

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of the coverage of operation
“Restore Order” (Operation *Murambatsvina*) by Zimbabwe’s
weekly newspapers, the state-owned *The Sunday Mail* and the
privately owned *The Standard*, in the period 18 May to 30 June
2005.**

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Rashweat Mukundu

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Abbreviations

AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
BSA	Broadcasting Services Act
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MMPZ	Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
PF ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union Patriotic Front
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
ZAMPS	Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZLHR	Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights
ZIMPAPERS	Zimbabwe Newspapers Publishing Holdings
ZMMT	Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust

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Abstract

On May 16 2006 the government of Zimbabwe embarked on a clean-up programme of urban centres, destroying informal human settlements and informal businesses. This operation, which the government called operation “Restore Order”, resulted in the displacement of nearly one million people and left thousands of families homeless. This study is a discussion and an analysis of the coverage of the clean-up operation by two of Zimbabwe’s leading Sunday newspapers, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard*. *The Sunday Mail* is owned by the Zimbabwe government and *The Standard* is privately owned and perceived to be oppositional to the current Zimbabwe government. The two newspapers, therefore, covered the clean-up operation from different perspectives and often presented conflicting reports explaining why the clean-up operation was carried out and the extent of its impact on the lives of millions of Zimbabweans. The chosen research approach is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework as developed by Fairclough (1995). Using CDA, this study seeks to find out and expose the underlying ideological struggles for hegemony between different social and political groups in Zimbabwe and how the newspapers became actors in this process. This process is made possible by looking at how news reporting is organised in the two newspapers, issues of language use, sourcing and external factors that influenced the coverage of the operation.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

i. Introduction

My interest in studying the coverage of operation ‘Restore Order’ by the media in Zimbabwe arose out of my close interaction with the media while working for a media advocacy organisation, as well as other community-based organisations in Zimbabwe. The urban clean-up programme dubbed operation ‘Restore Order’ confounded many as it started as an insignificant process of police enforcing council by-laws on the prohibition of the building of informal settlements and ended up engulfing the whole country. This operation left thousands of people without homes and lost livelihoods. I have focused on *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* because they represent two political positions that divide the people of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwean society has been divided in two, with one group supporting the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) that forms the government of President Robert Mugabe, and another supporting the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Morgan Tsvangirai. The way the clean-up operation was covered by the media left no doubt about the deep divide in Zimbabwe’s political arena. Two issues were of key interest to me: first that the media appeared to cover this issue as if there were two different events; and second, the ways in which the two newspapers attempted to win citizen support. My aim in this thesis is to analyse the representation of operation ‘Restore order’ in the two newspapers which served different political interest groups. My interest is thus concerned with how the media operate, especially in relation to their ties to existing political groupings. This concern is driven by the view that the media, as Hall puts it, —..has a role to play in negotiating the many points of interdependence and interconnection on which the quality of our general life together depends” (1993:36).

This study was motivated by a personal belief, but also one generally shared in many societies, —that the media has a role to play in providing a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of events in society in a context which gives them meaning and relevance” (Price 2000:1). The media are also seen as platforms for the exchange of comment and criticism, enabling public discussion, at least in the limited sense of

carrying views, contrary to their own (Baker, 1999:134). Arguing this point further, Waldahl says that the, “modern mass media are important foundations of every democratic society and that free media are a pre-requisite for open political debate in society” (2004:5). The coverage of operation “Restore Order” put these principles to the test, as the media, in my view, failed the affected poor and vulnerable communities in Zimbabwe at the time.

This chapter introduces the study, and discusses the media landscape in Zimbabwe. This background contextualises the coverage of operation “Restore Order”. I also give an overview of the thesis as a whole.

ii. The Research problem

This study is concerned with issues of how power, be it political, cultural, economic or social, is exercised through the media and how opposing groups used the media to advance their partisan interests. This study is interested in finding out the extent to which the media in Zimbabwe has moved from simply reporting on and about political events, to being active participants. Further, this study seeks to answer the question whether the coverage of the clean-up operation became dominated by both the state and oppositional groups at the expense of giving a voice to the victims of the operation. It also seeks to analyse how NGOs and oppositional political groups represented their views vis-à-vis the Zimbabwe government, its agencies and supporters. In analysing the representation of operation “Restore Order” by the two newspapers, this study will also focus on the use of certain words used by the two newspapers to describe the operation, and the sources used in their stories among others issues. This study believes that the struggle for ideological, and ultimately political, control is part of language organisation and management; hence the use of words is not an innocent process (Wodak, 1997: 173). This research seeks to answer the question how people, especially those with power, in the public or private sector, influence others and seek to control events through language. How does language affect the ways that people view themselves in light of the broader national political, economic and social processes? (Atkins, 2002: 10). And how does language act to construct identity for people as they participate, willingly or by circumstances, in various national discourses. An analysis of these issues will show that the

representation of operation “Restore Order” had implications beyond the event itself. This will advance the intention of this study, which is to explore these underlying issues and show how the media’s coverage was shaped by many social processes and forces.

iii. Background to research

Operation “Restore Order”, or *operation Murambatsvina* in Shona, was the code name given to the demolition of informal human settlements and businesses in urban areas by the Zimbabwe government in 2005. *Murambatsvina* in this context meant “sweep out the dirt”. The government of Zimbabwe initiated operation “Restore Order” in May 2005 as part of a campaign to clean-up all major cities in the country of ‘crime’, ‘disorder, and the informal or parallel economy’ (*The Sunday Mail* 5 and 26 June 2005). The operation started on a small scale in Harare’s central business district as a removal of informal businesses such as vending stalls. After a week the police and municipal officers moved into townships of Harare, Bulawayo, and other towns, demolishing shacks and houses that the authorities said were built without approval, and were thus illegal structures. An estimated 700 000 people were displaced and left homeless as a result of the operation¹ and millions more lost their informal businesses. And At least seven deaths were recorded as a result of the demolitions (Bertin, 2005:9). Thousands of families were left homeless and children dropped out of school². The Zimbabwe government argued that the demolitions were necessary to curb criminal activities as well as enforce council by-laws. The City of Harare, which actively participated and supported the government in the clean-up, issued a statement stating that the clean up was an “effort to improve [the] services within the city” (*The Herald*, 25 May, 2005). In a speech quoted in the state -owned daily newspaper, *The Herald*, the Chairperson of the City of Harare, Sekesai Makwavarara said:

The city of Harare wishes to advise the public that in its efforts to improve the services within the city, it will embark on Operation *Murambatsvina*, in conjunction with Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP). This is a programme to

¹ See United Nations: Anna Tibaijuka’s Report on the operation
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=15117&Cr=zimbabwe&Cr1>

² See United Nations: Anna Tibaijuka’s Report on the operation
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=15117&Cr=zimbabwe&Cr1>

enforce by laws, to stop all forms of illegal activities ... Operation *Murambatsvina* is going to be a massive exercise in the CBD and the suburbs which will see the demolition of all illegal structures and removal of all activities at undesignated areas, among the prior mentioned activities.. (*The Herald*, 25 May 2005: 1)

The government moved in and detained thousands of families in holding camps, which it called relocation camps (Tibaijuka, 2005: 120). While these were the reasons given by the City of Harare and government, NGOs in Zimbabwe and internationally, as well as Zimbabwe's main opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), were critical of the operation calling it part of the ruling elite's authoritarian rule and a violation of human rights (Bertin, 2005:13). South Africa Church's spokesperson, Esau Mathew, called the operation inhuman and called the relocation camps inadequate. He said:

If what we saw is what the Zimbabwean government calls provision, then they should be ashamed of themselves. The conditions left by the clean-up operation are absolutely atrocious. Parents in the so called transit camps are struggling to take care of the young in addition to their own daily suffering. They live in makeshift shelters with no roof, no door, and they are totally exposed to the cold. (*The Financial Gazette*, 24 June 2005: 5)

The demolition of homes and detention of people in holding camps led to the intervention of the United Nations (UN) which sent a team to enquire into the situation in June 2005. The government was called upon to accept international aid and stop the operation forthwith (Tibaijuka, 2005:160). More importantly, the clean-up operation resulted in deepening suspicions between urban dwellers and the Zimbabwe government, especially in a political environment in which the urban population had voted for opposition political parties in general and local government elections since 2000 (Bertin, 2005:2). The demolition of urban settlements raised genuine concerns that the Zimbabwe government had a vendetta to settle with urban dwellers (Bertin, 2005:3).

Operation –Restore Order” came at a time when Zimbabwean society faced its worst social and economic crisis. These included the effects of HIV-AIDS, unemployment, food shortages, a polarised and tense political environment and repressive legislation which curtailed the media and freedom of expression, amongst other civil rights

(Bertin, 2005:15). The operation remains the first such incident to create the highest number of internal refugees since the end of the liberation war in 1980 (Bertin, 2005:15). It further raised political tensions with allegations by opposition parties that this was a ploy by the Zimbabwe government to stem potential urban protests (Bertin, 2005:9). The government, however, insisted that this was a noble cause meant to “clean-up urban centres, stop criminal activity, and prevent health hazards” (*The Sunday Mail*, 5 and 26 June 2005).

Operation “Restore Order” can only be understood in the broader politics of Zimbabwe’s society, or what the media now refer to as Zimbabwe’s crisis. The ruling ZANU PF party had 20 years of uninterrupted rule without serious challenge to its hold on power until 2000, when it lost a number of parliamentary seats to a new opposition party. The formation of a worker-based political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999, changed the political landscape as the ruling party faced a real challenge to its hold on power (Chakaodza, 2003:3). The formation of the MDC, coupled with economic problems, marked the beginning of what is now referred to as the Zimbabwe crisis, characterised by a society divided politically between rural and urban, poor and rich, rival political parties and deepening economic problems (Kaulemu, 2004:36). Describing this crisis, Raftopolous (2003: 217) notes that Zimbabwe is a state under siege from state orchestrated violence and policies of exclusion designed to preserve the political power of the ruling elite. This violence has:

...found expression in a racial discourse which started with white farmers and was extended to include farm workers and urban workers ‘without totems’ or proper Zimbabwean identity. (Raftopolous 2003:217)

Having lost a constitutional referendum in 2000, and also fifty-seven seats in the 2000 parliamentary elections³, the Zimbabwe government has sought to maintain political support by articulating what it calls a ‘nationalist’ agenda (Raftopolous, 2003:224). The nationalism that the ruling elite espouses, is based on a fierce and often violent reordering of society as part of what the ruling elite refers to as resolving injustices of

³ The ruling ZANU PF party lost fifty-seven parliamentary seats out of one hundred and twenty contested seats to the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). This was the first major electoral loss by the ruling party since 1980. Before June 2000, the opposition occupied fewer than three seats in parliament. (Raftopolous, 2003:230).

the colonial era (Kriger 1995:145). —This ideology is based on a belief that the national state should be identified through one political culture” (Raftopoluos, 2003:217). The ideology of nationalism in Zimbabwe is rooted in the war of liberation of the 1970s waged by the current ruling party, Zimbabwe African National Union: Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe African People’s Union (PF ZAPU).

The Zimbabwe government argues that the Zimbabwe crisis is a backlash by western powers angered by the land reform programme (Raftopolous, 2003:228). This position is however questioned as the government only embarked on this programme after real threats of losing power after the formation of the MDC (Mdlongwa, 1998:10). Although the government had passed the Land Acquisition Act in 1992, no process of land reform was put into motion until 2000, after the constitutional referendum loss (Mdlongwa, 2000:10). Mdlongwa thus concludes that the land reform became a process of distorting or muddying the political environment (2000:10).

Political events in Zimbabwe after 2000 have resulted in the Zimbabwe ruling elite being isolated by foreign powers, especially the United States of America and Europe (Bertin, 2005:6). More importantly, the economic difficulties Zimbabwe has gone through since 2000 have isolated the ruling elite from the urban electorate (Bertin, 2005:6). At a political level, operation ‘Restore Order’ was therefore the ruling elite’s, —a response to isolation, domestic and external pressure, and the need to renew itself under populist slogans mainly as a way of facilitating conquest of power and retention of power” (Bertin, 2005:7).

iv. The Press in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has a small media industry dominated by the state media and a few privately owned media organisations (MISA, 2005). At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a monopolistic media industry in which the government not only owns the only broadcasting station, but also the biggest newspaper publishing company (Waldahl, 2004:32). The media are used by the government to promote its policies, and the private media see their role as watching the government, exposing corruption, and exposing human rights violations (Chakaodza, 2003:15). The growth

of the private media in Zimbabwe in the 1990s, especially the establishment of the *Zimbabwe Independent*, *The Standard* and *The Daily News* changed the face of Zimbabwe's media landscape. The state media now faced direct competition from private weekly newspapers as well as one daily newspaper, *The Daily News*, which soon eclipsed the state-owned *The Herald* as the leading daily and most influential newspaper. *The Daily News* reached a peak circulation of 100 000 copies a day against *The Herald's* 50 000 in 2002 (MISA, 2006:100). The critical issue with the growth of the private media is that the opposition and civil society could now reach significant sectors of the population with their messages, resulting in the ruling elite losing its hegemonic hold on influencing political discussions in Zimbabwe. This meant that for events such as operation "Restore Order", the ruling elite's hitherto uncontradicted messages were challenged by the private media.

News coverage in Zimbabwe became characterised by a clear divide between the state-owned and private media (Chakaodza, 2003:18). For this reason the Zimbabwe government sees the private media as rivals who have a political agenda (MISA, 2006:100). The private press, by its own admission, has taken a stance to criticise and expose what it terms bad governance and human rights violations in Zimbabwe. This, according to Geoffrey Nyarota, former editor of *The Daily News*, was meant to give a voice to the opposition to counter the dominance of the state and pro-ruling party media (Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, 2005). The coverage of the opposition and civil society granted by the privately owned media had the effect of attracting fierce criticism from the government and ruling elite. This criticism was aptly captured in a provincial, state-owned weekly, *Manica Post* editorial (5 May 2000: 6) which read:

The Zimbabwe situation is made worse by journalists both local and foreign who have a strong bias against the government. The emphasis is on painting a negative picture of whatever the government has done, regardless of professional ethics.... At the other end of the scale are journalists who will never offer even constructive criticism of the government. This too is very dangerous for both the nation and the profession.

Allegations of bias against the government and ruling party on the part of the private media resulted in a battery of laws being introduced to control the media as will be explained below.

v. Zimbabwe's Media policies: A minefield for journalists and media.

Although Zimbabwe has a relatively liberal Constitution, many laws that suppress political and civil liberties, including media freedom, have been enacted since 2000 (Hondora, 2002:13). What is more, many repressive laws inherited from the colonial government are still in place. This has led to further polarisation in society, with certain sections calling for the repeal of these laws, arguing that they are being used to suppress opposition groups and civil society movements (Hondora, 2002:18.). Media laws, such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Public Order and Security Act (POSA), the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) among many others, restrict the operations of journalists and media organisations (Hondora, 2002:56). These laws, among other things, require journalists and media houses to be registered by a government-appointed body. No private broadcasting operators are registered in Zimbabwe, and through these laws the state has a *de-facto* monopoly of the airwaves (MISA, 2006:101).

The closure of *The Tribune* in July 2003, followed by *The Daily News* and *The Daily News on Sunday* in September 2003, and the closure of the *Weekly Times* in February 2005 are some of the measures that the Zimbabwe government has taken using these laws. These newspapers were banned on allegations of violating AIPPA. The closure of *The Daily News* was felt particularly strongly as it had become the leading daily newspaper in Zimbabwe (MISA, 2006:104). These closures also ended any lingering doubts about the extent to which the ruling elite was prepared to go, to shut out critical media voices. Before its closure, *The Daily News* had been bombed three times in 2000 and 2002 (MISA: 2004). The few private media houses still in existence have remained under constant attack from the state, with *The Financial Gazette*, *The Standard* and the *Zimbabwe Independent* receiving letters of caution and reprimand for stories covered in 2003, 2004, and 2005 respectively (MISA-Zimbabwe, 2004; 2005).

vi. *The Sunday Mail*

The Sunday Mail is a state-owned broadsheet originally established by the Argus group of South Africa in 1935. It was bought by the Zimbabwe government in 1980 (Saunders, 1997:14). It is the biggest weekly newspaper in Zimbabwe with a circulation of 90 000 (Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey, 2005). *The Sunday Mail* circulates mostly in urban, peri-urban and a few rural areas close to urban centres (Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey, 2005). As a result of its ownership, *The Sunday Mail* constructs its news stories from a pro-government and ruling party perspective, while attacking opposing or dissenting voices (Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe, 2002). The broadsheet is part of Zimpapers Holdings, a private company in which the state holds the majority share (51 percent equity). *The Sunday Mail* and its sister publications were supposed to be managed through the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT), an independent body created by the Zimbabwe government in 1982 to manage Zimpapers and other government news services. ZMMT served two purposes, which were to safeguard the interests of the ruling party while at the same time acting as a buffer between the Zimbabwe government and the state-owned media (Waldahl, 2004:32). This was meant to remove direct interference in the operations of the newspapers (Saunders: 1990:15). This management process has however fallen apart as the Zimbabwe government dissolved the ZMMT board and has not appointed a new board since 2001 (MISA, 2007:5). The Ministry of Information and Publicity, located in the office of the President, has decision-making powers at Zimpapers, appointing and firing senior managers and editors (MISA, 2007:8).

An important characteristic of *The Sunday Mail* is its role in building consent for the ruling elite's views amongst common citizens, and thus extending its hegemony. It does this by describing events from the government's perspective, reporting extensively on government activities, quoting its leadership, and using sources (such as analysts, academics, businesspeople, traditional and church leaders) noted for their support of the government. *The Sunday Mail* also carries analysis and commentary drawing on an array of political and social analysts who are accredited representatives of public experience and taste by virtue of their regular appearance in *The Sunday Mail* (Waldahl, 2004:110). Analysts that include academics, church and traditional

leaders support the government's position by offering explanations and analysis, while trashing the views of opposition groups. *The Sunday Mail* gives space to the narratives of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle history connecting this narrative to the policies and vision of the ruling elite (Waldahl, 2004:110). For purposes of this study, *The Sunday Mail's* analysis and commentary are important as representations of the views of the ruling elite in Zimbabwe.

vii. *The Standard.*

The *Standard* is the only privately owned weekly tabloid and was launched in 1998. It has a circulation of 35 000 and circulates in major urban areas (Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey, 2005). The newspaper has gained some ground in a market hitherto dominated by *The Sunday Mail*, which for a long time was the only national Sunday newspaper. *The Standard* is owned by Zimind publishers, a holding company involved in newspaper publishing, printing and media marketing (MISA, 2005:10). Zimind's majority shareholder is Trevor Ncube, a South African based Zimbabwean businessperson, former Editor of *The Financial Gazette*, and founding Editor of the *Zimbabwe Independent*. *The Standard* is a sister publication to the *Zimbabwe Independent*, which is published on Fridays. While the *Zimbabwe Independent* is the 'bigger' of the two in terms of circulation, *The Standard* has however managed to carve a niche for itself as a hard hitting, critical and investigative weekly newspaper. As a weekend publication, features form a significant part of the content of the newspaper. During operation 'Restore Order', the newspaper increased its coverage of the operation, focusing on the impact of the operation with more opinion and feature articles as well as stories on this issue. It is not surprising therefore that *The Standard* and the *Zimbabwe Independent* have suffered under the Zimbabwean government as their journalists and editors have been arrested numerous times for various 'crimes' related to its coverage, described by the government as oppositional, false, and contrived (MISA, 2006:108). In comparison with *The Sunday Mail*, *The Standard* operates with minimum resources and its coverage is centred on Zimbabwe's major urban centres (MISA, 2006:107). These disadvantages have, however, not affected the popularity of the tabloid with its mostly urban readers who see it as presenting a counter narrative to that offered by the state-owned, *The Sunday*

Mail. *The Standard* is important for this study as a direct counter to *The Sunday Mail*, for its focus on covering opposition and civic society voices.

viii. Academic and social significance and aims of the study

This study intends to find out if *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* advance specific ideological positions, which can be identified and analysed by looking at how their news stories cover and relate to dominant political and social discourses of their time. A reading of the two newspapers in the period of operation –‘Restore Order’– necessitates looking at how the two newspapers’ news stories relate to opposing forces in society. In the context of Zimbabwe’s political struggles, my analysis will explicate the ideological positions taken by the different newspapers. This study seeks to find out how *The Sunday Mail* justified operation –‘Restore Order’– as a developmental project aimed at ridding cities of criminals (*The Sunday Mail*, 5 and 26 June 2005), while *The Standard* 29 May, 5 and 26 June 2005 reported the operation as ‘undemocratic, haphazard and part of government’s ploy to punish urbanites who voted for the opposition party since the year 2000’.

This study is significant for its attempt to understand the challenges that the media face in an authoritarian society. It will do this by focussing on one event, the clean-up operation. In so doing, this study will attempt to show how language, history, culture, past and present economic, social and political circumstances of a given society shape the representation of current events. This study will seek to demonstrate how these aspects are key to explaining the current political challenges facing the Zimbabwean society and the context of the occurrence of the clean-up operation in such social circumstances. Of importance in carrying out this study is the desire to find out how the media are themselves arenas of contestation, by looking at why and how the two newspapers took different positions that explained the clean-up operation in different terms. This will be done by analysing the stories covered by the two newspapers, by looking at the representation of the operation, their use of language, their ideological positioning of the operation, among other issues. The significance of this study is that an analysis of the reporting of operation –‘Restore Order’– in Zimbabwe has never been undertaken, especially the link between the coverage of the clean-up and the historical

discourses of nationalism and armed struggle of the 1970s and the adversarial role of the private media.

This study is therefore a textual analysis of the media coverage of the operation, grounded in the sociology of news and critical theories. These two theories help in analysing how news is organised and how the media help to maintain the dominance of the ruling elite or their ideological perspective. Critical theory argues that mediated communication, such as news stories are cultural products where reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed for the benefit of elite groups, be they in power or in opposition (McQuail, 1994). My intention in analysing this event is to see how news stories are constituted: that is, how news stories are organised from the time of news gathering, writing and publishing. I seek to answer questions about what factors shaped the process of reporting operation ~~–~~Restore Order” by the two newspapers.

