

# MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



## FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

### DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

**Dissertation topic:**

**Nationalistic historiography or patriotic history? A Look at the discourses of Chronicles from the second Chimurenga: A Sunday Mail Column.**

**R132067C**

A dissertation Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Science Honors degree in Media and Society Studies

**October 2016**

**Declaration**

I Blessing Magorimbo (R132067c) do hereby sincerely declare that this dissertation is my own original work that has not been previously submitted to any other university. In writing this work I duly complied with ethical issues and laws governing intellectual property.

**Dissertation Title:** Nationalistic historiography or patriotic history? A look at the discourses of Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga: A Sunday Mail Column.

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**Certificate of Supervision**

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

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## **Acknowledgements**

My sincere gratitude goes to Mr Ndoro and Dr Chibuwe thank you very much.

## **Dedications .**

To my mother Ruth Rusike thank you

## **Abstract**

The study set out to explore the discourses in the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga in *The Sunday Mail*. The intention was to find out if it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history or both histories being propagated on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga. The theoretical framework of the study is informed by the framing theory and concepts of nationalistic historiography and patriotic history. Methodologically the study is grounded in the qualitative research approach. Archival research was used to gather data from the Sunday Mails online archives. Critical discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis was employed to analyse the data. The study found out that the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is propagating patriotic history as evidenced by the one-sided narrative which is always in favour of the ruling party. The column does not give a voice to other parties that also played a role in the liberation of this country but are considered as hostile to ZANU PF.

## **List of Acronyms**

MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
ZANLA	Zimbabwe National Liberation Army
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People’s Union
ZDP	Zimbabwe Democratic Party
ZMMT	Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army

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# Chapter 1

## 1.1 Introduction

In this study the researcher seeks to probe the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Column in the *Sunday Mail* and look at the history that is being written on that column. The research seeks to unravel whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history being written on the column and how this repackaging of history is being done. The media provides us with a place to reflect our history on, particularly here in Zimbabwe narratives on the liberation war struggle. Hence this study will be looking at Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga: a *Sunday Mail* Column and also seek whether the column is serving the purpose of educating the nation about its history or there is now a political agenda behind the history to serve the ideologies of the ruling government. The research seeks to look on the liberation war discourse, and how ownership and control of the *Sunday Mail* influences the column.

## 1.2 Background of the Study

Tendi (2010) postulates that “history is the study of transformation and growth in society over time and space. Examining the past allow us to understand how history influences our present and future”. History builds the capacity of people to make informed choices in order to contribute constructively to society and to advance democracy (Clarke 2004). As a means that is used for personal empowerment history provokes in learners an understanding of human action” This comes with it the knowledge that as human beings, learners have choices and that they can make the choice to change the world for better.

“The propagation of nationalistic historiography is work that has to be done as a concerted reaction to Eurocentric perceptions that Africans had no recorded history prior to the arrival of Europeans on the continent” (Ranger 2009 66). To this conclusion nationalistic historiography is mainly concerned with proving that “Africa has produced organised polities, monarchies and cities just like Europe” (Zeleza 1997:1). In Zimbabwe for example nationalist historiography started by tracing the roots of African nationalism, its relations with the uprisings of 1896\_1897 and the 1960s \_70s respectively the liberation struggles fought by the black now called the First and Second Chimurenga respectively

Ranger,(2009). Nationalist historiography coincided with what (Msindo 2007) calls the ‘golden age’ of nationalism because at that historical time, nationalism easily overcame the divisive inclinations of ethnicity and brought together all the Africans in a politically fictional reality called Zimbabwe. (Ranger 2009) has noted that the dangers of such a historiography have been to idolize the wars of liberation as ‘the total significant history of Zimbabwe’ to the segregation of other socio-political factors that were also central to the formation of the nation-state that we call Zimbabwe

“Patriotic history is a powerful narrative that draws on real, not imagined, grievances. It taps into strong sentiments about colonialism and perceived western hypocrisy on human rights. Its proponents provide persuasive evidence for their assertions, which adds to the plausibility and strength of the narrative” (Ranger 2004:66) “The primary theme – inequality in land ownership patriotic history resents the ‘disloyal’ questions raised by historians of nationalism. It regards as irrelevant any history which is not political” (Tendi 2010: i). And it is explicitly antagonistic to academic historiography (Ranger2010). The incorporation of powerful moral discourses makes patriotic history compelling, and difficult to challenge (Tendi 2010).This study will explore the intellectual and practical implications of 'patriotic history. It will contrast it with an older 'nationalist historiography using The Sunday Mail column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga as a case study.

Patriotic history, a term coined by Ranger (2004), has been a useful lens through which many scholars have analysed varying aspects of contemporary Zimbabwe including its media, its politics, as well as its conceptualization of nationalism and central to these critiques is the ZANU PF party which has been in power since 1980. Likewise, this study situates patriotic history at the centre of its investigation of how collective memory in Zimbabwe’s post-liberation generation has been framed by the newspapers in Zimbabwe but in this study The Sunday Mail Column is going to be used as my case study using its column The Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Column.

The Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga are excerpts which are published in *The Sunday Mail* every Sunday as part of an ambitious project between the Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services, Zimbabwe Defence Forces, Zimpapers, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation and war veterans. Its purpose according to The Herald is of laying out the missing foundation in the liberation struggle since most of what is in the public

domain is when the war of liberation was at its peak in the mid-1970s, with very little background. Apart from the nationalists, it had completely omitted the pioneers of the armed struggle, with an impression being given that the majority of people who fought in the sixties and early seventies had all passed on. The writers of the column are Munyaradzi Huni the deputy editor of *The Sunday Mail* and Tendai Manzvanzvike a senior reporter of the paper.

*The Sunday Mail* was established by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company in 1935 after the success of the Zambesi Times and the Mashonaland. The main purpose of the newspaper just like the Penny press was focused on the editorial column, and it comprised mainly of the whites who had colonised Zimbabwe. The Sunday Mail newspaper just the other newspaper in that colonial era period was used to reinforce the ideas of the whites (Rusike 1990)

The development of the press in Zimbabwe can be put into three categories which are the colonial era period, the second period being after the attainment of independence and the third one the post 2000 period to present (Mukasa 2003). During all these eras the media is said to have catered for the needs of the ruling class and reflected their ideas in the newspaper. It is believed that newspapers that originated from the Rhodes era were to serve the purpose of dominating the print media and in the process promote the ideas of the white ruling class (Saunders 1999) The Rhodesia press was only for the whites and catered for their needs and neglected the blacks.

This was however dramatically changed during the federation years as African newspapers started budding and started giving the Africans political and social news they needed (Munyuki 1996). In the Rhodesian Herald and Bulawayo Chronicles African journalist were not given the chance to write political stories or even interview native commissioners but the African Press through *MOTO* and *PARADE* which were private publications presented the platform that was wanted by the African Majority for political debates (Munyuki 2006).

However it should be taken into consideration that after the attainment of independence Zimbabwe had a limited democratic in which the ruling party ZANU PF dominated the media and it was so doing so to promote the parties political dominance through the media (Chuma (2010). The newly inherited media organisations started to reflect the ideas of the new ruling class and pushed the interest of their parties and the media again was back in the same stage as it was during the colonial ruling where it was involved in the politics of the country. Chari (2003) postulates that after the attainment of independence the public owned

newspapers were used to promote information about nation building and unity and that it should be taken into consideration that issues which were affecting the public were not adequately covered for.

From a background where the print media has been intensely used as a tool to disseminate the ideological ideas for those in power, the research seeks to establish the purpose of the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga on whether it is repackaging history or serves to promote the interest of the political elites and also how political economy and media ownership affect content.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

A lot have been written about patriotic history and nationalistic historiography but this study intends to look at the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga and explore how history is being framed in that column.

### **1.4 Significance of the study**

Whilst a lot of studies have focused on patriotic history and nationalistic historiography (Ranger 2004,2009, Tendi 2010,Thram 2006).This study attempts to unravel the history that is being propagated on the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga. In trying to investigate on the type of history being propagated on the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga in *The Sunday Mail* it is of significance that the researcher analyse on the implications of funding, ownership and control of the media as well as the role of the press in educating the readers about their history. Lennox et al (1964) mentions that newspapers, magazines, radio and television have become the political tools of today. In this context newspapers are to provide communication spaces where the public can be educated about their history. This research is significant because it seeks to find out whether the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga column in *The Sunday Mail*, serves the purpose of educating the readers about the history of this country or serves to entrench the interests of the political elite. The research also explores whether the column is free from manipulation by owners of media houses, funding and its editors.

### **1.5 Main research question**

How is *The Sunday Mail* Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga repackaging the history of Zimbabwe?

## **1.6 Sub research questions**

- What are the liberation war discourses manifesting in the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga column?
- How does political economy ownership and control of *The Sunday Mail* influence the types of discourses found in the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Column.?

## **1.7 Objectives**

By the end of the study the researcher must be able to:

- To determine the repackaging techniques used in the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga
- To identify how the liberation discourse is being used to promote political agendas in the column
- To identify the role ownership and control play in the discourses written in the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Column.

## **1.8 Limitations**

The study will only be limited to studying *The Sunday Mail* though there are other widely circulating newspapers in the country. The findings of this research should therefore not be generalized over the Zimbabwean media landscape. Access to clear archived feedback column in the research was a limitation to the researcher. Although this is an academic research limitations are likely to emanate from the editors and journalist in being at liberty to explicitly divulge how the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga column is managed.

## **1.9 Proposed Research outline**

The study consist of five chapters. The first chapter highlights the background of the study, problem statement, main research questions, assumptions, objectives, significance of the study. Chapter two will review literature of the study as well as the theories that inform the study. Chapter three of the study will make known the research methods and methodology, which consist of data gathering methods, sampling procedures and methods of data analysis. There is also going to be justification of why some research methods were made us of. Chapter four centres on the political economy and organisational analysis of *The Sunday Mail* newspaper. The chapter makes known how the political economy of the organisation and



organisational background of the organisation and how it influences the content. Chapter five will present and analyse data that was found when conducting the research. The last chapter of the study focuses on the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

### **1.10 Chapter summary**

This chapter presented the background and the purpose of the study .This chapter also looked at number of aspects of the study which are made up of the research objectives, questions, statement of the problem significance of the study and also the research is to be undertaken. The chapter also presented how the study is structured. The following chapter is going to make known the literature review and theoretical frame made use by the study.

## Chapter 2

### 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the literature review and theoretical framework that were made use of in this study. McKinney (2008:1) "a literature review summarises, interprets, and critically evaluates existing "literature" (or published material) in order to establish current knowledge of a subject. Literature review discussed and used in this study are ZANU PF and nationalistic historiography, patriotic history, press and politics in Zimbabwe and state media ownership: Implications for control and ownership

#### 2.1 .1 ZANU PF and Nationalistic Historiography

Nationalistic history also began, and was propelled by Terence Ranger's book *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97* (2004) claimed the nationalist movement as for all and was not racist .It portrayed nationalism as emancipatory (Ranger 2004).The nationalistic historiography works largely depicted the two *Chimurenga* wars as comprising of a patriotic and heroic amalgamation of spiritual/religious leaders, guerrillas and nationalists, leading to the attainment of independence but it was greatly silent about the "struggles within the struggle" (Sithole 1979). Such histories were a product of the liberation movement in the 1960s and 1970s reflecting strong element of scholar-activism, but that brand of history persisted after the attainment of the country's political independence till 2000.Hence this study intends to find out if the history that is being propagated on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is nationalistic historiography and how this history has been silent about the struggles that were in the Second Chimurenga

After 1980 this historiography was supplanted by the history of the nation whose primary concern was to both celebrate and legitimate the new nation-state that came into being with the advent of independence in 1980 (Ranger, 2009). Nationalistic Historiography was largely celebratory of the nation state and was characterized by what Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011:14) refers to as 'praise-texts.' In his view: "This narrative celebrated the independence struggle and in the process glossed over the epistemological limits, ideological poverty and realities of the Zimbabwean nationalist struggle as an avenue for the retribalisation of politics, as the key nationalist actors competed for dominance through ethnic mobilisation" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011:14).In this study the researcher intends to find out if is nationalistic historiography

written on the column and seek if the column is encompassing all the history narratives of the country.

The narrative of the history of the nation foregrounded the class struggle as socialism was then the espoused ideology of the nation. ZANU PF, as the triumphant liberation movement, enjoyed hegemony in such narratives (Ranger 2009). Similarly, Shona metaphors like “vana vevhu” and cultural artefacts became the symbols on which the nation-state was being re-imagined. Its two pronged approach to nation-state building was to embrace the policy of reconciliation extended to the white settlers by the new government while on the other hand, ignoring Ndebele/Shona ethnic rivalry or merely dismissing it as the exaggerations of Western historiography (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011, Tendi, 2010) hence this study intends to find if the column is encompassing all the ethnicity and tribal groups in Zimbabwe.

“As already explained the Ndebele and the Shona constitute the major ethnic groups along which the fractures in the nationalist movement had occurred in 1963. Thus, the nation-state promoted by such historiography was an unproblematic one that was deeply rooted in a prehistoric empire” (Raftopoulos 2005:38). Its social constructedness was a taken-for-granted reality that could only be unpacked by mischief makers keen to cause discontent in the country. This resulted in what Brewilly (2009:21) calls the “naturalization’ of the nation-state a process which ‘takes it (nation-state) out of the realm of argument and refutation”. This study hence intends to find out if the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is including all narratives of nationalistic historiography despite ones tribe or ethnicity or it is serving some other kind of history promoting those in power and marginalising other groups.

Many studies of nationalism and historiography assert that national identity is inherent to the modern self, and becoming national is inevitable in the formation of the modern age (Tendi 2010). Ranger (2013) asserts that the historiography of Zimbabwe has been focused primarily on the political engagement of professional historians in the process of nation-building, and less on how historians perceive their own nation-states or how they reproduce their own respective national histories meanings and authorities are derived from historians’ subjective choice of “plots” and “voices” for telling and writing history, rather than objective socio political explanations.. Although a historical narrative is not a fabricated or completely constructed historical document that it is indeed an aesthetic practice, and represents a discursive attempt to interpret the past with the hindsight of presentism prejudice. This is of

great relevance to this study as it intends to find out if the history narratives on the column are being intentionally chosen.

Terence Ranger (2013) contends that the nation is a modern construct and is constantly “inventing” traditions in order to create the illusion of a nation’s primordiality and continuity. In his seminal work *Imagined Communities* Anderson (defined a nation as “an imagined political community,” whose constructed nature was culturally maintained by the development of print capitalism. National identity is always in process of becoming, which demands the continuous reproduction of culturally imagined or invented artefacts to ensure its fixity, but that the implementation of memory and forgetting were also necessary components of this process and this is of great relevance to this study as it intends to find out how hence this is of key importance to this study as the research intends to find out how the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is creating identities.

