overlaps with other communities can be noted. The findings remain located powerfully within the context of daily life inside the specific community in which the interviews were done. The strength of the findings in this study, however, lies in enabling the formation and re-formulation of media theories. In view of conclusions that cannot be extended beyond immediate locales, qualitative researchers could make their findings more 'holistic' by extending their studies to other communities in order to gain a better understanding of the diverse experiences.

Another shortcoming is related to the fact that this study was conducted in a community where people speak ChiShona. Because the researcher only worked with narratives from this group of people, it meant that their experiences were also going to surface very prominently in the thesis. Maybe working with women who speak a different vernacular language like IsiNdebele would have yielded slightly different insights and ideas.

In thinking about future research, the title of this chapter, 'Conclusion' seems somewhat of a misnomer because what is coded as 'the end' is actually the beginning of future studies. In the last chapter of her book, Mama (1995:159) conveys similar sentiments in the following manner:

This is not a neat story ending with all capillaries cauterised and stitched with surgical precision but one which makes a small opening through which, it is hoped, many new ideas and arguments may flow.

Flowing from this study, two broad areas can gainfully be explored further; radio and audience studies in Zimbabwe and in Africa. Because radio is the most popular medium in the country and on the continent, there is need to invest a lot of time understanding the content of a medium that reaches a vast majority of people. Areas that could be explored further in the future include an understanding of the ways dominant discourses were packaged on other state owned radio stations. This study primarily focused on Radio Zimbabwe, but there are three other state owned radio stations that could be analysed. Questions to consider could be: How were hegemonic scripts packaged on other state owned radio stations like Power FM which targets urban youth? Given that these young people did not have first-hand experiences of colonialism and the

liberation struggle, how was the liberation struggle discourse presented on Power FM? What are some of the similarities and differences between Radio Zimbabwe and Power FM discourses?

Another area that needs further study relates to an analysis of mainstream discourses. While there is a healthy body of international research on media, hegemony and power, more studies are needed that move beyond discussing the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ dichotomy that media perpetuate. More researchers need to take up the call by Carragee (1993) and analyse the internal dynamics in each of the two major groups of people.

In Zimbabwe, research is greatly needed to understand discourses that are privileged on the newly licensed radio stations (Star FM and ZiFM). After the Media and Information Commission (MIC) that was set up under AIPPA was disbanded and replaced with an arguably more ‘independent’ regulatory body, the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC), two ‘independent’ stations were licensed. These stations were Star FM (owned by Zimpapers) and ZiFM Stereo (privately owned) and they both started broadcasting in 2012. Questions for research could include: What ideas are normalised on these radio stations? Are the dominant ideas similar to the ones privileged by state owned radio stations? What kinds of influence do the owners have on the content? Given that the two radio stations started broadcasting in 2012 when the Government of National Unity was in place, did this have any bearing on the content of the stations?

Still in the area of analysing discourses, there is need to carry out studies that begin to understand which ideas state controlled radio stations privileged after the July 2013 elections in Zimbabwe in which ZANU-PF was victorious. This study was located within the context of the crisis that ensued from the late 1990s onwards. As previously noted, this was a time when the legitimacy of ZANU-PF was seriously under question. After the July 2013 harmonised elections in Zimbabwe, there were shifts within the political landscape in the country. ZANU-PF clinched a two thirds majority in parliament in an election that was endorsed as free and fair by SADC, the AU and the UN Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon. The ZANU-PF government perceived itself and at least was perceived by the above bodies as a legitimate government. In addition to this, the once vibrant opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change went into the July election a much weaker opponent than what it was in 1999. Among other things, the party had

spilt into various factions. Since the discourses discussed in this study were located within a particular historical period (see Gavey, 1989), in light of a shifting political environment, what discourses surfaced as dominant on the state owned radio stations after July 2013?

Moving beyond analysing media texts, there is also need in future for researchers in Zimbabwe and in Africa to begin to work with radio listeners. While anthropologists (see Jayaprakash, 2000; Spitulnik, 2000; 2002; 2009; Winocur, 2005) have focused on providing detailed descriptions of the place of radio in the everyday lives of its listeners, media scholars ought to complement this work by looking at how audiences actually engage with the content that is broadcast. Media researchers can gainfully do this by examining the hegemonic meanings that are embedded in the radio texts and how audiences located in particular social, political and historical contexts interact with the hegemony (see Carragee, 1990).

Conclusion

From the late 1990s onwards, various events plunged Zimbabwe into a period of prolonged political and economic crisis. At that time, the ZANU-PF government's legitimacy came under serious questioning by private media, sectors of civil society and the opposition political party, the MDC (and later its factions). Sections of the international community were also unrelenting in their criticism of Robert Mugabe and his government. In response, ZANU-PF used the media under its control to establish and perpetuate its hegemony as the only authentic party to govern the country. This study identified four discourses that were central to ZANU-PF's supremacy drive: these were the discourse on land, the liberation struggle discourse, the father of the nation discourse as well as the discourse on God and Christianity. In summary, ZANU-PF's legitimacy was framed on Radio Zimbabwe in the following manner: because ZANU-PF comrades fought against the white colonisers who had stolen black people's God-given inheritance (the land), they were justified in their fight to hold onto power. President Mugabe was depicted as the super patriot, the father of the nation and the messenger from God who had a right to continue leading the Zimbabwean people.

In addition to celebrating a particular group of people, Radio Zimbabwe systematically denounced other people, for example, white Zimbabweans, people from opposition political

parties, as well as the British, Americans and their allies. The opposition was depicted as a party of ‘violent traitors’ who lacked liberation struggle credentials and who should never be allowed to come anywhere near the state house. The image of white Zimbabweans that dominated the privately owned media in Zimbabwe, as well as the international media, was that they were the victims of political violence. On Radio Zimbabwe, white Zimbabweans were dismissed as ‘Satan’s agents,’ unscrupulous and violent beneficiaries of ill-gotten land. Britain and its allies were accused of attempting to re-colonise the country using the MDC as their attack dogs.

Though one part of this study looked at the dominant discourses on Radio Zimbabwe, the other part focused on understanding how rural women listeners interacted with radio and the elite discourses perpetuated by Radio Zimbabwe. This part of the study concluded that for the women, listening to the radio was intimately linked to their everyday work routines. The study also noted that women in the study engaged with the dominant ideas in unpredictable ways. They oscillated between affirming and challenging the hegemonic ideas.

In the final analysis, while ZANU-PF’s hegemony was indeed unchallenged on the state-owned radio station, Radio Zimbabwe, the ways that listeners interacted with it could not be predicted without speaking to actual listeners in their daily contexts.

References

- Achebe, N. 2002. Daughter, Wife, and Guest. A Researcher at the Crossroads. *Journal of Women's History*. 14(3):9-31.
- Albarran, A.B., Anderson, T., Bejar, L.G, Bussart, A.L, Daggett, E., Gibson, S., Gorman, M., Greer, D., Guo, M. Horst, J.L., Khalaf, T., Lay, J.P., McCracken, M., Mott, B., & Way, H. 2007. "What Happened to our Audience?" Radio and New Technology Uses and Gratifications Among Young Adult Users. *Journal of Radio Studies*. 14(2):92-101.
- Alexander, J. & McGregor, J. 1999. Representing Violence in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe: Press and Internet Debates. In *The Media of Conflict: War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence*. T. Allen & J. Seaton, Eds. London: Zed Books. 244-265.
- Alexander, J. & McGregor, J. 2001. Elections, Land and the Politics of Opposition in Matabeleland. *Journal of Agrarian Change*. 1(4):510-533.
- Allan, S. 2004. *News Culture*. 2nd ed. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Anderson, R. 1988. Visions of instability: US television's law and order news of El Salvador. *Media, Culture and Society*. 10:239-264.
- Anderson, J. & Avery, R. 1988. The concept of effects: Recognising our personal judgements. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*. 32:359-372.
- Ankomah, B. 2000. In the name of national interest. *New African Magazine*. 387:16-21.
- Ang, I. 1991. *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. London: Routledge.
- Ang, I. 1996. *Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World*. London: Routledge.
- Article 19. 1996. *Broadcasting Genocide: Censorship, Propaganda and State Sponsored Violence in Rwanda 1990 – 1994*. London: Article 19.

- Atkinson, P. 1999. Deconstructing Media Mythologies of Ethnic War in Liberia. In *The Media of conflict: War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence*. T. Allen & J. Seaton, Eds. London: Zed Books.192-218.
- Banda, F. 2003. *Community radio broadcasting in Zambia: A Policy Perspective*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of South Africa.
- Barnard, S. 2000. *Studying Radio*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Batist, D. 2010. SW Radio Africa and the challenges of operating a Zimbabwean exile radio station in London. *Journal of African Media Studies*. 2(2):155-171.
- Baxter, J. 2007. *Positioning Gender in Discourse: A Feminist Methodology*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- BBC World Service Trust. 2008. *The Kenyan Elections and their aftermath: The role of media and communications*. London: BBC
- Bessirel, L. & Fisher, D. 2013. The Anthropology of Radio Fields, *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 42:363–78.
- Bhavnani, K. 1994. Tracing the Contours: Feminist Research and Feminist Objectivity. In *The Dynamics of 'Race' and Gender: Some Feminist Interventions*. H. Afshar & M. Maynard, Eds. London: Taylor and Francis. 26-40.
- Beremauro, R. 2013. Living between compassion and domination? An ethnographic study of institutions, interventions and the everyday practices of poor black Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. Ph.D. Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.
- Bird, E. & Garda, Z. 1996. The Role of the Print Media during the Apartheid Era. Available: <http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org/images/uploads/trc.pdf> [2013, November 16].
- Blanche, M.T., Kelly, K. & Durrheim, K. 1999. Why qualitative research? In *Research in practice: Applied Methods for the Social Sciences*. M.T. Blanche, K. Durrheim & D. Painter, Eds. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press. 271-284.

- Blaser, T. 2012. 'I don't know what I am': the end of Afrikaner nationalism in post-apartheid South Africa. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*. 80:1-21.
- Bloggs, C. 1976. *Gramsci's Marxism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Bosch, T. 2003. *Radio, Community and identity in South Africa: A rhizomatic study of Bush radio in Cape Town*. Ph.D. Thesis. Ohio University.
- Bosch, T. 2005. Community radio in post-apartheid South Africa: The case of Bush Radio in Cape Town. *Transformations*. 10. Available: http://www.transformationsjournal.org/journal/issue_10/article_05.shtml [2014, December 16].
- Bosch, T. 2006. Radio as an instrument of protest: The history of Bush Radio. *Journal of Radio Studies*. 13(2):249-265.
- Bosch, T. 2007. In The Pink. *Feminist Media Studies*. 7(3):225-238.
- Bosch, T. 2008. Kwaito on Community Radio: The Case of Bush Radio in Cape Town, South Africa. *The World of Music*. 50(2):75-89.
- Bosch, T. 2011a. Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa. In *Popular Media, Democracy and Development in Africa*. H. Wasserman, Ed. London: Routledge. 75-87.
- Bosch, T. 2011b. Talk Radio, Democracy and the Public Sphere: 567MW in Cape Town. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 197-207.
- Bourgault, L.M. 1995. *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Brand, C.M. n.d. *The Mass Media in the Struggle for Zimbabwe: Censorship and Propaganda under Rhodesian Front Rule* by E. Windrich and None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe by J. Frederikse. Available: <http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/Journal%20of%20the%20University%20of%20Zimbabwe/vol12n1/juz012001009.pdf> [2013, March 28].