A general assumption in poor countries such as Zimbabwe is that both the private and public media should serve society (MISA, 2006:90). In the absence of an analysis on how the media reports, it becomes difficult to argue about the extent to which the media in Zimbabwe serve society. This study is therefore an attempt to contribute to the debate about the role of the media in society specifically looking at the role of the media in social conflict. In further explaining this point, this study takes its cue from critical theory, which argues that the media define, rather than reflect, reality and that by emphasising ideology as a defining platform in news writing, ~~the~~ media has the power to select what to represent as reality and what to exclude” (Hall, 1982: 63). Thompson (1990: 56) adds that, ~~to~~ study ideology is to study the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination”. The media achieves this through the conventional forms of media work that include the selection of certain events that are constructed into stories and the exclusion of others (Hall, 1982). The inclusion and exclusion of events in media work is done within the confines and framework of advancing a particular ideology. Ideology is therefore at the centre of media work as the ~~–~~manufacture of cultural products are central to domination” (Bennett, 1982: 48).

ix. Methodology

I located this study within the broad ambit of qualitative research which draws on a multi-disciplinary field and recognises that what is seen as reality in society is a construction that is subject to interpretation (Weinreich, 1996:47). Qualitative research does not see ‘reality’ as being ‘out there’, but argues that it is continually negotiated through such social tools as language and other social processes. My intention in using a qualitative research approach is to analyse how news stories covered by the two newspapers represented operation “Restore Order”. By using this approach I hope to identify the discourses and ideological leanings that inform the coverage. I will do this by using Fairclough’s (1995) approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). As Kress points out:

CDA has an overtly political agenda, which serves to set [CDA] off from other kinds of discourse analysis. While most forms of discourse analysis aim to provide a better understanding of socio-cultural aspects of texts, CDA aims to provide accounts of the production, internal structure, and overall organization of texts. An important element is that CDA aims to provide a critical dimension in its theoretical and descriptive accounts of texts. (1990:240)

Fairclough’s method of textual analysis is based on a critical perspective of society, and he argues that mediated communication is an arena of contest, as language is used to exercise power (Fairclough 1995:58). In this instance, although the Zimbabwe government demolished homes and other informal settlements deemed illegal through coercive physical force, the media became another mode of action and an arena of contest (Atkins, 2002:8).

x. Thesis Structure

Chapter one gives the background to the study: its justification and general information about the press in Zimbabwe, and in particular the two weekly newspapers under study. Chapter two details the theories used in the study, and reviews the literature related to the field of inquiry, that is the sociology of news approach. Chapter three discusses the methodology and methods used in the study, while Chapters four and five analyse the data emanating from the research. Chapter six offers conclusions and reflections emanating from the analysis.

xi. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to give a background to this study. This chapter focused on the history of operation ‘Restore Order’ noting that this process had its roots in the political struggles in Zimbabwe. This chapter also discussed the significance of the study noting the nexus between media and the exercise of power and social control. For the purposes of this study, this chapter also gave a detailed background of the two newspapers under study and their significance in the Zimbabwe media landscape.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

i. Introduction

In this chapter I outline the sociology of news approach as the theoretical framework I will use to unpack the coverage of operation ~~–Restore Order~~”. This approach highlights the social and production contexts in which news is created, and in so doing challenges the view that the media are objective reflections of events in society. News is therefore a product of organisational and cultural systems embedded in journalism which shape how events are represented (Reese, 2007:31). In outlining the sociology of news approach, I will explain the different aspects that constitute this theory, which include the influences and roles of news sources; the criteria for the selection of events that are constructed as news; and the influence of the socio-economic and political environment on frames that news writers use to represent news stories.

In addition to the sociological approach to news analysis, this study also uses the perspective of critical theory to analyse the news coverage of operation ~~–Restore Order~~”. A critical theory approach enables one to identify the ideological import of an action such as operation ~~–Restore order~~”. This approach to the media coverage of operation ~~–Restore Order~~” in Zimbabwe challenges the view that the media are innocent educative and entertainment platforms (Bertin, 2005:17). It argues instead that they are ideologically bound up with the political struggles of their time.

ii. The Sociology of news perspective to journalistic practice

The normative approach to the study of journalism sees journalism as providing a space in which different views and ideas in society can be debated (McNair, 2001:19-20). From this perspective, the processes of news gathering and writing are expected to provide factual and objective information that is in the public interest (McNair, 2001:4). Objectivity is therefore taken as a key concept in journalism and is generally defined as, ~~the~~ absence of bias, subjectivity or personal involvement that is the journalist advancing their own political, social, or economic views and beliefs in the

course of news writing” (McQuail, 2000:172). The normative view of news story writing also sees news as ~~–something~~ tangible, something out there that can be captured and conveyed to an awaiting audience” (McNair, 2001:4).

The media, however, cannot report every event that occurs in the world, and it is inevitable that a process of selection is necessary. Furthermore, journalists operate within social, economic and political limits and boundaries which affect how they communicate events. As a result the media thus become communicators of values as well as of facts’ (McNair, 2001:4).

A sociological approach to news looks at the social forces that shape and constrain decisions that are made in news production. In arguing this point, Schudson (1997: 8) says that the media are not objective mirrors of society which simply reflect reality, but that, ~~–news~~ is a social practice that is shaped by the socio-political conditions of the society in which it is produced”. Tuchman takes a similar view, arguing that news stories are ~~–manufactured~~ by journalists” (1976:97). By referring to news reports as stories’, Tuchman (1976:97) argues that this helps one to see the different characteristics of the news report in the process of its production and in relation to the broader social issues. It also alerts us to the view that news, like all public documents, is a construction possessing its own internal validity (Bagdikian 2004:3).

Schudson identifies three approaches to the analysis of news production or news making (1997:9). First is the political economy perspective, which talks of news-making as linked to issues of political and economic control. News stories are, therefore, seen as reflecting the views and interest of the powerful in both political and economic sectors of society (1997:9). The control of the news-making process is done by powerful economic and political groups, media owners, editors through influences on advertising revenue and selection of events that are covered as news. In explaining the political and economic control of the media, Herman and Chomsky talk of a propaganda model in which the ~~–media~~ are there to serve and mobilise for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity” (2002:4).

The second approach considered by Schudson involves the influence of the news organisation itself on the production of journalism. He says, ~~–the~~ story of journalism,

on a day-by-day basis is the story of the interaction of reporters and bureaucrats” (1996:6). Schudson adds that the world is bureaucratically organised for journalists who have to follow set standards, and procedures, this is mostly in relation to the relationship between the media and government authorities. In the corporate world huge investment are made in public relations structures to deal with the media. Whereas the social organisation perspective emphasises how the news-making process is influenced by news room routines and the rituals of journalism as well as the personal relations and orientation of news writers, the third approach, a cultural view, stresses the cultural and symbolic aspects of a given society that influence news production. This perspective contends that news stories may be framed in terms of cultural stereotypes. Certain cultural or political issues, symbols, words etc are used in news writing and taken for granted as the ‘truth’ and ‘fact’ without being interrogated. Such words may include the description of a government as a ‘dictatorship’ or ‘a great democracy’. This study notes that the cultural view and the news organisation perspective as proffered by Schudson go hand in hand as the one cannot work without the other. This is so as it takes a form of orientation or inculcation in political and cultural issues in a given society for the news writer to be able to use certain words or take a particular line of thinking/argument in the process of news writing.

Tuchman (2002:90) argues that the above three approaches should be seen as different moments or aspects of news production which can be approached from different angles using different methodologies. She adds that “news is a permanent social structure and a means of social reflexivity and contestation, a product as well as a productive process” (2002:90). This study makes use of the three perspectives, but more emphasis is placed on the social organisation of news perspective. This perspective and others are explained in detail below.

iii. Social organisational level of news making

This perspective emphasises the manufacturing process of news. The concern is with how news is selected, the language used, how news is sourced and framed among other issues (Bagdikian 2004:8). In describing the organisational aspects of news production, Schudson says that, it does not matter who journalists are or where they

come from, they will socialise quickly into the values and routines and daily rituals of journalism (1989: 27). News organisation theory compares the process of news making to any other organisation in the social world in that they have goals and missions. Journalists are, therefore, workers and journalism is news making and news work (Schudson, 1989). Routinisation becomes key to how journalists do their work as part of an organisational team that has set systems, standards, deadlines and expectations.

Building on the above argument, this study will look at the different aspects of the sociology of news production, focusing on the aspects that constitute it and influence news making. Starting with routinisation, this study will also focus on language, sourcing, framing and influences of the socio-economic and political environment on news-making.

iv. Routinisation

Shoemaker and Reese define "routines" as the "patterned, routinised, and repeated practices that media workers use to do their jobs" (1991:85). These include the use of shared basic values for identifying news such as importance, timeliness, and proximity. Turow (1992) quoted in Becker (2001:5) expands this definition to include shared journalistic values such as fairness and objectivity. Journalistic professional culture or routines operates strongly across organisational boundaries and it is these routines that makes the news production process work and are taken as part of the professional culture, expected of all working in the media industry. Routines make it possible for journalists to find strategic and efficient ways to get the news-making job done. Tuchman (1972, 1977, and 1978) used the term edification to analyse the work strategies, work demands and how a news story is written by journalists and the influences that editors have in that process. She says that journalists do not categorise events as news by distinguishing between the kinds of subject matter, but they typify events as news according to the way things happen and according to requirements of organisational structures within which news stories are constructed (1972: 4). In other words, journalists create guidelines in order to do the work of news gathering, writing and processing more efficiently.

Ethnographic studies of newsrooms show that news work is highly routinised and follows recognisable day to day patterns (Bagdikian (2004:28). These include who the news organisation takes as key sources and analysts, which voice is given prominence on matters such as politics and the economy, frames upon which stories are constructed and issues of language use (Bagdikian, 2004:28-29).

v. Language

Hackett (1984:236) argues that language is a symbolic system that is used to represent/stand in for social reality. Language not only describes events covered by the media, it also signifies the attitude towards the event or issue (McCullagh, 2002: 23). Journalism as an authored narrative thus not only transmits facts, but also a way of understanding and making sense of the facts (McNair, 2001:7). McNair adds that since there is more than one way of understanding and interpreting facts, ~~journalism~~ becomes an arena for struggle between competing ways of sense making” (2001:7). It is important to note, however, that while the intention of selecting certain words and codes is to have a certain view accepted as the truth this is not necessarily assured as a news story can be interpreted differently depending on the readers’/viewers’ social background and earlier knowledge or biases on a given issue. Hall (1980: 135) argues that audiences have some freedom to misinterpret. This means that while the dominant frames in media work typically favour the ruling class and powerful groups, ideological consent is not assured (McNair, 2001:11). In arguing this point further, Schudson questions the ideas of language impartiality, value freeness and professionalism that are used to argue for scientific objectivity in media work. He suggests that the news media do not reflect an external world, but ~~the~~ practices of those who have power to determine, through words, the experiences of others (1997: 13).

vi. News media and stories as „frames“

McCullagh defines frames as interpretative boundaries through which news stories are to be understood (2002:23). Such frames are usually compatible with the interest of the dominant groups in that news events that are reported as stories are selected in terms of what is of interest to influential social actors, be they dominant or

oppositional (McCullagh, 2002: 37). News frames can be analysed by looking at whether a pattern is formed in which a range of voices are either included or excluded in news stories. This analysis helps in understanding and noting what is left out and what is included in news media coverage of certain events or issues which sets limits to the kind of information and interpretation that is available in society (McCullagh, 2002:38).

Framing works in support of ideological power by maintaining a particular interpretation of events and understanding of issues (Entmann, 1993:51-58). In support of this argument, Hall (1982: 69-65) states that ideological power is critical in signifying events in a particular way. The media achieve this signification ~~through~~ framing events and issues in terms drawn from a very limited ideological or explanatory repertoire and in ones that are broadly favourable to ruling class versions of these events” (Hall, 1977:340). Some of the frames used in news stories‘ construction as identified by McCullagh (2002:25) include how news people interpret events they write about, select events that are covered as news stories and the emphasis that is put on a given event. Frames enable the audience to locate, perceive, identify and label the information about their own society or world. Framing is different from selection because in selection the media can choose which events to present as news and which ones to ignore. Framing goes beyond selection as framing refers to the way in which the media interpret events and issues for the audience (McCullagh (2002:27). As Entmann notes, ~~framing~~ thus enables the media to define problems, diagnose causes, and make moral judgements, suggestions and remedies” (1993:52).

This study takes *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* news stories as two broad frames in the coverage of operation ~~Restore Order~~”. Each frame, in this case, the two newspapers, position the problems in a different way and this has implications on how the problem is understood by the reader.

vii. News sourcing

The influence of news sources in the process of news writing and production falls under what Schudson (1989:263) describes as the political-economy control that news

makers have in determining what ultimately comes out of the media as news stories. Schudson notes that in sourcing news, journalists rely heavily on government sources, powerful institutions, professional organisations and pressure groups (1989:264). As a result of this, some individuals and institutions in society are thus seen as accredited sources and have privileged access to, and greater claims on, media coverage (Hall, 1982). Their access to the media comes from their institutional power, their representative status or their claims to expert knowledge (McCullagh, 2002: 68). The dominance of the elite voices in news stories is claimed by the media to be an affirmation of objectivity as they are seen either as experts on issues they talk about or authorities with economic, social and political power to speak on given issues (McCullagh, 2002: 68). Because powerful sources meet journalistic criteria of credibility and authoritativeness, they are able to act as what Hall (1982) calls “primary definers”.

The use of high-level sources is also built upon the idea of social hierarchies, which determine the mechanism by which the elite obtain privileged access to the media (Manning: 2001: 15). As a starting point, a journalist working on a story is likely to use institutional or high ranking officials (Manning: 2001: 15). Sources thus play a critical role in giving an angle to stories. The consistent sourcing of information from high level sources is one of the ways in which their views become dominant, because for a story to be legitimate and taken for granted as ‘sensible’ and ‘true’, it must be continuously repeated. A consideration of sourcing, in terms of who speaks and on what issues is a process in meeting requirements of a framework, and this can be used for analysing news production. By using senior officials as sources, the media would claim that it is fulfilling its fourth estate role of making these officials accountable to the public (McCullagh, 2002: 67). However, by relying on the powerful in society as sources of news, the powerful ultimately shape the news by giving their side of the story. Bennett (1986), in McCullagh (2002: 68), developed this argument with his notion of the “indexing hypothesis”. He argues that journalists index the range of their coverage so that it is reflective of the range of views of political and social elites rather than those of the general populace. The media, according to Lawrence (1996: 438), are oriented to cede the responsibility for setting the political and news agendas to the politically and economically powerful in society.

viii. Socio-economic and political power and its influence on news organisation

Another critical element in the news making process can be seen in how newsrooms are organised in such a way that practices such as the criteria of selecting events to cover as news and the hierarchy of such events are also linked to the socio-political organisation of society. The higher the source in society the more credibility is given to a news story and the higher chances that such a story will be taken as an important story. Such newsroom practices as sourcing from high ranking officials is grounded on assumptions, as an example, that the government has power to rule, makes laws and enforce them (Lawrence 1996: 440). In the process of giving legitimacy to certain views, journalists also downgrade alternative or competing views (Lawrence 1996: 440). The whole process of sourcing in the media, therefore, becomes an ideological struggle as social actors compete for media attention to have their position represented ‘accurately’ (McNair, 2001:7). While the media do not always function as propaganda tools of the powerful, dissenting or alternative voices are rarely covered or used as sources of news. Such groups are disadvantaged with regard to access to media (McCullagh, 2002: 68).

ix. Critical theory approach

Critical theory draws on Antonio Gramsci’s theory of hegemony which presents culture, society and politics as terrains of contestation between various groups and class blocs (Holub, 1992:200). It recognises that culture is as much a determinant of the form of society as politics and the economy (Dant, 2003:156).

Critical theory underpins a range of approaches to textual analysis as a means of interpreting and deconstructing media texts (Kellner, 1995: 98). From this perspective, a text or news story is constituted by its internal relations such as the use of language and newsroom organisation or routines as well as its relations to the socio-economic and political situation. Further explaining the above point, Dant (2003:157) says the media are not a mere artistic or communicative arena of society but point to how society is organised in terms of who has power and influence. In this study of the coverage of operation ‘Restore Order’ in Zimbabwe, it becomes

important to note, as Hall (1982: 63) argues, that the media is involved in the selection, filtering structuring and shaping of social ‘reality’.

A critical approach to textual analysis takes culture and dominant social views and practices as a contested terrain and unravels the different forms of resistance and counter hegemony as expressed in media work. Apart from looking at issues of political power, critical theory also enables an analysis of such arenas as class, race, ethnicity, gender and identity, as important constituents of culture, which should be examined and analysed to detect tendencies that promote domination and oppression in a given society. According to Kellner (1995:100), a critical theory approach enables us to see the ways in which journalism establishes boundaries of civic discourse by determining which issues are put into the public arena as important and also how the public is expected to interpret such news stories. From this perspective we can see the media as arenas where relationships are established and maintained. In this way critical theory allows an understanding of journalism, not only as an occupation but a textual and social system (Hartley, 1996: 35).

Reading media texts critically presents insights into the contemporary political situations and into the strengths and vulnerabilities of contending forces and into the hopes and fears of the population (Kellner 1995: 116). Its strengths lie in its capacity to link past and present events in explaining and analysing contemporary issues covered as news stories. This, in the case of Zimbabwe, includes the link and impact of the country’s liberation movements of the 1970s and its ideology of nationalism. This explains the current dominance of certain political groups and how some sections of the media constantly remind society of the historical links between the past and the present, that is the liberation movements, nationalism and the need to support those in power even as they embarked on such acts as operation ‘Restore Order’.

Of key interest to this study is the possibility of using critical theory to unravel issues relating to identity formation: the way in which identity is constituted through the othering of social groups identified on the basis of differences regarding race, ethnicity, class, gender or nationality. Operation ‘Restore Order’ has to be looked at, also, from a standpoint of how it (Operation ‘Restore Order’) might have become a process of redefining identities amongst the poor and rich, rural and urban

Zimbabweans and foreigners. In looking at identity formation, critical theory allows an analysis as to what end and purposes these formations were embarked on, why and how the media played a key role in this process.

This study recognises that critical theory has had many different aspects and quite distinct historical phases that cut across several generations of thinkers from the Frankfurt school of 1929 to the present (Kellner, 1995: 100). In this study I posit that critical theory offers a broad range of tools to analyse and examine the coverage of operation “Restore Order” in Zimbabwe as it (critical theory) combines rather than separates social agents, from philosophy to social sciences that influence relations in society. It becomes necessary in this study, therefore, to explain further the concepts of hegemony and ideology in order to aid a proper understanding of the premise, impact and consequences of operation “Restore Order”. As Hall (1982:56) argues, critical theory places ideology at the centre of media analysis. It (Critical theory) demonstrates how the media are cultural texts that produce and reinforce social identities be they political, gender, religious or economic (Kellner, 1995: 101). The relationship between hegemony and ideology, especially how hegemony is sustained by ideology becomes an interesting element for this study as will be explained below

x. Concept of hegemony and critical theory

Italian thinker Antonio Gramsci’s (1891-1937) writings on hegemony and counter hegemony remain central to critical theory studies. Gramsci used the term hegemony to denote a process through which the dominant class projects its own way of seeing the world on subordinate classes so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as ‘common sense’ and ‘natural’ (Lull, 1995:30). Hall (1977: 333) adds that hegemony is the “framing of all competing definitions of reality within the dominant classes, bringing all alternatives within their horizons of thought”. As Agger puts it,

Hegemony is the power or dominance that one social group holds over others. Hegemony is dominance and subordination in the field of relations, structured by power. Hegemonic culture, including media work, attempts to define culture from the top to down in terms of the system’s own needs for legitimation (1991:10).

Domination according to Gramsci is also exerted by way of coercion. If the ruling elite control the instruments of coercion such as the police and army they can use these to quell any dissent or force their policies. But hegemony works effectively at the intellectual and leadership level in winning the hearts and minds of the ordinary person by putting elite views as natural and sensible (Crossley, 2005:114). The dominant class sets the mental and structural limits, within which subordinate classes live and make sense of their subordination in such a way as to sustain the dominance of those ruling (Crossley, 2005:114).

Gramsci's theory of hegemony connects ideological representation to culture. For hegemony to survive and be maintained it requires that ideological assertions such as nationalism, patriotism, rule of law become self-evident cultural assumptions that are taken for granted and seen as common sense. Its effectiveness depends on subordinated people's accepting the dominant ideology as "normal reality or common sense" (Crossley, 2005:114). In analysing hegemony, Gramsci also emphasises struggle. He argues that common sense is not something rigid and immobile but is continually transforming itself (Gramsci cited in Hall, 1982:73).

Hegemony in any political context is fragile and requires renewal and modifications through assertions and reassertions of power through the continuous repetition of its ideological position such as its political beliefs. In buttressing this point, Hall (1997: 333) suggests that, "it is crucial to the concept that hegemony is not a given and permanent state of affairs but it has to be actively won and secured, it can also be lost". While the concept of hegemony assumes the domination of one group by another as one key element of inequality, Thompson (1990:61) asserts that, "this is but one form of domination and subordination". Other forms of domination such as gender inequality, ethnicity and racial domination exist between individuals/communities and the state. To survive, the dominant hegemony has to rely on ideology. Ideology is also central to the existence of counter hegemonic forces as I will explain below.

xi. Concept of ideology in relation to hegemony and critical theory.

Ideology can be defined as systems used to achieve social dominance, hence, the existence of dominant ideologies (Tolson, 1996:53). Ideology is concerned with the transmission of systems of signification across class lines, via mediums such as the news media (Bennett, 1982:31). To study ideology according to Thompson (1990:56) is to study the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination.