In his unfinished *Weltgeschichte* (World History), Leopold von Ranke, the father of modern historical scholarship, once asserted that in the age of nationalism, although the subject is “universal history the work of history should be to advance national agendas.” At least since von Ranke, the concept of the nation has dominated much of our understanding of the modern world. Since the early twentieth century, students of nationalism have adopted a “genealogical “perspective, first proposed by Hans Kohn, which suggests that nationalism is a necessary intellectual response to the socio political problems of modernization Bearing the arguable nature of “national characteristics” in mind, scholars of modern historiography have divided the study of the development of historical discipline by national borders. In doing so, they seem to reveal that beneath the pursuit of ultimate historical “objectivity,” a historian’s “subjective” national identification orients his or her historical discourse Kilgore (2012). This is of great relevance to this study the researcher seeks to find out if the history that is being written is of serving political agendas and social dissuading people from the political problems that this country is facing.

This nationalistic historiography served the purpose of legitimating the new state of Zimbabwe and the ZANU PF ruling government after the attainment of independence and its rules to the people ruled but remained fairly open to challenges by alternative views especially as the excitement of independence diminished. But the nation-state remained fairly open to challenges by alternative views, especially as the euphoria of independence waned.

The collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and other east European countries negatively affected the socialist rhetoric in Zimbabwe as the ZANU PF looked up to those countries that had been the hallmark of the history of the nation Raftatopolus (2005). Furthermore, the state had to appeal to a new historiography to legitimate its incumbency in the wake of growing unpopularity following the economic decline that was concomitant to adoption of Western inspired economic adjustment programs in the 1990s and the post-2000 Crisis. This historiography pleaded for a sense of patriotism and at the same time blamed the West for the country's worsening economic crisis. To justify the post-2000 invasions of formerly white owned farms by the landless blacks, historiography re-narrated how the settlers had violently dispossessed the African indigenes of their land during colonial conquest. Thus, patriotic history was inspired by a resurgent nationalism and this study intends to find out if the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is presenting nation.

### **2.2.2 Patriotic history and ZANU PF**

The ZANU PF party has been in control ever since Zimbabwe gained independence in April 1980. However in 1999 this situation was dramatically changed following the formation of the MDC party and this changed the opulence of the ZANU PF party as most people were now supporting the MDC. (Tendi 2010) concurs that ZANU PF IN 2000 started to repackage history when it started losing elections and this was because of the economy that kept on failing each and every day and people no longer wanted ZANU PF to continue wielding power they now wanted another party to take control.

Chirimambowa (2008) asserts that by constantly reminding people on how this country was freed during election times the ZANU PF party wanted to make sure that people would be appreciative that they were freed from the white rule. As "collective memory is also the framework in which historical remembering occurs" (Crane 1997:1373) it is relevant to study patriotic history as a dominant commemorative description that gives a framework for historical remembering in Zimbabwe. The Mbuya Nehanda narrative is always being narrated and whenever issues to do with the liberation struggle or the ruling party are mentioned it's always there, it is like Zimbabwe is about this belief. This study intends to find out the history that is being propagated on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga

“ZANU PF came up with the idea of nativism and this was presented under a different repackaged vision that helped in keeping in touch with the older generation of this country who still recalled the way that Zimbabwe was colonised Muzondidya (2010). This deployment tactic and liberation rhetoric was captured in a narrative history that has come to be known as patriotic history and what is of vital importance within the background of this study is that this repackaged “‘patriotic’ version of history “distorted legitimate grievances by conscripting elements of history which it believed would generate support [for ZANU PF] and undermine the opposition” (Tendi, 2010:1). This is of key importance to this study as it intends to find out how the Column Chronicles from Second Chimurenga is presenting the history of this country is being presented column.

Patriotic history was as a result of a political move by ZANU PF to hold its political power and the people born after independence who have no idea about the history of this country could not dispel this patriotic history, other than their votes could do little to invalidate the claims it made Milayo Ndou (2012). Chirimambowa (2008) asserts that, patriotic history was a brainy blackmailing scheme used by ZANUPF to pressure Zimbabweans to vote for the party and also hold the people at ransom with the ‘we freed you syndrome’. Actually, patriotic history is a structure of historical recalling, which allows ZANU PF to hold on to power “systematically deploying the politics of difference, of marginalization and forgetting, silencing wherever possible the memories and dissonant voices of those who recalled different histories” (Wardrop, 2010:107). Hence this is of great importance to this study as it seeks to unravel on whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history being propagated on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga and whether it is party of the ZANU PF strategy to keep on holding power

The first party that first started with the idea of fighting the colonial regime was ZAPU and ZANU later split out of it and the two parties fought the liberation war on two different frontiers. However when the history of this country is being mentioned in the press it is the ZANU party that is always mentioned, it is like it is the party that started with the liberation struggle and fought the struggle on its own (Thram2006). In this study the researcher seeks to investigate whether there is any repackaging of history being done by the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga and how it is influenced by those who control and own the paper and how the other political parties that took part in the liberation struggle are presented

Patriotic history is a many-sided dominant narrative devised by President Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF which bring about the operationalisation of the retention of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle to the service of the nativist revolution and national politics. This occurred most commonly during the period between 2000 and 2004 (Tendi, 2008; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008). A number of authors have written about patriotic history, most notably Ranger (2004 and Kriger 2006) as well as others such as (Thram 2006, Tendi, 2008; 2010), Muwati et al. 2010) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012). Ranger (2010) contends that the public history commonly termed as patriotic history:

*“assumes the immanence of a Zimbabwean nation expressed through centuries of Shona resistance to external intrusion; embodied by successive empires; incarnated through the great spirit mediums in the First Chimurenga of 1896-7 and re-incarnated by means of alliance between mediums and Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) guerrillas in the Second Chimurenga of the liberation war” (p.505).*

Ever since Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980 ZANU PF has been the ruling party led by Robert Mugabe first he was the Prime Minister with the ZANU party but after the unity accord of 1988 with ZAPU which saw the two parties becoming one and he became the president .

Patriotic history intends to articulate the continuousness of the Zimbabwean revolutionary tradition .The state controlled media outlets are always publicising patriotic history. Patriotic history is naturally choosy, characterized by a “narrowing focus” (Ranger, 2004, p.215) and resentment of “disloyal” (p.215) historical questions. Furthermore, it strives to challenge academic historiography of nationalism and alters the principles of the nationalist movement. Tendi (2010) argues that patriotic history arose during the period when the economy started to decline and when the public were tired of ZANU PF solely holding power and ZANU PF masterminded patriotic history so that people could be more loyal to it. On the other hand the ruling government claims that Western interfering policies after independence have been extremely disturbing the idea of national sovereignty, as the Western countries are always interfering in the politics of this country (Tendi 2010).Hence this study intends to find out whether the column chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is challenging academic by its writings.

Patriotic history is the means through which ZANU-PF claimed to be: “The progenitor and guardian of the post-colonial nation...the only authentic force with a sacred historic mission to deliver the colonized people from settler colonial rule” (Ndlovu-Gathsheni, 2012, p.1). Tendi, (2010, p.1) argues that ZANU-PF has repackaged history so as to portray itself as the “sole champion, past and present, of the independence and sovereignty of a country under constant attack from imperialist forces”. Ranger (2010) contends that patriotic history is enacted and broadcasted but it is not written in a book,” It has to be lived, not read”. While there is not yet any published patriotic history texts the persistent public declarations and depiction of patriotic history has challenged academic historiography and rendered academic historians as useless. Patriotic history gains its strength and significance in the ability to tell about the real things that happened during the colonial era in an extremely convincing manner (Tendi, 2010). This is of key importance to this study as it intends to find out if there is any repackaging of history being done and which party it is favouring.

Great importance should be given to the greatly powerful artists who can be mentioned to as writers of patriotic history. These include largely of President Robert Mugabe, Professor Tafataona Mahoso a media columnist and political analyst. Other noticeable nationalist intellectuals that can be mentioned include the likes of Professor Jonathan Moyo the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education; Dr. Vimbai Chivaura, TV panellist and; Professor Claude Mararike, of the University of Zimbabwe; Professor Godwin Chikore, of the University of Zimbabwe and Professor Sheunesu Mpeperekwi of the University of Zimbabwe Tendi (2010). These intellectuals have enjoyed an unrestricted access to the Zimbabwean public media through which they have supported ZANU-PF ideologies and shielded patriotic history (Tendi, 2010). President Robert Mugabe, the “keeper of patriotic memory” (Ranger, 2009, p.69) acts as the primary agent of this state-produced nationalist history. His publication “Inside the Third Chimurenga: Our Land is our Prosperity” (Mugabe, 2001) provides a useful, packaged insider’s perspective into the rationale behind the Second Chimurenga and contains documented patriotic history discourse, nativist and Afro-radical rhetoric promulgated by President Robert Mugabe himself. Hence it is the intention of this study to find if the history that is being propagated on the Column Chronicle from the Second Chimurenga is nationalistic historiography of patriotic history.



### **2.2.3 Nationalistic historiography and patriotic history**

History education is one of the most important tools that has been used in the twentieth century in the building of the recent nation states (Carvalho and Gemenne, 2009). “This is because history as the narrative of the nation-state has the capacity to define the nation’s past and to construct its collective memory” (Clark, 2004: ii). However in Africa there has been witness what is defined by (Ranger 2009:62) as a “new era of state published history” and it is the intention of this study to find out how *The Sunday Mail* column is presenting the history of this country

Nationalistic historiography largely celebrated the nation state and in Ndlovu Gatsheni view in (2001:14) he described nationalistic historiography “as the narrative that celebrated the independence struggle and in the process glossed over the epistemological limits, ideological poverty and realities of the Zimbabwean nationalist struggle as an avenue for the retribalisation of politics, as the key nationalist actors competed for dominance through ethnic mobilization” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011:14). The nationalistic historiography works largely depicted the two *Chimurenga* wars as comprising of a patriotic and heroic amalgamation of spiritual/religious leaders, guerrillas and nationalists, leading to the attainment of independence but it was greatly silent about the “struggles within the struggle” (Sithole 1979). The nationalistic historiography encompassed all as equal there was no part or greater than the other and this is of key importance to the study as it intends to look on the nature of the history that is being propagated on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga

Patriotic history, a term coined by Ranger (2004), has been a useful lens through which many scholars have analyzed varying aspects of contemporary Zimbabwe including its media, its politics, as well as its conceptualization of nationalism and central to these critiques is the ZANU PF party which has been in power since 1980 “Patriotic history asserts the centrality of Zimbabwe’s radical revolutionary tradition and it is premised on four themes: land; race; a dichotomy between ‘sell-outs’ and ‘patriots’; and the rejection of Western interference based on what are perceived as ‘Western ideals’ such as human rights, ”Tendi (2010:1). The major theme in patriotic history is on land dispossession which has been a major grievance in Zimbabwe as it dates way back from the 1896 when the British South African Company established its rule (Tendi 2010). ‘Patriotic history’ can be regarded as Zimbabwe’s master commemorative narrative insofar as “the master commemorative narrative represents the

political elite's construction of the past, which serves its special interests and promotes its political agenda" (Zerubavel, 1995:11). In the case of Zimbabwe, patriotic history has served the special interests and promoted the political agenda of the ZANU PF party. "the power of collective memory does not lie in its accurate, systematic or sophisticated mapping of the past, but in establishing basic images that articulate and reinforce a particular ideological stance" (Zerubavel 1995:8)

Scholars argued that ZANU PF had propagated a distorted version of the history of the nationalist struggle, that it had maintained a hegemonic and monologic narrative of the nation, that it had elevated its own importance by demonizing large sections of the population and claimed for itself the sole right to script the nation's past (Kriger 2006;; Ndlovu-Gatsheni2011; Raftopoulos 2011)Patriotic history differs from the old nationalistic historiography in the sense that nationalistic historiography celebrated all aspirations of life and encompassed everyone whereas patriotic history sees any history that is not political as valid and also does not acknowledge the existence of academic history that is according to (Ranger 2004)

In other words "collective memory is not a given but rather a socially constructed notion" (Cosser 1992:22) and for Zimbabwe's post-independent generation, patriotic history was the politically constructed narrative meant to influence how and what they remembered about the past. This politically constructed notion known as patriotic history is a master commemorative narrative that is said to have presented Zimbabweans and the world with a dramatically narrowed nationalist history in order to legitimize an intensely narrow and bigoted notion of what it means to be a patriotic Zimbabwean (Raftopoulos 2011; Chiumbu 2004). As noted by Stier (1998:69), "collective memory refers to a common, shared awareness of the presence and meaning of the past in a particular contemporary context, delimited and determined according to certain conditions" Chirimambowa (2008), patriotic history was a subtle blackmailing strategy used by ZANUPF to hold the youths at ransom and coerce them to vote in its favour through what he refer to as the 'we freed you syndrome'.

It is clear that though patriotic history is different from nationalistic historiography though it has some characters from nationalistic historiography. Ranger (2004) points out that there serious limitations when it comes to patriotic history as he describes it as a dangerously one sided narrow and divisive history which focuses on the three Chimurenga of Zimbabwe whereas nationalistic historiography encompasses all as one for example the whole tradition

of black worker struggle, encompasses African women and their struggles for a better life and forgets the bad hence it is the intention of study to find if it is encompassing all aspects of patriotic history or nationalistic historiography or it is just one sided.

#### **2.1.4 Press and Politics in Zimbabwe**

In Zimbabwe the press should be understood with its close ties with the politics of the country. Lozanov (2010) contends that media and politics issues are in a strained relationship in the general public, on the grounds that the media tries to legitimately educate people in general about the governmental issues of a nation when the ruling class themselves try to keep up their dominance and power through the mass media they can dominate the ordinary people. The growth of the press in Zimbabwe according to (Mukasa 2003) is in three stages which are the colonial stage, period after 1980 and post 2000 and during all those stages the media has been used to promote the ideas of those in power. Mukasa (2003:171) goes on to say that that “during each era, the press exhibited editorial policies and practices that reflected the ideological and socio-political environment of the country”. The press was the reply in the dissemination economic, political and social information. Other political discourses and voices are othered and mentioned only a few times just as like what happened to the Africans in the colonial era with regards with their access political information .In this study the researcher seeks to make known on the relations binding *The Sunday Mail* to politics and how political discourses are promoted through the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga

During the colonial era the press was used to promote of white political interests over the black majority and as a result the press only contained issues to do with the whites and their political affirmations. Saunders (1999:5) states “the whites came to wholly dominate the print media in the country whilst the press expressed the white settler views and consolidated their political and economic privileges”. The editorial policy during that time was to articulate for the needs of the whites (Chari 1990). Gale (1962) mentions that the editorial guiding principle for the Sunday Mail during the colonial era was precisely stated as for the progression of the political, mining and historical interests of the white settlers and their colonial government and hence this is the same for the present today Sunday Mail has an editorial policy which advocates for the support of the ruling government. The editorial

policy during the colonial period never advocated for the fair reporting of issues to do with blacks but was in favor of the white minority (Gale 1962) the political, economic and social concerns of the whites were the ones being promoted by the press in the colonial era. The white settler government and the editorial policies also never advocated for a free press that put in place the needs of the whites. Hence this is of key importance to this study as it seeks to unravel whether the government and the editorial policy have a say on the history that is being written on the Column Chronicles from The Second Chimurenga and if it is in the best interest of the people

The press was used as an ideal tool to promote the colonial political ideologies. The press in Zimbabwe has always been under a huge strain by the ruling government especially when it is not in favor the ruling government. Mukasa (2003) concurs that the Black Nationalist in the colonial era were the ones who were in favor of for a free press but ironically when they rose to power used it to promote their political agendas. The press of today has continued articulating the needs of those in control and labels members of the opposition party as political puppets of the West and sell outs just as like what happened during the colonial era when black freedom fighters were being labelled as “terrorist” and “magandanga” therefore in this study the researcher investigates whether the press, *The Sunday Mail* is being used as tool for dissemination of political constructed ideologies of the ruling class in the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Column to further the interests of the ruling party.