- Bratton, M., Chiwanha, A. & Sithole, T. 2005. Propaganda and Public Opinion in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 23(1):77-108.
- Brett, E.A. 2004. *Systemic Crises, Conflicting Interests and the State Failure in Zimbabwe 1997-2004*. Available: <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/CrisisStates/brett1.pdf> [2014, January 17].
- Burke, T. 1996. *Lifebuoy men, Lux women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in modern Zimbabwe*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Cameron, D. 2001. *Working with spoken discourse*. London: Sage Publications.
- Cammack, J.C. & Phillips, D.K. 2002. Discourses and Subjectivities of the Gendered Teacher. *Gender and Education*. 14(2):123-133.
- Carragee, K.M. 1990. Interpretive Media Study and Interpretive Social Science. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*. 7(2):81-96.
- Carragee, K. 1993. A Critical Evaluation of Debates Examining the Media Hegemony Thesis. *Western Journal of Communication*. 57:330-348.
- Carragee, K.M. & Roefs, W. 2004. The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of Communication*. 54(2):214-233.
- Carvalho, A. 2008. Media(ted) discourse and society. *Journalism Studies*. 9(2):161-177.
- Carver, R. 2000. Broadcasting and political transition: Rwanda and beyond. In *African Broadcast Cultures: Radio in Transition*. R. Fardon & G. Furniss, Eds. London: James Currey. 188-197.
- Chakona, L. 2011. Fast track land reform programme and women in Goromonzi district, Zimbabwe. MA Dissertation. Rhodes University.
- Chalk, F. 1999. Hate radio in Rwanda. In *The Path of Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*. H. Adelman & A. Suhrke, Eds. New Brunswick: Transaction. 93-107.
- Chari, T. 2008a. Worlds Apart: Representations of Operation Murambatsvina in Two Zimbabwean Weeklies. In *The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe*. M. Vambe, Ed. Harare: Weaver Press. 105-117.

- Chari, T. 2010a. Salience and silence: representation of the Zimbabwean crisis in the local press. *African Identities*. 8(2):131-150.
- Chari, T. 2010b. Representation of religion and religious issues in Zimbabwean mass media. *Africana: A Journal of Ideas on Africa and the African Diaspora*. 4(2):165-190.
- Chari, T. 2010c. Representation or misrepresentation? The New York Times's framing of the 1994 Rwanda genocide. *African Identities*. 8(4):333-349.
- Chari, T. 2013. Media Framing of Land Reform in Zimbabwe. In *Land and Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe: Beyond White-Settler Capitalism*. S. Moyo & W. Chambati, Eds. Dakar: CODESRIA. 291-330.
- Chatora, A. 2009. The Role of New Media in Fostering Democracy in Africa's Dictatorships: Zimbabwe, A Case Study. MA Dissertation. University of London.
- Chermak, S., Bailey, F.Y. & Brown, M., Eds. *Media Representations of September 11, 2003*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Chibita, M.B. 2010, 'Ugandan radio as a political space and the policing thereof,' A Paper for presentation at the conference on "Election processes, liberation movements and democratic change in Africa," Maputo 8-11 April 2010.
- Chitando, E. 2002. 'Down with the Devil, forward with Christ,' A study of the interface between religious and political discourses in Zimbabwe. *African Sociological Review* 6(1):1-16.
- Chitando, E. 2005. 'In the Beginning was the Land': The Appropriation of Religious Themes in Political Discourses in Zimbabwe. *Africa*. 75(2):220-239.
- Chitando, E. & Togarasei, L. 2010. 'June 2008, verse 27': the church and the 2008 Zimbabwean political crisis. *African Identities*. 8(2):151-162.
- Chiumbu, S. 2012. *Public Broadcasting in Africa Series: Zimbabwe*. African Books Collective: South Africa.

- Chiumbu, S. & Moyo, D. 2009. Media, Politics and Power: Re-gearing policy and propaganda in crisis Zimbabwe. In *The Power of Communication: Changes and challenges in African media*. K.S. Orgeret & H. Ronning, Eds. Norway: Oslo Academic Press. 177-214.
- Chiumbu, S. & Musemwa, M. 2012. Introduction: Perspectives of the Zimbabwean Crises. In *Crisis! What Crisis? Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*. S. Chiumbu & M. Musemwa, Eds. Cape Town: HSRC Press. ix-xxiii.
- Chuma, W. 2005a. Zimbabwe: The media, market failure and political turbulence. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*. 26(1):46-62.
- Chuma, W. 2005b. The crisis of framing a crisis: the Sunday Times on Zimbabwe. Paper for the Reporting Zimbabwe Conference. 25 February 2005. London: CAMRI, University of Westminster. Available: file:///C:/Users/01419632/Downloads/Crisis_of_framing_a_crisis-libre.pdf [2014, April 7].
- Chuma, W. 2007. *Mediating the transition: The press, state and capital in a changing Zimbabwe, 1980-2004*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.
- Chuma, W. 2008. Mediating the 2000 Elections in Zimbabwe: Competing Journalisms in a Society at the Crossroads. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*. 29(1):21-41.
- Chuma, W. 2010. "Reforming the media in Zimbabwe: Critical reflections." In *Media Policy in a Changing Southern Africa Critical reflections on media reforms in the global age*. D. Moyo and W. Chuma. Pretoria: Unisa Press. 90-109.
- Chuma, W. 2013. The State of Journalism ethics in Zimbabwe. A Report for the Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe. Harare.
- Chung, F. 2006. *Re-living the second Chimurenga: Memories from Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle*. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Compagnon, D. 2000. Briefing: Zimbabwe: Life after ZANU-PF. *African Affairs*. 99:449-453.

- Compagnon, D. 2011. *A Predictable Tragedy: Robert Mugabe and the collapse of Zimbabwe*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Condit, C.M. 1989. The Rhetorical limits of polysemy. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*. 6(2):103-122.
- Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013. Available: <http://www.parlzim.gov.zw/attachments/article/56/constitution.pdf> [2014, June 4].
- Coplan, D.B. 2011. South African Radio in a Saucepan. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 134-148.
- Creswell, J.W. 2013. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Croteau, D. & Hoynes, W. 2003. *Media Society. Industries, Images, and Audiences*. 3rd ed. London: Pine Forge Press.
- Croteau, D. Hoynes, W. & Milan, S. 2012. *Media Society. Industries, Images, and Audiences*. 4th ed. California: Sage Publications.
- Curran, J. 1990. The new revisionism in mass communication research. *European Journal of Communication*. 5(2/3):135-164.
- Dallaire, R. 2007. The media dichotomy. In *The media and the Rwanda genocide*. A. Thompson, Ed. London: Pluto Press. 12-19.
- Daloz, J. P. & Verrier-Frechette, K. 2000. Radio Pluralism: Instrument of Political Change? Insights from Zambia. *African Broadcast Cultures: Radio in Transition*. R. Fardon & G. Furniss, Eds. London: James Currey. 180-87.
- Dansereau, S. 2003. Liberation and Opposition in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 21(2):173-191.

- Davis, S.R. 2011. Voices from Without. The African National Congress, Its radio, its allies and exile, 1960-84. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 223-237.
- Des Forges. A. 2007. Call to genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994. In *The media and the Rwanda genocide*. A. Thompson, Ed. London: Pluto Press. 41-54.
- Devereux, E & Breen, M. 2003. Setting Up Margins: Public Attitudes and Media Construction of Poverty and Social Exclusion in Ireland. *Nordic Irish Studies*. 2(1):75-93.
- Devereux, E. & Breen, M. 2004. No Racists Here: Public Opinion, Immigrants and the Media. In *Political Issues in Ireland Today*. 3rd ed. N. Collins & T. Cradden, Eds. Manchester: Manchester University Press.168-188.
- Devereux, E & Haynes A. 2000. Irish Print Media Coverage of the 1998 Sudanese Crisis: The Case of The Irish Times. *Media Development*. 1:20-23.
- Dickey, S. 1997. Anthropology and its contributions to studies of mass media. *International Social Science Journal*. 49(153):413-427.
- Doctors Without Borders. 2009. *Beyond Cholera: Zimbabwe's Worsening Crisis* (Special Report). Available: http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/publications/reports/2009/msf_beyond-cholera_zimbabwes-worsening-crisis.pdf [2014, January 17].
- Dombo, S. 2013. Daily Struggles: Private print media, the state, and democratic governance in Zimbabwe in the case of the *African Daily News* (1956-1964) and *The Daily News* (1999-2003). Ph.D. Thesis. University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Dominguet, J-C. 2003. Day by Day, as time goes by: The radio-listening habits of the retired. *The Radio Journal*. 1(1):47-61.
- Ekström, M. 2002. Epistemologies of TV journalism: A theoretical framework. *Journalism*. 3(3):259-282.
- Eldridge, J. Ed. 1993. *Getting the Message*. New York: Routledge.

- Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa. 2007. *Zimbabwe: 2000 Constitutional referendum results*. Available: <http://www.eisa.org.za/WEP/zimresults2000r.htm> [2013, October 27].
- Ellis, S. 1989. Tuning in to Pavement Radio. *African Affairs*. 88(352):321-30.
- Entman, R.M. 1993. Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*. 43(4):51-58.
- Essof, S. 2008. 3 Men Holding 12 Million People Hostage. *Feminist Africa*. 11:127-133.
- Essof, S. 2013. *Shemurenga: the Zimbabwean Women's Movement, 1995-2000*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Weaver Press.
- Esterberg, K.G. 2002. *Qualitative Methods in Social Research*. Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Evans, R.J. 2001. Social Outsiders in German History. From the sixteenth century to 1933. In *Social Outsiders in German History*. R. Gellately & N. Stoltzfus, Eds. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 3-19.
- Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and power*. London: Longman.
- Fardon, R. & Furniss, G. Eds. 2000. *African Broadcast Cultures: Radio in Transition*. London: James Currey Publishers.
- Federation of African Media Women of Zimbabwe. 2004. *Zimbabwe Media Voices: Where are the women?* Available: <http://www.kubatana.net/html/archive/media/040723famwz3.asp?sector=MEDIA> [2013, October 27].
- Flame* [DVD]. 1996. Produced by S. Bright & J. Phiri & Directed by I. Sinclair. San Francisco: California Newsreel.
- Flick, U. 2011. *Introducing Research Methodology. A beginner's guide to doing a research project*. London: Sage Publications.
- Fourie, W. 2008. Afrikaner identity in a post-apartheid South Africa: the Self in terms of the Other. In *At the end of the rainbow: power, politics and identity in post-apartheid South African media*. A. Hadland, E. Louw, S. Sesanti & H. Wasserman, Eds. Cape Town: HSRC Press. 239-289.