The term ideology is also attributed to Louis Althusser who says that society consists of a superstructure that is its ideology producing institutions. These include sectors of society such as the media, education institutions, etc. Althusser argues that there is a continuous contest over control of these institutions by diverse social forces as they are key to influencing and controlling society (Lull, 1995:32). This study is therefore interested, also, in how the media played a role in transmitting and defending ideological positions in the period of operation –Restore Order”.

In using ideology as a tool of analysis, I make the point that ideology is not just economic authority but ideas and information. It (ideology) shapes and maintains social class divisions. In the same vein, rather than conceptualising ideology as a force of domination in the hands of an all-powerful ruling class, ~~ideology~~ ideology can be analysed contextually and relationally as a response to resistance and as a sign of threats to the hegemony of dominant groups” (Kellner, 1995: 104).

I also argue in this study that it is important to understand how the media, as symbolic forms of culture are ideological. This is possible using critical theory and focusing on an examination of the social context in which such symbolic forms of culture (media) are deployed. In relation to the media, Bennett posits that ideology can be said to work in three main ways:

- ❑ The nature of social control which is exerted over the media, such as through ownership and controls put in place by those who control the media.
- ❑ How technically the signifying systems relayed by the media work to achieve their impact especially by creating false consciousness or misrecognition.
- ❑ And the operation of the media in so far as it seeks to conglomerate the social, political and economic issues in society as unitary (1982:49).

Of interest to this study is Lull's (1995:6) argument that the media are purveyors of ideology through their expression of the values, orientations and predispositions of the elite. This point has adequately been explained above in relation to journalism and how the dominant class defines what comes out as media news stories through their privileged positions as sources of news. In line with this argument Boggs (1976:39) says that the mass media are tools the ruling elite use to perpetuate their power, wealth and status by popularising their own philosophy and culture. As purveyors of ideology, Lull (1995:7) argues that the media become part of the dominant or opposing ideologies as they (media) also assume social power:

In this sense, selected ways of thinking are advocated through a variety of channels by those in society who have political and economic power. Information that is supposed to be for the public good is manipulated to help sustain the material, political, economic and cultural interest of the dominant group...Ideology can be seen in terms of how information is used by one socio-economic group, the ruling class to dominate the rest. (Lull, 1995:7)

In the final analysis ideology has force when it can be represented and communicated (Lull, 1996:7). Journalism becomes key as a tool of communication and representation of ideology. As has been demonstrated above I take, McNair (2001:6) position that journalism like any other narrative, ~~which~~ is the work of human agency", is essentially ideological.

xii. Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the theories that I will use in unpacking the coverage of operation ~~–Restore Order~~" in Zimbabwe. This chapter notes that the process of news writing is not as an innocent process of the media conveying facts as they are. Of key importance is the location of the coverage of operation ~~–Restore Order~~" within the social context and social struggles in Zimbabwe which have their history in the broader politics and social issues in Zimbabwe. This chapter identified the sociology of news theory and critical approach as useful positioned theoretical frameworks for understanding how operation ~~–Restore Order~~" was covered by *The Sunday mail* and *The Standard* newspapers.

As demonstrated above, the two theories enable a broader understanding to unravel social actors and the root cause of social struggles, how and why the media operate or report as they do. In further explaining the sociology of news theory as well as critical theory and their relevance to this study, this chapter also touched on hegemony as a key element as far as how the media seek to protect and counter opposing social voices, from those they support. Hegemony can only be detected through its use of ideology. Hence this chapter also gave a comprehensive analysis of ideology linking it with media work.

An analysis of the presence of ideology in news construction is only possible if one looks into the day to day operations of the media. For this reason ideology links with the sociological and organisational structures of media work and how these affect or impact on what is reported as news. The sociology of news approach broadly posits that journalism is central to the sustenance of ideology.

A combination of the sociology of news theory, critical approach as theoretical frameworks to analyse operation –Restore Order” combined with an analysis of hegemony and ideology offer a workable approach to unpacking the coverage of operation –Restore Order” by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* in Zimbabwe. This is so because the operation became a platform for hegemonic struggle between different groups in the Zimbabwe society. This chapter also notes that the approach taken in this study is not the only one nor exhaustive of issues related to media work including the coverage of operation –Restore Order”.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY CHAPTER

i. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methods that will be used in this study. The chosen research approach is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework as developed by Fairclough (1995). CDA follows the path of traditional critical research approaches which assume that social reality is historically constituted and that it is produced and reproduced by people. The main task of critical research is social critique (Atkins, 2002:8). It focuses on the oppositions, conflicts and contradictions in contemporary society (Weinreich, 1996: 65). CDA broadly falls under the qualitative research paradigm, as is explained below.

ii. Qualitative Research

Qualitative research draws on a multi-disciplinary academic field and recognises that what is seen as reality in society is a construction that is subject to interpretation (Lindlof, 1995: 103). A study based on qualitative research does not see reality as ‘out there’, on the contrary, reality is continually negotiated through such social tools as language (Weinreich, 1996: 66). A researcher, according to the qualitative approach, is part of the world being investigated hence it is not possible to attain objective knowledge about a social phenomena since the researcher is not divorced from the research process but brings in his/her experiences, background and cultural biases in the course of conducting research (Descombe, 2002).

Qualitative research methodology is primarily focused on acquiring a detailed understanding of social processes and meaning. Interviews and open-ended questionnaires, document and text analysis, personal impressions and interpretations, observation and participant observation are some of the research methods associated with qualitative research (Becker, 1996:110). Research using qualitative methodology emphasise on understanding social phenomena rather than simply explaining society in quantitative terms (McQueen, 2002). This study will use textual

and document analysis to investigate the coverage of operation “Restore Order” in the two Zimbabwean newspapers. Results, in this study, are presented in a narrative and descriptive format.

iii. Critical Discourse Analysis

Atkins (2002:2) says much has been written about CDA in its broadest sense and it therefore becomes difficult to define CDA in simple terms because it encompasses a number of tenets and uses a range of techniques. Its primary aim is to identify socio-political inequalities that exist in society. As a media text research method, CDA seeks to unravel the often taken for granted assumptions about society and how society functions. CDA encompasses the analysis of many linguistic categories such as the relationship between the structure of the text and the agent of the text and ways of representing events (Atkins, 2002:25). In short, CDA is a textual approach that focuses on the hidden meanings of words, statements and images that are used to represent different social events.

Fairclough (1995: 132) defines CDA as,

[the] study of often opaque relationships of causality and determination by looking at discursive practices, events or texts and underlying social and cultural structures, relationships, processes and practices to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power, and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor of securing power.

CDA deals with specific connections between the use of language and the exercise of power (Fairclough 1995). This study takes note that there are numerous approaches to discourse analysis: Jacques Derrida's “deconstruction” would be one, so would Fredric Jameson's Marxist analysis of postmodernism which provides another interesting reading of the dominant discourses of the present world (Wodak, 1997:34). As a research approach CDA also draws from the critical theory- and contributions of Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Jurgen Harbermus and Pierre Bourdieu (Wodak, 1997:34). CDA's interest in theories of power (hegemony) and

ideology is linked to Foucault's (1971, 1977) ideas about "orders of discourse" and "power-knowledge," Antonio Gramsci's (1971) notion of "hegemony," and Louis Althusser's (1971) concept of "ideological state apparatuses".

In using CDA as a research method I am interested in its [CDA] treatment of language as an interdisciplinary tool that can be used in media criticism. Significantly, CDA offers the opportunity to adopt a social perspective in the cross-cultural study of media texts. As Gunter Kress (1990:48) points out, CDA has an overtly political agenda which sets it apart from other kinds of discourse analysis, including pragmatics and socio-linguistics. While most forms of discourse analysis aim to provide a better understanding of socio-cultural aspects of texts, CDA aims to provide accounts of the production, internal structure, and overall organisation of texts (Kress, 48). These are all elements I will reveal in my analysis.

Discourse Analysis is generally perceived as the product of post-modern thought (Weinreich, 1996: 68). While other philosophies are generally characterised by a belief-system or meaningful interpretation of the world, post-modern theories argue that there is no one particular view of the world and that different interpretations can be drawn from a single event or news story (Atkins, 2002:30). This view also holds that the, "world is fragmented and heterogeneous, and that any sense making system or belief is a subjective interpretation that is conditioned by its social context and the dominant discourse of its time" (Atkins, 2002:30). Post-modern theories, therefore, enable numerous readings, aiming at "deconstructing" concepts, belief-systems, or generally held social values and assumptions (Atkins, 2002:31).

Using CDA, this study seeks to analyse how language is not only a tool of communication, but a social practice that is related to other social dynamics. In looking at the coverage of operation "Restore Order" this study is interested in finding out the discourse practices of two newspapers in Zimbabwe and political community, especially in a period of national polarisation and political contestation. Fairclough (1995) calls the discourse practices of a given community or nation state, orders of discourse. Orders of discourse refer to the different facets of the use of knowledge, space, and routines that form a discourse. In this study, I take the newsroom work

and routines of *The Standard* and *The Sunday Mail* as an order of discourse more so their linkage and relationship with the political society.

Using CDA, this study analyses and critiques the intersection of language/discourse/speech and social structure (Demo, 2001:1). This helps in uncovering the ways in which Zimbabwe's social structure potentially impinges on discourse patterns, relations, and models such as power relations and ideological effects. Arguing this point Blommaert (2000:447) says CDA research has to treat issues such as social power relations as problematic so that a researcher can situate the critical dimension of her/his work because it is not enough to lay bare the social dimensions of language use. As Blommaert, 2000:449 says:

These dimensions are the object of moral and political evaluation and analysing them should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilising people to remedy social wrongs.

Of key interest to this study is the wider definition of the word 'discourse'. Rather than using it in a narrow linguistic sense as simply referring to passages of connected speech or writing, this study extends this to include Foucault's definition of discourse as 'a group of statements which provide a language for talking about a particular topic at a particular historical moment' (Hall, 1997:44). Viewed this way, representation then becomes a site for the production of social knowledge through language and thus Foucault was concerned with exploring how this knowledge was inextricably linked with questions of power or contest over power.

Foucault's discursive approach argues that meaning is constructed in and through language (Hall, 1987:42). The discursive approach emphasises power relations in representation. Foucault noted that throughout history, some people have more power to speak about some subjects than others because of the positions and knowledge they have (Hall, 1987:42). Thus, 'relations of power, not relations of meaning' were his major concern (Hall, 1997:43). Foucault focused on how rules and practices that "produced meaningful statements and regulated discourse" were produced and sustained (Hall, 1997: 4). This study, therefore, seeks to find out how the coverage of operation "Restore Order" reflected an ideological struggle between contending

forces, what the clean-up operation meant, and its impact on the relations between the state and citizens.

Discourse, according to Foucault is not a linguistic process only, but a practice as well (Wodak, 1997:40). In looking at the coverage of operation “Restore Order”, it is important to hold onto Foucault’s use of the word discourse as a framework for discussing an issue, and considering how it is spoken about and how these ideas influence social practice, especially power relations. In the case of Zimbabwe’s operation “Restore Order”, this discourse includes the question of state and citizen relations, identity, local governance, urbanisation, poverty and development, and the discourse of human rights, democracy and good governance. This point can be explained by considering Janks (1997: 329-342) argument that a discourse analysis allows an understanding of whose interests are served by news stories and whose interests are written out. Any text is constitutive of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1995). Using discourse analysis this study seeks to explore how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard*, contributed to shaping the social views, identities and beliefs of Zimbabwean society through its representations of operation “Restore Order”.

This study will analyse the whole organisational structure of news gathering and news writing, who is interviewed or used as a source and for what purpose. To achieve this and also achieve the research objectives set above this study will use Fairclough’s (1995) three-level framework of analysing texts. First, the social conditions of production and interpretation, which includes the social factors that lead to the production of a text and how these factors influence news story interpretation by the reader. The second level is the process of production and interpretation, including how a news story is produced and the effects of that production process, such as newsroom routines, and editorial decisions on the interpretation of news events. The third level is the product or news story itself, consisting of words and images. The text is the product of the first two stages or levels (Janks, 1998: 197).

iv. A detailed description of the particular method(s) of data analysis used in this study.

Although there is no accepted method of data collection, most CDA studies analyse “typical texts”. However, various methods are used by different theorists: Jagers distinguishes between content and language oriented steps of analysis; Van Dijk concentrates on certain linguistic markers, and Fairclough (1995) uses a pragmatic, problem oriented approach which identifies and describes the social problem as a first step in analysis (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:121-138).

In this study I use Fairclough’s (1989, 1995), method of CDA research which sketches a three-dimensional framework for conceiving of and analysing a text. The first dimension is discourse-as-text, i.e. the linguistic features and organization of concrete instances of discourse. Choices and patterns in vocabulary (e.g. wording, metaphor), grammar (e.g. transitivity, modality), cohesion (e.g. conjunction, schemata), and text structure (e.g. episoding, turn-taking system) should be systematically analysed (Fairclough, 1995: 53-75).

The second dimension is discourse-as-discursive-practice, i.e. discourse as something that is produced, circulated, distributed, and consumed in society. Fairclough (1995) sees these processes largely in terms of the circulation of concrete linguistic objects (specific texts or text-types that are produced, circulated, consumed, and so forth). Approaching discourse as discursive practice means that in analysing vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure, attention should be given to speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality—three aspects that link a text to its context. Fairclough distinguishes between ‘manifest intertextuality’ (i.e. overtly drawing upon other texts) and ‘constitutive intertextuality’ or ‘interdiscursivity’ (i.e. texts are made up of heterogeneous elements: generic conventions, discourse types, register, style) (Banyanham, 1999:47). One important aspect of the first form is discourse representation i.e. how quoted utterances are selected, changed and contextualized (Banyanham, 1999:47).

The third dimension is discourse-as-social-practice, i.e. the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is a feature. Hegemony concerns power that is achieved through constructing alliances and integrating classes and groups through consent, so that —the articulation and re-articulation of orders of discourse is correspondingly one stake in hegemonic struggle” (Fairclough, 1992: 93). It is from this third dimension that Fairclough constructs his approach to change hegemonies and this can be witnessed in discursive change, when the latter is viewed from the angle of intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992: 93). The way in which, —discourse is being represented, respoken, or rewritten sheds light on the emergence of new orders of discourse, struggles over normativity, attempts at control, and resistance against regimes of power” (Banyanham, 1999 ,102).

Some practitioners of CDA welcome the diversity of methodology (Fairclough 1999: 17), others strive for a systematic and focused framework, based, for instance, on concepts of genre and field and on the socio-semantic representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1993, 1996).

Chapter 4 and 5 which are the data analysis chapters of this study follow the three step Fairclough approach as outlined above. The data analysis is presented under labels that follow Fairclough’s (1995: 53-75) three step approach with level 1 of the data analysis focusing on the conditions of production by analysing the societal, situational and institutional influence on the news stories being analysed. Level 2 will focus on the process of production looking at discourse practice and its influences on the coverage of the operation by the two newspapers. Level 3 will probe the texts using various tools of analysis such as use of argumentation and metaphor among others.

v. About the study

The purpose of this study is not to provide definite answers, but to find out how the two newspapers represented operation —Restore Order”, and in the process contribute to an understanding of contemporary socio-political issues in Zimbabwe. In using CDA as a research tool in analysing the news stories of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard*, I will focus on the message of these newspapers and locate them within a

historical and social context of Zimbabwe. In this manner, I will be able to reveal the motivation and politics involved in the clean-up operation. The concrete result of this study may be the awareness by civil society on the socio-economic and political challenges in Zimbabwe and contribute to informed debate on the role of media in society.

The media in Zimbabwe, as in many other parts of the world, continue to have a hugely significant role in manufacturing and disseminating dominant and other forms of ideology. This role can only be identified by looking at how the media covers significant national issues in a context such as operation –Restore Order”.

vi. Question of validity in discourse analysis.

Validity can be defined as the strengths of one’s conclusions, inferences or propositions. Cook and Campbell (1979: 39) define validity, –as the best available approximation to the truth or falsity of a given inference”. Validity determines whether a research output truly measures that which it was meant to measure or how truthful the research results are Cook and Campbell (1979: 39). Some researchers have argued that the term validity is not applicable to qualitative research, but at the same time, others have realised the need for some kind of qualifying check or measures (Golafshani, 2003:602). Cresswell and Miller (2000) as quoted by Golafshani, (2003:603) argue that validity is affected by the researcher’s perception of validity in the study of his or her own choice of paradigm assumptions. As a result many researchers have developed their own concepts of validity and have often generated or adopted what they consider to be more appropriate terms such as quality, vigour and trustworthiness (Joppe, 2000:1).

Following the above argument, this study notes that the outcome of an analysis of operation –Restore Order” using CDA will be an interpretation, as CDA cannot provide hard data as would quantitative research methodology. The reliability and validity of the analysis of this study will be in the force of argument to be presented. As Frohmann (1994:82) argues, even the best-constructed arguments are subject to their own deconstructive reading and counter-interpretations. The validity of critical analysis is dependent on the quality of the rhetoric (Bizzell, 1990:253). This study aims therefore to provide a new perspective in the understanding of the socio-

economic and political situation in Zimbabwe before and in the aftermath of operation –Restore Order” through an interpretation and analysis of the coverage of this event by the two newspapers.

This study is aware and takes note of the criticisms of CDA, such as arguments that it is overtly political and potentially contentious in its findings (Widdowson, 1995:187). CDA is also criticised for its tendency to be reductionist and deterministic, with its proponents having their own agenda and remaining uncritical of themselves (Widdowson, 1995:187).

vii. Sampling for the actual study

This study analyses media reports (texts) selected from *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* from the period May 17 to July 30 2005. In analysing these texts, this study is particularly interested in finding out about the representation of broader issues and discourses such as national identity, democracy and development, governance, poverty, law and order, among others and how these relate to the socio-political context in Zimbabwe.

A total of 16 articles were found on operation –Restore Order” in this period in the two newspapers. Many of the articles dealt with governmental policy issues and also personal accounts of victims of operation –Restore Order”. I selected 12 articles for analysis based on their headlines and the political message/voice that they carried in the text. In total, 12 newspaper articles will be analysed: four (4) news stories and two (2) editorial comments from each of the two newspapers, *The Sunday Mail*, and *The Standard*. The two are weekly weekend newspapers hence the seemingly small number of news stories on the clean-up operation. The two newspapers have been selected for this analysis because of their dominance in the weekend newspaper market. Zimbabwe has no independent and privately owned daily newspaper (MISA, 2005). The now defunct other Sunday newspaper, *The Sunday Mirror* had a low circulation of below 10 000 copies (Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey, 2005).

The selection of the news stories, some of them front-page stories as well as editorials is based on the important role that front-page stories and editorials play in a newspaper. A front-page story represents the key issue or event that a newspaper

chooses to highlight at any given time (Davies, 1987:247). It is also seen as significant at a national level and has the role of attracting readers, and so influences the circulation of a given newspaper (Davies, 1987:247). Editorials are important as they represent the political voice of a newspaper (Kriegbaum, 1956). Editorials tend, among many things, to influence opinion, analyse an event or an issue, or simply comment on an issue from the perspective of the newspaper (Davies 1987, (Harris and Johnson, 1965).

viii. Limitations of this study

While CDA calls for a vigorous textual analysis focusing on each story and organisation of words and themes in order to comprehensively bring out and analyse all nuances in a given news story, this study did not adequately achieve this due to the high number of stories sampled for the study as well as limitations on the thesis size. This problem will be addressed by looking at and analysing the sampled news stories through specific themes and basing the argument on textual evidence thereby attempting as much as possible to draw examples/evidence from each sampled news story.

ix. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research methods that would be used in analysing the coverage of operation “Restore Order” by the two newspapers. This paper identified Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the research approach to be used and gave a detailed description and background of CDA, looking at its usefulness in this endeavour. CDA as noted allows an understanding of the linkages between events and issues of power in society. Using textual analysis this research exposes how the news stories of the two newspapers were, as noted by Janks (1998), “contingent on an aggregate of many social, political and economic factors such as the nature of the social, economic or political occasion, the participants and their relations”. The research approach described above evidences the broader struggles for hegemony within Zimbabwe society and how this is played out in the social world.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS: ANALYSIS OF EDITORIALS

i. Introduction

This chapter and chapter 5 present findings of a Critical Discourse Analysis of the coverage of Operation –Restore Order” by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* in the period 18 May to 30 June 2005. The analysis chapters of this study are divided into two, the first analyses editorials, and chapter 5 focuses on news stories. Before analysing the editorials I give an analytical background to the broader socio-economic context in which the editorials were produced. This will help in providing a better understanding of the positions taken by the two newspapers in their reportage. This study notes that editorials, unlike news stories, are more likely to bring out the positions the papers support or oppose. Editorials also bring out the main issues that underlie social struggles which might not be brought out in news stories.

The focus on an analysis of the broader environment follows Fairclough’s (1995) three level framework of analysing news stories. As noted in chapter 3 (Pages 33 and 34), these are, first, the social conditions of production and interpretation which includes the social factors that led to the production of a text and how these factors affect interpretation by readers; second, the process of production, including newsroom routines and editorial decisions and the interpretation of a text; third, an examination of the text itself. As noted in chapter 3, the text is the product of the first two stages or levels. Following this, editorials are analysed as the ideological voices of the newspaper that guide the coverage of the actual news events (Fairclough, 1995: 53-75).

As stated in chapter 2, this study broadly uses the sociology of news approach to the study of the coverage of operation –Restore Order”. This approach emphasises creation of news and organisational forces or routines. These shed light on some variables but rarely do more than describe (Anderson, R, et al, 1996:65). Description is therefore a key feature of chapter 4 and 5 of this study as I analyse the coverage of operation –Restore Order” by the two newspapers.

The ideological analysis of the headlines of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* focuses on significant themes that include editorial views on operation “Restore Order”, the argumentation in the editorials and issue endorsement. In the period sampled for this study, 4 editorials, on the clean-up operation, appeared in the two newspapers.

ii. The importance and role of editorials

Media content reveals two broad types of content and these are ‘straight news’ or factual articles and editorials and other opinion-based articles (Hulteng, 1973:11). Editorials are an important part of a newspaper’s content as they give a newspaper power to influence public opinion (Hulteng, 1973:11). Davies (1987:7) argues that as a result of their importance editorials “should be part of any consideration of any study on press and politics”.