Windrich (1981) and Mukasa (2003) argue that after independence the press operations were the same but rather the government decided to have a cozy relationship with the press, government hence took the public media as its own object for promoting its party political ideologies. The main business of the public owned was now to articulate the ideas of the blacks who had just gotten into power. Windrich (1981), states that the public owned media was now being used for development journalism, meant to achieve national development, incorporating social and economic development, political and historical unity and nation building. The black ruling government by doing so was trying to be in charge of the media and putting all of its ideological needs in all news that was being disseminated just like in the what took place in the colonial period .This study seeks to unpack how the Column Chronicle from the Second Chimurenga is being used to reflect the parties’ interest.

### **2.1.5 State Media Ownership and Control: Implications for control**

(Chari et al 2003) concurs that Zimbabwe's media from 1980 has been using the Lancaster House Constitution of 1979 and media laws that were passed on from Rhodesia. The control structures ownership and laws of the Lancaster constitution were sympathetic to the whites and they controlled the media and all the policies that were enacted were meant to suppress all the activities of the black. After the attainment of independence the ruling government owned and controlled the public media and continued to influence the nature of content in The Sunday Mail Newspaper.

During the Smith regime the private press was banned but it began to bud again after the attainment of independence. In Zimbabwe the ownership and control of print media is based along two major binary positions, which are the private and public owned media. Ownership structures of the media in Zimbabwe have resulted in the media being subjects of extreme manipulation and patronisation. The government through Zimpapers owns and controls the publications of public media such The Sunday Mail as it has shares but the organisations is publicly owned. However The ZMMT was established to control the media and also to limit government influence in the media. Ownership and control of the media has noticeable effects on the variety and type of discourses that are published in the media. In this study the aim is to find out if indeed the ownership and control of *The Sunday Mail* has consequences on the nature of political discourses in *The Sunday Mail* column.

There is a strong belief that the owners of media houses have influence on the range and nature of news and also by their decisions of providing certain projects with money, by proving and by giving a media platform to certain groups and by employing certain workers that they want to use in promoting certain ideologies (Werner 2001). Park et al (2000) postulates Zimbabwe's press is having a rough period ha .Control and ownership are the ones playing a big role on the nature of discourses found on the privately and publicly owned media. Ranger (2004) postulates that in this media crisis era, the media observed the growth of patriotic journalism. During this period the public owned media was used to create a feeling of belongingness to the public, through proclamation of tags such as 'traitors' to those regarded as deviant people whereas the patriotic Zimbabweans were repeatedly declared as the real 'sons of the soil'. Ownership of newspapers such as, *Sunday Mail*, *The Herald*, and *Chronicle* forced the ruling government to control the range and nature of discourses published in the newspapers. This study aims to investigate whether the

Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga fulfilling the needs of all the people in society or the column is also part of the patriotic journalism.

The media in Zimbabwe control and ownership can be greatly said to have been relegated to individuals who back the ZANU PF ruling party. A few number of newspapers which had took the opposing the stance were either closed or repressed by the harsh media laws of this country. Kupe (2007:13) contends that, "... the legacy of media repression is represented by a plethora of laws inherited from the colonial era which h curb freedom of expression and of the media ..." (Mazango 2005) is of the view that that control of media spreads through ownership structures and laws decreed which are ways of safeguarding the continuity in the media industry. Hence this research seeks to investigate whether owners of *The Sunday Mail* control the political discourses in the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga column in order to make the audiences more aligned to the ruling party ideologies.

In Africa ownership and control of media houses at large still has influence on the news intended for dissemination. After gaining independence from colonial governments categorized by harsh media laws, the press continued to put forward the needs of those who are in control. Adesashi (2011) states that despite the impression often given by the government of public newspapers, as to serve public interest, they mostly serve the interest of the government elite who use them to project and defend their persons and promote their policies in government. Adesashi (2011) goes on to say that because of public owned newspapers depending on government grants, the media will always be used by the government to propagate its ideas. Hence this study aims at investigating if direction and functionality of the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is being determined by the government and being used to entrench the ideas of the ruling party

This study examines on how ownership and mainly control of *The Sunday Mail* influences the functionality of the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga on political debates. The study through media ownership and control questions how history is being repackaged in the column since owners of the media seek to control the media for self-actualization and also as an instrument for ideological purposes. Ownership and control of the media are thus important to the operations of a newspaper.

Ownership and control of the media can be said that it has visible effects on the type and variety of discourses disseminated to the public. By restraining on the type and variety of discourses, ownership and control of the media initially controls what the public must be

known, and hence limits on the way and value of political discourses disseminated by the media. (Adesashi 2011) Newspapers are very important tools which are used by the owners to enhance and guard their political careers and in the process they will be enriching themselves. The study with this in mind mainly intends to find out if the ideologies in the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Column in *The Sunday Mail* are results of the public media being under the ownership and control of the ruling government. The following section

### **2.2.6 Theoretical framework**

A theoretical framework controls a research and aids the reader in making clear sense of the relations between variables and factors that would have been considered significant to the problem (Mouton 2005). This study made use of the framing theory and also the concepts of patriotic and nationalistic historiography

### **2.2.7 Framing Theory**

Goffman(1974) defined framing as a “schemata of interpretation” that makes it easier for individuals to locate ,perceive ,identify and label incidences or life experiences .Entman (1993:51) definition built on Goffman is that to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a perceived reality and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition ,causal interpretation moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation .This means to generally use particular words in order to arrive at an alleged meaning .Entman (1993:53) goes to say that “framing involves the selection of some aspects of a parceled reality and make them salient in a communicating text ,in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition ,causal interpretation ,moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation for the item described” This becomes of key importance to my study as it intends to find out whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history that is being made more framed on the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga and this study will look on how text is being selected.

Salience according to Entman (1993) can be described as giving great importance to certain information and this in turn will make it more striking and noticeable to the audiences .This becomes important for this study because it is about how history is being framed on the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga .The study seeks to unravel whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history that is being framed on the column .Entman (1983) explains how increasing salience will make people more aligned to the message that is being communicated and start preferring it .Hence this study wants to look at how history is

being packaged and for whose benefit and how the audiences are supposed to perceive the messages.

Fourie (2007:245) says that “framing describes the influence on the public of the news angles used by journalist, the interpretative and ideological frameworks from which journalist report an issue and the contextualization of news reports within a specific framework”.Lilieker (2006) also supported Fourie by describing the framing theory as a theory that describes the practice of thinking about news item and story content within similar contexts .Hence this is of key importance as the Sunday Mail deliberately chooses on how a to report about a particular issue and the stance in which the reporters of the Sunday Mail are taking .Hence this study seeks to unravel which frame is being deliberately being chosen by the Colum Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Column in framing the history that is being propagated there.

In framing it is believed that communications intentionally leave or deliberately make use of certain ideas or facts. “Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include and omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations and recommendations maybe as critical as inclusions in guiding the audience” Entman (1993:52). This is of key importance to the study as it is going to look at how frames in the column chronicles from the Second Chimurenga are presenting the history on the column and whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history being propagated on the column. Potter (2008:173) says that “news framing influences are like constraints in the sense that they can be seen as forces that shape what gets selected and presented as news”. DE Vreese et al (2001) argues that frames are made in order to choose ,emphasize and organize some aspects of reality while excluding others .as a picture frame may draw the attention of its viewers to certain aspects and leave others out ,a media frame also does the as it gives attention to certain news and ignores others. This is of importance to this study as the study seeks to reveal the framing of the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history and how the frames are influenced by a number of different factors as frames are not innocent but are influenced by factors such as the political economy editorial policies and political economy.

Framing theory is closely intertwined to the agenda setting thus according to Fourie (2007).Agenda setting theory states that is media “may not be stunningly successful in telling people what to think but they are stunningly successful in telling people what to think



about”(Fourie 2007:245) explains the differences between framing and agenda setting by say the “emphasis on agenda setting theory is on the media selections of topical issues while the emphasis is more on the medias representation treatment and even production issues” Hence the study is going to focus on how the Column Chronicles is representing issues .

### **Chapter summary**

The chapter presented and discussed relevant literature guiding the research. The literature review was, patriotic history and nationalistic historiography as well as the relations of press and politics along with media ownership and control. Theories which inform the study included the framing theory, the concept of nationalistic historiography and patriotic history. The following chapter looks at the research methods and methodology implored in conducting the study. The chapter also highlights the sampling techniques, data collection and data analysing methods used in the research.

## **CHAPTER THREE:**

### **RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter is going to give an account on how the research is going to be carried out .It outlines the research approach ,research design ,unit of analysis ,sampling procedures ,method of data gathering ,methods of data analysis and presentation .Rajasekar et al(2013) defines research methodology as the procedures one take as he tries to explain and predict a phenomena.

#### **3.2 Research Approach**

Qualitative research paradigm was used for this research .Wanyuni (2012) asserts that in research a paradigm is the framework leading the researcher on how is going to conduct the study. Guba and Lincoln (1994:13) are of the view that a paradigm “represents a worldview that defies for it holder the nature of the world, the individuals place in it and the range of possible relationships to that world and its part”.

Keller (1998) argues that qualitative research has its roots in social sciences and is more worried with understanding why individuals behave in a certain manner ,their fears beliefs ,knowledge’s and attitudes .Joubish et al (2011) acknowledges that qualitative research deals with understanding experiences ,feelings and opinions of people .It is interested in meaning. Hence this study is interested in whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history being propagated on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga.

Qualitative research according to Patton (1990) is naturalistic and open to whatever emerges and does not impose prior constraints on finding’s .Qualitative research has the advantage of loosening the mind to explore all the possibilities without any preconditions. Hence this makes it easy for me to try and unravel the meanings intended by the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga ad also whether there is any repackaging of history.

Joubish et al (2012:2082) concurs that the qualitative research believes that “there is no single reality, reality is based upon perceptions that are different for each person and change over

time and what we know has meaning only within a given situation or context". Macket et al (2005) assert that qualitative research "is especially suitable in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours and social context of particular populations". Hence qualitative research was appropriate for this study in looking on how history is being framed on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga thus the political, economic and social values also have to be looked into.

### **3.3 Research Design**

This research is largely going to be premised in the qualitative paradigm of research .A research design can be looked at as the glue that keeps together the research project Hopkins (2000).Churchhil et al (2002) contends that a research design is a plan or framework for the study used a guide in analyzing and collecting data .A research design usually falls into two main paradigms which are quantitative and qualitative .It helps in structuring the study and show if the research is compatible in answering all the research questions. "The research design is normally influenced by the nature of the issue under investigation, access to subjects, resources availability and background" (Myton 1999:3)

"Research design is the plan ad structure of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions. The plan is an overall scheme or programme of the research .It includes an outline of what the investigator will do...a research design expresses the plan of investigation used to obtain empirical evidence on relations of the problem" (Cooper 2000:130). In this study the research design and methodology leads to answering the question whether it is patriotic and nationalistic history being propagated o the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga and in answering also how exactly media ownership and control affect the discourses that are being there .In this study content analysis of the sampled newspapers articles and articles and interviews with reporters and editors from the Sunday Mail .Newspapers were the main tools of collecting data .Through archival research data was coverted from the Zimpapers online library .Selected readers were purposively sampled from media and society students.

### **3.4 Research Universe**

The population of a study focuses on the chosen components or people in which a research is going to get results or focus on .The study made use of published columns from the period beginning January 2016 to October 2016 .The population of the study summed up to forty 40 published columns .From the 40 purposive sampling was employed in selecting the

Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga which were of importance to this study .I hence made use of columns which were politically inclined and which showed the repackaging of history . A larger pool from which a sample is drawn can be defined as a sample Fourie (2007).

Through purposive sampling 12 twelve Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Columns were left to be subjected to content analysis .Sunday Mail editors and journalists were also chosen to be part of the population for this research .Population can hence be called as the sum of objects in the actual world in which a research study is going to be focused on.

### **3.5 Unit of Analysis**

The study made use of newspaper articles from the Sunday Mail Colum that had the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Columns .The period of importance was from 15 November to October 2016 .Schutt (2009:191) defines the unit of analyses “as the level of social life of which a research question is focused such as individuals ,groups ,tows or nations” Babbie (2001) contends that the unit of analyses are the who or what that are being researched explaining that unit of analyses are importantly the things we examine in order to create summary description and explain differences among them.

### **3.6 Sampling Procedures**

Purposive sampling was made use of in this study. A sample is a demonstrative part or a single thing from a whole or a larger group .Sampling can be defined as the way one manages to get a small part of a larger population of a specific area to represent the entire populace of the equivalent Haralambos et al (1991).Sampling can also be said to be a process of choosing subjects to play a role in research investigation on the basis that they supply data that is considered important to the research area.

Kumar (2011:210) say that “In qualitative research the aim is to explore or describe a situation, issue, process or phenomenon and so the question of sample size is not an issue”. In this study purposive sampling was made use of and it came in handy in selecting the columns which I felt were playing a role in the repackaging of history.

### **3.6.1 Purposive sampling**

Articles that focused on how history was being repackaged were purposively sampled. Purposive sampling was used in this research as the research mainly concentrates I particular stories that had a particular meaning other stories were not important and they were not made use of. Opping (2013:203) notes that sampling is a “process of selecting subjects to take part in a research investigation on the ground that they provide information considered relevant to the research problem”. Scholars like (Oppong 2013, Marshall 1996, Coyne (1997) all agreed that purposive sampling is suitable for this study as noted by Patton in Coyne (1997) that is selects information rich cases .Koerber and McMichael notes that by doing purposive sampling the research will look for participants who possess certain traits or qualities.

Purposive sampling is also known as judgmental sampling and is largely based on the discretion of the researcher .Purposive sampling suggests that elements are chosen on the grounds of acute knowledge of the population and aims of the study Babbie (2001).Purposive sampling is also made use of in the area of observation since the researchers knowledge will be grounded on familiarity with the subjects so he or she will only sample the appropriate behaviour or events observed.

When making use of purposive sampling it should be taken into consideration that the directed respondents should have acute knowledge about the subject being investigated .Purposive sampling can be defined as a strategy in which particular settings, persons or events are selected deliberately to provide information that cannot obtained from other sources Patton (1990).Hence purposive sampling should be conducted with the experts of the area one will be investigating or with people with firsthand information about the subject.