- Frederikse, J. 1982. *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.
- Freedom of Expression Institute website. Available: <http://fxi.org.za/home/> [2015, January 28].
- Gaidzanwa, R. 1994. Women's Land Rights in Zimbabwe. *A Journal of Opinion*. 22(2):12-16.
- Gaidzanwa, R.B. 1995. Women, democratisation and violence in Southern African experience. Paper presented at a seminar on Women and the Democratisation Process in Africa. 7–11 April. University of Pretoria, South Africa.
- Gannon, S. & Davies, B. 2007. Postmodern, Poststructural, and Critical Theories. In *Handbook of Feminist Research Theory and Praxis*. S.N. Hesse-Biber, Ed. California: Sage. 71-106.
- Gathigi, G.W. 2009. *Radio Listening Habits among Rural Audiences: An Ethnographic Study of Kieni West Division in Central Kenya*. Ph.D. Thesis. Ohio University.
- Gatwa, T. 1995. Ethnic conflict and the media: The Case of Rwanda. *Media Development*. 3:18-20.
- Gavey, N. 1989. Feminist Poststructuralism and Discourse Analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 13(4):459-475.
- Gray, A. 1992. *Video Playtime: The Gendering of a Leisure Technology*. London: Routledge.
- Gilbert, M.R. 1994. The Politics of Location: Doing Feminist Research at 'Home.' *Professional Geographer*. 46(1): 90-96.
- Gill, R. 2000. Discourse Analysis. In *Qualitative Researching with text, image and sound*. W.B. Martin & G. Gaskell, Eds. Los Angeles: Sage. 172-190.
- Gill, R. 2007. *Gender and Media*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gilens, M. 1996. Race and poverty in America: Public misperceptions and the American news media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. 60(4):515-541.
- Gillespie, M. 1995. *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change*. London. Comedia.

- Gitlin, T. 1980. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Glasgow University Media Group. 1976. *Bad News*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Glasgow University Media Group. 1980. *More Bad News*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Global Media Monitoring Project website. www.whomakesthenews.org. [2013, February 1].
- Goebel, A. 2005. Zimbabwe's 'Fast Track' Land Reform: What about women? *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*. 12(2):145-172.
- Golding, P. & Murdock, G. 1992. Culture, communications, and political economy. In *Mass Media and Society*. J. Curran & M. Gurevitch, Eds. London: Arnold. 15-32.
- Gordon, R. 1996. Legislation and educational policy in Zimbabwe: The state and the reproduction of patriarchy. *Gender and Education*. 8(2):215–230.
- Gqibitole, K. 2002. Contestations of traditional Xhosa radio drama under apartheid. *English Studies in Africa*. 45(2):33-44.
- Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.
- Griffin, C. n.d. The advantages and limitations of qualitative research in Psychology and education. Available: http://www.pseve.org/Annals_el/UPLOAD/griffin2.pdf [2013, November 30].
- Griffin, C. & Phoenix, A. 1994. The relationship between qualitative and quantitative research: Lessons from feminist psychology. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*. 4(4):287-298.
- Guma, L. 2013. Mujuru claims Mugabe anointed by God at 10. *Nehanda Radio*, 13 January. Available: <http://nehandaradio.com/2013/01/13/mujuru-claims-mugabe-anointed-by-god-at-10/> [2013, January 20].
- Gunner, L. 2000. Wrestling with the present, beckoning to the past: Contemporary Zulu radio drama. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 26(2):223-237.
- Gunner, L. 2002. Resistant Medium: The Voices of Zulu Radio Drama in the 1970s. *Theatre Research International*. 3:259-274.

- Gunner, L. 2005. Supping with the Devil: Zulu Radio Drama under Apartheid—The Case of Alexius Buthelezi. *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*. 11(2):161-169.
- Gunner, L., Ligaga, D. & Moyo, D. 2011. *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Communities*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Hale, J. 1975. *Radio Power: Propaganda and International Broadcasting*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hall, Stuart (1980) 'Encoding/Decoding.' In *Culture, Media, Language*. S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, & P. Willis, Eds. London: Hutchinson.128-138.
- Hall, S. 1997. The work of representation. In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. S. Hall, Ed. London: Sage Publications. 13-74.
- Hall, S. 2001. Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse. In *Discourse, Theory and Practice. A Reader*. M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S.J. Yates, Eds. London: Sage Publications. 72-81.
- Halliday, F. 1999. Manipulation and limits: Coverage of the Gulf War, 1990-91. In *The Media of Conflict: War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence*. T. Allen & J. Seaton, Eds. London: Zed Books. 127-146.
- Hallin, D.C. 1986. *The 'Uncensored War': The Media and Vietnam*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hallin, D. 1987. Hegemony: The American news media from Vietnam to El Salvador, a study of ideological change and its limits. In *Political Communication Research*. D. Paletz, Ed. Norwood. NJ: Ablex. 3-25.
- Hallin, D.C. 1994. *We Keep America on Top of the World*. New York: Routledge.
- Harvey, J. 2000. Media coverage of the Zimbabwean 'land crisis.' *Deep South*. 6(3):1-4.
- Haynes, A. Devereux, E. & Breen, M. 2006. Fear, Framing and Foreigners: The othering of immigrants in the Irish print media. *International Journal of Critical Psychology*. 16:100-121.

- Head, S. 1974. *Broadcasting in Africa: A continental survey of radio and television*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Heath, C. 1986. *Broadcasting in Kenya: Policy and politics, 1928-1984*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Illinois.
- Hendy, D. 2000. *Radio in the global age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hennik, M., Hutter, I. & Bailey, A. 2011. *Qualitative Research Methods*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Herman, S. & Chomsky, N. 1988. *Manufacturing Consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Herman, E.S. 1996. The propaganda model revisited. *Monthly Review July-August*. Available: <http://www.chomsky.info/onchomsky/199607--.htm> [2015, January 27].
- Hesse-Biber, S.N. n.d. Exploring, Interrogating, and Transforming the Interconnections of Epistemology, Methodology, and Method. Available: http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/43563_1.pdf [2013, June 16].
- Higiro, J-M. V. 2007. Rwandan private print media on the eve of genocide. In *The media and Rwanda Genocide*. A. Thompson, Ed. London: Pluto Press. 73-89.
- Hobson, D. 1980. Housewives and the mass media. In *Culture, Media, Language*. S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe & P. Willis, Eds. London: Hutchinson. 105-114.
- Hungbo, J. 2008. The Wilderness of the Public Sphere: Clandestine Radio in Africa. Available: file:///C:/Users/01419632/Downloads/Jendele_Hungbo.pdf [2015, January 28].
- Hungbo, J. 2012. *The Public Sphere and Representations of the Self: Radio Talk Shows in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. PhD Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.
- Ilboudo, J-P, 2000. Prospects for radio in Africa. Strategies to relate audience research to the participatory production of radio programmes. In *African Broadcast Cultures: Radio in Transition*. R. Fardon & G. Furniss, Eds. London: James Currey. 42-71.

- Iyengar, S. & Simon, A. 1993. News coverage of the Gulf crisis and public opinion: A study of agenda-setting, priming and framing. *Communication Research*. 20:365-383.
- Jayaprakash, Y.T. 2000. Remote audiences and beyond 2000. Radio, everyday life and development in South India. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 3(2):227-239.
- Jones, N. 1986. *Strikes and the Media*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Kachere, D. 2014. Dzinashe Machingura dies. *The Chronicle*. 30 May. Available: <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/dzinashe-machingura-dies/> [2014, June 3].
- Kachere, D. 2014. Wilfred Mhanda dies. *The Herald*. 30 May. Available: <http://www.herald.co.zw/wilfred-mhanda-dies/> [2014, June 3].
- Kanji, N. & Jazdowska, N. 1993. Structural adjustment and women in Zimbabwe. *Review of African Political Economy* 20(56):11-26.
- Karnell, A. 2003. *Role of radio in the genocide of Rwanda*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Kentucky.
- Karpf, A. 1980. Women and Radio. *Women's Studies International Quarterly*. 3:41-54.
- Kellner, D. 1990. *Television and the crisis of democracy*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Kellner, D. 2002. September 11, the Media, and War Fever. *Television and New Media*. 3(2):143-51.
- Kellow, C.L. & Steeves, H.L. 1998. The Role of Radio in the Rwandan Genocide. *Journal of Communication*. 48(3):107-128.
- King, C & Lester, P.M. 2005. Photographic Coverage During the Persian Gulf and Iraqi Wars in Three U.S. Newspapers. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. 82(3):623-637.
- Klaehn, J. 2002. A Critical Review and Assessment of Herman and Chomsky's 'Propaganda Model.' *European Journal of Communication*. 17(2):147-182.
- Kohl, D. 2011. The Presentation of "Self" and "Other" in Nazi Propaganda. *Psychology & Society*. 4(1):7-26.

- Kruger, N. 2005. ZANU-PF strategies in general elections, 1980–2000: Discourse and Coercion. *African Affairs*. 104(414):1–34.
- Kupe, T. Ed. 2003. *Broadcasting policy and practice in Africa*. London: Article 19.
- Kuperman, A. 2001. *The limits of humanitarian intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Kushner, J.M. 1974. African liberation broadcasting. *Journal of broadcasting* 18(3):299-310.
- Kwaramba, F. 2014. Dongo blasts Zanu PF over Mhanda.” *Nehanda Radio*. 4 June. Available: <http://nehandaradio.com/2014/06/04/dongo-blasts-zanu-pf-mhanda/> [2014, June 3].
- Kwinjeh, G. 2009. Mujuru: a worm in a fish pond. *New Zimbabwean*. 11 December. Available: <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/pages/sky32.11989.html> [2013, January 20].
- Lasswell, H. 1948. The structure and function of communications in society. In *The Communication of ideas*. L. Bryson, Ed. New York: Harper.
- Lekgoathi, S.P. 2009. ‘You are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation’: Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership, 1960-1994. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 35(3):575-594.
- Lekgoathi, S.P. 2010. The African National Congress’s Radio Freedom and its audiences in apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991. *Journal of African Media Studies*. 2(2):139-153.
- Lekgoathi, S.P. 2011. Bantustan Identity, Censorship and Subversion on Northern Sotho Radio under Apartheid, 1960s–1980s. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 117-133.
- Lekgoathi, S.P. 2012. Ethnic Separatism or Cultural Preservation? Ndebele Radio under Apartheid, 1983–1994. *South African Historical Journal*. 64(1):59-80.
- Leopold, M. 1999. ‘The war in the North’: Ethnicity in Ugandan Press Explanations of Conflict, 1996-97. In *The Media of Conflict: War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence*. T. Allen & J. Seaton, Eds. London: Zed Books. 219-243.