Stonecipher (1979:41) explains the role of editorials saying: “an editorial may be defined as a representation of fact and opinion in concise order for the sake of influencing opinion or interpreting significant views in such a way that its importance to the average reader will be clear”. In this way editorials become the media’s official voice that illuminates a particular issue. According to Kriegbaum (1956:14), editorials can be called the most deliberate effort to create or mould public opinion. He adds, “editorials are not unorganised essays, they have a structure, a headline, an intro, body and conclusion” (Kriegbaum, 1956:14). The significance of editorials in the news discourse is further explained by Stonecipher who says that “the clarity and precision in the use of language makes editorials appeal to the intellect, marshalling evidence and documentation, [and] to emotions to arouse interests and court agreement” (1979:41). “In this way editorials also function to endorse issues under discussion and convince readers of the correctness of the position that the editorials support, exhort and make a call to action, comment, inform, chide, fight as well as praise citizens or leaders” (Davies, 1987:9). They afford newspapers an opportunity to argue and present their beliefs without distorting or colouring news stories with biased statements (Harris and Johnson 1965:27).

While the distinction between news and editorials is vast, this does not indicate a dichotomy. Editorials actually represent the voice of the newspaper especially on lead stories or a topical national or global issue.

iii. Summary of *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* newspapers editorials under analysis

The Sunday Mail carried two editorials on operation “Restore Order” in the period 29 May to 26 June (See appendix 1 and 2). The editorial of 29 May was titled, “Flush out corruption at higher levels”. At surface level the editorial appears to be a condemnation of the clean-up operation, while a deeper reading however shows that the editorial lays blame of policy shortcomings on junior government and council officials while praising the leadership of President Robert Mugabe and other senior party and government officials. The editorial consolidates government’s position that operation “Restore Order” was a success and that all that is needed is to root out a few corrupt government and council officials.

On 26 June 2005, *The Sunday Mail* carried an editorial titled, “We must assert our right to shape our destiny”. This editorial, as will be analysed below, was an outright endorsement of operation “Restore Order” as well as a condemnation of its critics, especially western powers such as Britain and the United States of America. The editorial alludes to what it calls the continuing struggle between Africa and the imperial intentions of western rich countries.

The Standard carried two editorials on 22 May and 5 June 2005 (See appendix 3 and 4). The 22 May editorial was titled, “State goading masses to revolt”. In this editorial the newspaper attacked the ruling party, ZANU PF and government for carrying out the clean-up operation as a way of punishing urban dwellers who had voted for the opposition in all elections since the year 2000. The editorial points to the policy deficiencies within the operation and whole government systems adding the government was planning a political purge of its opponents (22 May 2005).

On 5 June *The Standard* carried an editorial titled, “This is state apartheid”. The editorial attacks the clean-up operation likening it to South Africa’s apartheid system. The newspaper points to the suffering of thousands of families who lost their homes and children out of school, concluding that the Zimbabwe government was insensitive and ruthless to its own citizens.

iv. Level 1 of analysis:

The social, political and economic context of editorial and news story production

The media in Zimbabwe is polarised along political lines with state media newspapers including *The Sunday Mail*, largely seen as loyal to the ruling party and government. As a result the two editorials and news stories in the *The Sunday Mail* all support of operation “Restore Order”. They focus on different angles on how the clean-up is ‘good’ for the Zimbabwean society. On the other hand the two editorials in the *The Standard* all support and propagate the views of the opposition political parties and civil society. In this context reportage on social, political and economic issues in Zimbabwe as seen in the two newspapers’ four editorials takes a clear polarised line. While *The Sunday Mail* reported the clean-up as positive and necessary (5 and 26 June 2005), the private media castigated the operation as inhuman, politically motivated and another example of the dictatorship of the ZANU PF led government (*The Standard* 22 May, and 5 June 2005).

The words, “we must shape our destiny”, in *The Sunday Mail* (26 June 2009) are part of a narrative construction drawn and linked to ZANU PF’s nationalist political agenda and rhetoric of national independence and sovereignty. In drawing on ideologies of the nationalist struggle and portraying the ZANU PF government as the liberator and defender of the national interest, *The Sunday Mail* argues that operation “Restore Order” is therefore good, and part of the continuing ‘liberation’ and development agenda that the government is attempting. Van Dijk (1991: 124) calls this ‘local coherence’, adding, “one of the important notions studied in text semantics is that of local coherence of the text: that is how the subsequent propositions of the text are bound together”. Using Van Dijk’s framework above, the newspaper emphasises the link between destroying what it calls ‘slums’ and the building of ‘new homes’ (26 June 2005). *The Sunday Mail* captures ZANU PFs talk of self

determination and the perceived continuing struggle between the Zimbabwe government and what it calls neo-colonial forces (*The Sunday Mail*, 9 May and 26 June, Raftoplous, (2004:10). The newspaper became active in reproducing the meanings and values of ZANU PFs ideological positions. *The Sunday Mail* editorials talk of the need to assert “our rights”, and that “African countries are sovereign and are governed by elected leaders using laws passed by the legislative assemblies of those countries” (26 June 2005). It emphasises the absence or lack of dichotomy between itself and the people. Those criticising the operation are called ‘traitors’ and western powers are accused of harbouring neo-colonial ambitions.

The Standard’s editorials under the headlines, “State goading masses to revolt” and “This is state apartheid” both criticise the operation as “ugly” and “destructive pandemonium” (*The Standard* 22 May, 12 June 2005). The editorials are based on statistics of destroyed homes and displaced victims of the clean up, as well as other information sourced from NGOs and interviews with ‘evictees’, as the newspaper called those displaced and affected by the operation. The political opposition party, the MDC, NGOs and victims of the operation constitute the bulk of voices in *The Standard*’s editorials. These include MDC Leader Morgan Tsvangirai, Church and civil organisation leaders (*The Standard*, 22 May and 12 June 2005). The newspaper’s editorials oppose the operation within the language of human rights, good governance and democracy saying:

There has been general contempt in the way the government has dealt with ordinary people in the recent past. Instead of learning from the mistakes of Porta farm where people were forced to relocate to Caledonia farm near Mabvuku. The government has decided to repeat the Porta farm, but this time on a grand scale (*The Standard*, 5 June 2005).

The Standard editorials delegitimises the Zimbabwe government by representing it as the ‘aggressor’ while the NGOS and opposition parties are ‘caring’ and ‘concerned’ (5 June 2005). Polarisation in Zimbabwe therefore extends beyond the media i.e. *The Sunday Mail* versus *The Standard* but also the government/ ZANU PF versus the NGOs/Civic society and opposition political parties.

The Standard's editorials go beyond attacking the operation and showing its negative effect but propose measures that the government should take to alleviate the crisis. The solutions were taken from the statements of NGOs and opposition parties. Where *The Sunday Mail* used government and ruling party as sources on the operation, *The Standard* used NGOs and opposition political parties. The organisation of journalism practices within *The Standard* can be seen to be generally promoting the views and interests of the so-called oppositional voices. The independent or privately owned media in Zimbabwe argues that it offers alternative voices a chance to be heard. This is contrary to *The Sunday Mail* which based its editorials on government sources on the basis of their 'ability' to make 'news' and their perceived positions as legitimate voices who could speak for the Zimbabwe government and its people. Examples of how the two newspapers sourced news in reporting the operation shows how:

News is a product of transactions between journalists and their sources. The primary source of reality for news is not what is displayed or what happens in the real world. The reality of news is embedded in the nature and type of social and cultural relations that develop between journalists and their sources and in the politics of knowledge that emerges on each specific news beat" (Ericson, 1989:377).

v. Level 1 continued: Environmental/Contextual influences on news stories coverage of Operation „Restore Order”.

The political economy of media ownership in Zimbabwe and influences on editorials of operation “Restore Order”

Communication scholars have established the notion that news stories serve a narrative function, circulating meanings that, in general, confirm and conserve existing political, social and economic relationships (Carey 1988, Hartley 1982 and Manoff and Schudson, 1987). The statement above is confirmed by editorials of the *The Sunday Mail* in which the arguments are based on government statements, and positions hence helping establish and maintain the government's thinking on the operation. This indicates a news organisation intrinsically linked to its owners and hence reliant on frames provided by the same owners in its reportage of news stories. The events on the ground i.e. the demolition of homes and the displacement of people was largely ignored in the editorials. The main themes of *The Sunday Mail* editorials

were derived from official statements and political tone set by government officials and The President. In this sense, this coverage and presentation of news became ideological as it pushed a particular preferred “reality” of operation “Restore Order”. And *The Sunday Mail* played a key role in constructing this “reality”.

The pattern of news coverage of operation “Restore Order” by *The Sunday Mail* is linked to the ownership of the newspaper through the Zimbabwe Publishing House in which the government owns 51% (Saunders, 1997:15). More importantly the government as the major shareholder appoints all senior staff at *The Sunday Mail*, a process that is done in consultation with Ministry of Media, Information and Publicity. *The Sunday Mail* thereby becomes an extension of state communication infrastructure. *The Sunday Mail* has the responsibility of representing government actions around the operation as logical, hence the use of highly placed sources as President Mugabe. The use of highly placed sources makes the ideas being advanced by the newspaper legitimated on the basis that the discourse is being defined by key players. As a result vast space is given to the position of the government in the editorials, a process that Allan (1999: 68) calls “the legitimising of the powerful through the establishment of a hierarchy of credibility”. Credibility is central to the successful representation of news by the media from the point of view of those in power or primary definers. This is built upon the idea of social hierarchies which determine the mechanisms by which the powerful have privileged access to the media. Manning (2001:15) argues that, “as a starting point, journalists are likely to use institutional or top hierarchy sources”. *The Sunday Mail* editorials are therefore an attempt to project the views of those in power and also seek to influence the interpretation of the clean-up operation. By emphasising on government power and reconstruction, *The Sunday Mail* is not only saying the government is legitimate but also acting in the best interest of society.

The ownership structure described above and its influences on the coverage of Operation “Restore Order” is a flipside of the reportage of the operation by *The Standard* newspaper. The polarisation of the Zimbabwe media described elsewhere in this study is determined how *The Standard* newspaper reported operation “Restore Order”. *The Standard* and other newspapers from its stable believe that they offer an alternative to the state media news organisations as *The Sunday Mail* hence the

dominance of political opposition party, the MDC and NGO voices in its editorials. While affected citizens were quoted, their voices were only to support the positions and statistics given by the opposition and NGOs. In this regard, what the *The Standard* calls alternative voices are the elite voices of political opposition and NGO leaders who were engaged in political combat with ZANU PF over the clean-up operation and other matters. These same voices, it would be noted supported this newspaper with advertising and represent a big percentage of its readership (MISA, 2005)

vi. Level 2 of analysis

Journalism Routines and editorial decisions and their influence on the coverage of Operation Restore Order

Organisational routines are described by Reese (2007: 34) as how news content is influenced or is an outcome of the manner in which media work is structured on a day by day basis. The organisational structure either constrains or enables a news writer in his/her news writing with regard to the words he/she uses as well as the ideological position one takes. This description of journalistic routines was apparent in editorials under analysis in this study, as the two newspapers made a point of expressing their views within known positions that polarised the Zimbabwe society, by either supporting or attacking such positions. Routines taken in this process were that there was a narrow and pre-conceived manner or sourcing and sources used, and no attempts were made to break out of that sourcing routine. They also included a set of words, phrases and statements that the news story writers used continuously in their stories.

A clear pattern emerges in *The Sunday Mail* newspaper –in which known ZANU PF language and political assertions find their way in the editorials of the newspaper. In this instance *The Sunday Mail* editorial of 26 June has all the language that asserts ZANU PF and President Mugabe's political views and positions. These include statements like Zimbabwe, —. is a sovereign country that should not be browbeaten by anyone into dancing to the tune of the west". *The Sunday Mail* editorial established a distinguishable pattern of using combative ZANU PF and President Mugabe

language that makes the editorials indistinguishable from the voice of the ruling class in Zimbabwe. *The Sunday Mail*'s editorials became part of the consolidation of the government position, argument and justification on the clean-up operation. At the same time by quoting senior government officials as sources the newspaper projected ZANU PF and government political authorities as the only source of authority, law, order and security.

The Sunday Mail newspaper says, "Operation *Murambatsvina* has sent a clear and loud message to the poor sections of society that Government is serious about maintaining law and order". Adding, "let us not only clean our cities, but let's also clean the hearts of men" (29 May 2005). *The Sunday Mail* resorted to a well established routine in its news writing process of relying heavily on official sources this is an attempt at redefining and appropriating words used to attack the government to itself. While President Mugabe and his government stood accused of promoting lawlessness and being insensitive to the plight of the poor, the editorial routinely elevate them as moral and corrupt-free leaders promoting 'law and order'. *The Sunday Mail* of 29 May therefore alludes to the arrest and trial of ZANU PF member and former Finance Minister Chris Kuruneru as an example of the leadership of ZANU PF and President Mugabe, writing, "The ongoing trial of former Finance minister Chris Kuruneru is a good example of resolute stand to deal with suspected cases of impropriety. It also confirms that no one is above the law".

A key feature of the editorials of both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* is that they each carried distinct 'newsroom' routines from *The Sunday Mail*. *The Sunday Mail* talks of the Zimbabwe government, "...responding by showing its determination to ensure that the shacks that have been destroyed are replaced by modern conventional houses" (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005). But *The Standard* (5 June 2005) talks of an irresponsible government stating, "It is the main responsibility on any elected government to protect the poor, weak and vulnerable groups in society....There has been general contempt in the way the government has dealt with ordinary people in the past". In terms of news writing and understanding of the clean-up operation, the two newspapers operated from different viewpoints and as a routine, *The Sunday Mail* starts from a point of defending and projecting the government view, while *The Standard* starts from an oppositional view. *The Standard*'s use of oppositional voices

and language is apparent in its editorials as it talks of a government that is promoting what it calls, “state apartheid” (5 June 2005) and also not prepared to rule democratically but, “...that the government has finally decided that it will not bother about elections, and instead it will continue to rule by others means”. This editorial asks rhetorically, “What sane person will go out and vote to retain a government whose cruelty and brutality outclasses that of former oppressors” (*The Standard* 5 June 2005).

The newsroom routine templates that the two newspapers used reduced the burdens of writing as there is no attempt at balance/objectivity but sticking to the ‘official’ version of events, be it from ZANU and the government or from the oppositional groups, MDC and NGOs. By asserting their positions as the ‘truth’ the two newspapers attempt to influence the public’s understanding of the clean-up operation by insisting that they are talking on behalf of the people. *The Sunday Mail* talks of, “an attack on Zimbabwe” and “... What Zimbabwe has been saying” (26 June 2005). Zimbabwe herein meaning the people of Zimbabwe. On the other side *The Standard* separates the government from the people as it talked of, “people who are trying to earn an honest living and the government’s response has been to punish them” (22 May 2005).

vii. Level 3:

Analysis of the texts and Headlines of the Editorials

The headlines of the *The Sunday Mail*’s editorials of 29 May and 26 June 2005 were:

(1) “We must assert right to shape our destiny” and

(2) “Flush out corruption at high level”

The two headlines do not address the core issue of the demolition of houses and movement of people, but in-fact elevate the operation to a national and global political crisis in which the problem is not the operation, but ‘corrupt’ officials and ‘intrusive’ western powers. By calling on the people of Zimbabwe to assert their rights, *The Sunday Mail* seeks to mobilise support, but also shifts the blame for the negative

aspects of the operation from the Zimbabwean government to western powers and NGOs. The headline, “We must assert right to shape our destiny” is a statement of defiance and resolve on the part of the newspaper that is adopting the position of the people by the usage of ‘_We’. The discourse being articulated as the same as that of ZANU PF and the government, basically meant to show that they are not intimidated. More importantly the headline has all the undertones of the ‘_oppressed’ versus the ‘_oppressor’, meaning a poor black African country being intimidated by rich, white and powerful countries over its internal affairs. The two *The Sunday Mail* headlines are also an affront to opposition, NGOs and Western powers criticism as they are not only defiant but meant to present a government and ruling elite that is firmly in control.

The Sunday Mail while, calling for an end to corruption in its 29 May 2005 editorial, seeks at the same time to demonstrate that ZANU PF is a party and government of integrity that takes note of internal weaknesses, such as corruption, hence the need to “flush out corruption”. The headline is meant to appease, silence and pull the rug from under the feet of critics of the party.

The Standard newspaper carried two headlines titled “This is state Apartheid”, and “The state goading masses to revolt” on 22 May and 5 June 2005, respectively. The two headlines clearly demonstrate the opposition of the newspaper to the clean-up operation which it called “state apartheid” on 22 May 2005. The uses of the word ‘_apartheid’ has the effect of reminding readers of the brutal South African racial segregation policies of the past and hence arouse emotions and influence readers to take sides. The use of such wording is also meant to suggest an insensitive government that, like the Apartheid system proper, represented minority and dictatorial views. *The Standard* headlines are all couched in negative and violent language such as ‘_apartheid’, ‘_goading’ and ‘_revolt’ (22 May and 5 June 2005) which are all meant to suggest that government’s actions be seen responsible for any possible action by the people. This could also be a way of suggesting that people do revolt i.e. by putting the idea of “revolt” on the public agenda but indirectly.

viii. Analysis of the Editorials: Editorial argumentation

The two newspapers use editorial argumentation to support their positions. Editorial argumentation is a form of linguistic strategy that seeks to convince readers of the rightness of the position being supported or criticised.

The Sunday Mail editorial argumentation

The Sunday Mail of 29 May 2005 had an editorial titled, “Flush out corruption at higher levels”. This appears to be a criticism of the corruption surrounding the government’s allocation of ‘new’ houses that were built, while at the same time attempting some face saving criticism of the clean-up operation. The newspaper says: “While indeed the city looks fresher, questions have been asked about the manner the exercise was carried out.” (*The Sunday Mail* 29 May 2005). The editorial text goes on to blame city officials for throwing “people into the streets just at the onset of winter and leave scores of others without their sources of livelihood”. The editorial gives credit to President Robert Mugabe for intervening, stating, “The fact that President Robert Mugabe has thrown his weight behind the clean-up operation must mean it is a well thought out programme” (29 May 2005). This editorial shifts the blame for the ills of the operation from the senior leadership of the government to junior officers who are accused to allocating houses meant for victims of operation restore order to their relatives and friends. Adding “Dr Gono [Reserve Bank Governor] ... made an impassioned plea for corruption to be eradicated” (29 May 2005: 7). Apart from attacking junior officials for corruption, the editorial also demonstrates the solutions that the Zimbabwe government has come up with to assist those who lost homes during the operation that is building new homes. In other words the headline says there might have been problems with the operation, but the government has moved in to resolve them. At a time when the legitimacy and democratic credentials of the ZANU PF government were being questioned, this editorial seeks to restore and re-emphasise government legitimacy, naming different centres of authority that are allegedly campaigning against corrupt junior officials. For example, the editorial notes that “The Attorney General, Cde Sobusa Gula Ndebele has also made a point to campaign against corruption... so has the Police Commissioner Cde Augustine Chihuri” (29 May 2005). The editorial used

argumentation in neutralising the criticism of operation restore order, by acknowledging the clean-up operation's weaknesses, especially the corruption of junior officers while at the same emphasising the 'wisdom' and leadership of President Robert Mugabe and other government leaders. The editorial defends the operation by comparing the leadership of junior council and political leaders, who are 'corrupt' and indecisive, with that of President Robert Mugabe and others like Reserve Bank Governor Gideon Gono who spoke out against corruption. The editorial argues that the operation is not the problem, but that corruption, and selective application of the law are, adding, "the city looks-fresher". The editorial also argues for the extension of operation "Restore Order" to target corruption. "Let's not just clean our cities, but let's also clean the hearts of men" ends the editorial (*The Sunday Mail*, 29 May 2005). *The Sunday Mail* editorials clearly attempts to defend of the clean-up operation while adding a veneer of criticism of the operation by finding scapegoat.

The Sunday Mail editorial of June 26 2005 starts with the words: "Africa is fed up of being patronised by the West and is beginning to speak out". This statement seeks to speak not only for the Zimbabwe government but also for the rest of Africans who are put in opposition to a "patronising" West. *The Sunday Mail* (26 June 2005) talks of the clean-up operation as a restoration of law and order, adding that the government was attacked for not restoring order on the farms, "yet what Zimbabwe is doing is the very thing that it was attacked for not doing on farms- Restoring order and legality"(*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005). *The Sunday Mail* (26 June 2005) deliberately contests the meaning of the words 'legality' and 'restoring law and order'. These words carried a lot of meaning in defining the Zimbabwe crisis at a time when the Zimbabwe government was being accused of not promoting law and order as through the farm invasions and politically motivated violence. The newspaper appropriates these words to ZANU PF and uses the same language that was being used to attack the party and government to respond to critics of operation "Restore Order", thereby turning the meaning upside down by stating that the clean-up, on the contrary, is an exercise in instilling law and order.

As the operation divided society, with close to a million people left homeless, (Bertin, 2005:9), *The Sunday Mail* editorial of 26 June 2005 sought to rally citizens to unite around what it asserted as a threat to the ‘rights’ of the people of Zimbabwe and Africa. To support its claim and the legitimacy of its statement, *The Sunday Mail* quotes South Africa’s Presidential Spokesperson Bheki Khumalo at length: “South Africa refuses to accept the notion that because suddenly we are going to a G8 summit we must be reminded that we must look good to appease the G8 leaders” (26 June 2005). The newspaper also quotes African Union Spokesperson Desmond Oriaño saying, “If the government that they (Zimbabweans) elected say they are restoring order by their actions, I don’t think it would be proper for us to go interfering in their internal legislation” (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005). The use of these quotes by the newspaper supports its position that the rest of Africa was against the attacks on the clean-up by the West and behind the government of Zimbabwe. In other words, the editorial says the attacks by the west were motivated by a general condescending and patronising attitude towards Africa. *The Sunday Mail* editorial presented an ‘African’ united front against what it saw as an attack by the West over the clean-up operation. The mobilisation of support is also achieved through consistent use of modal auxiliaries evidence in phrases such as “we must”, “We will”, “should not be browbeaten” (29 May and 26 June 2005).