Given that the research sought to establish the repackaging of history being done by the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga in the *Sunday Mail* from the *Sunday Mails* structures of ownership and control, the researcher intentionally chose to interview, the Editor, desk editors and reporters of the newspaper .The reason of selecting The Sunday Mail editors and reporters is because they have the best information that will give best results for this researcher

### **3.7 Methods of Data Gathering**

Data gathering is a very important part of data gathering .For any research to be successful it rests with the accuracy of the data collected. The study gathered data through interviews with

*The Sunday Mail* editors and reporters with the intention of capturing their perspectives on the discourses in the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga. Interviews were also made use of with the general public to get their feedback about what they think about the repackaging of history being done by the column.

There are two broad categories of data gathering which are primary data and secondary data. Primary data includes questionnaires, observations, interviews and many others. Primary data is data obtained from the person with all the facts. On the other hand secondary data relates to information that is publicly available and can be utilized for other purposes. Secondary data is obtained from journals.

### **3.8 Archival research**

In this study archival research was made use of. Archival research has to do with conducting researches in which the researcher played no role in collecting McBurney and White (2009). Archival research can hence be defined as the examination of already existing data that is already collected in order to respond to new relating research questions. Archival research methods are very useful in that they are very convenient as data is already available and it is also not expensive. Written articles, survey records, published stories and statically records may also be part of the data that is readily available

When doing archival research all that the researcher has to do is to choose and compile literature from the already stored literature and by doing so one will be extracting data which will aid in responding to the questions brought forward. Archival research was used to gather data from the *Sunday Mail* column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga. Archival research helped in understanding how the interviews that were published in the column were always in relation to the country's politics.

#### **3.8.1 Interviews**

This study made use of interviews. Journalist responsible for the column were interviewed as they are the ones responsible for the column but they refused to review their names and chose to remain anonymous. An interview can be comprehended as the way of using questions to get answers Dooley (2003). Denzin (1979:186) is of the view that interviews can be viewed as "any face to face interaction whereby one person extracts information from one another". Hence an interview is done by making use of designed and consistent questions that will aid in answering the research questions. Interviews are very important in gathering important

data which is needed in situations where in-depth information is needed and they are a few respondents available. Interviews were made use in this research in order to get information from the preferred respondents. The researcher employed face to face interviews with the chosen respondents and it allowed enhanced interaction between two people and also gives room to options and views pertaining to related questions.

### **3.9 Methods of data analysis and presentation**

Data that is unprocessed holds no values .Data that is processed leads to information that empowers efficient action and leads to information that is informative Alabi (1999).Adebayd (200) postulates that there are a number of ways that should be made use of in data analysis. Cooper and Schindler (1995) are of the opinion that data analysis techniques are used to ease the collected data into reduced sizes from which summaries can be attained from. This study made us of qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis.

#### **3.10 Content analysis**

Fourie (2007) contends that they are two basic types for content analysis which are qualitative and content approach. According to Kerlinger (1986) content analysis is a way of analysing and studying communication in a systematic objective and quantifiable manner for the measurable variables (Krippendorf 1994:18).Content analysis according to( Neuman 1977) is a research methodology that is used to gather and analyse texts .The main analysis will focus on the content of text which at times includes meanings and themes that serve the role of spreading information. Analysing texts in the setting of their uses differentiates it from other methods of inquiry and by doing so content analysis indicates characteristics of intended prejudices and bias from those who author and publish material Krippendof (2004)

Berger (1998:23) contends that “content analysis is a means of trying to learn something about people by examining what they write”. This study made use of qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis were used in analysing the nature of political discourses published in the *Sunday Mail* Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga trying to tackle the question on how it is repackaging history.

##### **3.10.1Qualitative content analysis**

Qualitative content analysis was made use of in this study as it is critical in nature and is used when there is need to penetrate the deep layers of message whereas quantitative involves figures and is scientific in nature.Woollocat (1982) is of the view that qualitative content

analysis came to supplement quantitative analysis .Qualitative content analysis can be defined as a group of different approaches which focuses on examining the framing ,discursive ,semiotic or narrative dimensions of a media text. Qualitative content analysis takes the meaning and structure and meaning of the material to be examined. Qualitative content examines the essential meanings and patterns of a given text in order to appraise its judgments’ qualitative content analysed helped in examining whether it is nationalistic of patriotic history being written on the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga.

### **3.10.2 Critical discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis is a method of discourse analytical research that largely studies on how social power, inequality, dominance and abuse are resisted reproduced and enacted by talk and text in the political social context .With this in mind critical discourse analysis takes the position of trying to expose, understand and ultimately resist social inequality. Critical discourse analysis questions about the way certain discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance whether they are part of conversation or news report.

The main tenets of critical discourse analysis according to Fairclough and Woodak (1997\_280)cited in Van Dijk( 1998) are that critical discourse analyse analyses “social problems ,power relations are discursive ,discourse constitutes society and culture ,discourse does ideological work ,discourse is historical ,the link between text and society is mediated and discourse is a form of social action”. In regard to this study critical discourse analysis was used in helping unpack whether it is nationalistic history being propagated on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga and how language is being used to do so.

The advantage of critical discourse analysis is that it aids in analysing what media texts mean in the analysis of research data. Thus in this study critical discourse analysis was made use of to unpack how the *Sunday Mail* is repackaging the history of Zimbabwe through its column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga, the researcher also analysed the language use on the published stories.

## **3.11 Methods of Data Presentation**

### **3.11.1 Thematic presentation**

Thematic analysis method was used to present data as I was looking at how history is being repackaged in the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga. Anderson (2007) asserts



that thematic content analysis is a vivid presentation of qualitative data. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006:6) note that “thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data.

Braun and Clarke (2006:10) argue that “a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and it represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.” They also argue that the importance of a theme is measured in terms of how much it captures something important regarding the research question. For the purpose of this study thematic analysis was made use of in examining whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history that is being propagated on the column chronicles from the Second Chimurenga. Braun (2006) is of the view that thematic analysis by its theoretical framework gives a useful and flexible research tool which provides detailed and rich data

### **3.12 Ethical considerations**

When conducting this study the researcher had to make sure that she adheres to the maximum standards of professionalism by sticking to ethical standards that are required when conducting such studies. The researcher also has to make sure make sure that she doesn't reveal the names of the journalist interviewed as they all wanted to remain anonymous.

### **3.13 Conclusions**

This chapter highlighted on the research method that were made use of by the study and stated the importance of each research methodology made use of .The following chapter is going to look on the political economy and organisational analysis of the Sunday Mail.

## Chapter 4

### Organization analysis and political economy of the Sunday Mail

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter is going to present the history of *The Sunday Mails*, historical background of Zimpapers ownership, funding and control of *The Sunday Mail* Newspaper. A political economy approach will be used to analyse the relationship between capital and the range of discourses that emanate from the two newspapers. Golding and Murdock (2005) argue that political economy examines patterns of ownership and control of media organisations and the consequences of such ownership and control on the activities of the media organisations.

#### 4.3 History of the Sunday Mail

*The Sunday Mail* started its operations in 1935 after the success of its sister papers the Bulawayo Chronicle and the Rhodesia Herald by the Rhodesian printing and publishing company. It was established it is one of the oldest newspapers in the country. During the colonial era *The Sunday Mail* like the other government controlled media was also used to champion the ideologist views of the white minority. *The Sunday Mail* during that era also followed the other newspapers in insulting the black nationalists by regarding them as terrorist and was always writing bad things about liberation struggle (Rusike 1990) .In the colonial era newspapers were also used to promote the history of the whites on where they had come from and how they had colonised Zimbabwe

After the attainment of independence surprisingly the newspaper continued to meet the needs of the ruling party as was the case during the colonial era .During the colonial era The Sunday Mail was a mouth piece of the ruling party and that same situation was inherited by the ZANU PF party as *The Sunday Mail* has as also continued being an ideological mouth piece. This is why Zaffiro (1993) says that after the attainment of independence Zimbabwe become “pseudo heirs” of the leaving Rhodesia system as it was merely a change from the “R” to the “Z” but there was no real change. This history is important to this study as it helps

in making it clear on how history is being repeated .Just as in the colonial era the history that was being published was to promote the interest of the ruling government and hence it can be said that the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is taking the same slant as it is now portraying the ZANU PF party as saviours of this country.

#### **4.4 Historical Background of the Organisation**

The Argus Printing and Publishing group of South Africa were the first owners of the Zimpapers newspaper publication in Zimbabwe .The Argus printing and publishing of South Africa was a wealthy group that was able to establish a base in the country in 1891 soon after the occupation of the land by the Pioneer Column .*The Sunday Mail* Newspaper began its publication in 1938 .At this junction the Argus printing and publishing were being used to promote the ideological views of the white settlers. The Argus Company later changed its name to the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company and the name was later changed when it was bought by Zimbabwe through a government loan from Nigeria in 1980 soon after the attainment of independence .This buying of shares gave 51% shareholder which made it easy to change the name to Zimbabwe Newspapers (Zimpapers).

Saunders (1999) postulates that though it had a name that reflected the new country the company was still controlled by the Argus printing and publishing company and this was evidenced by the number of whites who were part of the editorial team. The ZANU government to remedy the situation came up with the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust in January 1981 Sanders (1999) Waldahl (2004) concurs that the formation of the ZMMT was for serving two functions: to safeguard the interest of the nation as well as to replenish the control of the Ministry of Information and Publicity from Zimpapers .However ZMMT failed to perform its duties because it lacked skilled personnel, political and financial constraints .The end result was that the government ended up controlling all newspapers under the Zimpapers stable once again and since then the ZMMT has stopped its operations.

Most of Zimbabwe's dominant daily newspapers *The Herald*, *The Manica Post*, *The Chronicle* and tabloid newspapers *B.Metro* and *H.Metro* also belong to the Zimpapers stable .They are also two weekly papers *The Sunday Times* and *The Sunday Mail* and also two newspapers with two main indigenous languages *Kwayedza* and *Umthunywa*.The Zimpapers has offices in Gweru,Buluwayo and Harare .Rusike (1990) postulates that Zimpapers has six operation unities each controlled by a General Manager who reports to the managing director. The Board Members of the Zimpapers organisation are chosen by the government through

the Ministry of Information and Publicity .Hence board members appointed are the ones who run the organisations on behalf of the shareholders and this can influence on the nature and content of information found in *The Sunday Mail* . As a company Zimpapers has acquired many subsidiaries it also has some interests in printing companies and recently it now owns a radio station.

#### **4.5 Ownership, Funding and Control Mechanism**

Funding is the backbone of any organisations operations because every person or organisation into business to make a profit in order for that business to survive Jain and Sharma (2014).like any other commercial media, The Sunday Mail survives on advertising revenue as advertising is the financial blood of any media house, hence most of *The Sunday Mails* revenue comes from selling advertising space to corporate business entities and classifieds space at competitive price to keep afloat on the market.

Results from the Zimbabwe all Media Products (ZAMPS) indicate the Sunday Mail as the leading and widely read family newspaper in Zimbabwe .Hence the revenue generated through copy sales is also critical for the sustenance of the newspaper .*The Sunday Mail* newspaper has both a local and regional market for its newspapers hence it sells some of its newspapers in some African countries that include Botswana ,Namibia ,South Africa and many others internationally it has a market in America and Britain.

As mentioned earlier Zimpapers has subsidiaries companies which include Nat print a commercial printing company, Typo crafter which is into printing bank cheques and Bold Ads a directory printing company .The survival and modus operandi of the paper is also provide by the inventory stake in their shareholding capacity and also the company is listed on the Zimbabwe stock exchange it then access some of its revenue to recapitalise from gains attained after trading on the stock market. The editors of *The Sunday Mail* strongly refute this allegation but it is also believed that it also gets some funding through government financial support through grants.

*The Sunday Mails* core business as a print medium is that of producing a weekly newspaper .The main paper carries both local and international news at the front and three other separate sections which are *The Sunday Mail Leisure*, *The Sunday Mail Business* and *The Sunday Mail Religion* and *The Sunday Mail Extra*. *The Sunday Mail* packages its news products to cater the needs of different audiences who will eventually be sold to advertisers.

Crowley (1982) is of the view that an editorial policy is nonfigurative solid structure which is imposed to a media house by its shareholders and respective owners so that the policy controls how the media house operates. As editors are discharging their duties in editing, newsgathering and dissemination of the end product they are guided by those editorial policy. Editorial policies are hence there to guide and control what the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga should publish.

Mutsvairo (2013) contends that *The Sunday Mail* does not hide the fact that it has a cosy relationship with the government that is done because the editorial policy of Zimpapers is to support the government of the day, which is currently the ZANU PF party, hence it is usually guaranteed of disseminating news from the government. President Mugabe whenever he is making some visits he is usually with a Zimpapers reporter. While the trends of journalists accompanying government officials is not exceptional to Zimbabwe, this one is only one of its kind in that only those reporters from the state controlled media are given where those from the private sector are ignored. It brings to mind about whether such journalists can be prejudiced when it comes to reporting issues about President Mugabe as

Waldahl (2004) is of the view that the government interference in the Zimpapers editorial policy has seen a number of editors being sacked if they are not confirming to the ways of the ruling party. Examples include Willie Musarurwa who was the first black editor of *the Sunday Mail* but was fired because he was a ZAPU sympathiser and this did not go down well with ZANU PF other fired editors are Farai Munyuki and Tommy Sithole (Gandari 2010). During the GNU government it was expected that the editorial policy would change and include all parties as the editorial policy of the Zimpapers is of supporting the government of the day.

The editorial policy has been set to compliment the mission, vision and objectives of the organisation it reads: “Newspapers must be credible giving readers’ information that is as accurate as possible, publishing national and international events .The content must be fit to be read by all requiring sensitivity in the handling of sensational lurid stories. Newspapers will be supportive of Zimbabwe in its goals and generally supportive of the elected government of the day.”Hence it is clearly the motive of Zimpapers to support the

government hence this is of great importance to study as it intends to find how the government is influencing the content that is written on the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Column.

This shareholding of the Zimpapers structure is important in this study because with the failure of the ZMMT it looks as the government has taken full control of Zimpapers, making it a state owned company. ZANU PF as the ruling party has had an unlimited Zimpapers without any objection from a non-existent board.

The Zimpapers is a public owned company in which the government is the shareholder but the majority of shares are publicly owned. The other shareholders have found themselves being passengers in an organisation they are supposed to have a say in. While Zimpapers as a publicly listed organisation should have a board reflecting interests of shareholders in the company, the Minister of Information is the one who appoints the Zimpapers board members hence technically it is problematic to classify Zimpapers either as a public company or a publicly owned organisation. If it is not publicly owned then serving public interest cannot be its priority. In an environment where the Minister is partisan it follows then that Zimpapers publications like *The Sunday Mail* serve the party and not the public.

While the Nigerian government donated the money that bought Zimpapers shares to the people of Zimbabwe, The hijacking of the same shares by ZANU PF is a typical case of the party becoming the people and the people becoming the party and this influences on the nature and range of discourses that are found in the column as the column is bound to be more sympathetic to the ideologies of the ZANU PF ruling party as they are the ones who control the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga.