- Levene, M. 2005. *Genocide in the age of nation state, Vol. 1*. London: Tauris.
- Lewis, P.M. 2000. Private passion, public neglect: The cultural status of radio. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 3(2):160-167.
- Li, D. 2007. Echoes of Violence: Considerations on Radio and Genocide in Rwanda. In *The media and the Rwanda genocide*. A. Thompson, Ed. London: Pluto Press. 90-109.
- Li, X. 2007. Stages of a crisis and media frames and functions: U.S. television coverage of the 9/11 incident during the first 24 hours. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*. 51(4):670-687.
- Liebes, T. 1988. Cultural differences in the retelling of television fiction. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*. 5:277-292.
- Livingstone, S. 1989. Interpretive viewers and structured programs. *Communication Research*. 16:25-37.
- Longhurst, R. 2010. Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. In *Key Methods in Geography*. 2nd ed. N. Clifford, S. French & G. Valentine, Eds. London: Sage. 103-115.
- Lull, J. 1980a. Family Communication patterns and the social uses of television. *Communication Research*. 7:319-334.
- Lull, J. 1980b. The social uses of television. *Human Communication Research*. 6:196-209.
- Lull, J. 1982. How families select television programmes: A mass observational study. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*. 26:801-811.
- Lull, J., Ed. 1988. *World Families Watch Television*. California: Sage.
- Lull, J. 1990. *Inside Family Viewing: Ethnographic Research on Television's Audiences*. London. Routledge.
- Lush, D. & Kaitira, K. 1998. Namibia. In *Up in the Air? The State of Broadcasting in Southern Africa*. I. Opoku-Mensah, Ed. Harare: Panos Southern Africa.

- Lyons, T. 2002. Guerrilla Girls and Women in the Zimbabwean National Struggle. In *Women in African Colonial Histories*. J. Allman, S. Geiger & N. Musisi, Eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mabweazara, H.M. 2013. 'Pirate' Radio, Convergence and Reception in Zimbabwe. *Telematics & Informatics*. 30(3):232-241.
- Machakanja, P. 2010. *National healing and reconciliation in Zimbabwe: Challenges and Opportunities. Zimbabwe Monograph series No. 1*. Wynberg, South Africa: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
- Machin, D. & Mayr, A. 2012. *How to do critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- MacLean, S.J. 1997. The Effects of Structural Adjustment on Civil Society in Zimbabwe: Implications for Canadian Aid Policy. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*. 18(3):463-484.
- Madianou, M.M. 2002. *Mediating the Nation: News, Audiences and Identities in Contemporary Greece*. Ph.D. Thesis. London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London.
- Makumbe, J. 2002. Zimbabwe's Hijacked Election. *Journal of Democracy*. 13(4):87-101.
- Makura-Paradza, G.G. 2010. Single Women, Land and Livelihood Vulnerability in a Communal Area in Zimbabwe. *African Women leaders in agriculture and the environment AWLAE Series No. 9*. The Netherlands: Wageningen Academic Publishers.
- Mama, A. 1995. *Beyond the masks: race, gender, and subjectivity*. London: Routledge.
- Mandiyani, D. 2009. The dilemma of conducting research back in your own country as a returning student – reflections of research fieldwork in Zimbabwe. *Area*. 41(1):64-71.
- Manganga, K. 2012. The use of jokes and mobile telephony to create counter-publics in Zimbabwe. *Journal of African Media Studies*. 4(2):243-255.
- Mangena, T. 2012. Selected Zimbabwean Writings and the Politics of Counter- Discourse in Post-Independence Period. *European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. 18(1):889-902.

- Mano, W. 1997. Public Service Broadcasting in Zimbabwe: A Brief on Promise, Performance and Problems. In *Media, Democracy and Development*. E.W. Andersen, Ed. IMK Report No. 27: University of Oslo. 5-40.
- Mano, W. 2004. Renegotiating Tradition on Radio Zimbabwe. *Media, Culture & Society*. 26(3):315-36.
- Mano, W. 2005. Scheduling for rural and urban listeners on bilingual Radio Zimbabwe. *The Radio Journal – International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media*. 3(2):93-106.
- Mano, W. 2008. The Media and Politics in Zimbabwe: Turning Left while Indicating Right. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 13(4):507-514.
- Mano, W. 2009. ‘Thank God it is Friday’: Responses to music scheduling on Radio Zimbabwe. *Muziki: Journal of Music Research in Africa*. 6(2):192-220.
- Mano, W. 2011. Why Radio is Africa’s Medium of Choice in the Global Age. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 102-116.
- Manyawu, A.T. 2013. The promotional discourse of liberation movements in Zimbabwe: A textual analysis of political jingles. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*. 31(1):71-88.
- Maposa, R.S. 2012. Land to the Landless? A Theological Reflection on Some Christian Views to the Land Reform Program in Zimbabwe, 2000-2008. *Africana* 6(1):69-107.
- Maposa, R.S., Muguti, T. & Tobias, D. 2013. Mass deception or reality: Reflections on the politics of sanctions in Zimbabwe, 2000-2012. *Africana*. 6(2):118-147.
- Marchand, M.H. & Parpart, J.L. Eds. 1995. *Feminism/Postmodernism/Development*. London: Routledge.
- Mare, A. 2013. New media, pirate radio and the creative appropriation of technology in Zimbabwe: case of Radio Voice of the People. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*. 25(1):30-41.
- Marvasti, A.B. 2004. *Qualitative Research in Sociology*. London: Sage Publications.

- Masunungure, E.V. n.d. Voting For Change: The 29 March Harmonized Elections. Available: http://www.kas.de/upload/dokumente/2010/05/Defying_4.pdf [2014, August 13].
- Matereke, K.P. 2012. 'Whipping into Line': The dual crisis of education and citizenship in postcolonial Zimbabwe. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*. 44(s2):84-99.
- Matheson, H. 1935. Broadcasting in Africa. *Journal of the Royal African Society*. 34(137):387-390.
- Mawarire, J.M. 2007. A critical inquiry into the absence of a gender equality discourse in the coverage of the land redistribution issue in two Zimbabwean newspapers, *The Daily News* and *The Herald*, between 01 February and 30 June 2000. MA Dissertation. Rhodes University.
- McNulty, M. 1999. Media ethnicization and the international response of war and genocide in Rwanda. In *The Media of Conflict: War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence*. T. Allen & J. Seaton, Eds. London: Zed Books. 268-286.
- Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe website. <http://www.mmpz.org/>. [2014, March 20].
- Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe. 2013. *Eye on ZBC*. Available: <http://www.mmpz.org/sites/default/files/articles/Eye%20On%20ZBC%20-%20March%202013.pdf> [2014, March 21].
- Media Institute of Southern Africa, Zimbabwe Chapter website. <http://www.misa.org/misa-chapters/zimbabwe>. [2014, March 20].
- Melvern, L. 2000. *A people betrayed: the role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. London: Zed Books.
- Mendelsohn, H. 1964. Listening to Radio. In *People, Society and Mass Communication*. L.A. Dexter & D.M. White, Eds. 239-249.
- Meredith, M. 2002. *Our Votes, Our Guns: Robert Mugabe and the tragedy of Zimbabwe*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Merriam, S.B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M.Y., Youngwha, K., Ntseane, G. & Muhamad, M. 2001. Power and positionality: negotiating insider/outsider status within and across culture. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. 20(5):405-416.
- Mersham, G & Hooyberg, V. n.d. Community radio: the case of Reach Out Radio in KwaZulu-Natal. Available: <http://www.unisa.ac.za/dept/press/comca/221/mersham.html> [2014, December 21].

- Metzl, J.F. 1997. Rwandan Genocide and international law of radio jamming. *American Journal of International Law*. 91(4):628-51.
- Mhlambi, T.N. 2009. *The early years of Black Radio Broadcasting in South Africa: A Critical Reflection on the making of making of Ukhozi FM*. MA Dissertation. University of Cape Town.
- Mies, M. 1993. Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research. In *Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice*. M. Hammersley, Ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Mironko, C. 2007. The effect of RTLM's rhetoric of the ethnic hatred in rural Rwanda. In Thompson, A., Ed. *The media and Rwanda Genocide*. London: Pluto Press. 125-135.
- Moghalu, K. 2005. *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of International Justice*. New York: Palgrave.
- Moore, S. 1988. 'The Box on the Dresser': Memories of Early Radio and Everyday Life. *Media, Culture and Society*. 10:23-40.
- Moore, S. 1993. *Interpreting Audiences: The Ethnography of Media Consumption*. London: Sage.
- Moorman, M.J. 2011. Airing the Politics of Nation. Radio in Angola, Past and Present. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 238-255
- Morley, D. 1980. The "Nationwide" Audience. London: British Film Institute.
- Morley, D. 1981. The "Nationwide" Audience: A critical postscript. *Screen Education*. 39:3-14.
- Morley, D. 1992. *Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Morris, J. 1992. Personal and Political: A Feminist Perspective on Researching Physical Disability. *Disability. Handicap and Society*. 7(2):157-166.
- Mosia, L., Riddle, C. & Zaffiro, J. 1994. From Revolutionary to Regime Radio: Three Decades of Nationalist Broadcasting in Southern Africa. *Africa Media Review*. 8(1):1-24.
- Moyo, D. 2006. Broadcasting Policy Reform and Democratisation in Zambia and Zimbabwe, 1990–2005: Global Pressures, National Responses. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Oslo.