To further consolidate its preferred position of representing ‘Africa’ in opposition to the West, *The Sunday Mail* quotes the statements by British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw criticising operation “Restore Order” and exhorting African countries to do something about Zimbabwe. The editorial pits Jack Straw (representing the West) against African voices quoted above, thereby presenting polarised positions to the clean-up operation, one approach represented by African voices and purportedly in support of the clean-up operation. *The Sunday Mail* is saying the problem is not the homelessness and demolition of homes, but Zimbabwe’s bad relationship with the west, in which citizens are called to stand by the government.

A key function of the *The Sunday Mail*’s editorials was to set the tone for discussions on the clean-up operation, especially diverting attention towards what the government called the ‘important’ issues such as the rebuilding programme. An example of this is an argument that the clean-up was an, “assertion of our rights” and a process of

–shaping our destiny” (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005). *The Sunday Mail* editorials defend the clean-up operation from what the editorial described as unfounded ‘western criticism’ (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005). The editorials assert that the clean-up operation was not haphazard but well planned and necessary while at the same time diverting attention from the crisis to depict the operation as a struggle ‘between Zimbabwe and western powers. In all this, the voices of those affected were missing.

ix. *The Standard* editorial argumentation as a newsroom routine.

The Standard’s editorials appeal to emotion, talking of the suffering that victims are going through: ~~if~~ it had not been for circumstances beyond their control school children would be writing their June examinations. There is no prize for guessing what effect the destruction of their homes would have on their ability to perform well in examinations” (*The Standard*, 5 June 2005). *The Standard* adds that some children ~~would~~ not be able to go to school at all” (5 June 2005).

The Standard uses phrases such as ~~most~~ people”, ~~It~~ is common cause” (*The Standard* 5 June 2005) to demonstrate the shared ‘opposition to the clean-up and the newspaper talking on behalf of people just as *The Sunday Mail* did. The editorials mobilise for support in various ways appealing to the readers through the use of words ~~we~~” and ~~them~~”. The newspaper says the government, ~~has~~ botched up what could otherwise have been a commendable exercise”, adding, ~~We~~ agree that the once sunshine city has become one huge eyesore” (*The Standard*, 22 May 2005). The readers are encouraged to take the ideological position advocated by the editorials and to oppose the clean-up and the government.

On 5 June 2005 *The Standard*’s editorial attacked the operation as part of an attempt by the state to ~~goad~~ masses to revolt”, ~~It~~ is difficult to reconcile actions of the government and those of elected representatives are supposedly governing in the interests of the people. The people who put it in power”, stated the newspaper (22 May 2005).

In *The Standard*'s editorials the Zimbabwe government is identified as the villain whose policies are hurting people. *The Sunday Mail* on the other hand positions all 'Zimbabweans' and 'Africans' in an ideological war against the West, while justifying the clean-up as a legitimate and lawful act. It also argues that, "...the government is punishing residents of Harare, principally for voting for the opposition" (*The Standard*, 22 May 2005).

x. Analysis of the editorials: Issue endorsement and/or critique in *The Standard* and *The Sunday Mail* newspapers

The two newspapers used a variety of words to support and endorse either the government position on Operation "Restore order" or a criticism of the clean up. In *The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005, the clean-up operation is represented as part of "asserting the right to shape our destiny" as well as a process to, "ensure, that the shacks that have been destroyed are replaced by modern conventional houses". *The Standard* also used words that sought to endorse its criticism of the operation as well as its support of oppositional voices. On 22 May 2005, *The Standard* newspaper editorial read that, "the government has botched what otherwise should have been a commendable exercise". The newspaper goes on to say, "If the government is genuine in its desire to clean-up Harare, it would have first provided an alternative". *The Standard* in its editorial of 5 June also says, "School children have become victims of the joint government operation", adding, "What the government has carried out in the recent weeks and continues to is a new form of apartheid,"

Looking at the words quoted above, it is clear that the ideological significance of the endorsement of government and operation "Restore Order" by *The Sunday Mail* comes from the nature of the discourse surrounding it, that legitimising political control, government authority and law and order. *The Sunday Mail* editorials endorsed the operation by talking of it as, "a well thought-out programme", adding "the fact that the President has thrown his weight behind the clean up exercise must mean it is a well thought out programme" (29 May 2005). *The Sunday Mail* of 26 June further says the Zimbabwe government is being attacked by western countries, "for restoring order and legality". In restoring what the newspaper calls 'order' and 'legality' the editorials add that Zimbabwe is 'sovereign' country "which is governed by elected

leaders” (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005). *The Sunday Mail* emphasises the legality and legitimacy of the Zimbabwe government as a counter to the NGO and opposition parties’ charge/allegations that the government is a dictatorship, which *The Standard* labels an “apartheid” government hence illegitimate. The labels, lexical structures and words used by both the *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* represent some of the dominant definitions and discourses which Van Dijk (1991: 129) calls semantic icebergs. “Our scripts, our shared social knowledge of issues, provide numerous links between concepts and propositions of the text, which is to speak a semantic iceberg of which only the tip is actually expressed, whereas the other information is presupposed to be known by the readers” (Van Dijk (1991: 129). In this regard when *The Sunday Mail* editorials talks of asserting “our sovereignty” and “Zimbabwe must stand up and tell the west that their souls are not for sale” (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005:), this would be understood not only as an issue about operation ‘Restore Order’ but perceived global and African struggles against western dominance. *The Sunday Mail* legitimises the clean-up operation on the basis of how it is part of the resistance against the West and mobilises citizens and African countries for support. In doing this, *The Sunday Mail* (26 June 2005) says, “...as President Mbeki and other selected African leaders head for the G-8 summit...They must stand up and tell the west that their souls are not for sale. African countries have long ceased to be colonies of Britain or any of the European countries and should forever assert the right to shape their destinies” (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005). *The Standard* editorials quote and describe at length the history of the ‘dictatorship’ of ZANU PF, saying the party and government are, irresponsible by “not protecting the weak and poor” (5 June 2005). On 22 May 2005 *The Standard* wrote, “What the government has done is appalling and totally insensitive”.

xi. Conclusion

Unlike *The Sunday Mail*, all *The Standard*’s editorials are a deconstruction of government arguments on the clean-up operation. The two editorials delegitimise and attack the clean-up operation calling its “state apartheid” and a plan to “goad citizens to revolt” (*The Standard* 22 May and 5 June 2005). The two editorials endorse a counter agenda that is the call for the rejection of the clean-up operation and an endorsement of opposition to the clean-up that was led by NGOs and opposition

parties. *The Standard*'s editorials talk of a ~~g~~overnment not troubled by its conscience" and linking the operation to similar events in the past. *The Standard* adds, ~~W~~What sane person would go and vote to retain a government whose cruelty and brutality outclasses that of former oppressors" (5 June 2005). The editorials signal a close alignment of *The Standard* with the rival positions around operation ~~R~~Restore Order". At the same time *The Standard* published this editorial, the opposition MDC and NGOs were releasing statements attacking the government as insensitive and a dictatorship. *The Standard* endorses the position of NGOs and the opposition calling the operation ~~e~~ontempt for the general people", ~~l~~awless", ~~v~~indictive". (*The Standard* 22 May and 5 June 2005) among others descriptive words. The use of such wording, as shown above, by the two newspapers makes the editorials not only commentary but ideological as they attempt to endorse and advance their preferred positions and influence the interpretation of the operation by the ordinary reader.

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS: ANALYSIS OF NEWS STORIES

i. Introduction

This chapter analyses eight news stories covered in the period of operation “Restore Order” by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard*. While following Fairclough’s (1995) the three-step approach (Janks, 1999:197) in analysing the texts, this chapter groups the analysis and discussion of the selected news stories under the following themes: a contextual understanding of the environment under which operation “Restore Order” took place; an analysis and discussion of discourses and ideological issues in the news stories, thematic structure and discourse schemata; analysis and discussion of transitivity choices; analysis of lexical structures, narrative models and metaphor system. These themes are clearly grouped to follow Fairclough’s three step approach as explained in chapter 3 and 4.

This chapter begins by giving short summaries of the 8 news stories, then enters into the first level of analysis and discussion of this study by seeking to find out if operation “Restore Order” became a process of redefining and reinforcing the identities of society, through the identification of some people as ‘Zimbabweans’ meaning loyal and patriotic and others as ‘foreigners’ hence opposed to the clean-up operation. Where necessary, and in support of the analysis of the news stories, this chapter also refers to editorials analysed in Chapter 4. This is so because the coverage of the clean-up operation cannot be seen or analysed as separate narratives/stories but as one continuous narrative of the same issue in the two newspapers.

ii. Summary of news stories in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard*.

The Sunday Mail’s 4 new stories are:

“*On-going clean up a blessing for home-seekers*” (5 June 2005): This story was based on a statement or the voice of ZANU PF Senior member and Minister of Local Government and National Housing, Ignatius Chombo. Chombo combined an address

to government officials in Bulawayo with details on why the government embarked on the clean-up as well as steps being taken to build new houses (See annex 5).

“Clean up exercise bears fruit”, (12 June 2005): The story is a fusion of the plight of people evicted from their homes and government efforts to assist them to relocate to their rural homes as well as justification for the clean-up. The story captures a number of voices from ordinary citizens affected by the clean-up as well as government officials and experts on urban planning. While raising concerns over the clean-up, interviewed people are still quoted as looking forward to government help. The story incorporates the voices of affected people into the proposed ‘reconstruction’ programme (see annex 6).

“Hefty budget to drive restoration of urban centres” (26 June 2005): This story focuses on the new urban reconstruction programme that the government has embarked on. The story is based on President Robert Mugabe’s address to a ZANU PF meeting. In the same story President Mugabe attacks critics of the clean-up operation. Other voices are also captured including that of the South Africa’s government advising against attacking the Zimbabwe government over the clean-up programme (see annex 7).

“Murambatsvina winds up”, (26 June 2005): This story quotes an unnamed source declaring that the clean-up operation was coming to an end. The same story says a new operation to build houses will start soon. And that government resources and agencies have been mobilised to start work on the new building operation. The story fuses a statement from the unidentified source with President Mugabe’s address to a ZANU PF central committee meeting in which he also talks of the new reconstruction programme (See annex 8).

ii.i. The Standard newspaper’s 4 stories are:

“Angry residents beat up police”, (22 May 2005): The story captures the tensions between residents of a dormitory town of Chitungwiza near the capital Harare and the police. It reports on an incident in which the residents‘ resisted and fought running battles with police officers who were part of the teams demolishing houses in the

town. The story quotes MDC Member of Parliament Job Sikhala who confirms that a serious battle was fought in the town. The story also quotes MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai attacking the clean-up exercise (see annex 9).

“Stay away!” (5 June 2005): The story is based on statements and direct quotes from opposition groups mobilising and urging urban citizens of Zimbabwe to stay-away from work and commercial activities through a strike action. The story quotes opposition groups, trade unions, and NGOS all in support of the strike action against the government over the clean-up programme (see annex 10).

“Child killed in clean-up” (12 June 2005): The story captures the death of a two year old Charmaine Nyika who was killed when walls of a house which was being destroyed fell on her. The story captures the voices of families affected by the clean-up operation, including the terminally ill who were almost burnt inside their shacks by the police. Opposition, churches and NGOs are quoted attacking the clean-up operation as inhuman (see annex 11).

“Clean-up forces 300 000 pupils out of school” (26 June 2005): The story captures the plight of school children who dropped out of school as their homes were destroyed and their parents forced to move. The story quotes figures from teacher unions and NGOs. Government ministers are reported as having been unavailable to comment (see annex 12).

iii. Level 1 of analysis and discussion.

Reordering Zimbabwean identity: Locating Operation Restore Order in Zimbabwe’s socio-economic and political environment:

Analysis of *The Sunday Mail*’s news stories.

A key motif in *The Sunday Mail*’s and *The Standard*’s news stories summarised above is the struggle over the meaning of being Zimbabwean. *The Sunday Mail* (26 June 2005) says that “beneficiaries of the reconstruction programme [*operation Garikai/ Hlalani Kuhle*] will be gainfully employed Zimbabweans”. The same story interviews Harare resident Mr Munodaani who says, “Life had become almost

unbearable in the city and he has decided to take his family to his rural home in katstande” (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005). The story further says, “Mr Munodaani who was a security guard, said he used to earn \$1,2 million (Zimbabwe dollars) per month and failed to find alternative accommodation as profiteering landlords have since pushed rentals to about \$1,5 million per room”. This story and the statements attributed to affected Zimbabweans gives rise to identity issues, with questions on who is ‘Zimbabwean’ and who is excluded from this definition that covers the likes of Mr Munodaani, who has a rural home and therefore an alternative space to go to. This, noting that there were thousands of affected Zimbabweans who had no rural homes to go to.

The story of Mr Munodaani is personalised and details given, of not only his current homelessness and alternatives, but his views on landlords and employment. This, as a news writing process can be intended to promote feelings of identification and empathy which takes away the focus from the perpetrators of the clean-up operation to the story of one man and blame is placed on another’s, yet such stories were as many and some with no solutions to their plight. *The Sunday Mail* story ignores the reasons why this man and his family are in this predicament. The story of one man and his family is made the typical story of those affected by operation “Restore order”. The solution to Munodaani’s problems is, therefore, to go to his rural home and the government would assist in this process. Following this argument, in the eyes of the government, all Zimbabweans are supposed to have rural homes, yet millions of Zimbabweans of Malawian, Asian, European, Zambian and Mozambican origin have no rural homes. As a result, the historical process of colonial migrant labour is ignored (Sachikonye, 2004:73). By emphasising the social identities of Zimbabweans as in the story of Munodaani, *The Sunday Mail* consolidates and plays-out the cultural differences of Zimbabweans between those having rural homes and those without, who invariably become ‘foreigners’.

The Sunday Mail reinforced government held positions on identity and citizenship such as electoral and citizenship laws that discriminated against Zimbabweans born of parents originally from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia from voting in national elections without first renouncing foreign citizenship (Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, 2005:10). This same group is further alienated and identified as resistant to the

operation as well as other government policies such as the land reform programme (Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, 2005:10). *The Sunday Mail* news stories appeals to what the Zimbabwean government calls the “original Zimbabweans” excluding those citizens originally from, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Asia and Europe. Such positions taken by the dominant media are further explained by Thetela (2001:364) when she says, “media texts are social practices which represent the views of and actions of certain classes or groups, they are subject to social constraints and more important, to interpretation”.

Further to this in another story on 26 June story titled, “*Murambatsvina* winds up” *The Sunday Mail* says,

The clean-up operation code named operation “Restore Order” is winding-up and is being replaced by a new one known as operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle*.....under which the government aims to provide residential and business accommodation to deserving people under a comprehensive reconstruction programme (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005).

It is important to note the use of the words ‘deserving people’ in line with the definitions of ‘Zimbabweanness’ that *The Sunday Mail* had underlined in earlier stories. Again the intention is to divide society. Of interest, also is the use of the word Operation “Restore Order” (*Murambatsvina*) juxtaposed with Operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* in the same sentence and paragraph. This is a discursive elaboration with tremendous ideological force as it changes the whole focus of the reader away from the ‘clean-up’ to the supposed ‘reconstruction’. *The Sunday Mail* is saying the Zimbabwe government is conscious of its actions and that those actions are offering a better alternative to the people. The words *Garikai/hlalani kuhle* (meaning live well) are also used and words such as *kumusha* (rural home) work because they have widespread familiarity and stereo-typicality of the images to which they refer: that is to those Zimbabweans without *kumusha* (rural home) and totems are not real Zimbabweans. Of interest in this analysis as noted by Volosinov is that the,

Inner dialectic quality of the sign comes out fully in the open in times of social crises or revolutionary changes. In the ordinary conditions of life, the contradiction embedded in every ideological sign in an established, dominant ideology is always somewhat reactionary and tries, as it were to stabilize the preceding factor in the dialectical flux of the social generative process, so accentuating yesterday’s truth as to make it appear today’s (1973, 24).

Through operation “Restore Order” and other legal processes the Zimbabwe government was reconstructing the sense of national identity especially defining who has the right to inhabit the nation state. In conceptualizing identity in the Zimbabwean scenario, the words “we” and “our society” come up frequently in *The Sunday Mail* 5, 26 June 2005). What is not questioned or brought out in the open is who is excluded from the “we” and “our society”, who defines the “we” and the “society”.

The Sunday Mail further reports that, “around 1999, Zambia embarked on an exercise to cleanse the capital, Lusaka, of illegal structures...South Africa and Botswana have also carried out similar programmes” (26 June 2005). In linking operation “Restore Order” to its alleged global struggle with western domination the Zimbabwe government through *The Sunday Mail* claimed to speak for the whole of Africa and also sought to link the operation to a reassertion of Zimbabwe’s nationhood and sovereignty. This nationhood, with regard to operation “Restore Order”, also meant a redefining of Zimbabwean identity and a representation of the clean-up as a struggle between Africa and the West. *The Sunday Mail* news stories as narratives, thus, became ideological, because they communicated not just the facts of operation “Restore Order” but a way of understanding and making sense of the facts by dividing society according to those who are “Zimbabweans” hence can be helped and “foreigners” who are trouble makers.

iii. i. Analysis of *The Standard*’s news stories.

While *The Sunday Mail* reported operation “Restore Order” from a nationalist perspective of a cornered government fighting western domination and reasserting Zimbabwean nationhood, *The Standard* offered a different narrative by locating the operation within global discourses of democracy and human rights. In its 26 June 2005 edition, *The Standard* says over, “300 000 children have dropped out of school....Children have dropped out of school because some have found themselves living in areas far away from their schools...”. *The Standard* portrayed operation “Restore Order” from a human suffering point of view with headlines such as, “Child killed in clean-up operation” (*The Standard* 12 June 2005), and quotes the grieving

mother condemning the operation, “I did not imagine this operation reaching the extent of taking away my daughter’s life. It really pains me to keep on remembering that she is no more because of this ill-planned operation” (*The Standard* 12 June 2005). All *The Standard*’s stories extensively quote NGOs and the opposition MDC party. The headline “Stayaway!” *The Standard* of 5 June writes, “Opposition political parties, civic organisations and labour unions have called for a potentially crippling mass stay away this week in protest against the ongoing government crackdown against its citizens”. The same story adds that, “Morgan Tsvangirai, the MDC President told a press conference on Tuesday that the only option left in dealing with state brutality was resistance.” (5 June 2005). In positioning the opposition and NGOs as standing with the people, against what the newspaper calls a brutal government *The Standard* positions the clean-up operation as inhuman and insensitive. *The Standard*’s news stories covered not only the human suffering that was caused by the operation but such issues as the negative impact that the operation had on basic social and human rights such as education and health. In its story on 26 June, *The Standard* writes, “At Chimoio, another compound at Kitsiyatota, police allegedly almost burnt terminally ill Chawaira Mbadzo who was bedridden in one of the houses”. By reporting on this level of suffering of the sick and children the newspaper magnifies the unreasonableness of the clean-up operation, and the lack of sensitivity on the part of the government. Apart from capturing the suffering *The Standard* also captures moments of resistance which are celebrated. On 22 May *The Standard*, under a headline, “Angry residents beat up police” reports on people’s resistance to what the newspaper calls an evil government. “Frustrated residents of Chitungwiza rose up on Friday, after enduring days of brutality and intimidation and fought running battles with police officers who were demolishing tuck-shops and confiscating goods from vendors”. The story locates the people of Chitungwiza as heroes who were prepared to confront the government. *The Standard* emphasises the dichotomy between the people, on one hand and a ‘brutal’ regime on the other side. This, coupled with the use of editorial headlines such as “This is state apartheid” (5 June 2005) as analysed in Chapter 4, potentially invokes memories of a government/regime similar to the colonial system in Zimbabwe as well as the apartheid system in South Africa. A reading of this, point to a mobilisation, not only of Zimbabweans, but the international community against the clean-up operation and the government.

The Sunday Mail's and *The Standard*'s news stories analysed above show that the two newspapers both touched on the discourse of citizenship and identity, albeit from different perspectives. While *The Sunday Mail* emphasised sovereignty, nationhood, and a narrow definition of citizenship, *The Standard* approached this issue from a global perspective of democracy, human, social and economic rights. The issue of identity and citizenship is an emotive issue in Zimbabwe society, especially after the government land reform programme, in which Zimbabweans of European origin were dispossessed of their property on the basis that they were not 'Africans' (Crisis Coalition in Zimbabwe, 2005:15). After this process, the government went on to promulgate laws barring Zimbabweans of Malawian, Zambian and Mozambican origin from voting on the basis that they were not Zimbabweans and that they needed to regularise or reapply for Zimbabwean citizenship. The majority of farm workers affected by the government land reform programme were also Zimbabweans originally from the three countries mentioned above (The Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, 2005:62).

In the context above and also that of operation 'Restore Order', the Zimbabwean government's ideological position, as seen in *The Sunday Mail*'s stories is based on the politics of race and ethnicity and conceptions of belonging and homogeneity. From the news analysed above *The Sunday Mail*'s made it clear that if foreign black people and whites are to be accepted they had to reconcile their views with those of ZANU PF, specifically accept to be subservient to the ethnic absolutism ideology of ZANU PF which privileges the so called indigenous 'Zimbabweans', invariably meaning it will exclude the so called 'foreigners' as seen through the classification of who will benefit from new homes (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005). In carrying out operation 'Restore Order', the government talked of assisting 'The typical Zimbabwean', who has a rural home, no mention is made of those affected and without rural homes. On the basis of the analysis of the stories by *The Sunday Mail* above, especially the use of certain words like Zimbabweans with rural homes as compared to those without, this study concludes that the dominant meaning system imposed by the ruling elite on national processes partly spawned such actions as Operation 'Restore Order' through their use in justifying the clean-up operation.