#### **4.6Chapter summary**

This chapter presented the history of the Sunday mail and the historical background of the Zimpapers company. It also looked on how ownership, control and funding have implications on the nature and range of discourses found on the column.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Research findings and data analysis**

#### **5:1 Introduction**

In this chapter my findings are going to be presented .Thematic format is going to be used to present the themes that were emerging as I was analysing the chosen Sunday Mail articles from the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga .The themes were trying to capture the answers to the research question as well as the research question.

#### **5:2The Column gives prominence to ZANLA only**

The overall findings of the study revealed that the column is giving prominence to the ZANLA cadres and presenting them as the only group that took part in the war this is evidenced by the number of ZANLA cadres that are always on the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga column every week this could be contributed to the fact that the ZANLA winged cadres are a lot as compared to the ZIPRA winged part who were well trained but were a few but that doesn't mean that they shouldn't be given a voice in the media and be interviewed from here and there on the column.

From the beginning ZANLA and ZIPRA never had a cosy relationship for ZANLA had broken out of ZIPRA for ZANLA had deemed the ZIPRA as taking too long in fighting the whites for ZIPRA was hoping that a round table conversation would bring back country from the whites and hence ZANLA wanted the quick way out and that was of fighting and so it started mobilising people and usually the people that were mobilised were usually from the Mashonaland provinces and ZIPRA was left with mostly Ndebeles and a few Shona speaking people and this created differences as ZANLA was now labelled as for the Shona's and ZIPRA was now for the Ndebeles and that started the division lines .

The study also revealed that what *The Sunday Mail* is presenting to the people is labelled "monolithic history" thus according to (Ranger2005:10) and it can be described as the type

of history that emphasises on the role that ZANU PF played in the liberation struggle .The study found out that how *The Sunday Mail* chooses the accounts and retentions of the liberation struggle in favour of the ZANU PF so as to legitimise its rule so as to invoke thoughts of disgust at the thought of the colonial regime days and also view other parties as if they did not play an role. The participation of ZANLA cadres on *The Sunday Mail* Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga liberation war rhetoric's shows the highest level of patriotism.

The study also established how the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga tends to focuses only on the narratives of those who fought the liberation war from the ZANLA side and the intensity of the battles that they fought and the challenges that they faced and this led to the conclusion that the narrative of the Second Chimurenga is one sided as it is focusing on the liberation battles rhetoric whereas the general populace also had a role in the attainment of the independent by staging strikes and boycotts and also supplying clothing and money to the freedom fighters are relegated but this is not acknowledged on the column and shows that *The Sundays Mails* editorial policy of serving the ruling government is just another guise to support and promote the hegemony of the ZANU PF party and show the prominence of the party evidenced by the role they played during the liberation wars.

Patriotic history according to( Ranger 2009) is one sided narrative which only concentrates on how the liberation was fought whereas nationalistic historiography encompasses everyone and the roles that they played during the liberation war it encompasses everyone in its realms it's not one sided. "Nationalistic historiography proclaimed the nationalist movement as inclusive and even non-racial. It depicted nationalism as emancipatory" (Ranger 2010:26). By contrast, "patriotic history" emphasises the division of the nation not only into races but also into "patriots" and "sell-outs" among its African population. It proclaims the need for authoritarian government in order to repress and punish the "traitors", who are often depicted as very numerous. Hence this is of key importance to the study as the study is looking is looking on the history being propagated on the column and how the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is being propelled.

The way information is conveyed to its receivers comes through different forms of communication all of which are framed to meet the aims of the providing the source thus accord to Ciccel (2012).Hence Zimpapers came up with the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga column in *The Sunday Mail* as a way to endorse the ruling party ideologies by



framing the ZANLA winged force as the only force to be reckoned with that fought the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe and the stakeholders who were also part of the initiative to come up with the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga are all aligned to the ruling party ideologies and are in full support in this party. Hence the media is not serving the best interests of the people in the society but is advancing those of the elites and those who control the means of production and they also have the intent to show how the West are bad as to maintain the status quo in the country. It can be said that it is patriotic history that is being propagated on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga in *The Sunday Mail*.

The further revealed that the Sunday Mail Newspaper although it is publicly owned it is greatly influenced by the ZANU PF ruling party and the history that is being presented on that column tends to glorify it as it is the ruling party and the intention is to make the recipients more aligned to the ruling party as evidenced by the frames that are being given to the ZANLA armed wing. Mano (2005:58) is of the view that news media intend to “reproduce and reinforce the existing ideological or value system in a given society at a given time”. (Winsek and Jin 2011) are also of the view that the ruling class are conscious of the fact that media “provide the stuff from which we build our self-identity, our perceptions of the world, social ties with others”. But however this was refuted by some of the journalist interviewed as they were saying that the Sunday Mail is a Shona Mail.

The study revealed that because of ownership and control of public .The public but state controlled media houses have become political partners of the government and the liberation war discourses on the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga are inclined by the need to preserve the need of the ruling government. The ownership and control structures of the Sunday Mail also limits on the nature of the respondents on the column as evidence of respondents who are usually politically inclined to the ZANU party and always say that though was the first party to come with the idea of the liberation struggle but was “weak” though the freedom fighters who died on the first battle of Chinhoyi were from ZAPU but people are made to believe that it was a weak party that wanted to gain the country talks with Smith. Hence ownership and control of the Sunday Mail are framing the history so that it becomes more inclined to the ZANU PF party. It also does not tell of the role that Bishop Muzorewa and Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and ZAPU played in the liberation of the country because they do not own the means of disseminating information but instead they are

portrayed as people who just wanted to work with whites and for the advancement of themselves.

“Some liberation war values such as human rights and the upholding of democratic values are erased from the narrow articulation of history by ZANU PF through patriotic journalism” (Raftopoulos 2005:5). The control of the *Sunday Mail* by the state has made the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga just focus on the battles that took place between the freedom fighters only forgetting the plights of the ordinary people and women who were had menial jobs but contributed immensely to the liberation of Zimbabwe in their own way and also by supplying the fighters with clothing and money.

Hence it can be concluded that the political economy and press ownership seem to be at the centre of influencing the nature and range of political discourses on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga as evidenced by the fact that *The Sunday Mail* is a publicly owned but state controlled newspaper and the ZANU PF which fought on the ZANLA side hence it is presenting a one sided narrative history that favours the ZANU PF who were on the ZANLA side party which in control and its party ideologies .

## **5:2 Liberation struggle rhetoric used for historical remembering.**

This study found out that the liberation struggle is also being used as a premise for historical remembering .When the history of Zimbabwe is being talked about it is from the angle of the liberation struggle as evidenced by the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga which was established to tell the history of the Zimbabwe people. This just clearly point that it is serving a political agenda as the Second Chimurenga is something that the ruling party can associate itself with .Whereas tracing the history of Zimbabwe to the era where the whites had not come or Ndebele is considered as vague as it is something that the ZANU PF which is the ruling party cannot associate with. Hence the telling of the history is also influenced by the ownership and control patterns as evidenced by *The Sunday Mail* Column which tells the history of this country from a ZANU PF perspective showing that “the presentation of history has been critical to the survival of the ZANUPF one party state particularly from 2000” thus according (Onslow 2011:4).”Editorial articles in the state controlled media frequently urged Zimbabweans to uphold the values and gains of the liberation struggle and restore a sense of patriotism among Zimbabweans” (Ranger 2002:160).

The use of history in politics dates back from the colonial era. Parties like ZANU and ZAPU made use of spirit mediums like Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi and the roles that they played in trying to fight the whites of their land and also how they were executed trying to drive the whites off their ancestral land. This same narrative is the same one used by the ZANU PF in the 1960s as they tried to mobilise people to join the liberation party and they used Nehanda and Kaguvi “martyrdom” and “spiritual attachment” to the land to mobilise people for the Second Chimurenga. “The ruling party has been able, through its media monopoly and the widespread use of force, to project a much more narrow and selective vision of the past” (Raftopoulos 2005:13)

After the attainment of independence the land resettlement program began in 2000 this was also as a result of the emergence of the MDC party which was now threatening the existence of the ZANU PF and was given a go ahead by the president and resulted in the forceful seizure of white owned farms and also resulted in the rhetoric narrative of the First and Second Chimurenga War discourse and how the Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi died trying to grab to fight off the whites their land.

Hence this study can confirm that the liberation struggle is used as a premise for historical remembering as evidenced by the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga which is dissuading people from the real issues of the day like the continuing falling economy of Zimbabwe, lack of employment and many other whole factors but make them sympathetic to the ruling party and keep in mind on how the country was freed or how bad the whites were to the black people

.The readers are made to hate anything that is Western as they are told of the harrowing stories of how evil the whites ,how they took the land and how they ill-treated and killed many people in the war as evidence by headlines that are always on the column “*Smith mean Machine gun exposed*” and “*How Smith killed Freedom Fighters*” . “Some liberation war values such as human rights and the upholding of democratic values are erased from the narrow articulation of history by ZANU PF through patriotic journalism” (Raftopoulos 2005:5) Hence this noted can conclude that people are driven away from the real issues of the day which are poverty and the declining economy but are made to become more sympathetic to the ruling party. Hence the framing theory is relevant to this study as it shows how those in

control are giving the people what to think about and taking their minds off from the real issues of the day.

### **5:3 The use of Spirit mediums to legitimize Robert Mugabe and ZANU PF**

The study also found out the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga through its interviews that are being conducted on the column is also endorsing the view spirit mediums were the force behind the winning of the liberation struggle and played a role of leading the comrades during the liberation struggle and also how they have ordained President Mugabe as the spirit realm chosen leader. The spirit medium narrative has always been there in Zimbabwe and has been used a way of mobilizing the populace and was the one that was used to mobilize people for the Second Chimurenga as people were told that Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi had died whilst trying to take back the land that had been taken by the whites and so the nationalist by telling the populace of all these narratives motivated the mass to join the Second Chimurenga.

The Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga interviews by using the spirit medium narrative are also giving the framework for history remembering to the people Zimbabwe that we Zimbabweans we had our own beliefs and way of doing things before the whites came and changed everything hence this narrative of the spirit mediums in the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga it is as if it is telling people that they should focus and trace their roots. In a Chimurenga Chronicles articles under the headline *Chimoi Massacre* from 6 December 2015 by Munyaradzi Huni Cde Bethune who was being interviewed said that: *“The spirit mediums who were staying at one of the bases of the camp had warned Cde Bethune of the impending massacres ...*

The Sunday mail of August 7 2016 titled *“How I survived Badza Renhari killings PART I”* also strengthens the view on how spirit mediums played a role also in the liberation struggle as evidenced by the interview with Cde Chemist.

*“Please bear with me I am dealing with things beyond me. I want to thank Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Chaminuka, Sekuru Kaguvi and all spirit mediums of this country. If it wasn’t for them I wouldn’t be here today. Mudzimu nditungamirei nditaure this story, nditaure the truth and nothing but the truth.” “The narration below will make you understand why Cde Chemist had to ask the spirit mediums to guide him during this interview”.*

From this interview text one can deduce through content analysis that readers are being made to become more aligned to the spiritual issues of this country and adhere to them as they are being viewed as they are the ones who made the liberation struggle a success.

The study also revealed how also Presidents Mugabe rule is being strengthened as it is believed that he was endorsed by the spiritual mediums of this country and this was reflected from the newspaper article from May 22 2016 titled *I Saved Samora Machel's Life by Cde Khumalo:*

*“Panevanhu vanonokerwa nenyaya yechigaro so they would not want things to be done procedurally. I am talking of people in Zanu-PF who are saying “dai murume uyu afa tachitora chinzvimbo”. The opposition is always saying the same thing. But hapana achamuraya because Mbuya Nehanda nemumwe mudzimu weTanzania told us kuti hapana chavanoitwa nemunhu wenyama kusvika ivo vemudzimu vakamugadza vati ngaachizorora. I was just a listener when these things were being said and I am just telling you what was”.*

This statement shows that the opposition parties are being told that no matter what they can do President Mugabe will never stop ruling this control and the ruling party should not dispute this. Through critical analysis discourse of the above statement the researcher found out that the Sunday Column is legitimizing the rule of President Mugabe by choosing interviewees who tell the readers about how the spiritual world endorsed the rule of President Mugabe and that the general public should not question the rule of president Mugabe as he was chosen by those in the spiritual realm and they are the ones who will chose when the time is necessary for him to step down. It should just accept it as it is, it as if the Sunday Mail is setting the agenda for the people as it is giving them something to think about the endorsement of the President Mugabe by spirit mediums

An article on 15May 2016 by Cde Khumalo also reveals how President Mugabe was endorsed by those in the spiritual realm. The article titled *How Tongogara was told of his Death he had this to say”*

*Saka mutungamiri wamuri kupihwa, vamwe venyu ipo pano muchamuvenga. Vamwe muchamumukira pamwe nekumupandukira. Asi mutungamiriri iyeye akasarudzwa nemhepo hamumubvisi. Anobva nekufa kwake. Anobva chete kana mudzimu yepasi rose yagarazve pasi kutsvaga umwe anowonekwa kuti anepfungwa dzekuvaka veganda dema uye anoti amira vasina mabvi vese vanodedera.”*

This shows that the continuance of President Mugabe in holding power and also the rule by the ZANU PF party should not be questioned as it is the wishes of the those in the spiritual world that the ZANU PF part should rule and so people should not question this but should accept the party as it is. This is also articulated by the Christian community as evidenced by the Johanne Masowe Sect who always claim Mugabe as the chosen leader and how the prophecy that President Mugabe was going to rule this country was made to the founding leader Wimbo had this prophecy given to them and also how he is likened to the angel Gabriel who came to save the people and hence Mugabe is seen as the rightfully and ordained leader of Zimbabwe

Hence the researcher concluded that *The Sunday Mail* newspaper with its Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is legitimizing the rule of President Mugabe by moulding images in peoples mind for them to accept him as he is and not question his rule .To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation. The Sunday Mail Column Chronicles is placing much emphasis on the role that spirit mediums played in the liberation of this struggle and by doing so framing President Mugabe as the rightful leader and that people should accept his rule and not try and remove him or his party but should follow the prevailing status quo.

#### **5.4 Opposition and civic organisations as puppets of the wests.**

The study also found out that the oppositional parties and civic organisations that go against the views or those who have different views from those of the ZANU PF are considered as sellouts .During the colonial era all those who were not in support of the white ruling class were always othered and not given a voice to air their views out on and the same can be said as to what is happening to Zimbabwe even after the attainment of independence as those who go against the views of the ZANU PF are likened to the sellouts who sold out to the whites in the Zimbabwe liberation struggle. The interview of o General Chiwenga of August 2016 on the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga had this to say

*“That is when we saw that our people are sometimes no very honest (because it means Zimbabweans were teaching them our ways so that they defeat us).It is like what is happening with these social media guys and Tajamuka. That’s exactly what some of these so-called masvikiro were*

*doing, working with the Rhodesians. They were telling them what to do and how to counter our activities.*

By the above narration by General Chiwenga which is likening the Tajamuka group which was advocating for the removal of President Mugabe was likened to the sellouts in the war hence it can be said that the people of Zimbabwe are being warned against going the ruling party for they are being made to believe that by opposing the ruling government are portrayed as being used by the western countries and are labelled as “puppets of the west” as it is believed that the whites are behind the opposition and civic organisations in this country.