- Moyo, D. 2007. Alternative media, diasporas and the mediation of the Zimbabwe crisis. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*. 28(1-2):81-105.
- Moyo, D. 2010a. Reincarnating clandestine radio in post-independent Zimbabwe. *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast and Audio Media*. 8(1):23-36.
- Moyo, L. 2010b. The dearth of public debate. Policy, polarities and positional reporting in Zimbabwe's news media. In *Media Policy in a changing Southern Africa. Critical reflections on media reforms in the global age*. D. Moyo & W. Chuma, Eds. Pretoria: UNISA Press. 110-132.
- Moyo, D. 2011a. Contesting Mainstream Media Power: Mediating the Zimbabwe Crisis through Clandestine Radio. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 49-62.
- Moyo, L. 2011b. The CNN defect. *Journal of International Communication*. 17(2):121-138.
- Moyo, D. 2012a. Mediating crisis: Realigning media policy and deployment of propaganda in Zimbabwe, 2000-2008. In *Crisis! What Crisis? Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*. S. Chiumbu & M. Musemwa, Eds. Cape Town: HSRC Press. 176-198.
- Moyo, L. 2012b. Participation, Citizenship, and Pirate Radio as Empowerment: The Case of Radio Dialogue in Zimbabwe. *International Journal of Communication*. 6:484-500.
- Msindo, E. 2009. 'Winning Hearts and Minds': Crisis and Propaganda in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1962-1970. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 35(3):663-681.
- Muchemwa, K.Z. 2010. Galas, Biras, State Funerals and the Necropolitan Imagination in Re-Construction of the Zimbabweans Nation, 1980-2008. *Social Dynamics*. 36(3):504-514.
- Mudavanhu, S.L. 2014. The politics of 'patriots' and 'traitors' on Radio Zimbabwe. *Journal of African Media Studies*. 6(3):327-343.
- Mukundu, R. 2006. African Media Development Initiative: Zimbabwe Research Findings & Conclusions. Available: <http://africanmediainitiative.org/content/2013/08/01/AMDI-Report-Zimbabwe.pdf> 11 [2013, November 2].

- Mukundu, R. 2010. A Critical discourse analysis of the coverage of operation “Restore Order” (Operation Murambatsvina) by Zimbabwe’s weekly newspapers, the state-owned *The Sunday Mail* and the privately owned *The Standard*, in the period 18 May to 30 June 2005. MA Dissertation. Rhodes University.
- Murdock, G. 1989. Critical inquiry and audience activity. In *Rethinking Communication* Vol 2. B. Dervin et al, Eds. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. 226-249.
- Murphy, G. 2010. Framing Propaganda: Print Media Coverage of Irish Public Service Workers. *Socheolas: Limerick Student Journal of Sociology*. 3(1):3-24.
- Musangi, J. 2012. ‘A Zimbabwean Joke Is No Laughing Matter’: E-humour and Versions of Subversion. In *Crisis! What Crisis? Exploring the Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*. S. Chiumbu & M. Musemwa, Eds. Cape Town: HSRC Press. 161-175.
- Mushohwe, K., Hattingh, H.S. & Economou, I. 2011. The effect of media law on selected Zimbabwean editorial cartoons during Zimbabwe’s 2008 harmonised general elections. *South African Journal of Art History (SAJAH)*. 26(1):23-40.
- Musila, G.A. & Moyo, D. 2012. Subterranean faultlines: Representations of Robert Mugabe in South African press cartoons. In *Crisis! What Crisis? Exploring the Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*. S. Chiumbu & M. Musemwa, Eds. Cape Town: HSRC Press. 199-222.
- Musvoto, A.R. 2012. The search for Hegemony: Ordering Power after the formation of the Government of National Unity in Zimbabwe. *Muziki: Journal of Music Research in Africa*. 9(1):71-77.
- Muvingi, I.J. 2008. The Politics of entitlement and state failure in Zimbabwe. *The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*. 40(1):77-101.
- Muwati, I., Mutasa, D.E. & Bopape, M.L. 2010. The Zimbabwean liberation war: Contesting representations of nation and nationalism in historical fiction. *Literator*. 31(1):147-173.
- Mwesige, P. 2009. The democratic functions and dysfunctions of political talk radio: the case of Uganda. *Journal of African Media Studies*. 1(2):221–245.

- Myers, G., Klak, T. & Koehl, T. 1996. The inscription of difference: news coverage of the conflicts in Rwanda and Bosnia. *Political Geography* 15(1):21-46.
- Myers, M. 2000. Community Radio and Development: Issues and examples from Francophone West Africa. In *African Broadcast Cultures: Radio in Transition*. R. Fardon & G. Furniss, Eds. London: James Currey. 90-101.
- Mytton, G. n.d. A Brief History of Radio Broadcasting in Africa. Available: http://www.transculturalwriting.com/radiophonics/contents/usr/downloads/radiophonics/A_Brief_History.pdf [2014, December 17].
- Mytton, G. 2000. From saucepan to dish: Radio and TV in Africa. In *African Broadcast Cultures: Radio in Transition*. R. Fardon & G. Furniss, Eds. London: James Currey. 21-41.
- Narayanaswami, K. n.d. Analysis of Nazi Propaganda A Behavioral Study. Available: <http://blogs.law.harvard.edu/karthik/files/2011/04/HIST-1572-Analysis-of-Nazi-Propaganda-KNarayanaswami.pdf> [2012, June 10].
- Ndlela, N. 2003. *Critical analysis of the media law in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Konrad Adenauer Foundation.
- Ndlela, N. 2005. The African Paradigm: The Coverage of the Zimbabwean 'Crisis' in the Norwegian Media. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* [Special Issue]. 71-90.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. 2008. Patriots, Puppets, Dissidents and the Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in Contemporary Zimbabwe. *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*. 24(1):81-108.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. & Willems, W. 2009. Making Sense of Cultural Nationalism and the Politics of Commemoration under the Third *Chimurenga* in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 35(4):945-965.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. 2011. The Construction and Decline of Chimurenga Monologue in Zimbabwe: A Study in Resilience of Ideology and Limits of Alternatives. Paper presented at the 4th European Conference on African Studies (ECAS4), Uppsala. 15-18 June.
- Ndou, D.L.M. 2012. Too young to remember: The framing of collective memory in Zimbabwe's post-independent generation. MA dissertation. University of Sussex.

- Nelson, R.A. 1990. Bias versus fairness: The social utility of issues management. *Public Relations Review*. 16:25–32.
- Nyamanhindi, R. 2008. Cartooning Murambatsvina: Representations of Operation Murambatsvina through press cartoons. In *The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe*. M. Vambe, Ed. Harare: Weaver Press. 118-134.
- Nutter, E.R. n.d. Examine the role of the media in one single-party or authoritarian state. Available: <http://aise-ibhistory.wikispaces.com/file/view/Role+of+Media+in+Nazi+Germany.docx> [2012, June 10].
- Nyambi, O. 2013. Nation in Crisis: Alternative Literary Representations of Zimbabwe Post-2000. Ph.D. Thesis. Stellenbosch University.
- Nyamnjoh, F.B. 2005. *Africa's Media, Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*. London: Zed Books.
- Oakley, A. 1998. Gender, Methodology and People's Ways of Knowing: Some Problems with Feminism and the Paradigm Debate in Social Science. *Sociology*. 32:707-731.
- Odhiambo, C.J. 2011. From Diffusion to Dialogic Space: FM Radio Stations in Kenya. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 36-48.
- Ogenga, F.O. 2010. The Misrepresentation of the Zimbabwean Crisis by South African Weeklies, 2000-2008. Ph.D. Thesis. University of the Witwatersrand.
- O' Neill, D. 2007. From Hunky Heroes to Dangerous Dinosaurs, Journalism Union Relations, News Access and Press Coverage in the 2002-3 British Fire Brigades Union Dispute. *Journalism Studies*. 8(5):815-830.
- O'Shaughnessy, M. & Stadler, J. 2005. *Media and Society. An introduction*. 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- O'Sullivan, S. & Lewis, P. 2006. Future directions for research on radio audiences. *Recherches en Communication*. 26:165-182.
- Paleker, G. 2012. Radio: 1900 to present: Africa. In *Cultural sociology of the Middle East, Asia, & Africa: An encyclopedia*. A.L. Stanton, E. Ramsamy, P.J. Seybolt, & C.M. Elliott. Eds. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. 355-357.
- Pasura, D. 2010. A gendered analysis of land reforms in Zimbabwe. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 33(5):443-454.
- Perakyla, A. & Ruusuvuori, J. 2013. Analyzing Talk and Text. In *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. 4th ed. N.K. Denzin & Yvonna S.L, Eds. Los Angeles: Sage. 277-308.
- Phelan, J.M. 1987. *Apartheid Media: Disinformation and Dissent in South Africa*. West Port: Lawrence Hill.
- Phillips, L. & Jorgensen, M. W. 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage.
- Pindayi, B. 2010. Press Framing of Zimbabwe's 2008 cholera crisis: The case of *The Zimbabwe Independent* and *The Herald*. MA Dissertation. University of Zimbabwe.
- Powell, K.A. 2011. Framing Islam: An Analysis of U.S. Media Coverage of Terrorism Since 9/11. *Communication Studies*. 62(1):90-112.
- Powell, K.A., & Abadi, H. 2003. Us-versus-them: Framing of Islam and Muslims after 9/11. *Iowa Journal of Communication*. 35(1):49-66.
- Power, S. 2001. Bystanders to genocide: Why the United States let the Rwandan Genocide happen. *Atlantic Monthly*. 288(2):89.
- Priest, S.H. 2010. *Doing Media Research: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Radway, J.A. 1987. *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature*. London: Verso.
- Raftopoulos, B. 2003. The State in Crisis: Authoritarian Nationalism, Selective Citizenship and Distortions of Democracy in Zimbabwe. In *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business. Rethinking Land*,

- State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*. A. Hammar, B. Raftopoulos & S. Jensen, Eds. Harare: Weaver Press. 217-242.
- Raftopoulos, B. 2009. The Crisis in Zimbabwe, 1998-2008. In *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial period to 2008*. B. Raftopoulos & A. Mlambo, Eds. Harare: Weaver Press. 201-232.
- Ranger, T. 2004. Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: the Struggle over the past in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 30(2):215-234.
- Ranger, T. 2005. The Rise of Patriotic Journalism in Zimbabwe and its Possible Implications. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* [Special Issue]. November 2005:8-17.
- Reese, S. D. 2001. Framing public life: A bridging model for media research. In *Framing public life*. S.D. Reese, O.H.J. Gandy & A.E. Grant, Eds. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. 7–31.
- Reinharz, S. 1992. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rønning, H. & Kupe, T. 2000. The Dual Legacy of Democracy and Authoritarianism. The Media and the State in Zimbabwe. In *De-Westernising Media Studies*. J. Curran & M. Park, Eds. London: Routledge. 157–77.
- Rosenthal, E. 1974. ‘You have been listening ...’: A history of the early days of radio transmission in South Africa. Cape Town: Purnell.
- Rwafa, U. 2012. Representations of Matabeleland and Midlands disturbances through the documentary film Gukurahundi: A Moment of Madness (2007). *African Identities*. 10(3):313-327.
- Ryan, C. 1991. *Prime time activism: Media strategies for grassroots organizing*. Boston, MA: South End.
- Ryan, M. 2004. Framing the War against Terrorism: US Newspaper Editorials and Military Action in Afghanistan. *Gazette*. 66:363–82.
- Saeed, A. 2007. Media, Racism and Islamophobia: The Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media. *Sociology Compass*. 1:443–462.