The Standard critically positions the operation as a moment needing resistance to the government in Zimbabwe by pitting the people against the government. *The Standard* makes extensive use of direct quotations and statements by NGO/opposition alliances and in its 5 June edition the newspaper says, “The Broad Alliance is prepared to provide leadership to the masses of Zimbabwe in their struggle against the oppressive dictatorship”. The dominance of opposition voices in *The Standard* demonstrates how the newspaper framed its coverage from the point of view of the victims, NGOs and opposition parties. *The Standard* isolated the Zimbabwe government and redefines relations between the government and the people, offering the opposition and NGOs as the alternative leadership. This challenge to a nationalist political party that portrays “itself as people oriented” (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005), meant that *The Standard* was applying a completely different standard regarding how the government had handled the operation, marking a major shift in indicating a different direction to which people had to look for hope and leadership. In support of this the newspaper says, “It is difficult to reconcile the actions of the government and those of elected representatives, supposedly governing in the interests of the people who put it in power” (*The Standard*, 5 June 2005).

The Standard focuses on the social and political conflict the operation has caused. Through its use of words and headlines identified above, *The Standard* presents disharmony and conflict over power between different social groups in Zimbabwe. Language in this case is used to reflect on and reproduce the contesting identity formations and ideologies.

The Standard operates in a hostile environment, both politically and economically hence the tone of the stories and headlines, which seeks to show another example of the nature of bad governance in Zimbabwe. Using Fairclough CDA (1995:53-75), *The Standard* can be said to have captured one moment of the social life (i.e. plight of clean up victims and lack of government support), which demonstrated the absence of ‘good governance’ and ‘democracy’ in Zimbabwe. While using the broad discourses of good governance and democracy, *The Standard* redefined identity issues by locating Zimbabwe within the global family and isolating the Zimbabwean authorities as unfit to be part of this family. As an independent newspaper, *The Standard* deconstructs all claims about the truth and certitude that the clean-up operation was a

success and necessary by providing a counter narrative of displaced people and the nature of their suffering.

iv. Discourses and ideologies in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard*

An analysis of *The Sunday Mail*'s discourses on operation "Restore Order"

The Sunday Mail's story of 5 June talks of how the government, in carrying out the clean-up operation was focused on developing communities. Local Government and National Housing Minister Ignatius Chombo is quoted: "It has been realised that most of the housing models that have been in place in our towns are British oriented and very expensive to the ordinary man, rendering most of our people homeless". In this statement alone, Chombo and the newspaper touched on two discourses that of 'development' and 'Selfdetermination'/'sovereignty', first by urging for the building of a Zimbabwe developed model house as well as deriding the British model which is linked to the colonial past, hence bad for Zimbabwe politically.

In its story titled, "Clean up bears fruit" (26 June 2005) *The Sunday Mail* also touches on the discourses of law and order when it talks of the clean-up having restored order as compared to the 'chaos' that was prevailing. Again Minister Chombo is quoted saying, "As a government we embarked on the clean-up campaign at this particular time because we realised very clearly that the cities, towns, and growth points in our country, and even the suburbs and other communities were becoming chaotic".

The discourses of law and order and that of development is constructed by *The Sunday Mail* as needing a robust government intervention using all "line Ministries" and all resources available from the military to the national oil and electricity company (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005). *The Sunday Mail* stories refer to social intervention of the Zimbabwe government through the clean-up operation, as a measure to rid the country of "lawlessness" (5 June 2005), "criminal hideouts" (26 June 2005), "asserting our rights" (26 June 2005). The discourse of lawlessness finds resonance with the broader Zimbabwe political crisis, in which the government is accused of perpetuating lawlessness through its policies (Action Aid, 2005). *The Sunday Mail* attributes the theme of lawlessness a new meaning stating in its reporting

that the government was, on the contrary, acting against lawlessness hence turning around the image of the government from being negative to positive in the eyes of the reader.

The Sunday Mail's coverage, as noted above, is constructed from authoritative voices carrying a government's message to the people of Zimbabwe and more importantly to the victims of the clean-up operation on how the government will take care of them through a new reconstruction operation. The coverage exposes the discourse of a paternalistic government that is aware of the needs of its people and how to satisfy them. The paternalistic and patronising nature of the stories is evident through sentences such as, "government aims to provide residential and business accommodation to deserving people under a new comprehensive reconstruction programme" (*The Sunday Mail*, 2005). The use of words, "aims to provide", "comprehensive", "deserving people", "key institutions", seek to establish government authority and position the reader as the subject to be assisted through the new operation and by the government. The authority of the government is further established by the identification of the various agencies that are under its authority or which help form the base of government's authority: "Municipalities", uniformed forces", Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Information, Ministry of Defence, "Inter-Agency National Operations Committee", and above all ZANU PF and President Robert Mugabe (*The Sunday Mail*, 29 May, 5 June, 26 June 2005). The story therefore establishes the authority behind the new operation and this is intended to be read as a well-planned programme supported from the top and by all levels of government. The portrayal of the Zimbabwe government in *The Sunday Mail* article exposes the institutional relationship in which the publication operates, especially its relationship with the source of news.

The discourse of poverty, urbanisation and development also run across the stories of 29 May and 26 June 2005 with *The Sunday Mail* stating that the reconstruction programme would, "benefit gainfully employed Zimbabweans" (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June, 2005). The clean-up operation, however, displaced those employed in the informal sector and also the unemployed. *The Sunday Mail* story evidences a disjuncture between the aims of the reconstruction programme and those in need of assistance but are to be excluded because they are neither gainfully employed nor

–Zimbabweans”. This is a process of creating social divisions which is used to apportion blame and also establish rival groups such as ‘original Zimbabweans’ versus ‘aliens’, ‘urban rich’ and ‘employed’ versus ‘urban poor’ and ‘lawless’. *The Sunday Mail* story headlined “Clean-Up exercise bears fruits” (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June, 2005), in a way is saying the poor, unemployed and aliens are not supposed to be in urban areas, and the lawlessness that the clean-up operation purportedly rooted-out is attributed to the poor. Naming and labelling becomes an ideological decision, located within the broader social, political and economic structures and issues in society (Fowler, 1991).

Closely tied to this, is the discourse of human rights and democratic governance. *The Sunday Mail*’s stories completely writes out this issue, despite the fact that the clean-up operation became a strong rallying point for human rights NGOs on the need for the Zimbabwe government to be censured by the United Nations for human rights abuses.

iv. i. An analysis of *The Standard*’s discourses on operation “Restore Order”

Contrary to the above point, *The Standard* portrays the government as the agitator of lawlessness and human suffering. *The Standard* of 12 June carried a story titled, “Child killed in Clean-Up”, adding, “The government’s controversial clean-up operation took an ugly turn last week when a child died in Tafara after a wall that police had partially destroyed, collapsed on her”. *The Standard* (22 May 2005) quotes MDC Leader and opposition Member of Parliament Job Sikhala saying, “The government’s actions are a punitive act of vengeance against urban dwellers. By taking away their only source of livelihood, they want to starve them as a form of punishment because of the electoral outcome”.

The discourse of human rights, democracy and good governance runs through *The Standard*’s news stories as it talked of education unions reminding the government that, “education is a basic human right” (26 June 2005).

The newspaper also positions the NGOs and opposition parties as alternative democratic forces. *The Standard* quotes opposition, MDC leader, Morgan Tsvangirai

saying, “We have to organise people to resist through democratic means” (5 June 2005). The use of word “We” appropriates the people of Zimbabwe to the opposition and NGOs and isolates the government which is called a, “regime” and hence a ‘_them’, which must be resisted and opposed.

The discourse of human rights and democracy is central to the dichotomy in reporting between the two newspapers, with *The Standard* making inferences in all its reports that the ZANU PF government is undemocratic and violating human rights.

The discourses enumerated above show how *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* covered the clean-up operation from different perspectives and also constructed the clean-up stories for readers to decode the underlying meanings of the whole operation within the nationalists historical context of Zimbabwe as well as the present struggles for political hegemony between the Zimbabwe government, NGOs and opposition political movements.

Apart from constructing an authoritative government, *The Sunday Mail* story underplayed the devastation of the clean-up operation by portraying it as but one element of a well-planned reconstruction programme. While *The Sunday Mail* talks of asserting Zimbabwe’s ‘_sovereignty and independence’, *The Standard* emphasises the discourses of human rights, democracy and good governance.

v. Level 2.

Analysis of Material processes in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* headlines and stories.

As indicated in Chapter 3, a second level of textual analysis using CDA involves an analysis of discourse as something that is produced, circulated, distributed, and consumed in society (Fairclough 1995). Banyanham says this analysis entails a look at discourse representation i.e. how quoted utterances are selected, changed and contextualised (1999:47).

In this second part of the data analysis, I focus on one particular area: an analysis of material processes in the coverage of operation “Restore Order” i.e. to indicate who was doing what and to whom? “The semantic definition of material processes is that

some entity is doing something, or undertakes some action” (Thetela, 2001:352). The party that is responsible for a given action is the “actor” carrying out some action on others. This action can either be positive or negative depending on the interpretations of the news organisation. *The Sunday Mail* devotes large parts of its coverage of the operation to what the Zimbabwe government, President Robert Mugabe, Minister Chombo and other government agencies are doing. Four of *The Sunday Mail* headlines are thus about what the government is doing or the newspaper’s voice of what the government is doing. The government is said to be, “winding up the operation” (26 June 2005), and Minister Chombo’s words are used in the headline of 5 June 2005, saying the, “Ongoing clean up [is] a blessing for home seekers”. The government is portrayed only in positive terms with regard to how it is handling operation *Murambatsvina*. Where *The Sunday Mail* felt the clean up was not going well, it used its voice to call upon the government to do something about that situation. The two editorial headlines on 29 May and 26 June respectively say, “We must assert our rights to shape our destiny”, and “Flush out corruption at higher levels”, all appealing to the power and authority of the government to do something. These headlines and other such calls to action in *The Sunday Mail* legitimised government authority and positioned the government as the only institution that citizens should look forward to in resolving their problems, be it the need for houses, dealing with corruption and resisting the alleged interference of western powers. *The Sunday Mail* portrays an omnipresent and all powerful government capable of almost anything. Verbs used by *The Sunday Mail* are performative i.e. “flush out”, “assert”, “restore”, “clean up” among others (*The Sunday Mail* 29 May, 5 and 26 June 2005).

The Standard, on the other hand, uses material process to take away authority, power and legitimacy from the government and bestowing it on the opposition, NGOs and citizens. In the four stories sampled for this study, NGOs and opposition are quoted calling for a stay away (job stoppage) to put pressure on the government this as evidenced the headline “Stay away” which is a regurgitation of MDC and NGOs statements (*The Standard* 5 June 2005). The paper also quotes residents as having beaten up police in a show of resistance (22 May 2005). Three stories in *The Standard* attribute certain negative actions to the government and police. Headline such as,

–child killed⁴ in clean up”, –Clean up forces 300 000 pupils out of school” are used to indicate negative actions. On the other hand the statistics on citizens affected by the clean-up, and efforts to help are all attributed to NGOs.

In looking at the contrast in how material processes were used, this analysis concludes that they [material processes] have the power to alter the meaning, import and interpretation of an event. This is achieved by giving power, authority and agency to some sectors of society, while disempowering, by placing in negative light, other actors/sectors. Readers of the two newspapers were being presented with a *fait-accomplis* in terms of who to take sides with, and who to appreciate as heroic and responsible as well as who to blame for the operation, hence a villain.

vi. Level 3:

Thematic structure and Discourse schemata in the coverage of operation “Restore Order”

In order to unravel the rhetoric of a particular sample of news stories one has to look at the structure and nature of its narrative. Deacon (1999:169) refers to two distinct linguistic concepts, the thematic structure and discourse schemata of a narrative. A thematic structure is a running concept that is found throughout a story and makes the narrative coherent and jointed. Thematic structures of narratives are linked to discourse schemata in that discourse schemata, groups ~~in~~ information and circumstantial detail into sequentially and hierarchically ordered categories and units of meaning” (Deacon, 1999: 169). News schemata are influenced by particular news values and journalistic choices of what is newsworthy and not necessarily concerned with chronological order (Deacon, 1999: 169). Deacon (1999) adds that a schema is also determined by the media organisation and journalists’ belief systems and ideas about society. Using this argument, this study notes that all *The Sunday Mail*’s news stories have a running theme of reconstruction, self determination, and government programmes to resolve the effects of operation –Restore Order”. *The Sunday Mail* uses the word ~~re~~construction” and ~~e~~onstruction” in all its four stories. On 5 June *The Sunday Mail* headline read, –Ongoing clean-up a blessing for home seekers” and

⁴ Own emphasis

on 26 June 2005 the headline on a clean-up story was, “Clean-up exercise bears fruit”. In the same story the newspaper reported that “...positive results have begun to emerge with the restoration of orderliness in major urban centres which had become havens of lawlessness” (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005). *The Sunday Mail* focused on government efforts at rebuilding. In this instance President Robert Mugabe and Minister Chombo are quoted extensively talking of resources that have been set aside for the reconstruction. The reconstruction is even located within the struggles with Britain as President Mugabe says, “...the clean-up operation, was in-fact a reconstruction programme...”, adding, “Predictably the clean-up operation has attracted our detractors, Britain and America and others like minded” (26 June 2005). Restoration and reconstruction are used by *The Sunday Mail* as frames upon which its news stories are constructed.

In *The Standard* the operation is about, “destruction”, “death”, “pandemonium”, “violence”, “threats” “force” among many other descriptive words (*The Standard*, 26 May, 5, 12 and 29 June 2005). The newspaper says the operation has left, “300 000 pupils out of school” and that, “they were disruptions within families, leading to separation as a result of the operation,” (*The Standard* 26 June 2005). The same newspaper reports that, “...residents were left traumatised after all the tuck shops in the area were demolished...Yesterday residents of the capital were still battling to come to terms with the combined police and Harare council blitz” (22 May 2005). *The Standard* quotes voices and statistics in support of these themes that portray war, pandemonium, and destruction. Balanced reporting in the coverage of the clean-up operation by the two newspapers is questionable as they simply took statements, quotations and images that supported preconceived positions that the newspapers already held. News stories in the two newspapers were drawn from a news discourse schema on positions already taken and did not represent any objective coverage or analysis of the event by the writers.

vi.i. Analysis of Transitivity choices in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* news stories (*Verbal structures and relational processes*)

An analysis of the coverage of operation “Restore Order” in this study has to do with how the two newspapers selectively represented the state of actions, voices, and events around the operation. Such representations be analysed within a transitivity model and they signal bias, manipulation and ideology in discourse (Matau, 2008:3). The dominance of verbal processes in *The Sunday Mail*’s and *The Standard*’s news stories is an interesting point of analysis as it shows how the two newspapers sought to represent their accounts of operation “Restore Order” as authentic and legitimate. This was done by giving space to authoritative voices from different contesting groups such as government officials and NGO/opposition political parties.

Four of *The Sunday Mail*’s stories sampled for this study are based on named and unnamed authoritative sources. The four stories quote eight key or main sources, as indicated in the table below.

<i>The Sunday Mail</i> Stories headlines and date published	Sources
“Clean up Exercise Bears Fruit” (26 June 2005)	Mrs Catherine Muramba, Ms Rosemary Simango, Mr Munodaani, (all victims of clean-up operation), Mr Toriro, (Urban planning expert), President Robert Mugabe, Minister Ignatius Chombo
“Murambatsvina winds up” (26 June 2005)	Unnamed government sources, President Robert Mugabe, Ministry of Information and Publicity
“Hefty Budget to drive restoration of urban centres” (26 June 2005)	President Robert Mugabe
“Ongoing Clean Up a blessing for home-seekers” (5 June 2005)	Cabinet Minister Ignatius Combo

Of interest is the dominance of authoritative sources (President Robert Mugabe and Minister Chombo) as well as unnamed government officials and official statements. The voices of President Robert Mugabe, Minister Chombo and other government officials give instructions and are assigned agency roles while the rest of

Zimbabweans have to listen or be targets of information. *The Sunday Mail* of 26 June quotes President Mugabe announcing that, “three trillion Zimbabwe dollars has been set aside for a reconstruction programme”. The newspaper adds: “Government was mobilising available construction capabilities in order to quicken the programme’s pace with the building brigades expected to absorb the swelling number of unemployed youths” (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005). Minister Chombo talks of licensing new cheaper housing models that use traditional housing materials saying, “As we try to make accommodation cheaper to our people we are to take this traditional route which will see costs of housing construction being reduced by at least 60 percent. Earth-rammed houses are discouraged in Europe mainly as a result of the prevailing strong wind, which is not a major characteristic of our weather in this part of the world,” (*The Sunday Mail* 5 June 2005). The most used words in the stories and headlines are performative verbs such as government “launches”, “resolved”, “implemented”, “defended” (*The Sunday Mail* 29 May, 5 and 26 June 2005) indicating issues coming from authoritative leadership taking action. The readers of *The Sunday Mail* are also brought close to government policy as President Mugabe and Minister Chombo dominate the discussions on the operation. This not only invokes feelings of closeness to issues by the leadership but is also intended to show how concerned the leadership is about resolving problems. While quotations are used in journalism news writing as an attempt at objectivity, i.e. quoting the exact words of the speaker or newsmaker, Tuchman (1976: 93-97) notes: “These are ritualised devices of news ‘objectivity’”. Most of the verbal processes are also in the present tense e.g. the headline, “Flush out corruption at highest levels” (29 May 2005) shows immediacy in terms of actions that should be taken, hence involves a feeling of responsiveness, responsibility and action on the part of government. In doing so, *The Sunday Mail* makes implicit claim to authority, showing its identification with government in the composited “we”. This served the ZANU PF ideological position which stressed unity instead of division.

The clean-up operation is hailed by *The Sunday Mail* as a success through sentences such as:

Sources told *The Sunday Mail*, yesterday, that operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* will seek to realise the needs of the National Housing Delivery Programme and to create infrastructure necessary for the informal sector and SMEs (Small to

Medium Enterprises) to undertake their business. This will ensure the success of operation ~~–Restore Order~~ (26 June: 2005)

The new image that *The Sunday Mail* seeks to bestow on the clean-up operation, ~~–as a success~~” is meant to infer the preferred reading of the text, namely that the government was not being insensitive or irresponsible in carrying out the clean-up operation. *The Sunday Mail* calls on readers to read the clean-up story from the point of view of the government. Its story quoted above does not question nor explain the role of the national oil company and the national electricity company, which are said to play a major role in the reconstruction process, yet the two corporations, were, at the same time, failing to provide oil and electricity to existing homes and industry. Transforming official discourse into colloquial discourse was intended to give populist views space but at the same time preserve the legitimacy of official discourse. Hall (1978:61) refers to a trend in media discourse towards the ~~–translation~~ of official viewpoints into the public domain, which not only makes the former more ‘available’ to the uninitiated but also invest them with force and resonance, naturalising them within the horizon of understanding of the various publics”.

Further to this, *The Sunday Mail*’s ~~–Murambatsvina winds up~~” (26 June 2005) story is interesting in its attempt at what appears to be investigative journalism. While no sources are named, apart from President Robert Mugabe's speech to a ZANU PF meeting, much of the story reads like an investigative or inside story of a government document probably leaked to the press. The story quotes unnamed sources, who are, however, ~~–informed and highly placed~~” (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June, 2005). It is for this reason that the story starts with a very authoritative voice, ~~–The clean-up operation code named operation –Restore Order~~” is winding up and is being replaced by a new one known as operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle*”. The story not only shows immediate authority but also assures affected citizens of government’s concern. It is for this reason that while the headline screams ~~–Murambatsvina winds up~~”, the first line of the introduction of the story or lead sentences talk of, not how the operation is winding up, but how the government is responding to the effects of the clean-up operation through a housing operation.

The construction of news stories as coming from ~~highly~~ placed sources” is meant to indicate to the reader that the ~~facts~~” are coming from an informed and well placed source in the government hierarchy. This is intended to make the story not only believable but give hope to those affected that something is being done with immediate effect. All the four stories and two editorials go further to bring in the voice of President Mugabe and Minister Chombo to defend the operation and lend credence and political weight to the new operation to build houses as having the knowledge and support of the highest office in the land, and that resources have already been allocated for the reconstruction operation. *The Sunday Mail*’s news stories read like government press statements on the reasons why operation ~~Restore Order~~” was carried out. In analysing this news writing approach using CDA, Bastone (1995: 198-199) says that such texts ~~are~~ constructed so that particular and potentially indoctrinating perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly”. *The Sunday Mail*’s stories do not indicate any process of interpretation, critique nor any questions having been posed by the reporter to authorities, but views of an all-powerful government, that moves from one operation to another with clarity and foresight. The statements of the victims of the operation quoted by *The Sunday Mail* such as Mr Toriro who, instead of expressing concern over the destroyed homes instead says, ~~The~~ authorities should first be clear with regards to what they seek to address in order for the exercise to be effective” (26 June 2005). The quotations of victims of the operation sanitised the clean-up and made it less horrifying by giving coverage to perceived solutions such as the construction of new homes under a new operation, *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle*. *The Sunday Mail*’s four news stories and two editorials give the reason and justification for the operation, government position and resistance to outside pressure in the lead paragraph of each story. For this reason all stories have leads that include the underlined words, ~~The Clean Up Operation Code named Operation ~~Restore Order~~”~~ is winding up and is being replaced by a new one known as operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle*⁵” (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005); ~~When the~~ government launched its campaign to clean up cities⁶, starting with Harare, many people wondered what they were trying to achieve” (*The Sunday Mail*, 29 May 2005); ~~As the tremors of the ongoing clean up exercise~~ targeted at uprooting illegal structures and activities in Zimbabwe continue to be felt countrywide, positive results

⁵ Own Emphasis

⁶ Own emphasis

have begun to emerge with the restoration of orderliness in the major urban centres which had become havens of lawlessness in the past few years (*The Sunday Mail*, 26 June 2005). The stories were all written from the point of view of the government and justification provided at every turn. Other voices are pacified and ignored especially the victims and those opposed to the operation. The clean-up story, according to *The Sunday Mail*, is about what the government was doing and nothing else.