The study also revealed that through the interview with General Chiwenga that the ownership, funding and control and political economy have a significant contribution on how history is being framed on the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga in the Sunday Mail as evidenced by how top government officials always feature on the column . Since the government is the major shareholder of Zimpapers, ZANU PF the ruling party in Zimbabwe practically runs the paper, it used as a mouthpiece of ZANU PF propaganda and for discrediting the opposition and civic groups that will be advocating for policies against the government. Scholars such as (Schudson 2003) are of the view that politicians have no control whatsoever over media content but that is not the case as The Sunday Mail Chronicle always interviews prominent government officials for instance in this case it was an interview with Zimbabwe Defence Forces Commander, General Constantine Chiwenga in an article labelled “We are on the Right Track” of August 2016.

*So in terms of the economy we can see light. Zim-Asset was distilled into just one page, which is the 10-Point Plan which Government is now following. Politically, we are now out of the inclusive Government. Some people don't realise that what the country went through takes time to recover from but we are lucky that we have managed to bounce back within a very short time. We are on the right track and we are moving forward as we would expect, despite a few teething problems which are a passing phase”.*

Patriotic history makes it easier for those who perform it to develop preferred realities contends (Ranger 2005) as evidenced by the above interview in which General Chiwenga is justifying the moves by ZANU PF .This illustrates on how the ruling government influence content that is written on the column and also how the people chosen on the column are influenced by the control and ownership of the newspaper. What the interviews published on the Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga seems to be the ideas of the ruling party and

promote them and make it look as if the country is progressing greatly and also discredit the opposition and civic groups hence one can safely conclude that the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is one sided as which are some of the characteristics of patriotic history

.The column seeks to legitimise ZANU as a party as Goldie and Murdock(1997:15) say that the class that has the means of production has control at the same time over the means of mental production so that by generally speaking the ideas of those who lack the means of production are subject to it". The ruling class are conscious to the fact the that the news media "provide the 'stuff' from which we build our sense of self identity, our perceptions of the world, social ties with others" (Winseck and Jin 2011:12)Hence this study found that the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is being manipulated by those in power in order to control their minds set so that the ordinary populace can view the ZANU PF as the saviours and that people should adhere to its policies and that ZANU PF is going to rescue the country from all the challenges that it is facing and that everything is going to be alright and also by inviting authorities like General Chiwenga who are authoritian people are bound to listen them.

### **5.5 Sanitization of intra \_Zanla murders during the war**

The study also revealed that though the Second Chimurenga was infested with conflicts which involved issues to do with tribalism, ethnicity and even conflicts with the countries that were hosting them they were also conflicts among the ZANLA armed cadres among themselves which resulted in the death of a number of ZANLA cadres.

The Badza Renhari rebellion which were described by the late Tongagara "as an attempt to destroy the liberation struggle and the man behind that revolt was Thomas Nhari and Dakadzai Badza who were both high ranking members who decided to revolt because they thought that the ZANLA leadership was living in luxury whilst they were languishing in the bushes so they decided take an advantage of where all the high command of the ZANLA forces were out of the country and went to Chifombo in Mozambique where the whole leadership was staying and took some ammunition and afterwards wrote a dossier to the high command demanding that the leadership structures should change .This is what Cde Chemist had to say when he was interviewed in an interview titled How I survived Badza on 4 September 2016:



*“In chilling ways, he narrates how as they were being driven to meet their death, he was miraculously saved by Cde Chigowe. He says the other comrades about 20 rebels who were in the same car “proceeded and that was the last time I ever saw them because they were killed by other comrade: If we are to look at merit as a criteria for appointments, Cde Badza as I pointed out as the provincial commander to come as far as Madziva at the war front, didn’t he fear for his life? Most of these provincial commanders withdrew from the war front when the Rhodesians intensified the war. This should show you Cde Badza was a brave commander. The war front made men out of men. Cde Cephas was a Manyika but he also showed his courage*

Tongogara did not take this well and ambushed the Badza-Nhari group in a process which he called the Gukurahundi and that meant to clear away all the dirt and so they killed all the Badzarenhari memberships. Other schools of thought are of the view that the Badzarenhari killings took place because it is believed that they were selling secrets to the Rhodesians. In the same interview titled *How I survived Badza Nhari \_Executions* by comrade Chemist Ncube he goes on to explain how the Nhari killings were not justified:

*Now they sent all these comrades to materiel meaning to their deaths? Was there any legal representation to see how each one of them was involved? The High Command became a law unto themselves. The Nhari rebellion can be explained in many aspects, but people should know that these were very youthful people, adventurous who needed guidance. Takanga tiri vana, vanana. Just look at what the youths of today are doing. Its characteristic of the youths and we all say they need guidance they said to me the leaders of the Nhari rebellion had met the Rhodesians and I told them my story. I actually don’t even think Nhari and Badza met the Rhodesians. When and how could they have done that? Why didn’t anyone pose to think of our age and what we had gone through? Why? The rear composed of people we considered our elders. They had been there for quite a long time.*

From the above texts it can be noted that all was not well in the ZANU PF camp as it was also infested by fights which were sometimes necessary and could have been solved easily inhouse and were suspecting each other of selling the secrets .This history is never mentioned to the public as one who journalist revealed that the Badza \_Nhari clashes had to be written after a huge public demand but the government had not wanted this showing that the column chronicles from the second Chimurenga is being manipulated into telling history narratives that portrays the ZANU PF in good light

In an interview of 6 March October 2016 with the heading titled 2016 *Chitepo last few hours in Zambia* it revealed that the ZANUs house was also not in order

*“But I hope the comrades you have spoken to go back a little further down because they were also problems within Zanu itself. Splits within Zanu itself where they started attacking each other. Even killing each other and burying each other in shallow graves. Without going into specifics, there were problems during that Nhari rebellion. There were fights within Zanu, among the cadres”. But these things are never talked about in the public this shows how the ZANU Party wants to presents itself in a positive light and act as if its house was in order and frame others in a negative light*

The study also revealed how the ZANU PF party always wants to distance itself away from these conflicts and portray itself in a positive light and this was revealed on the column article titled by mentioning conflicts that had the involvement of the ZANLA party more “The intriguing story of Felix Rice Santan” January 17 2016 by Cde Chizengezi

*As soon as we arrived in Lusaka, takabva tasangana nemaproblems aya ataifunga kuti tasiya kumusha. Zapu vs Zanu. The clashes. Even in Lusaka, Zapu people were saying Zanu should not exist. They were busy doing exactly what was happening in Highfield. Another article “Zapu the birth of a struggle January 31 2016 Cde mudzingwa In the end we were six Ndebele comrades and six Shona comrades staying at Mutoni. While there, the issue about tribalism started. Taingogara tichirovana ipapo. Pairwiwa zvisiri zvekutamba but taizovakunda nekuti tairova kwete mbichana.*

The divisions between the ZANU and ZAPU are further evidenced in the same column by the same interview:

*The Zapu representative in Dar es Salam was some Ndebele comrade, I think he was called Madlela. He would go behind our back and give these Ndebele comrades some money to go and have fun. So they would go and have fun drinking kangala yaidhaka zvekuti huya uwone. We couldn’t do this because we didn’t have money. So we knew this and ndizvo zvaimutsa musindo izvozvo.*

This clearly illustrates how the Zimbabwe liberation was infested with tribalism and it is also being made to look as if the ZAPU were the perpetrators of those divisions as shown by the above statements which are framing the ZAPU people as the bad guys and as a result of these divisions, this resulted in the liberation war being fought on different fronts though they were all fighting for one cause. Ranger (2005:15) is of the view that patriotic journalism “prevents any self-reflection on the part of the regime because criticism of any kind can at once be categorised as treasonable and capitalist.” This clearly shows how the ZANU PF party wants to give the impression that there were the good guys and don’t want to show any bad on their party but they are the ones who later after independence came up with the Gukurahundi

genocide and can be described as a continuity of what they had been used to doing in the war though it was among themselves but was now being extended to the Ndebele people.

The study concluded that the liberation war even on the ZANLA side was not fought on the same page of the book for even the house of ZANU was not in order as evidenced by the Nhari killings but it has always managed to frame the history of Zimbabwe portraying itself as the good guys whereas the ZIPRA side are represented as the bad guys and this one sided narrative of history can be concluded to be an extension of patriotic history and can all be brought down to the implications of ownership and control.

## **5.7 Chapter summary**

The chapter served to present the findings and also discussed the findings that were found out. The study revealed that *The Sunday Mails* Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is propagating patriotic history as evidenced by the discourses emanating from the interviews and the column is not from control by the state and also how all the voices in society are not given the opportunity to air their views but are being othered.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusions**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In chapter im going there is going to be a summary of the findings of the research as well as giving a summary of the methods made use of in carrying out the research. Recommendations to *The Sunday Mail* are made as well as areas of further study.

### **6.2 Concluding Remarks**

The study focus was on establishing on whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history being propagated on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga a column from *The Sunday Mail*. Literature from other scholars that focused on nationalistic historiography and patriotic history was reviewed. Whilst a lot of scholars had focused on writing about nationalistic historiography of patriotic history none had focused on the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga, this study was different in the sense that it was focusing on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga and trying to find the history the history being propagated on the column and also how the discourses emanating from the column are influenced by the ruling party. This study was looking on how control and ownership have implications on the material published on the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga. A qualitative approach method was made us of by the study and archival research data was used to attain the stories which were later purposively sampled and critical discourse analysis and quantitative content analysis was employed in analysing the data .The study found out that the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga was propagating patriotic history as evidenced by the one sided narrative which is always in favour of the ruling party and not giving a voice to the parties that also played a role in the liberation of this country .The conclusion drawn is that it is patriotic history.

### **6.3 Recommendations to *The Sunday Mail***

The study established that the Column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga is propagating patriotic history ,patriotic history tends to be a one sided narrative .I recommend that there is need for the column for the column to start telling the liberation struggle from all angles and also include those marginalized groups that are being left out on the column. I also suggest that *The Sunday Mail* as a publicly owned newspaper should not serve the interests of the ruling class only by carrying out its ideologies but should report fairly .I also recommend that the column should refrain from inviting Shona speaking interviews only to the column but should invite the Ndebeles, Kalangas, Ndaou and Tonga speakers for they were also part of the liberation struggle and should translate all the Shona on the column as the Sunday Mail newspaper is not only for Shona as Zimbabwe has a number of languages so it will be disadvantaging other readers. It is understood the liberation was dominated by men but they were also women who took part in the liberation struggle I also suggest that their voices should also be heard.

### **6.5 Suggestions for further study**

The research focused on how history is being packaged on the column Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga Column there is potential broaden the study on audience reception analysis on the column and how they interpret the messages being sent out on the column.

### **6.6 Chapter summary**

This chapter concluded the findings by giving a summary of the findings that were find out during the study. The chapter also summarised the methods that were employed in carrying out the research and also gave recommendations to the Sunday Mail. This chapter also gave out possible areas for further study.

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## APPENDICES

### **Appendix: 1: *The Sunday Mail* Ownership, Structure and Control**

According to Munyuki (2005) the shareholding structure of Zimpapers is as follows:

ZMMT	51.09%
Old Mutual Life Assurance	23.80%
Intermarket Nominees	3.38%
NSSA	3.10%
Zimpapers Pension Fund	2.28%
EFE Securities Nominees	1.53%
Munich Re	1.04%
Edwards Nominees	11.36%
NNR & FCA	0.91%
Shara Sheperd	0.82%
Glenhazel Investments	0.69%

## **APPENDIX 2: Chimurenga II Chronicles: How Tongogara was told about his death**

[SUNDAY MAIL REPORTER](#)

MAY 15, 2016

LAST week, Cde Joseph Khumalo, whose birth name was Cde Joel Samuel Siyangapi Muzhamba narrated how he was among the first group of Zanu comrades to receive military training in Ghana in 1964. He spoke about the sellouts in Zanu's Dare ReChimurenga who sold information to the Smith regime leading to the arrest of many comrades during the 1960s.

**Cde Khumalo ended his narration last week, when he was speaking about preparations to visit Mbuya Nehanda before the start of the liberation struggle. This week, he picks up the narration from the time they went to meet the spirit medium of Sekuru Chipfeni.**

**He speaks to our team comprising Munyaradzi Huni and Tendai Manzvanzvika in graphic details about the meeting between Mbuya Nehanda and the Zanu leadership that was based in Zambia at the time. Cde Tongogara was told why, despite being the leader of the fighters, he would not see a free Zimbabwe. Cde Chimurenga and Cde Chitepo were told of their fate in chilling ways.**

**But before all this, Mbuya Nehanda had told the Zanu leaders about the leader who was to lead the country after independence. This is the stuff for believers and not those who question anything that they can't prove.**

**Read on**Cde Joseph Khumalo speaking to The Sunday Mail Deputy Editor Munyaradzi Huni during the interview – Picture by Kudakwashe Hunda

**SM: Last week, you were talking about going to see Sekuru Chipfeni as you prepared to go and see Mbuya Nehanda. Take us through this journey.**

**Cde Khumalo:** So Sekuru Chipfeni took us to Sekuru Chidyamauyu who told us the same thing to go and see Nehanda Nyakasikana. He told us that *chinofa pamunhu inyama but mweya haufi. So mweya waMbuya Nehanda wakanogara pamuchembere uyu Nehanda Nyakasikana.* Sekuru Chidyamauyu took us to Sekuru Chiodzamamera. These three spirit mediums then took us to Mambo Chiweshe who told us the same story. He said

before *taenda kunoona Nehanda Nyakasikana panodiwa fodya*. We said we don't have even a cent to buy *fodya yacho*. Mambo Chiweshe *vakanotsvaga zvambwa zvavo zvefodya, nemachira aidiwa – jira jena nejira dema, nere* blue about one metre each.

**SM: Tell us now how you eventually went to see Mbuya Nehanda.**

**Cde Khumalo:** Cde Joseph Chimurenga, Cde Kenny Ridzai and a few others were the ones who went to her homestead first. They were told about everything that was needed before we could all meet her. We were told to come *nefodya inonzi chambwa chematare*. As we arrived, we were told to leave all our guns outside the homestead because *vakati havadi kunhuhwirwa neunga hwepfuti*. The homestead was in Musengezi very close to the Mozambican border. The place is actually called Nyakazikana.

When we got into *matare acho, Mbuya vakati kuno kwandiri hakusiri iko kwandichataurira matare angu ese nekuti ndikasara kuno tapedza zvandiri kuda kuita, varungu vanenge vondivhima*. She said you are supposed to carry me over to the Mozambican side where I want to meet all your leaders.