- Sachikonye, L. 2003. From 'Growth with Equity' to 'Fast-Track' Reform: Zimbabwe's Land. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(96):227-240.
- Santos, P. 2011. Representing Conflict: An Analysis of *The Chronicle's* Coverage of the Gukurahundi conflict in Zimbabwe between 1983 and 1986. MA Dissertation. Rhodes University.
- Saunders, R. 2000. *Never the Same Again*. Harare: OSISA.
- Savin-Baden, M. & Howell Major, C. 2013. *Qualitative Research. The essential guide to theory and practice*. London: Routledge.
- Schabas, W. 2000. Hate speech in Rwanda: The road to genocide. *McGill Law Journal*. 46:141-71.
- Scheufele, D. A. 1999. Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*. 49(1):103–123.
- Schmidt, E. 1991. Patriarchy, Capitalism, and the Colonial State in Zimbabwe. *Signs*. 16(4):732-756.
- Schrøder, K., Drotner, K., Kline, S. & Murray, C. 2003. *Researching Audiences*. London: Arnold.
- Schulz, D.E. 1999. "In pursuit of publicity": Talk radio and the imagination of a moral public in urban Mali. *Afrika Spectrum*. 34(2):161-185.
- Shaheen, J.G. 2001. *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*. New York: Olive Branch.
- Shamuyarira, N. 1995. *Mugabe's reflections: Zimbabwe and the Contemporary World*. New Dehli: Har-Anand Publications.
- Shaw, W.H. 2003. 'They Stole Our Land': Debating the Expropriation of White farms in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 42(1):75-89.
- Shook, F. 2000. *Television field production and reporting*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon
- Silverstein, K. 1994. Guerrillas in the mist: Media misrepresentation of Rwanda. *Washington Monthly*. 26(9):21-23.

- Silverstone, R. 1990. Television and Everyday Life: Towards an Anthropology of the Television Audience. In *Public Communication: The New Imperatives, Future Directions for Media Research*. M. Ferguson, Ed. London: Sage.
- Sitoe, E. 1998. Mozambique, *In Up in the Air? The State of Broadcasting in Southern Africa*. I Opoku-Mensah, Ed. Harare: Panos Southern Africa.
- Sithole, M. 1993. Is Zimbabwe Poised on a Liberal Path? The State and Prospects of the Parties. *A Journal of Opinion*. 21(1/2):35-43.
- Sithole, M. 1997. Zimbabwe's Eroding Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy*. 8(1):127-141.
- Somerville, K. 2009. British media coverage of the post-election violence in Kenya, 2007–08. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 3(3):526-542.
- Stanley, L. & Wise, S. 1983. *Breaking Out Again*. London: Routledge.
- Steuter, E. & Wills, D. 2010. 'The vermin have struck again': Dehumanizing the enemy in post 9/11 media representations. *Media, War & Conflict*. 3(2):152–167.
- Stoddart, M. 2007. Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse: A critical review of theories of knowledge and power. *Social Thought and Research*. 28:200-220.
- Stokes, J. 2013. *How to do media and cultural studies*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Stone, B. 2007. *Zimbabwe's Different Path and Penalty Incurred*. Available: <http://www.globalresearch.ca/zimbabwe-s-different-path-and-penalty-incurred> [2013, November 4].
- Spitulnik, D. 2000. Documenting radio culture as lived experience: Reception studies and the mobile machine in Zambia. In *African Broadcast Cultures: Radio in Transition*. R. Fardon & G. Furniss, Eds. Oxford: James Currey. 144-163.
- Spitulnik, D. 2002. Mobile machines and fluid audiences: Rethinking reception through Zambian radio culture. In *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*. F. Ginsburg, L. Abu-Lughod & B. Larkin, Eds. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press. 337-354.

- Spitulnik, D. 2009. Personal news and the price of public service. An ethnographic window into the dynamics of production and reception in Zambian state radio. In *The Anthropology of News and Journalism: Global Perspectives*. E. Bird, Ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Straus, S. 2007. What is the relationship between hate radio and violence? Rethinking Rwanda's 'Radio Machete.' *Politics and Society*. 35(4):609-637.
- Strelitz, L. 2005. *Mixed Reception: South African youth and their experience of global media*. Pretoria: UNISA Press.
- South Sudan National Audience Survey: A Nationally Representative Assessment on Radio Listening Habits with Key Findings in Five Booster Areas for Internews Stations, September 2013. Available: http://internews.org/sites/default/files/resources/InternewsSouthSudanAudienceSurvey_web2013-10-31.pdf [2014, December 21].
- Sutter, K.M. 2008. 'Nazi Gods' and 'Jewish Devils': The Dehumanizing Rhetoric of Nazi Propaganda. Honours Dissertation. Boston College.
- Tacchi, J. 1997. *Radio sound as material culture in the home*. Ph.D. Thesis. University College London.
- Tacchi, J. 2000. Gender, fantasy and radio consumption: An ethnographic case study. In *Women and radio: Airing differences*. C. Mitchell, Ed. London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.152-66.
- Tacchi, J. 2012. Radio in the Home: changing experiences of domestic audio technologies in Britain. In *Radio Fields: Anthropology and Wireless Sound in the 21st Century*. L. Bessier & D. Fisher. New York: New York University Press. 233-249.
- Tankard, J.W. 2001. The Empirical Approach to the study of media framing. In *Framing Public Life. Perspectives on Media and our understanding of the social world*. Reese, S.D., Gandy, O.H. & Grant, A.E., Eds. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 93-105.
- Temple-Raston, D. 2002. Journalism and genocide. *Columbia Journalism Review*. 41(3):18-19.
- Tendi, B.M. 2010. *Making History in Mugabe's Zimbabwe: Politics, Intellectuals and the Media*. Oxford: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.

- Tendi, B.M. 2011. Robert Mugabe and toxicity: history and context matter. *Representation*. 47(3):307-318.
- Tettey, W.J. 2011. Talk Radio and Politics in Ghana: Exploring Civic and (Un)Civil Discourse in the Public Sphere. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 19-35.
- The Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (Afrimap) website. Available: <http://www.afrimap.org/> [2015, January 28].
- The South African Audience Research Foundation website. Available: <http://www.saarf.co.za/> [2015, January 28].
- Thompson, A., Ed. *The media and Rwanda Genocide*. London: Pluto Press.
- Thondhlana, J. 2011. The role of the Zimbabwean media in the transition process. In *Zimbabwe in transition: A view from within*. T. Murithi & A. Mawadza, Eds. South Africa: Jacana Media. 223-254.
- Tolmay, S. Ed. 2006. *Mirror on the Media. Who talks on talk shows?* Johannesburg: Gender Links.
- Tomaselli, R., Tomaselli, K.G. & Muller, J., Eds. 1989. *Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa*. Bellville: Anthropos.
- Van Dijk, T. A. 1995. Power and the News Media. In *Political Communication and Action*. D. Paletz, Ed. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press. 9-36. Available: <http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Power%20and%20the%20news%20media.pdf> [2014, December 18]
- Van Dijk, T. 2000. New(s) racism: A discourse analytical approach. In *Ethnic Minorities and the Media: Changing Cultural Boundaries*. S. Cottle, Ed. Birmingham: Open University Press. 33-49.
- Van Dijk, T. 2001. Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin & H. Hamilton, Eds. Oxford: Blackwell. 352-371.
- Van Zoonen, L. 1994. *Feminist Media Studies*. London: Sage Publications.

- Wachanga, D. 2007. *Sanctioned and Controlled Message Propagation in a Restrictive Information Environment: The Small World of Clandestine Radio Broadcasting*. PhD Thesis. University of North Texas.
- Waldahl, R. 2004. *Politics and Persuasion: Media Coverage of Zimbabwe's 2000 election*. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Wall, M.A. 1997. The Rwanda Crisis: An Analysis of News Magazine Coverage. *International Communication Gazette*. 59(2):121-134.
- Walsh, R.T. 1989. Do research reports in mainstream feminist psychology journals reflect feminist values. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 13:433- 444.
- Weedon, C. 1987. *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. Oxford, UK; New York, USA: Basil Blackwell.
- Whitaker, B. 2014. Fear and Money: The Strategic propaganda Conflict During the Zimbabwean War for Liberation. In *Securing Africa: Local Crises and Foreign Interventions*. T. Falola & C. Thomas, Eds. NY & UK: Routledge. 64-82.
- White, L. 2000. Telling more: Lies, Secrets, and Theory. *History and Theory*. [Theme Issue]. 30:11-22.
- Windrich, E. 2000. The laboratory of hate: The role of clandestine radio in the Angolan war. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 3:206-218.
- Windrich, E. 2010. Broadcasting in Zimbabwe. In *Media policy in a changing South Africa: Critical reflections on media reforms in a global age*. D. Moyo & W. Chuma, Eds. Pretoria, South Africa: UNISA.
- Williams, K. 2003. *Understanding Media Theory*. London: Arnold.
- Willems, W. 2004a. Peasant Demonstrators, Violent Invaders: Representations of Land in the Zimbabwean Press. *World Development*. 32(10):1767-1783.
- Willems, W. 2004b. Selection and silence: contesting meanings of land in Zimbabwean media. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*. 25(1):4-24.

- Willems, W. 2005. Remnants of Empire? British media reporting on Zimbabwe. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*. [Special Issue]. 91-108.
- Willems, W. 2010. Beyond dramatic revolutions and grand rebellions: everyday forms of resistance during the 'Zimbabwe crisis'. *Communicare*. 29:1-17.
- Willems, W. 2011. Comic Strips and "the Crisis": Postcolonial Laughter and Coping with Everyday Life in Zimbabwe. *Popular Communication: The International Journal of Media and Culture*. 9(2):126-145.
- Willems, W. 2013a. Producing loyal citizens and entertaining volatile subjects: imagining audience agency in colonial Rhodesia and post-colonial Zimbabwe. In *Meanings of Audiences: Comparative Discourses*. R. Butsch & S. Livingstone, Eds. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Willems, W. 2013b. Zimbabwe's Cultural Revolution and the 'melodic press release': Mediated national imaginaries in an age of neoliberalism. In *Nationalism and National Projects in Southern Africa: New Critical Reflections*. S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni & F. Ndhlovu, Eds. Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa. 158-175.
- Windrich, E. 1981. *The mass media in the struggle for Zimbabwe: censorship and propaganda under Rhodesian Front rule*. Gwelo, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.
- Winocur, R. 2005. Radio and Everyday Life: Uses and Meanings in the Domestic Sphere. *Television New Media*. 6: 319-332.
- Wolters, S. 2011. Radio Okapi – 100% Congolese. In *Radio in Africa. Publics, Cultures, Communities*. D. Ligaga, D. Moyo, L. Gunner, Eds. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 183-196.
- Yang, J. 2003. Framing the NATO Air Strikes on Kosovo across Countries: Comparison of Chinese and US Newspaper Coverage. *Gazette*. 65:231–49.
- Yourman, J. 1939. Propaganda techniques within Nazi Germany. *Journal of Educational Sociology*. 13:148-63.
- Zamponi, M. 2005. From Social Justice, to Neo-liberalism, to Authoritarian Nationalism. Where Is the Zimbabwean State Going? In *Zimbabwe - The Political Economy of Decline*. H. Melber, Ed.