A key feature in the manner in which *The Sunday Mail* represents the clean-up operation, is a proposition that is taken for granted that the government has power to make laws, implement any “project” which it sees as “good” (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005) for everyone without consultation. Statements by President Mugabe and his government are turned into policy pronouncements platforms for consumption by readers. The role of *The Sunday Mail* can be analysed through what Hall (1982: 87) calls the orientation of the media in the processes of consensus building that reflect the dominant interests represented in the state. *The Sunday Mail* projects the common sensical views, actions and position of the ruling elite in Zimbabwe as nationally acceptable. In an issue as controversial and politically volatile as operation “Restore Order”, the stories became part of the machinery of social control and exercising power. Also important in this analysis is how the words mentioned above (i.e. restore order, lawlessness, clean-up) are used to defend government actions. *The Sunday Mail* sought to have the meaning of these words gain ascendancy in the ideological war between government and those opposed to the clean-up.

The Standard newspapers use verbal processes, once again, is in direct contract to *The Sunday Mail*. *The Standard* newspapers stories as will be demonstrated in the table below propped up opposition voices while using ordinary people’s voices or victims of the clean-up operation to demonstrate the suffering caused by the clean-up. The table below shows the voices that the newspaper gives agency.

<i>The Standard</i> Stories headlines and date published	Sources
“Angry residents beat up police” (22 May	MDC Leader Morgan Tsvangirai, Job

2005)	Sikhala, MDC Member of Parliament for St Marys, Chitungwiza,
–“Stayaway!” (5 June 2005)	Unnamed opposition and NGO sources, Lovemore Madhuku, civil society and leader of the Broad Alliance, Morgan Tsvangirai
–“Child Killed in clean-up” (12 June 2005)	Lavendor Manyika, mother of Charmaine Manyika, who died as a result of the destruction of their home, Delia Mbadzo affected farm worker whose sick son was almost burnt by the police, Charity Mutasa a pregnant woman who went into premature labour as a result of shock, evictees, Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference, Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights.
–“Clean-up forces 300 000 pupils out of school” (26 June 2005)	Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Teachers Association.

In contrast to *The Sunday Mail*, *The Standard* sources are dominated by oppositional views and civil society. These voices shape the news stories of the newspapers by defining what the clean-up operation is about and how citizens should react to it. Attempts at getting comments from the government agencies, Ministers and the police are all reported as having failed in two of the newspapers stories of 22 May and 26 June 2005. *The Standard* quotes extreme stories of suffering such as a woman who goes into early labour as a result of the shock of seeing her home destroyed. She is quoted saying, “I have never slept in the open all my life and i was so depressed on that day that i went into labour, i haven’t had time to even think of a name” (*The Standard*, 12 June 2005). The voices of the suffering people quoted by the newspaper are used by the same newspaper to give credence to the call for resistance from the

opposition and civil society groups. The newspaper stories carry a common thread or pattern of repression, and suffering with a call for resistance.

vii. Analysis of Lexical structures:

The Standard coverage of Operation Restore Order as a deconstruction of the “Truth” and The Sunday Mail’s position of support.

Lexical structures of a text or narrative are crucial in the construction of meaning as they mark off socially and ideologically distinct areas of experience (Fowler, 1991: 84, Thetela, 2001: 354). Such labels become part of ideology because they invariably influence how the audience would read and interpret a text. In the coverage of operation “Restore order” these differences in representation between *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* were explicit, especially how the latter labelled negatively, government, police and council officials. There are many such terms which can be juxtaposed between the two newspapers on their labels of those, either in support or opposed to the operation and also the different labels they gave to the actors and their actions.

A key feature in the coverage of the operation by *The Standard* newspaper is how the stories are all linked to voices or pockets of resistance to the Zimbabwe government. The news stories and editorials also carry a common lexical structure in their ideological positioning. The operation was not just another unfortunate event but part of what the newspaper called “state apartheid”, “dictatorship”, “human rights violations”, (*The Standard* 22 May and 5 June 2005). *The Standard*’s news coverage of operation “Restore Order” is a deconstruction of all the “truths” and “facts” that the Zimbabwe government sought to present. *The Standard* stories carried the headlines below:

- “Angry residents beat up police”- 2 May 2005
- “Child killed in clean up”- 12 June 2005
- “Clean up forces 300 000 pupils out of school”-26 June 2005)
- “Stay way! MDC, civic bodies call for mass action”- 5 June 2005

The headlines and content of the news stories above portrayed the operation as a conflict through such words as ~~–killed~~”, ~~–revolt~~”, ~~–mass action~~”, ~~–state apartheid~~” and also deconstructs *The Sunday Mail*’s ~~–seamless~~‘ government plans. The wording that is carried in *The Standard*’s stories indicates ideological decision which marks off the newspaper from *The Sunday Mail* but also from government policy and actions. Where the government says operation ~~–Restore Order~~” was ~~–bearing fruit~~” and ~~–progressive~~”, (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005), *The Standard* says the operation was, ~~–vindictive~~” and ~~–punishing residents~~” (22 May and 5 June 2005).

A key and contested phrase was ~~–restoring order~~” as it carried completely different interpretations in the two newspapers. The word carried different meanings depending on the values that each news organisation was using to judge the clean-up operation. In *The Sunday Mail* the clean up was a:

....blessing in disguise to prospective house owners in urban areas following the announcement of compressive plans by the government to boost provision of housing” (5 June 2005).

The Sunday Mail also adds that, ~~–The clean-up operation code named operation –Restore Order~~” is winding up and being replaced by a new one known as operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* under which government is to provide residential and business accommodation to deserving people (26 June 2005).

The use of words such as *Murambatsvina* (Restore Order) juxtaposed with *Garikai/Hlalani/Kuhle* (Live well) are a discursive elaboration with tremendous ideological force. People whose homes had been destroyed were then to benefit from the same government that destroyed the homes, through a new operation (*Hlalani Kuhle*). *The Sunday Mail*, from the examples above, reported the operation as a government programme that was well planned and to be succeeded by other well planned programmes. In essence the newspapers never reported what the operation was about in terms of events on the ground, but rather government responses and programmes. *The Sunday Mail* reported operation ~~–Restore Order~~” as a passing phase, using phrases and words as ~~–winds up~~”, “restoration”, ~~–reconstruction~~”, bears fruit”, ~~–blessing~~”, “weeding out hideouts of criminals” (*The Sunday Mail* 29 May, 5 and 26 June 2005). All these words and phrases were used to describe operation ~~–Restore~~

Order” in a way that moved the operation from being a disaster to a progressive national housing project.

The Standard clearly labels operation “Restore Order” as a humanitarian disaster, and an inhuman political project by the Zimbabwe government (22 May and 12 June 2005). *The Standard* says operation “Restore Order” was marked by phrases such as “brutality and intimidation” (22 May 2005), “controversial and ugly” (12 June 2005), “State apartheid” (5 June 2005). Operation “Restore Order” became synonymous with all the wrongs of the Zimbabwe government, hence reports that the government appeared to be, “...punishing residents of Harare, principally, for voting for the opposition” (22 May 2005). *The Standard* linked the operation to a pattern of bad governance in Zimbabwe and also to a political conspiracy theory in which the government was using the operation to goad “the masses to revolt” (22 May 2005) so that it could declare a state of emergency and further punish its opponents.

The Standard identifies government as the villain and NGOs and opposition political parties as heroes of this operation. The motif of the clean-up operation as a conflict runs throughout *The Standard*’s stories. In analysing lexical structures of the coverage by *The Standard* one can point out that newspaper frames the NGOs position as the “reasonable” one especially as the government had “failed to provide” any assistance to victims of the clean-up operation (22 May 2005). This construction seeks to expose actions of an irresponsible government and also point at NGOs as the centres of knowledge and rationality. *The Standard*’s construct operation “Restore Order” as an aggressive political programme that negatively affected people. Apart from hard hitting headlines and editorials, the newspaper goes at length in its stories to talk directly to those affected narrating cases of “death”, “anger” and “frustration” (22 May and 12 June 2005). *The Standard* in portraying the operation as politically motivated also reported what it called resistance to this project such as “people beating up police” and “civic society and opposition parties calling for mass action” (22 May 2005). *The Standard* locates the operation within the political struggles and domination by the ruling party in Zimbabwe, a scenario the newspaper openly says needs to be resisted.

viii. Analysis of Narrative models: Intertextual Practices: Conversation

The two newspapers make use of attribution strategies (President Mugabe, Minister Chombo, NGOs, Opposition parties, Trade Unions, government) to bring multiple voices from outside the newsroom into journalistic constructions of the news story. In *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* the struggle to win over readers took the form of conversational interaction through the use of such words as, “we the people of Zimbabwe” (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005), “Citizens are...” (*The Standard* 5 June 2005). Fowler (1991:47) and Thetela (2001:359) argue that

“This style through which social values are reproduced in the discursive interaction between the newspaper, text and reader, is an important source of neutral language that embodies moral values and creates an illusion in which common sense is spoken in matters on which there is consensus”.

The Sunday Mail carries a number of statements in which the voice of the government is enjoined to that of the newspaper. Statements such as “we must assert right to shape our destiny” and “clean up exercise bears fruit” (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005) are put-out as government voices but are inventions of the newspaper. These statements not only address the citizens of Zimbabwe who are part of the “we” but equally address common sensical issues around self determination and how the operation is positive and of benefit, as opposed to being destructive. *The Standard* also carries statements in which the voice of the newspaper is enjoined with that of NGOs and opposition political parties. The headlines, “Stay way” and “This is state apartheid” (5 June 2005) are voices of the newspaper in support of positions taken by NGOs and opposition political parties in reaction to the clean-up operation. The newspaper assumes what it sees as the common sensical reaction and response to the clean-up, resonates with its readers. The two newspapers sought to alienate the reader from the groups or social actors that it accused of either not supporting the clean up in the case of *The Sunday Mail*, or being the destructive forces behind the clean-up operation in the case of *The Standard*.

ix. Analysis of the use personalisation and the construction of „otherness“ and labels

In analysing the two newspapers' news stories, this study also finds out that newsmakers voices (the President, Ministers, government, NGO officials, police, opposition parties, and councils) are also brought into news stories through personalisation. Personalisation in news discourse is, according to Thetela (2001:363), ~~a~~ "socially constructed value whose function is to promote straightforward feelings of identification, empathy and disapproval". Fowler (1991: 15) also notes that ~~personalisation~~ "simplifies complex, historical and institutional processes" by making it easier for a reader of a news story to associate certain names and positions with either authority as in the case of President Mugabe or 'human rights and democracy' as associated with NGOs and opposition parties. Instead of explaining complex institutional or historical issues, certain individuals who are taken as embodiments of such institutions or history are quoted. In this instance, President Mugabe, as an example, represents government policy and authority. Thus, in all its editorials and the story of 26 June *The Sunday Mail* quotes the President giving policy directives. Nothing he says is contradicted by this newspaper. Further to, this people captured in the news stories by both newspapers are put in categories of either being deviants or are assigned responsible roles that entitle their claims to be newsworthy and in the interests of people. In this regard the government of Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe, and Minister Chombo do not talk for themselves but for everyone. On the other side NGOs, opposition parties, talk on behalf of the victims. The Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human rights is quoted saying, ~~it~~ "deplored in the strongest possible terms that ongoing operation that has displaced thousands of people" (*The Standard* 12 June 2005). MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai further condemns the operation saying, "The time has come for Zimbabweans to engage the dictatorship in a new struggle. Each person must ask themselves what they have done each day for the struggle although we emphasise that this is not an armed struggle but a social revolution" (*The Standard* 22 May 2010).

Further to personalisation all eight of *The Sunday Mail's* and *The Standard's* stories sampled for the study quote senior government officials, unnamed sources, NGOs and opposition political parties. Tuchman (1978) and Bell (1991) argue that the inclusion of direct quotations in stories from individuals has three primary purposes: to indicate that the quote is an incontrovertible fact because it is the newsmakers own words: to distance and disown the endorsement of what the source said and to add to the story

the flavour of newsmaker's own words. Quotations also play an ideological role with regard to interpretation of news texts. *The Sunday Mail* thus sought to alienate 'western governments' and the opposition identified through terms such as 'British kith and kin' 'NGOs' and 'opposition parties', aliens or 'Zimbabweans of foreign origin without rural homes' and 'the corrupt'. (*The Sunday Mail* 5 and 26 June 2000). *The Standard* (28 May, 5 and 26 June 2005) on the other hand, represents the 'government', 'Minister Chombo', 'President Mugabe', 'ZANU PF', 'the police' as the 'other', who are not on the side of the people. 'Othering' as a form of personalisation, creates clear divisions in which the reader is called upon to take the side of either the 'good' or the 'bad', based on information available.

The description and labels used on the government and its officials by *The Standard* can be analysed using Vladimir Propp's (1895-1970) character identification theory which posits that:

The identification of characters in a narrative helps one to understand that although the actors we see or read about may seem 'real', they must be understood as constructed characters, who often get perceived very quickly as either 'hero' or 'villain' or 'helper' (Fiske, 1987:134).

This construction seeks to guide the reader on how to relate to characters or their actions (Fiske, 1987:134). Using this argument, we can see that the government is identified in *The Standard* as the villain and the NGOs/opposition parties as heroes. This identification and labelling of the government brings out and is based on the discourse of democracy and good governance in Zimbabwe, where there is a struggle on the role and limitations of the government in national affairs. The Zimbabwe government, as noted in *The Sunday Mail*, portrays the western countries (Britain and America), NGOs, and opposition political parties as its main rivals in defining and implementing national policy on different issues (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005). In this regard *The Sunday Mail* (26 June 2005) says that while the government, 'insisted that it was going ahead with operation' (*The Sunday Mail* 26 June 2005), *The Standard* seemingly responds saying, 'NGOs say they, "... have reached the upper limits of tolerance against an insensitive regime that does not have answers to our plight, the only option available is organise the people to resist..."' (*The Standard* 5 June 2005). Key words and phrases used to describe Zimbabwean government

officials have negative connotations which position them as the villain and undemocratic, and hence should be resisted. The same is true in how *The Sunday Mail* describes western powers and the opposition in Zimbabwe. While *The Sunday Mail* worked to reinforce government authority, *The Standard* consolidated the position of NGOs as watchdogs of democratic practice and defenders of people's rights.

x. Analysis of the use of metaphors

In reporting operation “Restore Order” period, both *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* used metaphors either in support of the operation and the government and others, pejoratives. These metaphors from both sides were/are familiar to the general populace and also part of the political and social history of Zimbabwe and part of the day to day life of people in Zimbabwe. Metaphors are a salient feature of discourse, with a two-fold function (Todoli, 2007:2). Firstly, ~~they~~ they help make complex issues understandable to the public, and secondly, they help promote and legitimise the ideological viewpoints of particular groups” (Todoli, 2007:2). Lokoff and Turner (1989:11) argue that metaphors are indispensable not only to our imagination but also to our reasoning. Metaphors help us to understand a particular issue drawing on our world's view or socialisation.

In its portrayal of the operation as positive *The Sunday Mail* (5 and 26 June 2005) resorted to the use of metaphors such as “clean up bears fruits”, indicating a positive rather than negative outcome and reward rather than deprivation. The new operation that the government says will replace the clean-up operation is aptly titled operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* vernacular words which mean in simple translation “Operation live well”. *The Sunday Mail* thus stuck to the use of positive metaphors in a situation described by other social players as negative. The use of metaphors by *The Sunday Mail* is in direct contrast to *The Standard* which talks of the operation as part of a political process of, “...goading the masses to revolt” (22 May 2005). The newspaper also talks of the operation as, “state apartheid” (5 June 2005) among other metaphors used to describe the clean-up operation. *The Standard* newspaper's use of metaphors radically differed from *The Sunday Mail*'s as its news stories focused on the negative aspects of the operation. The use of metaphors is strongly linked to the discourses and the ideologies that each newspaper promotes in the context of Zimbabwe's political

struggles. Through the use of different metaphors, some meant to show government concern and positive action and others attacking the operation, the two newspapers lure readers by attempting to share a common understanding, culture and memory with citizens on the given situation. *The Sunday Mail* invokes the nationalist's agenda of independence and self determination as well as government positive action in the face criticism by the west. On the other hand *The Standard* seeks to invoke discourses of freedom and human rights which find resonance with the opposition and civic society in Zimbabwe.

xi. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that news stories presuppose an addressor and an addressee, and that particular words were used to influence the interpretation of news by the reading public. The process of textual production, as noted by Janks (1998: 196), is contingent on an aggregate of many social, political and economic factors such as the nature of the social, economic or political occasion, the participants and their relations. The study of the news stories on the clean-up by the two newspapers identified the broader struggles for hegemony within Zimbabwean society and showed how this is played in the social world, with devastating effects for the poor, weak and vulnerable.

Gupta (1997: 37) argues that in the postmodern world space and identity are more fluid. News stories on operation –Restore Order” in Zimbabwe brought a contrasting experience as identity (citizenship and nationality) became central to the whole organization of the operation as reported by *The Sunday Mail*. The coverage of operation –Restore Order” exemplifies Zimbabwe as a space in which ethnic and political identities are being reconstructed and renegotiated. This was demonstrated by the news stories that showed the targeting of an urban populace mostly identified as opposition supporters and also foreigners by *The Standard*, which in this context means people without rural homes. The study showed how ideology is a meaning-making processes through which reified and naturalized representations of sovereignty and ‘Zimbabweanness’ were consolidated and maintained by the ruling elite as unchanging and ahistorical.

By taking poor urban dwellers defined as “Zimbabweans” back to rural areas the Zimbabwe government invoked the colonial methods of preserving the urban areas for the elites and removing the unwanted elements and confining them to a marginal place. In colonial Rhodesia as in independent Zimbabwe, natives are from certain places, belong to those places, and they are also to be confined to those places (Malkki, 1997:58). The laws used by the Zimbabwe government to remove urban dwellers as quoted in *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* were passed by colonial governments pointing to what Mamdani (1996:13) calls the continuation of the division of post independence African societies along the ‘civilized’ elite and the peripheral majority similar to apartheid South Africa.

In looking at the impact of operation “Restore Order”, *The Standard* went beyond reporting on human suffering, internal refugees, the medical and psychological trauma, but also focused on the socio-political context as the real cause of citizens’ suffering. The words ‘refugees’ and ‘evictees’ (*The Standard* 22 May and 5 June 2005) denote someone objectified and debased to almost sub-human descriptions.

On the other hand the role of *The Sunday Mail* was to attempt to build consensus about the meaning of operation “Restore Order” through covering government statements that indicated the reasonableness of the operation as well as what the government was doing to alleviate the suffering of those affected by the process. The national consensus and cohesion that *The Sunday Mail* sought is based on the sense of a sovereign nation state able to define its future under an authoritative government confident of itself and its actions. *The Sunday Mail* sought to define ‘Zimbabweanness’ and this process became a battle for hegemony in which *The Sunday Mail* ‘spoke’ for every Zimbabwean. The challenge that *The Sunday Mail* faced was that instead of building consensus, it fell prey to stage managing spectacles that were intended to keep citizens in awe rather than in discussion.

This chapter concludes by taking note of Tuchman’s (1991:83) argument that the ideological significance of news is not only embedded in the news content itself, but also in the processes of news writing. Media organisations and journalists use their socio-economic and political backgrounds, beliefs and leanings to define what news is and to put across their own interpretations and understandings of news events. This

chapter showed how the process of news making is embedded in ideological meanings, and this includes how the media are used to support certain actions and how and why other media oppose certain actions and from what ideological standpoint.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND REFLECTIONS

i. Introduction

This study analysed the coverage of operation ‘Restore Order’ by *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* in Zimbabwe and has come to the conclusion that the clean-up operation was covered by the media from partisan positions that advanced the interests of rival social groups in Zimbabwe, and did not give enough space and voice to the victims nor attempt to cover the contending or rivals groups in a balanced way. *The Sunday Mail* entrenched social intolerance of ‘foreigners’ by reinforcing the ‘Zimbabweanness’ of the operation and how foreigners had either to comply or face the consequences. *The Sunday Mail* achieved this by locating the operation within Zimbabwe’s alleged struggles against neo-colonial forces. The ‘enemy’ according to *The Sunday Mail*, became not those who were destroying people’s homes and livelihoods, but those who opposed the operation, especially NGOs, opposition parties and western powers. The coverage of operation ‘Restore Order’ illuminated other social struggles in Zimbabwe and the media became key players in representing the many faces of that struggle. The operation became a significant battleground, albeit one in which the ordinary citizens suffered while the powerful political entities and social groups sought to humiliate each other.

The manner in which the operation was reported severely limited the frameworks through which readers could comprehend operation ‘Restore Order’. In this regard the study noted that the violent removal of people was accorded decency and support by *The Sunday Mail* through the articulation of discourses of culture, identity and national development.

The study also concludes that while criticising the operation, *The Standard* limited its coverage to the views of opposition political parties and NGOs. While a number of the newspaper’s stories quoted ordinary persons, the main import of the stories was resistance building around the operation and articulation of the discourses of human rights, democracy, rule of law and good governance. These discourses are central to the criticism of Zimbabwe’s ZANU PF government as it stands accused of failing to fulfil any of these among them promoting democracy and the rule of law. The two

newspapers, rather than helping to abate social conflict, instead fuelled it by highlighting and playing out the deep divisions in Zimbabwean society.

ii. Reflections

An important point brought out in this study is the role of sources used by the two newspapers and how the powerful political elite in Zimbabwe determined the news that was published. It is for this reason that Young (1981:48) argues that the media's discursive conventions/practices are linked to the exercise of power. *The Sunday Mail* and *The Standard* while reporting on operation "Restore Order", also represented much larger political ideological issues that were currently being contested in Zimbabwe. While *The Standard*, can promote narrow political interests as a privately owned newspaper, *The Sunday Mail*, as a publicly owned newspaper, with a purported public service mandate has a responsibility to represent all social voices and not necessarily align with one view. The coverage of the clean-up operation by *The Sunday Mail* indicates that the public media in Zimbabwe is an agent of the state that serves primarily, to extend and maintain rather than alter, threaten or weaken conventional conceptions, beliefs and behaviours. The same can be said of the independent media such as *The Standard* in terms of its relationship with oppositional forces in Zimbabwe. With regards to how the official/state or dominant media operates, Hall (1988:11) says, "Its chief cultural and political function is tostabilise social patterns within the interest of the ruling elite. The sheer repletion of ideological themes can send ideas deep into societies' individual and collective consciousness".