I need to tell you that in the beginning we had lots of doubts about Mbuya Nehanda. We were saying Mbuya Nehanda *vakasungurirwa vakafa saka uyu ndiNehanda upi?* But we later understood the whole story.

To begin with, *Mbuya Nehanda vakati tine mhiko yatakarangana nemhondoro dzemhiri kwaZambezi dzekuMozambique. Saka inini handichayambuki mhiri kwaZambezi. Kuti ndiyambuke kunge matotaura nemhondoro dzemhiri kuMozambique kuti vanditendere kuyambuka*.

*Vakabva vandisimudza inini vachiti “Nyamuzihwa simukai. Iwewe Nyamuzihwa wakapfeka maziso mana.”* I was wearing glasses. She said you don't believe what I am saying here. I stammered saying *ahhh, yes*. Then she said to Joseph Chimurenga, *“mwana uyu urikumuona?”* Chimurenga then said *yes, I see him*. She then said, *“I will talk more about this boy kana tabira mhiri.”*

She turned to me saying *“Nyamuzihwa, kuti mutende zvandiri kutaura, ndati parwizi apo pane mhiko. Mhondoro yaMbuya Nehanda iyeye wamunoziva kusvika pandiri dzaitonga*

*kubva munyika ino kusvika kunyika yemaPortuguese inonzi Beira. Kwese kwana Tete, yanga iri mumaoko angu. Mhondoro dzese dzeikoko dzakanga dziri mumaoko angu.*

*Saka chinzwai Nyamuzihwa, nenyaya yekuti hamusi kutenda, kuti ndini Nehanda, ndava kukupa basa. Basa randiri kukupa, kana mayambuka Zambezi, pane gomo rakadai, rakadai. Mochienda ikoko Nyamuzihwa kana masvika ikoko vachakuratidzai zvakaita kuti pave nemhiko yekuti ini ndisayambuki Zambezi.*

*Kana mhondoro dzemhiri ikoko kana dzabvuma kuti ndiyambuke, dzichakonya (kukuma). Kana dzekuno dzabvuma zvekare, idzo dzekoko dzikatanga kukonya, dzekuno dzinofanirwa kukonyawo. Kana dzakonya zvoreva kuti ndatenderwa kubira mhiri kwaZambezi. Asi mvura yemunaZambezi handidirwi.*

*Saka Nyamuzihwa chiendayi zvizhinji totaura ndabira mhiri. I said to myself, mhondoro, mhondoro dzipiko? I still couldn't believe what she was saying.*

So I went to this spirit medium around Kakwidze area. *Vakandipa chimwadiya* and some people to cross the Zambezi river. As we going this spirit medium *yakandiratidza ruware vachiti kana tanoona masvikiro ekuMozambique tichadzoka paruware apa, ndipo patichapihwa mhinduro yekuti mhondoro dzatenderana. Takasvika kusvikoro rekuMozambique kwava kuda kuvira tichibva tagara kunze kwechivanze. Takapihwa chambwa nembanje zvikanzi chiendai munoona svikiro iri.*

**SM: How many were you?**

**Cde Khumalo:** We were five. It was me, Cde Chinodakufa and three other comrades I can't recall their names. Around 8pm, *murume aisvikirwa nemhondoro yekuMozambique achibva asvikirwa. Takabva tapinda mumatare, then zvikanzi imimi mauya nenyaya yamuchembere ari pamhiri apo. Takaita mhiko yekuti takanga tisisa fambirane nenyaya yekuti pakaitika mashiripiti nemhondoro yakanga iripo yakare yakada kubata muchembere chibharo ichida kumuita mukadzi. Saka ndipo pakauya mhiko yedu yekuti muchembere uyu anga asisa yambuki Zambezi. Saka ini handina zvandinga taure pano apa. Zvandinotaura handei tese.*” This was in the night and we started walking. We walked until we got *kuruware rwuya*. We slept at this place.

The next morning *svikiro riya rakati mhondoro huru yekuno yakanga yoda kuchochora muchembere kuda kumuita mukadzi. Muchembere uyu akanga asingasangani nevarume. So vachirwisana chuma chaMbuya Nehanda chakadambuka chikanamira paruware apa.*”  
*Ndakachiona chuma chacho nemaziso angu aya. Matsimba aMbuya Nehanda pavainetsana nemhondoro iyoyo akanga achiri kunoneka. Huni dzaiveswa paruware ipapo nemarasha acho zvaivepo paruware ipapo.*

After being told all this, *mhondoro yekuMozambique yakabva yakuma iri mugomo. Nguva dikidiki dzekuZimbabwe, dzichibva dzakuma.*

We later went back to Mbuya Nehanda who said, “*Nyamuzihwa, ndatenderwa kuti ndiyambuke asi ndati mvura yemunaZambezi handidirwi.* We made arrangements to take Mbuya Nehanda across Zambezi.

**SM: Is this real or you making up stories here?**

**Cde Khumalo:** Just wait, I am not yet done explaining things to you. *Paiyambuka naMbuya Nehanda, pakanga pane mhondoro mbiri (two lions). Takaisa Mbuya Nehanda muchimwadiya. Then tave kumhiri mhondoro dzaiva kuZimbabwe dzakabva dzatanga kukuma thendzaiva on the Mozambican side dzichibva dzakumawo. Vazukuru vaMbuya Nehanda vataiva navo musikana nemukomana, musikana as we speak she is working at Parliament and the boy is at the Zanu headquarters. After crossing Zambezi, as we walked carrying Mbuya Nehanda, hapana pataka famba pasina mhondoro (lions). Mhondoro dzaiifamba imwe iri ku right imwe iri kuleft kusvika tasvika naMbuya Nehanda kuChifombo.* When we got to Chifombo, all the leaders like Cde Tongogara, Cde Chitepo and others were already there.

We stayed a few days *mudzimu waMbuya Nehanda uchibva wasvika uchiti ndava kuda kuparutsa vazukuru vangu. Ndisati ndaparutsa ndiri kuda kusangana nevatungamiri venyu. Munhu umwe nemumwe akataurirwa zvakanga zviripaari.*

**SM: Tell us who was told what?**

**Cde Khumalo:** I think you have heard so many comrades saying Tongogara *aigara achitaura kuti ini pamwe handisviki kumusha kuZimbabwe.* This was coming from what he

had been told at this meeting with Mbuya Nehanda. All the leaders were there. Cde Chitepo was there, Cde Noel Mukono, Cde Tongo, Cde Chimurenga, Cde Dabulamanzhi, Cde Chinamaropa, Cde Kadungure, Cde Chauke, Cde Mayor Urimbo and many others were there.

The first thing that Mbuya Nehanda said that I remember up to this day was to say, “*vana vangu, dai zviru zvekuti musati marwa hondo, musati mambobatana nevasikana, dai makatanga mauya kwatiri makataura nesu, hondo yenyu yanga isingatori* three months or three weeks. *Zvino hondo yenyu ichamboenderera mberi nekuti makatanga matora vasikana mukapinza munyika. Vasikana vava vachibva vabata utate hwenyu* (guns). *Vasikana vakanga vasingafanirwi kubata pfuti dzenyu.*” By this time, the first group of women recruits was now in Zambia and was helping to carry materiel to Zambezi in preparation for war.

Mbuya continued saying “*vasikana ava* were not supposed *kubata pfuti dzenyu nekuti vanoenda kumakore.*”

**SM: Which year are you talking about here?**

**Cde Khumalo:** That was around 1972-1973. So she said, anyway now that *vasikana vatobata pfuti, tichazovagadzira kuti vagokwanisa kubata zvombo zvenyu vakachena vasisaende kumakore.*

*Chechipiri, mungandivenge asi ndichataura chokwadi. Mutungamiri wamuinaye iyezvino, Ndabaningi Sithole, haasi iye achatungamirira nyika yeZimbabwe. Hongu mungarambe zvenyu, nekuti kunevamwe venyu ndiri kuita sendinopenga. Zuva iri rakaora rimwe gore nekuti pakaita kusviba ari masikati. Zuva rakanga risina kuora.*” Indeed this happened in June 1964. “*Akanga ari matare emhepo dzenyika ino neenyika dzeganda dema. Ndiri kutaura izvi nekuti mutungamiri wamuinaye haasi iye achatungamirira nyika yeZimbabwe. Mutungamiri achatungamirira nyika iyi, mutungamiri akagarirwa pasi nemhepo dzeganda dema dzikasarudza mutungamiri achatungamirira veganda dema. Gare, gare mutungamiri uyu muchamuona.*

*Muchamuona mutungamiri uyu achibva kumabvazuva. Anouya aina mambo wendoro chena akaiswa nemudzimu. Saka munhu uyu achakutungamirai akaiswa nemhepo dzeganda dema. Asi handikupiyi zita rake. Imi mega muchamuona. Achabva nekumabvazuva aine umwe mutungamiri pamwe chete namambo wendoro chena.*



*Saka mutungamiri wamuri kupihwa, vamwe venyu ipo pano muchamuvenga. Vamwe muchamumukira pamwe nekumupandukira. Asi mutungamiriri iyeye akasarudzwa nemhepo hamumubvisi. Anobva nekufa kwake. Anobva chete kana mudzimu yepasi rose yagarazve pasi kutsvaga umwe anowonekwa kuti anepfungwa dzekuvaka veganda dema uye anoti amira vasina mabvi vese vanodedera.”*

*Ambuya vakabvunza, “mandinzwisisa here, vanhu vese vakati zii.”* Joseph Chimurenga then rhetorically said, *“ahh, imi makatitakurisawo chembere yapera basa. Chii chayava kutaura ichi?”*

Mbuya vachibva vati, *“aahhh, sewe zvako simuka. Tora utate hwako ndimire apo tione kuti unogona kundipfura here. Iwewe, hauna kwauri kuenda nokuti wanyanyisa mate ako avakubuda kuti ndatove nechigaro chikuru. Uri kuti wava mambo mukuru. Ndiwe wakazviisa here? Zvino hauna kwaunoenda. Uchanopinda zvako muZimbabwe, asi unenge usisina pauri.”* Indeed this happened. We came into a free Zimbabwe and Chimurenga was now just an ordinary person.

*Mbuya vakati haubvumi zvandiri kutaura. Mukati menyu vanangu mune rumwe, rumwe. Iwewe, meaning Tongogara, ndiwe wanzi uhabata pfumo richasunungura nyika, asi hamuna kubatana nevamwe vako. Zvino chinzwa, nyika yavakuenda kumapeto, tavakupetera nyika, mumvuri wako unotsakatika. Hauzosviki munyika uri mupenyu.”*

Cde Tongo stood up and said *“Mbuya tsanangurai zvamunoreva.”* Mbuya vakamboti *ndozotaura kwasara vatungamiri vega*, but Cde Tongo asked her to go ahead and explain. Cde Chitepo actually said, no, no let’s talk about this *tavatega vatungamiri* but Cde Tongo insisted.

Mbuya vakati, *“chiri pauri inyaya, yehu toboutobo. Nyaya yehu toboutobo.”* Nyaya yairehwa *apa ndeye vasikana. Kwanzi, “ukapinda munyika nenyaya yako iyoyi, umwe ahati ini ndini, umwe ahati ini ndini chaiye waTongogara. Unenge uchiri nechimiro here?”*

*Asi uchange waita basa guru kwazvo uye mhupo dzese dzenyika dzichange dzichikuombera. Asi zvatisingadi ndezvekuti uzove munhu anoiswa pasi nevana vauchange uchitungamirira. Saka tichasevenza tiinewe mumhepo asi hausviki uko. Ndasiidzira zvimwe.”*

People went silent. Mbuya Nehanda turned to Cde Chitepo and said *handisi kuona zvakana, ndiri kuona pane mhengo ichapinda.*”

All the leaders who were there were told something about their fate on this day.

**SM: What did she say about you?**

**Cde Khumalo:** She said, “*Nyamuzihwa simukai zvakare. Zvikanzi muri kuona mwana uyu,*” *vakanokora ivhu,* and said, “*Nyamuzihwa, ivhu iri.*” People started asking what that meant and she continued saying, “*mwana uyu achakuvara, asi achanosvika kunyika yeZimbabwe. Ivhu randamupa ndamupa kuti azodzoseva ivhu kuvanhu. Achakuvadziwa nemunhu achabata hutate hwake abva kunoita hutobo hutobo nemusikana. Asi mwana uyu haafi ane zvake zviri paari.*” She turned to me and said, “I know *hamutendi Nyamuzihwa, asi muchabvuma henyu.*”

She then spoke about this leader in the new Zimbabwe saying, “*mutungamiri iyeyu, asati agadzwa nebook rechingerengere anofanirwa kugadzwa pachivanhu. Chivanhu ichocho chinoitwa nemadzimambo endoro. Mudzimu yemunyika imomo inobva kumativi mana anofanirwa kunge iripo panogadzwa mutungamiri uyu pachivanhu. Mutungamiri uyu haafanirwi kugadzwa nemadzimambo ezuva akagadzwa nevangerengere.*”

She said “*musati magadza mutungamiri uyu vana vachazofira munyika dzimwe, madzimambo endoro anofanirwa kuenda pese pakafira mwana vono tora ivhu racho. Ivhu iri rinotakurwa nechembere and harifanirwi kusvika kumatawindi. Rinofanirwa kuenda kumasango kuchange kwaungana Madzimambo anobva kumativi mana enyika. Madzimambo aya anofanirwa kutambira vana ava nekuti vachange vachibvawo kumativi mana enyika.*”

*Musi unoitwa mutambo uyu kudzora mhengo dzevana ndiwo unofanirwa kuzokosheswa munyika yese. Ndiro richava zuva rechisi. Mukaita izvi nyika yenyu inodekara. Mukasaita kudaro, mhengo dzevana vachange vari musango dzichange dzichimuka muchirwisana.*

She said *kuchava nana Mbuya Nehanda vekunyepa vakawanda asi kana vobouda Mbuya Nehanda vanobuda pamwana asati oziva varume. Kamwana aka kachange kachizora mafuta eruhomba. Kana kwamwana aka kamuka, ndipo pachamuka Chaminuka nekuti vaviri ava vaive tsika nditsikewo.*

After this she said *ini ndava kuparutsa. Chief Chiweshe pamwe chete nemamwe masvikiro vakadaidzwa padhuze* and they were told what was supposed to be done after her death.

**SM: Quite a mouthful. We will take you back a bit. This homwe yaMbuya Nehanda, how old was she?**

**Cde Khumalo:** She was about 103 years. She was possessed by the spirit of Mbuya Nehanda at a young age and she grew up like that. She was never married. Muzukuru wavo Nzou is still alive. He is at the Zanu-PF Headquarters. He is the boy who stayed with Mbuya Nehanda for years. Even when we had meetings with Mbuya Nehanda, this boy was there but now he must be a grown up man.

**SM: When some people read what you have just said, they can conclude that you are saying this because this is what went on to happen, like Cde Tongo's death in 1979 and so on. What is your comment?**

**Cde Khumalo:** There is no need for me to make this up. Like I said Cde Tongo used to say *havasviki* in a free Zimbabwe, where do you think he got this? I have spoken about this to many people and many comrades from my era know what I am talking about. I know people can doubt but I will continue talking.