Available: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=96063> [January 2014, January 17].

Zaranyika, H.R. 2012. Exploring rural household strategies to keep children in school: The case of Nyamande village, Murewa, Zimbabwe. MA Dissertation. University of Johannesburg.

ZBC commands lion's share of audience. 2013. *ZBC News*. 26 February. Available: <http://www.zbc.co.zw/news-categories/local-news/28829-zbc-radios-comand-lions-share-of-audience.html> [2013, July 31].

ZBC welcomes ZAMPS results. 2013. *ZBC News*. 1 March. Available: <http://www.zbc.co.zw/news-categories/entertainment/28921-zbc-welcomes-zamps-survey-results.html> [2013, July 31].

Zegeye, A. 2010. Beyond the construction of crises: the voice of an ordinary Zimbabwean. *African Identities*. 8(2):175-190.

Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation website. <http://www.zarf.co.zw/> [2014, March 20].

Zimbabwe's economy during the life of the coalition government. 2013. *News Day*. 5 September. Available: <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2013/09/05/zimbabwes-economy-life-coalition-government/> [2014, February 3].

Zimbabwe's Mugabe should not face sanctions, SADC says. 2013. *BBC News Africa*. 19 August. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-23754623> [2013, November 4].

Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency. 2013. Women and Men in Zimbabwe Report 2012. Available: <http://www.zimstat.co.zw/dmdocuments/Gender/Report2012.pdf> [2015, January 28].

Appendix A – Some Images from the Field



Images of radios that belonged to two of the participants



The mobile phone that one participant used to listen to her favourite programme, *Kwaziso/Ukhubingelelana*



A lounge where one participant and her family often listened to the radio



A kitchen, a popular place for listening to the radio particularly in the evenings



A house with the corrugated roof, another place where a participant listened to the radio

Appendix B – Radio Zimbabwe Programme Schedule

ZIMBABWE BROADCASTING CORPORATION

RADIO ZIMBABWE

PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

October - December 2010

PROGRAMMES SUBJECT TO ALTERATION WITHOUT NOTICE
COPYRIGHT RESERVED BY ZBC

MONDAY

00.00	National Anthem/Station I.D.	T	Sh/Nd
00.04	Yorire Ngoma/Tshay' Izue Mfo	Live	Sh/Nd
03.00	Dzavana Gwenyambira	Live	Sh
04.00	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.00	Nhaka Yedu	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.01	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.05	Munamato/Umthandazo	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.08	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.54	National Anthem/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
06.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
06.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
06.20	Kwaedza / Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
06.30	Empowerment/Indigenisation	Tape	Sh/Nd
07.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
07.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
07.10	Public Notices & Weather Report	Live	Sh/Nd
07.15	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
08.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
08.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
08.05	Nziyo Tichishanda/Ingoma Sisebenza	Live	Sh/Nd
08.40	Impilo Enhle	Relay	Nd
08.55	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
09.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
09.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
09.05	Nguva Yevawere	Tape	Sh
09.45	Umntanakho	Tape	Nd
10.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
10.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
10.05	Rudziyakamwe/Tshay'inkundla	Live	Sh/Nd
11.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
11.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd

11.05	Programme Announcements	Live	Sh/Nd
11.10	Dzemuno/Ezakuleli	Live	Sh/Nd
11.30	Isikhathi Sabesifazane	Tape	Nd
12.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
12.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
12.05	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana (<i>Library comp</i>)	Live	Sh/Nd
12.50	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
13.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
13.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
13.20	Weather Report	Live	Sh/Nd
13.25	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana	Live	Sh/Nd
14.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sd
14.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
14.05	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana	Live	Sh/Nd
14.25	The Life Of The President (Rpt)	Tape	Sh/Nd
14.55	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
15.00	Ezabatsha	Tape	Nd
15.45	Zinhle Indaba Ezinhle	Tape	Nd
16.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
16.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
16.10	Abancane Qha	Live	Nd
17.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
17.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
17.05	Public & Prog. Announcements	Live	Sh/Nd
17.10	Dzekudzora Ndangariro/Ezesikhumbuzo	Live	Sh/Nd
18.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
18.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
18.20	Swerengoma/Ezamagabazi Omgido	Live	Sh/Nd
18.30	Yellow Dust	Tape	Sh
18.45	Swerengoma/Ezamagabazi Omgido	Live	Sh/Nd
19.00	The Life Of The President	Tape	Sh/Nd
19.30	Swerengoma/Ezamagabazi omgido	Live	Sh/Nd
19.45	Mitambo/Imidlalo (Sports Review)	Tape	Sh
20.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
20.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
20.20	Madzimbabwe/Sinyandanye	Tape	Sh/Nd
21.00	Ngisakhumbula	Tape	Nd
22.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
22.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
22.10	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
22.15	Africa Yotinhira/Umdumo WeAfrica	Tape	Sh/Nd
23.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
23.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
2310	Dzandakusarudzirai/Engilikhethela Zona	Live	Sh/Nd

TUESDAY

00.00	National Anthem	Tape	Sh/Nd
00.04	Dzemambakwedza/Indonsakusa	Live	Sh/Nd
04.00	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.00	Nhaka Yedu	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.01	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.05	Munamoto/Umthandazo	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.08	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.54	National Anthem/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
06.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
06.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
06.20	Kwaedza/Kusile)	Live	Sh/Nd
06.30	Empowerment/Indigenisation	Tape	Sh/Nd
07.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
07.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
07.10	Public Notices & Weather Report	Live	Sh/Nd
07.15	Kwaedza/Kusile (Music And Discussion)	Live	Sh/Nd
08.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
08.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
08.05	Nziyo Tichishanda /Ingoma Sisebenza	Live	Sh
08.25	Sanganai Nevaimbi	Tape	Sh
08.55	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
09.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
09.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
09.05	Bhula Sangoma/Femberai Tinzwe	Live	Sh/Nd
09.30	Nziyo Tichishanda/Ingoma Sisebenza	Live	Sh/Nd
10.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
10.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
10.05	Rudziyakamwe/Tshay'inkundla	Live	Sh/Nd
11.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
11.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
11.05	Programme Announcements	Live	Sh/Nd
11.10	Mvengemvenge/Zimnandi Ziyajuluka	Live	Sh/Nd
11.15	Net-One	Comm.	Sh/Nd
11.20	Mvengemvenge/Zimnandi Ziyajuluka	Live	Sh/Nd
11.30	Musha Matare	Tape	Sh
12.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
12.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
12.05	Kwaziso Ukubingelelana(Library comp)	Live	Sh/Nd
12.50	Zviviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
13.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
13.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
13.20	Weather Report	Live	Sh/Nd
13.25	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana	Live	Sh/Nd
14.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh/Nd

14.02.5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Sh/Nd
14.05	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana	Live	Sh/Nd
14.25	The Life Of The President (Rpt)	Tape	Sh/Nd
14.55	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
15.00	Dzakaita Mukurumbira/Ezadla Ubhedu	Tape	Sh/Nd
16.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
16.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
16.10	Kanda Papfudzi/Selimathunzi	Live	Sh/Nd
17.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
17.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
17.05	Zvirimunhau/Okusendabeni	Tape	Sh/Nd
17.10	Kanda Papfudzi/Selimathunzi	Live	Sh/Nd
18.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
18.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
18.20	Weather Report	Live	Sh/Nd
18.25	Usandikanganwe/Ungangilibali	Tape	Sh/Nd
18.40	Swerengoma/Ezamagabazi Omgido	Live	Sh/Nd
19.00	The Life of The President	Tape	Sh/nd
19.30	Umlimi Wanamhla	Live	Nd
20.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
20.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
20.20	Madzimbaöwe/Sinyandanye	Tape	Sh/Nd
21.00	Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga	Live	Sh
22.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
22.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
22.10	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
22.15	Dzemhuri	Tape	Sh
23.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
23.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
23.10	Farai Neidzi/Tshibilika Ngalezi	Live	Sh/Nd

WEDNESDAY

00.00	National Anthem	Tape	Sh/Nd
00.04	Usipo Handirare/Ngilala Ngingalele Ngawe	Live	Sh/Nd
04.00	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.00	Nhaka Yedu	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.01	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.05	Munamoto/Umthandazo	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.08	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.54	National Anthem/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
06.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
06.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
06.20	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
06.30	Empowerment/Indigenisation	Tape	Sh/Nd
07.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
07.05	Izinndaba	(JSI)	Nd
07.10	Public Notices & Weather Report	Live	Sh/Nd
07.15	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
08.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
08.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
08.05	Nziyo Tchishanda/Ingoma Sisebenza	Live	Sh/Nd
08.55	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
09.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
09.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
09.05	Nziyo Tichishanda/Ingoma Sisebenza	Live	Sh/
10.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
10.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
10.05	Rudziya Kamwe/Tshay'inkundla	Live	Sh/Nd
11.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
11.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
11.05	Programme Announcements	Live	Sh/Nd
11.10	Mvengemvenge/Zimnandi Ziyajuluka	Live	Sh
11.30	Nguva yevanhukadzi	Live	Sh
12.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
12.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
12.05	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana (<i>Library comp</i>)	Live	Sh/Nd
12.50	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
13.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
13.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
13.20	Weather Report	Live	Sh/Nd
13.25	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana	Live	Sh/Nd
14.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
14.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
14.05	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana	Live	Sh/Nd
14.25	The life of The President (Rpt)	Tape	Sh/Nd
14.55	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd

15.00	Zvevechidiki	Live	Sh
15.45	Detembai Tinzwe	Tape	Sh
16.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
16.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
16.10	Kandapapfudzi/Selimathunzi	Live	Sh/Nd
17.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
17.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
17.05	Public & Prog. Announcemnts	Live	Sh/Nd
17.10	Kandapapfudzi/Selimathunzi	Live	Sh/Nd
18.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
18.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
18.20	Swerengoma/Ezamagabazi Omgido	Live	Sh/Nd
18.45	Mange Muchiziva Here/Belikwazi Na	Tape	Sh/Nd
19.00	The life of The President	Tape	Sh/Nd
19.30	Musoro Wenyaya	Live	Sh
20.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
20.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
20.20	Madzimbabwe/Sinyandanye	Tape	Sh/Nd
21.00	Zimbabwe Nhasi/I Zimbabwe Lamhla	Live	Sh/Nd
21.30	Mbaqanga	Tape	Nd
22.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
22.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
22.10	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
22.15	Dzemuno/Ezakuleli	Live	Sh/Nd
22.30	Dzepasi Chigare	Tape	Sh
23.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
23.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
23.10	Madirativhange/Zihlangene	Live	Sh/Nd