**SM: You said Mbuya Nehanda said you will lead in the return of land to the black majority. After independence what did you do in this regard?**

**Cde Khumalo:** When I resigned from the army, I wrote a letter to Mai Mujuru when she was still the governor around 1989 saying I wanted land to start farming. Mai Mujuru called me and I went to her office. She said to me, "*Cde Khumalo maita zvakana. You are applying for land but Dydmus Mutasa is the one responsible for land for now. I will however assist you.*" She then said, "during the war you Cde Khumalo and others are the ones who were

I used to work with Mdara Shakeshake who was from Mozambique. He was based at Mapapai. There was also Cde John. The Rhodesians were hunting for the three of us because they knew that arresting one of us would derail the struggle in a big way.

You asked me why me? I really don't know but when we went to meet Mbuya Nehanda she said something about me and I think it was from that that I was chosen to look after materiel. Mbuya Nehanda said a lot about Tongogara, about Chitepo and many other Zanu leaders at that time. After meeting Mbuya Nehanda that's when I was moved from the commissariat to be deputy of Homba. Like I said Homba was later moved away from this department after he was involved in the issues *dzana Badza*. Fortunately, he didn't have much information about where we were hiding the materiel.

***It took about three days to interview Cde Khumalo about his role during the liberation struggle and due to space, we won't be able to publish everything that he said. However, next week, we will publish another piece from him where he will narrate his role as the person in charge of all materiel. He will narrate how they stored the ammunition in caves on top of Mavhuradonha mountain and how wild animals would protect these weapons from being discovered by the Rhodesian forces. Don't miss your copy of The Sunday Mail next week.***

## Appendix 3: Chimurenga II Chronicles: The boy who fed Mbuya Nehanda

OPINION & ANALYSIS CONTRIBUTOR

MAY 29, 2016

**LET us from the onset warn you dear readers. The narration below, by Cde Julian Maodza Murenga Mukomawashe, belongs to the spiritual world. Born on August 22 1960, in Mbire; Cde Murenga is that muzukuru waMbuya Nehanda that Cde Joseph Khumalo and many other freedom fighters referred to during our interviews. Many freedom fighters say Cde Murenga was present when Mbuya Nehanda met the leaders of Zanu and she said in future, “whenever *kana mava kuita matare angu, musasiya chizukuru changu ichi.*”**

**We tracked down Cde Murenga and his interview with our team comprising Munyaradzi Huni and Tendai Manzvanzvike is the kind of stuff that needs strong believers in the spiritual world. He narrates a sort of stranger than fiction incident in 1971 where about 44 white Rhodesian soldiers used all means necessary to take Nehanda Nyakasikana, including trying to burn her house and trying to shoot her, in a bid to take her to Salisbury but to no avail.**

**Cde Murenga, who boasts that he will live up to more than 100 years, for the first time reveals the real name of this person called Mbuya Nehanda and he tells the fascinating story that begins in Mesopotamia, which is some area near the country called Yemen today. And he will tell you that Zimbabwe’s real name is Chivavarira. Now don’t say I didn’t warn you.**

Read on ...

Cde Murenga Mukomawashe speaks to The Sunday Mail Deputy Editor Munyaradzi Huni during the interview

**SM: Comrade Murenga the ever-spoken about chizukuru chaMbuya Nehanda, we are glad to speak to you today. Can you briefly tell us about yourself?**

**Cde Murenga:** My father is called Gatsi Murenga Mukomawashe and my mother is called Raudze Mariwo. Grew up in Mbire, *ndakakura ndichingori murwere pane zvainetsa kudzinza*

*kwedu zvechivanhu*. At six years, I got worse and we went to see *mhepo*, *kana kuti homwe yaNehanda Nyakasikana*, people know her as Mbuya Nehanda. I call her Nehanda Nyakasikana, that's where I went for treatment. My parents would tell me that *ndairwara zvedzinza kana kuti mashavi*. I mean *mhepo inonyangira mumadzinza* or *kuti munhu ane mhondoro*. I was staying at Tsokoto village, kwasabhuku Mazheru.

**SM: What exactly was troubling you?**

**Cde Murenga:** In my dreams, I would see people and these people would appear like they were holding guns. I would scream to my father saying '*baba honai vanhu avo vakabata pfuti vari kumhanya*.' I would bolt out of the house trying to see these people but these people would be nowhere. This would trouble me a lot and I would not sleep. So when we went kwaMbuya, that's when we were told that *ndine mhepo yemhondoro*.

**SM: When did you go to see Mbuya Nehanda?**

**Cde Murenga:** It was now in 1969. So when we got there and she told us this, she said *iwewe*, Murenga Mukomawashe, meaning my father, *ndichakupa jira, jira iri raiva reblue*. She said *ndaifanirwa kurara ndakarisinga padumbu pese pandinorara*. After a while, I got worse. I would cry the whole night and we went back to Mbuya Nehanda. She said *mupwere wenyu uyu ari kunyangirwa nemhepo yatateguru vake vainzi Murenga*. She said to me don't worry too much and performed some rituals. We went back home. Things started getting better after this.

The elders asked what they were supposed to do. She called Mambo Matsiwo *anoyera* Ngara and she told him to go around telling all headmen *kuti vabvise mapenny, mari yakare yaiva nehuri pakati*. She said all the headmen should bring *mapenny aya pano* and in total there must be 12. She said 12 represented *marudzi ari muZimbabwe* and they were supposed to be given to my father and three other elders called Chaparadza, Chiweshe and Chatambudza. These elders were supposed to take *mapenny iwayo* up to Muvhuradonha mountain *kumabvazuva kwaigara Nyatsimba Mutota*. *Mapenny iwayo aifanirwa kunoiswa paguva rake* on that mountain *vachikumbira kuti hondo isaenderere mberi*.

This Chief who had been given this responsibility to go around telling this to the headmen had just married his second wife so he failed to accomplish this task because his two wives

were staying far apart. He would go and stay one month living with one wife and the next month he would go to the other wife. The month that this chief went to his second wife, white Rhodesian soldiers came to Musengezi Mission. They came in a Dakota and it landed at the school grounds. They went to the headmaster and told him that the school would be closed until *tabata magandanga*. They told the headmaster that they had been sent by Queen Elizabeth from England. By the time Mambo Matsiwo came back, Nehanda Nyakasikana said she was no longer able *kuita mhiko yake* because it was too late.

**SM: What did these Rhodesian soldiers do after forcing the closure of the school?**

**Cde Murenga:** On the fourth day, I think one of our relatives *ainzi muzukuru* Garden had told them about Mbuya Nehanda. He told them that Mbuya Nehanda was assisting freedom fighters. He showed them the way to Mbuya Nehanda's homestead. These white Rhodesian soldiers had one black soldier from Fort Victoria, which is Masvingo now. He is the one who was speaking chilapalapa leading these soldiers as they looked by Nehanda Nyakasikana's homestead.

Before these soldiers arrived at her homestead, Nehanda Nyakasikana *akasvikirwa* after calling all the elders in the village and told them that in the morning, *vaya vasina mabvi vachauya pano. Asi iwe Murenga Mukomawashe, meaning my father, ndoda uyambuke Muzengezi river uyende kune zvinhu zvangu.* My father was the one who knew this place, *paiva nemuwuyu. Paiva nezvima nezvimwe zvakawanda kusanganisa mari dzekuTanganyika, netsvimbo.*

My father came back with these things and gave Nehanda Nyakasikana *tsvimbo iya*.

**SM: This Nehanda Nyakasikana – how old was she and how did she look like?**

**Cde Murenga:** I am talking of someone who was very old. She was now blind with old age. She was around 105 years by this time. My brother Godfrey Murenga is the one who knew exactly her age.

She instructed that no one in the village should go *kumunda* on this day. She said I want to show you *kuti imi murikutya asi kwandiri hapana chinotyisa. Ini ndakada kunovhurira mbudzi ndikarambidzwa.* Still very early in the morning, we saw a puma vehicle coming to

the homestead. The vehicle parked at a distance and if what I was told is correct, there were 44 Rhodesian soldiers. When they arrived, they asked who was the head of the village. The village head came and that black soldier said “*tiri kutsvaga kwaNehanda.*” Many of the white soldiers had painted their faces black. The village head showed them Nehanda Nyakasikana’s homestead.

When these soldiers arrived at Nehanda Nyakasikana’s homestead, *ndakanga ndabva kunovapa mvura yekumwa nemukombe.* So *ndakangobuda ndichibva ndamira padhuze nemuti wemupani.* The village head instructed me to go and stand at a distance where other people had gathered watching all this. One of the white soldiers had something that looked like a radio and he started talking saying they had arrived at the homestead of Mbuya Nehanda who was giving freedom fighters powers to start the war. The plan was to capture Nehanda Nyakasikana and take her to England, but things didn’t happen as they expected.

**SM: How did they fail to do this? What happened?**

**Cde Murenga:** As they were standing *pachivanze, mhepo yaMbuya Nehanda yakasvika vachibva vatanga kuimba vachiridza muridzo.* She was alone in her hut with the door closed. She then shouted, “*Murenga uri kupi?*” My father responded saying, “*Ndiri pano.*” He then rushed into the hut. The white soldiers panicked because they couldn’t understand what was going on. They surrounded the house with their guns ready to fire. After a few minutes my father came out of the house and that black soldier asked him what was going on and he told him that she wanted some water to drink.

The black soldier said they wanted to see Mbuya Nehanda and asked the village head if she could come out of the hut. The village head said that was not possible since she could not even walk. He however said let me go inside and inquire from her. I now remember this village head was called Bandazi. He got inside and came out after a few minutes.

Nehanda Nyakasikana shouted saying, “*Ndiani anondida panze wandisina ukama naye? Wandisingazivi uye wandisina kuona kuti kune munhu ari kuuya nhasi? Vataurirei vabve pano vari kunhuwa.*”

This black soldier told his white fellows what she was saying and they really got furious. They spoke for a few minutes between themselves and that white soldier who had a radio



hang it on the mupani tree and walked towards the door into the hut. I am talking of a giant white person here. Just as he got to the door, he appeared as if he had run out of energy, he became jelly-kneed and fell down. Some of the white soldiers rushed to see what had happened. After a few seconds they dragged him away from the door. He gained composure and walked back again and the same thing happened.

They then concluded that there was some juju and so they came up with a plan. Most of them had handcuffs and so they handcuffed each other, about ten of them forming a line with my father at the front. They then ordered my father to lead them into the hut. The moment my father got into the house, *mahandcuffs akadambuka* with all the white soldiers still outside. That's when the white soldiers realised that they were dealing with a spiritual person. They said, if she had such powers, it really was true that she was giving freedom fighters powers to start the liberation struggle. *Ndiye ari kupa magandanga mushonga*. They retreated and started talking among themselves. My father later came out. The white soldiers then ordered that the door, *raiva retsanga*, to be removed so that they could see Nehanda Nyakasikana from outside. The door was removed. Nehanda Nyakasikana was seated, *akatsikitsira netsvimbo yake*, a bit to the left of the hut. As all this was happening, she continued singing. She was draped *mumachira eblack*, blue and white *asina bhutsu*. *Akanga akatambarara makumbo tsvimbo iri pamakumbo*.

**SM: What was she singing about?**

**Cde Murenga:** *Vaiimba dzimbo dzinonzi dzemhondoro*. I can't remember the exact song she was singing, but she used to sing one song where she would say "*gore rino muchadya nhoko*." I still remember this line because she would sing about it often. *Vaiti kana vasanga mhondoro vachiimba* as young boys we would really enjoy ourselves.

So when the door was removed, one of the white soldiers started taking pictures but after a few minutes he indicated that although we could also see Nehanda Nyakasikana, when he looked via the camera he was seeing nothing.

Whatever they were doing, these soldiers kept giving feedback on their radio speaking to someone who seemed to give them more instructions. We could not hear what this person was saying, but the word England was said a lot of times.

They then came up with the idea to burn the house so that Nehanda Nyakasikana could come out. This was a grass-thatched hut. So they took some diesel from containers that were in their vehicle and poured on the grass-thatched roof. The crowd that had gathered was ordered to move a distance away. One of the white soldiers *akada kubatidza* the roof, he tried several times at different spots, but *moto wakaramba kubvira*. Other soldiers joined in but *moto wakaramba kubvira*. The soldiers retreated and went into lengthy discussions among themselves. Others actually started smoking, clearly showing that they had been unnerved by what was happening. After a while, the soldiers decided that they were going to shot and kill Nehanda Nyakasikana so that they could take her body. *Vakatora pfuti yavo hombe yaiva nemakumbo kumberi vachibva vaigadzika pasi.*

**SM: As all this is happening, the removing of the door and so on, what was Mbuya Nehanda doing?**

**Cde Murenga:** She remained in her position. *Havana kana kusimudza musoro.* She kept on singing *vachiridza muridzo*. So one of the soldiers took position behind the gun. The elders in the village ordered *munhu wese kutarisa kumadokero*. I could see the elders were praying. I think they thought this was the end of Nehanda Nyakasikana. I remember on this day, *vana mai vedu vakatsanya* the whole day. They didn't eat anything.

**SM: What do you mean they were praying?**

**Cde Murenga:** *Kana ndichiti kunamata, I don't mean the way Christians do it. Ndiri kutaura kunamata kwepasi chigare. Ndinogona kutora mashizha kana matatu ndichitaura nevekudzinja kwangu, munamato iwoyo. Vamwe vanoti kupira.*

So this white soldier pointed the gun at Nehanda Nyakasikana and when he tried to shoot, the gun appeared as if it had jammed. He tried it several times, changing positions, but what happened in the end is that *pfuti iya yakabuda mvura*. This white soldier got frustrated and went back to his colleagues who were standing a few metres back. They again spoke on this radio and among themselves. We could hear them saying "she is an old woman but we don't know where she is getting her powers."

They again came up with another plan. At Musengezi Mission, *paiva nemagrader*, those ones used to clear roads. So they decided to take one of the graders so that they could destroy the

hut. One of the white soldiers was sent to go and drive the grader. He went and brought it. I think about 300 metres from the homestead, the grader developed a technical problem. They tried to fix it but instead *yakabva yatonyura muvhu*.

As the white soldiers were pondering what to do next, Nehanda Nyakasikana spoke from the hut.

## **Appendix 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

I'm a final year student at Midlands State University studying for a BSc Honours Degree in Media and Society Studies. I'm conducting a research on whether the column 'Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga' is propagating whether it is nationalistic historiography or patriotic history.

### Interview guide

1. What made you start writing the column 'Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga' or introduce it to the newspaper?
2. How do you choose the respondents that usually feature on the 'Chronicles from the Second Chimurenga'?
3. Why the ZIPRA armed forces wing is never invited to your column?
4. Do you publish all the interviews as they are or there is some gate keeping that takes place before the material is released to the public?
5. On your column you seem to invite prominent people like General Chiwenga. Can you explain why you prefer the views of people like him?
6. What purpose is your column serving to the public?