15.00	Zvevechidiki	Live	Sh
15.45	Detembai Tinzwe	Tape	Sh
16.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
16.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
16.10	Kandapapfudzi/Selimathunzi	Live	Sh/Nd
17.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
17.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
17.05	Public & Prog. Announcemnts	Live	Sh/Nd
17.10	Kandapapfudzi/Selimathunzi	Live	Sh/Nd
18.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
18.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
18.20	Swerengoma/Ezamagabazi Omgido	Live	Sh/Nd
18.45	Mange Muchiziva Here/Belikwazi Na	Tape	Sh/Nd
19.00	The life of The President	Tape	Sh/Nd
19.30	Musoro Wenyaya	Live	Sh
20.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
20.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
20.20	Madzimbabwe/Sinyandanye	Tape	Sh/Nd
21.00	Zimbabwe Nhasi/I Zimbabwe Lamhla	Live	Sh/Nd
21.30	Mbaqanga	Tape	Nd
22.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
22.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
22.10	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
22.15	Dzemuno/Ezakuleli	Live	Sh/Nd
22.30	Dzepasi Chigare	Tape	Sh
23.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
23.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
23.10	Madirativhange/Zihlangene	Live	Sh/Nd

15.00	Kuverengwa Kwamabhuku	Tape	Sh
15.15	Dzavana Gwenyambira	Tape	Sh/Nd
16.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
16.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
16.10	Kandapapfudzi/Selimathunzi	Live	Sh/Nd
17.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
17.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
17.05	Programme Announcements	Live	Sh/Nd
17.10	Kandapapfudzi/Selimathunzi	Live	Sh/Nd
17.30	Positive Talk	Comm.	Sh/Nd
18.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
18.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
18.20	Weather Report /Public Notices	Live	Sh/Nd
18.30	Hutano Hwedu	Tape	Sh
18.45	Swerengoma /Ezamazabazi Omgido	Live	Sh/Nd
19.00	The life Of The President	Tape	Sh/Nd
19.30	Isiqokoqela Sendaba	Tape	Nd
20.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
20.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
20.20	Madzimbabwe/Sinyandanye	Tape	Sh/Nd
21.00	Inhlupo Zalamuhla	Live	Sh
22.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
22.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
22.10	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
22.15	Ezemuli	Live	Sh/Nd
23.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
23.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
23.10	Ezomdabuko	Tape	Nd

FRIDAY

00.00	National Anthem	Tape	Sh/Nd
00.04	Rova Ngoma Mutavara/Tshay'Izule Mfo	Live	Sh/Nd
04.00	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.00	Nhaka Yedu	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.01	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.05	Munamoto/Umthandazo	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.08	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.54	National Anthem/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
06.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
06.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
06.20	Kwaedza / Kusile (Hints & Advice)	Live	Sh/Nd
06.30	Empowerment/Indigenisation	Tape	Sh/Nd
07.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
07.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
07.10	Public Notices & Weather Report	Live	Sh/Nd
07.15	Kwaedza/Kusile (Live Discussion)	Live	Sh/Nd
07.45	Kwaedza Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
08.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
08.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
08.05	Nziyo Tichishanda/Ingoma Sisebenza	Live	Nd
08.25	Hlanganani Labahlabeleli	Tape	Nd
08.55	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
09.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
09.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
09.05	Nziyo Tichishanda/Ingoma Sisebenza	Live	Nd
10.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
10.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
10.05	Rudziya Kamwe/Tshay'Inkundla	Live	Sh/Nd
11.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
11.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
11.05	Programme Announcements	Live	Sh
11.10	Dzemuno/Ezakuleli	Live	Sh/Nd
12.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
12.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
12.05	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana(Library comp)	Live	Sh/Nd
12.50	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
13.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
13.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
13.20	Weather Report	Live	Sh/Nd
13.25	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana	Live	Sh/Nd
14.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
14.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
14.05	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana	Live	Sh/Nd
14.25	The Life of The President (Rpt)	Tape	Sh/Nd
14.55	Radio Zim. Frequencies	Tape	Sh/Nd

15.00	Ukufundwa Kwengwalo	Tape	Nd
15.15	Dzemagitare/Omasiganda	Tape	Sh/Nd
16.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
16.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
16.10	Nguva Yevana Vadiki	Live	Sh
17.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
17.02,5	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
17.05	Africa Bet Soccer	Comm.	Sh/Nd
17.35	Woza Friday	Live	Sh/Nd
18.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
18.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
18.20	Woza Friday	Live	Sh/Nd
19.00	The Life Of The President (Rpt)	Tape	Sh/Nd
19.30	Chinokura Chinokotama	Tape	Sh
20.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
20.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
20.20	Madzimbabwe/Sinyandanye	Tape	Sh/Nd
21.00	Tsika Dzedu	Live	Sh
22.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
22.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
22.10	Zviviso Zverufu / Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
22.15	Woza Weekend/Woza Mpelansonto	Tape	Sh/Nd
23.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
23.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
23.10	Woza Week-End/ Woza Mpelansonto	Live	Sh/Nd

SATURDAY

00.00	National Anthem	Tape	Sh/Nd
00.04	Gunda Musaira/Zimnandi Ziyajuluka	Live	Sh/Nd
04.00	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.00	Nhaka Yedu	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.01	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.05	Munamoto/Umthandazo	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.08	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.54	National Anthem/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
06.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
06.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
06.20	Weather Report/Mamiro Ekunze	Live	Sh/Nd
06.22	Kwaedza Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
07.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
07.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
07.10	Programme Announcements	Live	Sh/Nd
07.15	Kwaedza/Kusile (Sports Previews)	Live	Sh
08.00	Zvepasi Rino	Tape	Sh
08.15	Radio Zimbabwe Juke Box	Tape	Sh/Nd
09.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
09.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
09.10	Mhosva Hairovi/Lidla Umnikazi	Tape	Sh/Ndb
09.15	Country Music	Tape	Sh/Nd
10.00	Afro Jazz	Tape	Sh/Nd
11.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
11.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
11.10	Dzandakusarudzirai/Engilikhethetele Zona	Live	Sh/Nd
11.30	Namhla Silethekele	Tape	Nd
12.00	Top 20	Tape	Sh/nd
13.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
13.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
13.20	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
13.25	Interlude	Live	Sh/Nd
13.30	Radio Doctor	Tape	Sh
13.45	Kwaziso /Ukubingelelana	Live	Sh/Nd
15.00	Ramba Waraira/Yekele Kukhule Lokhula (To include lost and found)	Live	Sh/Nd
16.45	Izidalwa Zasendle	Tape	Nd
17.00	Ziyehla Ziyatshela	Tape	Nd
18.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
18.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
18.10	Weather Report/Public Notices	Live	Sh/Nd
18.15	Kanindo	Tape	Sh/Nd
19.00	Nzira Imwe Chete	Live	Sh
20.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh

20.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
20.20	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
20.25	Interlude	Live	Sh/Nd
20.30	Drama	Tape	Sh
20.45	Yazini Umthetho	Tape	Nd
21.00	Ndangariro	Tape	Sh
22.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
22.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
22.10	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
22.15	This Is Reggae	Tape	Sh/Nd
23.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
23.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
23.10	Dzandakusarudzirai/Engilikhethelazona	Live	Sh/Nd

SUNDAY

00.00	National Anthem	Tape	Sh/Nd
00.04	Dzerudo/Ezothando	Live	Sh/Nd
02.00	Dzakasiyanasiyana/Zihlangene	Live	Sh/Nd
04.00	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.00	Nhaka Yedu	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.01	Radio Zim. Frequencies	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.05	Munamoto/Umthandazo	Tape	Sh/Nd
05.08	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh/Nd
05.54	National Anthem/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
06.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
06.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
06.20	Programme Announcements	Live	Sh/Nd
06.25	Kwaedza/Kusile	Tape	Sh/Nd
07.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
07.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
07.10	Public Announcements	Live	Sh/Nd
07.15	Kwaedza/Kusile	Live	Sh
08.00	Maonero Evanhu/Umbono Wabantu	Tape	Sh/Nd
08.15	Dzechitendero/Ingoma Zokholo	Live	Sh/Nd
08.55	Radio Zim. Frequencies/Station I.D.	Tape	Sh/Nd
09.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
09.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
09.10	Murombo Munhu/Lingasiboni Amabhetshu	Tape	Sh/Nd
09.30	Sunday Church Service	Tape	Sh
10.00	Jazz (International)	Tape	Sh/Nd
11.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
11.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
11.10	Programme announcements	Live	Sh/Nd
11.15	Dzekurumbidza/Ezokudumisa	Live	Sh/Nd
11.30	Sunday Church Service	Tape	Nd
12.00	Rhumba	Tape	Sh/Nd
13.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
13.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
13.20	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Live	Sh/Nd
13.25	Interlude	Live	Sh/Nd
13.30	Radio Doctor	Tape	Nd
13.45	Farai Neidzi/Tshibilika Ngalezi	Live	Sh/Nd
14.00	Nhasi Tiri Kwenyu	Tape	Sh
14.30	Zvemitambo/Ezemidlalo	Tape	Sh/Nd
15.00	Kwaziso/Ukubingelelana / Soccer Com.	Live	Sh/Nd
17.00	Uthini Ngalokhu	Tape	Nd
17.15	Voimba Vanhukadzi/Abahlabeleli Besifazane	Tape	Sh/Nd
17.45	Nhau Dzavarimi	Tape	Sh
18.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
18.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd

18.10	Mamiriro Ekunze/Umumo Womkhathi	Live	Sh/Nd
18.15	Ezemvelo	Tape	Nd
18.30	Zvevakaremara/Abagogekileyo	Tape	Sh/Nd
18.45	Zvisikwa Zvesango	Tape	Sh
19.00	Murimi wanhasi	Live	Sh
19.30	Dzemuno/Ezakuleli (<i>Lib. Compilation</i>)	Live	Sh/Nd
20.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
20.10	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
20.20	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Tape	Sh/Nd
20.30	Drama	Tape	Nd
20.45	Zivai Mutemo	Tape	Sh
21.00	Amasikho Ethu	Relay	Nd
22.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
22.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
22.10	Zviziviso Zverufu/Izaziso Zemfa	Tape	Sh/Nd
22.15	Dzechitendero/Ezenkolo	Tape	Sh/Nd
23.00	Nhau	(JSI)	Sh
23.05	Izindaba	(JSI)	Nd
23.10	Dzawasarudza/Ozikhethileyo	Tape	Sh/Nd

SIGNED DATE

Station Manager