The study noted that while ordinary citizens were suffering, their circumstances and voices were obscured by the use of concepts of culture, humanitarian assistance, talk of democracy, and nationalism, among other issues. The past and present history of Zimbabwe was deliberately reconstructed to serve the interests of particular groups. It is for this reason that Max Weber (quoted in Tuchman 1991:80) notes, "Newspapers are not simply profit making capitalist enterprises but political organisations, which function as political clubs in society". This study showed how the two newspapers were interlinked with other forces in Zimbabwean society.

The extent to which marginalised members of society be they women, children the poor and politically weak can obtain media access is one of the most significant debates concerning societies aspiring for broader representative governments and more inclusive media. This has consequences for the diversity of information and the interpretative frameworks through which we understand society (Atton, 2003: 315). The media situation in Zimbabwe as demonstrated in this study shows that it is not enough to have public and private newspapers or media organisations. The crucial issue is the representation of issues by the media. Improving access to information and the quality of information is therefore not dependent on the number of voices in a given country, but how they represent issues, especially for marginalised, poor and vulnerable communities. In Zimbabwe improving this situation will require a holistic approach that takes cognisance of the social, economic and political challenges that Zimbabwe faces.

In the final analysis, media policy is also important, as the Zimbabwe government has used policy to shut down critical voices. This has substantially impacted on media growth and the diversity of voices in the media. The general view of civil society and private media is that repressive laws must be repealed and the constitution reformed so that media rights and the public's right to access to information are specifically guaranteed (MISA, 2006:100). While NGOs and opposition political parties see issues of media policy as tied to discourses of human rights and democracy, the Zimbabwe government on the other hand argues that freedom of the press cannot exist in a vacuum but must coexist with other "rights" accorded to individuals and institutions under the constitution (MISA, 2004:112). The government has also argued that the freedom of the press is not absolute but must yield on occasion to 'national needs', thus the 'centrality' of the land issue in the Zimbabwe society and accusations by the governments that the private media is not patriotic and has betrayed a national cause. These accusations have given the government the room to manoeuvre in policing the private media as well as an excuse in persecuting the same media as part of, 'allegedly', defending the national interest.

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Appendix 1

THE SUNDAY MAIL- EDITORIAL COMMENT: 29 May 2005

Flush Out Corruption At Higher Levels

WHEN the Government launched its campaign to clean up cities, starting with Harare, many people wondered what they were trying to achieve. Some are still wondering today. While, indeed the city looks fresher, and questions have been asked about the manner the exercise has been carried out.

For them to throw people into the streets just at the onset of winter and leave scores of others without their sources of livelihood, they must have a good reason for doing so

And the fact that the President has thrown his weight behind the clean- up exercise must mean it is a well thought out programme. Our hope is that it is going where we think or assume it is going.

We hope the clean-up of Harare, which is both the seat of Government and the city that projects the image of the country, is symbolic of a desire to clean up the whole country. We hope that by starting with the physical rot, they will not end there but will go all the way. With the same ruthlessness they must deal with the other forms of decay, such as corruption.

We hope moral decadence in all its forms will also disappear. Law and order must be seen to be the name of the game everywhere.

The police have been quite swift in flushing out what they termed the illegalities taking place in such places as the numerous flea markets that dotted the city. Among the illegal activities being carried out there were foreign currency deals.

Now people are watching the police. Will they deal with every foreign currency dealer, the people wonder! They know that the foreign currency deals done in flea markets were just the tip of an iceberg. They know and can point to buildings in the city centre where foreign currency is still being exchanged on parallel market.

They wonder why these people are not being arrested

They ask who is protecting them. The credibility of the clean-up exercise will hinge on how the authorities deal with the big fish.

Certainly “Operation Murambatsvina” has sent a loud and clear message to the poor sections of society that Government is serious about maintaining law and order.

We now wait to see the same message being sent to the higher echelons of society where the rot stinks to the high heavens.

It is indiscipline and lack of probity at the higher level that worries us most. It is the lack of consistency that allows previous gains in that area to be reversed.

The shake up in the financial service sector, which was coupled with a crackdown on corruption even among structures of Government, had brought in a lot of discipline in the conduct of business.

The ongoing trail of former finance minister Chris Kuruneri is a good example of a resolute stand to deal with suspected cases of impropriety. It is also confirmation that no one is above the law. The Reserve Bank Governor was so resolute on this matter that he established a whistle blower account for society to inform the authorities of those engaging in corrupt activities. That programme is now short of impetus.

Dr Gono himself made an impassioned plea for corruption to be eradicated when he presented his monetary policy and appeared frustrated by lack of decisive action in that area.

The Attorney-General, Cde Sobusa Gula Ndebele, has also made a point to campaign against corruption every time he makes public presentations, and so has the Commissioner of Police, Cde Augustine Chihuri. Now we wait to see more action to back their public pronouncements.

Let’s join clean up our cities but let’s also clean the hearts of men.

Appendix 2

THE SUNDAY MAIL- EDITORIAL COMMENT: 26 June 2005

We must assert right to shape our destiny

AFRICA fed up of being patronised by the West is beginning to speak out.

Every time there is a G8 summit or some other such self-important meeting of leaders of Western countries, invited African countries are expected to behave like little children. They are expected to bathe and dress up to appear before the white “masters”.

Ahead of the forthcoming G8 summit, British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw issued the clean –up call from London. And, as expected, the subject was Zimbabwe. What crime has it committed? It has started restoring order in its towns and cities using its laws.

Typically of Jack Straw, he is always clutching at straws, as his attack on Zimbabwe has no basis. All of a sudden Operation Murambatsvina is an expedient straw for him to hang on to in his quest to vilify Zimbabwe.

Yet what Zimbabwe is doing is the very thing it was being attacked for not doing on farms- restoring order and legality.

The Associated Press quoted Straw as saying Britain had done much to put Zimbabwe's human rights record on the global agenda, but had run into lack of interest in Africa to do anything about it.

–Unless, and until, Africa's leaders as a whole recognise what is going on, (and) take action not just to condemn it but to deal with it, we are not likely to be in for many more months of this kind of tyranny until President Mugabe moves aside," he reportedly said.

Well, the reason why there is lack of interest in Africa is simple to understand. African countries are sovereign countries, which are governed by elected leaders using laws passed by the legislative assemblies of those countries.

This is the point that African Union spokesman Desmond Orjiako sought to make when he said: –If the government that they (Zimbabweans) elected say they are restoring order by their actions, I don't think it would be proper for us to go interfering in their internal legislation."

All of a sudden urban squalor is being romanticised to suit a political objective to demonise the Zimbabwean leader. It is as if the British care about the people that have been affected by the clean- up.

The truth is that these people are just convenient pawns for them to use in their wicked schemes against Zimbabwe.

There is nothing wrong in them criticising the actions taken by the Zimbabwean Government. Those actions have been criticised in some quarters in Zimbabwe. But these criticisms have centred on the application of the clean – up and not its objective or legality.

The Zimbabwe government has responded by showing its determination to ensure the shacks that have been destroyed are replaced by modern conventional houses.

We, therefore, wonder what the AU is expected to do. Or what President Thabo Mbeki is expected to say or do. Thus, when Straw tried to put pressure on President Mbeki he quickly got a fitting rejoinder from President Mbeki's spokesman Bheki Khumalo. "I am really irritated by this kgokgo approach." Khumalo said.

He said –kgokgo" was a Sesotho word meaning something akin to be a bogeyman being used to scare children into being obedient.

–South Africa refuses to accept the notion that because suddenly we're going to a G8 summit we must be reminded that we must look good and appease the G8 leaders.

–We will do things because we believe they are correct and right."

Khumalo said he was –sick and tired of the ghost of the G8 being invoked," and with a view that Africa should please the G8 ahead of its upcoming summit.

–As Soth Africans, we will protect our sovereignty.

This is precisely what Zimbabwe has been saying for the past five years.

It is a sovereign country that should be browbeaten by anyone into dancing to the tune of the West.

So as President Mbeki and other selected African leaders had for the G8 summit, which, together with the EU, is now being chaired by Britain, they can expect all sorts of racist insults from Blair, Howard and company.

They must stand up and tell the West that their souls are not for sale. African countries have long ceased to be colonies of Britain or any European countries and should forever assert the right to shape their destinies, aid money or no aid money.

The time is now to exorcise the ghost of the G8 summit.

Appendix 3

THE STANDARD: EDITORIAL COMMENT: 22 MAY 2005

State Goading Masses To Revolt

MOST people agree that something needs to be done to arrest Harare's descent into Hades, but the way –Operation Restore Order, Clean up and Murambatsvina" are being implemented is as if someone is out to settle scores.

In early March, just before the 31 March Parliamentary elections, President Robert Mugabe wondered why residents of the capital were spurning the ruling Zanu PF and supporting the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Speaking at the Heroes' Acre burial of the former Governor and Resident Minister for Harare, Dr Witness Mangwende, Mugabe said: "In Harare, if you had changed and said you now belonged to (British Prime Minister Tony) Blair, you should change again.....

—What wrong have we done you? Harare.....think again, think again, think again."

Last week, if the President found time to read through local newspapers, he would have gotten part of the reason why residents of Harare are not so enthusiastic about the ruling party.

Several "joint operations" have targeted informal traders, flea market operators, touts, illegal dealers and criminals. Informal traders and flea markets are a direct response to Zimbabwe's 80 percent unemployment rate. They are damning indictment on the government's failure to create an environment conducive for the growth of existing companies and for attracting new domestic and foreign investment, which would result in the creation of more jobs.

The illegal dealers, touts and criminals, as well as the general lawlessness, which the government says it seeks to contain by launching the three campaigns, is confirmation of what everyone has been saying — that Zimbabwe had become lawless. The government vehemently rejects such observations, suggesting they are inspired by external influences and are authored, chiefly, by its enemies.

Last week it admitted that parallel market operations and corruption had become a serious threat to the country's economic turn around programme.

But in seeking to restore order, the government does not have to appear so vindictive. It is as if is punishing residents of Harare, principally, for voting for the opposition, especially after Mugabe's March plea at Heroes Acre. In rolling out the programme to Chitungwiza and Bulawayo, the government is trying to deflect criticism that it has a grudge against Harare residents. In any event, the three cities voted for the opposition during the 31 March Parliamentary elections.

The government has botched up what otherwise should have been a commendable exercise. Its blitz against commuter operators appears nothing more than a clumsy attempt to protect the monopoly of an inefficient Zimbabwe United Passenger Bus Company (Zupco).

Commuters would not mind if Zupco was run as efficiently as its predecessor, the Harare United Omnibus Company. Zupco's unparallel incompetence has earned it the derisive nickname-*zvipiko*.

When the one-way traffic streets we introduced in Harare central business district, proper routes and pick up points for commuter transport were designated. If the Harare City Council has spunk and enforced those regulations Harare would not be the lawless traffic jungle that it has become. It is deceitful for the council to try and suggest that it is introducing a new method when it is responsible for the present chaos in the first place. This could be a sinister ploy lull the resident of Harare into forgetting about the expiry of the term of the Harare's unelected Commissioners, which runs out next month.

There are other humane ways of conducting clean up operations. We agree that the once Sunshine city has become one huge eyesore, but it is important for residents to ask who helped turn Harare into an eyesore, and whether all of a sudden they have discovered their capacity to transform 25 years of sustained neglect into some turn a around programme.

The demonstrate the level and degree of vindictiveness and how ill- thought- out the clean up campaigns are, city councils market stalls, for which people pay council to operate, were also closed down in the blitz.

This suggests the right hand does not know what the left is doing. If ever there was need for evidence of the level of incompetence and unparallel lack of planning, it is there for all to see in the raids against people-most of them trying to make the best of bad situation.

There are people who are trying to earn an honest living and the government's response has been to punish them, totally insensitive of the fact that it is the one responsible for the mess the economy is in. It does not care how families struggling to survive will cope.

The real crooks and big time criminals are not lurking behind flea market stalls. The government knows where they are. The Governor of the Reserve Bank said as much on Thursday. They should go for them instead of poor people, after an honest living.

If government is genuine in its desire to clean up Harare, it would have first provided an alternative, put in place a mechanism for licensing the operators and then provided a mechanism for ensuring that people operate in designated areas.

What the government has done is appalling and totally insensitive. It is as if someone is goading the masses into a revolt.

Appendix 4

THE STANDARD COMMENT:5 June 2005 This Is State Apartheid

In both law and practise, education and shelter became human rights for all citizens of Zimbabwe on attainment of Independence in 1980. The government's action over recent weeks demonstrate utter contempt for the rights of children to education, and for the right of citizens to shelter. It is the main responsibility of any elected government to protect the poor, weak and vulnerable groups in society.

A secure and sheltered home and access to education are critical in preparing Zimbabweans for their social and economic well-being, and for meeting the new challenges presented by the era of information and communication technologies. But we have seen during recent weeks that the same government that won international acclaim for its commitment to education for all of its citizens has suddenly recanted.

School children have become victims of the joint government/City of Harare Operation Restore Order/Murambatsvina.

If it had not been for circumstances beyond control, school children would have been writing their June examinations. There is no prize for guessing what effect the destruction of their houses would have on their ability to perform well in examinations. But not only have they not been able to write the examinations, many will now miss the altogether because they have been uprooted and scattered far away from centres they had registered to write the examinations.

The government, of course, is not one to let such things trouble its conscience. Last year, its security agencies descended on Porta Farm, a squatter settlement it created ahead of the October 1991 Commonwealth Heads of State and Government Meeting and drove the settlers out. No notice was deemed necessary and plight of school children who were due to write their primary school finishing examinations, were not issues the government bothered itself with.

There has been general contempt in the way the government has dealt with ordinary people in recent past. Instead of learning from mistakes of Porta Farm, where people were forced to relocate to Caledonia Farm near Mabvuku, the government has decided to repeat the Porta farm debacle, but this time on a grand scale.

It is difficult to reconcile the actions of the government and those of elected representatives, supposedly governing in the interests of the people who put it into power. The critical element of consultation has been wiped out of the process of governance. Instead, the government has decided to create a humanitarian crisis. There is no difference between the destruction that the natural phenomenon, the tsunami, wrecked on South East Asia and the theatre of tragedy that is being re-enacted in Sakubva, Chikanga in Mutare, and Mbare, Kambuzama, Mufakose and many other high-density suburbs of Harare.

Nobody disputes the need to instil order and maintain a clean capital. But what is callous is the manner in which the whole exercise has been and continues to be conducted.

The education of many children who have to travel from one suburb to the next has been adversely affected because school children, as do adults, wait for hours on the end for transport that never comes. It is common cause that many of the school children travel from the high-density areas to the low-density suburbs for their education, but thanks to government-it has managed to place all imaginable obstacles in the way of children's pursuit of education.

The only explanation one finds in all this is that the government has finally decided that it will not bother about elections, and instead it will continue to rule by other means.

What sane person will go out and vote to retain a government whose brutality out class that of former oppressors. And it is this that hurts so much and is distressing. Zimbabweans expected a much more sympathetic conduct in the bid to restore order and maintain Harare as a proud and clean capital. They did not expect a fascist approach.

It is most insensitive for the government to uproot people from Churu farm and plant them at Hatcliffe Extension or to encourage land invasion in and around the cities and then to turn around and proclaim these settlements illegal, when it is the one that identified where these settlements should be located.

There may have been rogue elements that infiltrated these settlements, but it is the function of the security agencies to investigate and weed these out. It is not as if the anti-social elements are unknown. They live with and among people, and the people will know who is engaged in what extra-legal activities.

What the government has carried out in recent weeks and continues to is a new form of apartheid.

Appendix 5

THE SUNDAY MAIL: 5 June 2005

„Ongoing clean- up a blessing for home- seekers“

THE ongoing countywide clean - up operation has come as a blessing in disguise to prospective house owners in urban areas following the announcement of comprehensive plans by the Government to boost provision of housing.

It also emerged that urban dwellers are set to benefit from a decision by the Government to relax municipal requirements governing the allocation of stands and construction of houses, to expedite the delivery of accommodation to homeless families.

A Cabinet minister has revealed that the cost of building a new house is expected to be significantly reduced by at least 60 percent because the construction of earth- rammed houses will be permitted to make housing affordable to the ordinary man.

Addressing Government officials at Mhlahlandela office complex in Bulawayo on Thursday, the Minister of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development, Dr Ignatius Chombo said conditions set by most city councils to regulate the allocation of stands and buildings of houses are too stringent and not people friendly.

The government had resolved to relax the housing rules but without compromising the durability and quality of the structures, he said.

Dr Chombo added that the clean-up had been necessitated by the deteriorating standard of structures in the country's cities and towns and the new initiative was aimed at addressing that problem in line with the

national economic turnaround strategy.

—Most of our councils have been applying stringent conditions in so far as housing construction is concerned. They have always insisted on the full servicing of stands before construction could begin payment of deposits, serviced and use of particular types of bricks among other stringent conditions, some of which are archaic and British oriented.

—As a way of making housing available to our people we have simplified these conditions to suit them while at the same time not compromising the durability of the structures,” said Dr Chombo.

He said considering the escalating cost of housing and the eroded incomes disposable to the average man, the Government would approve the construction of earth rammed houses, as model of which had already been formulated.

—It has been realised that most of the housing models that have been in place in our towns are British-oriented, and very expensive to the ordinary man, rendering most of our people homeless. Science and Technology has it that rammed earth houses are conducive to our environment.

—As we try to make accommodation cheaper to our people we are to take this traditional route which will see the cost of housing construction being reduced by at least 60 percent. Earth- rammed houses are discouraged in Europe mainly as a result of the prevailing strong winds, which is not a major characteristic of our weather in this part of the world.

—This (proposed type of house) will provide an opportunity for people to own houses,” he said.

He said to guard against the underhand dealings that had characterised the allocation of stands by municipalities, all councils were now supposed to allocate stands to all the people on the housing waiting list as well as those not on the list.

Appendix 6

THE SUNDAY MAIL: 26 JUNE 2005

Clean-Up Exercise Bears Fruit

As the tremors of the on-going clean-up exercise targeted at uprooting illegal structures and activities in Zimbabwe continue to be felt countrywide, positive results have begun to emerge with the restoration of orderliness in the major urban centres which has become heavens of lawlessness in the past few years.

Although there are divergent views over the manner in which the operation is being carried out and although many people have lost their homes, the ultimate goal of the exercise has been widely accepted as noble.

Primarily, the operation kicked off in urban centres, where illegal business structures were demolished and public transport pick-up and drop-off areas cleaned of touts.

However, with growing opportunities in different areas, the country witnessed significant population movement patterns, resulting in a population explosion in town and cities.

According to experts, this led to the proliferation of illegal activities in these areas, as the numbers became unmanageable.

Lack of opportunities in the city saw some opting to earn a living in the less agglomerated economy of the rural areas by starting up informal businesses.

Still, significant sections of both urban and rural centres were believed to be safe haven for illegal activities and uses. Despite arguments that the authorities should have engaged alternative approaches in the exercise, regional and urban planning experts say the clean-up operation is ~~is~~^{*****⁷} them as it had demolished ~~part~~ of their lives".

They said after their homes were demolished, the Roman Catholic Church has been quick to move in with aid, offering them to stay on church premises while on transit to their ~~roots~~".

Mrs Catherine Maramba, who was waiting in the East Hunyani area of Mutoko for transport to ferry her belongings to her rural home in Mudzi, said her family had become stranded after its two-roomed lodgings were destroyed some two weeks ago.

She argued that like others affected by the exercise, she had not been given ample time to evacuate, thereby prejudicing the family of the only shelter they had called home for the past 11 years.

~~Police~~ announced through a loudspeaker on the morning of June 9 that residents in our area were*****

There was, however, a touching moment when a young mother, Ms Rosemary Simango, revealed to this paper that she had spent a night by the roadside near Suskwe Business Centre with her two children Ashley (3) and Allen (7 months).

Ms Simango said her husband, Mr Dzingai Muzarabani, had promised to meet her there but had failed to turn up.

She was in tears as she narrated her ordeal.

~~We~~ were at Roman Catholic Church in Tafara after our home was demolished.

~~My~~ husband said he would go ahead of us with part of our property while I would follow with the children and other items.

~~The~~ children have not had anything to eat and things are really difficult as it is". ***** be carried out professionally, highlighting the need for authorities to quickly house and offer alternatives to those displaced by the exercise.

~~That~~ we needed to clean up our towns and cities is a generally agreed point. Something had to be done because the decay that was in the urban areas needed to be corrected.

~~For~~ instance, the congestion that was in Mbare was not good for service provisions and maintenance of infrastructure.

~~It~~ was necessary that such an exercise be undertaken because lawlessness had crept into the society and a lot of rot was being perpetrated in different quarters.

~~But~~ the current operation is set to go a long way in addressing the irregularities that had taken root in different areas. However, the exercise needs to be undertaken professionally in order for its intended benefits to be fully realised.

~~The~~ authorities should first be clear with regards to what they seek to address in order for the exercise to be effective. It is also important that the exercise becomes a full package that addresses every sector," said Mr Toriro.

Turning to the clean-up operation spreading to the rural areas, Mr Toriro said such an approach was critical as it would assist to regularise activities. He said growth points were ~~small~~ urban centres and thus needed to be organised in the same way that towns and cities were being re-organised.

The regional and urban planning expert suggested that it would be ideal for traders to be allocated shelters in properly designated areas for them to continue with their means of survival.

~~We~~ are clear when it comes to the informal sector, but business in this sphere also needs to be orderly done.

~~It~~ is a fact that people need to survive and measures need to be put in place for them to continue with their trade, though formally.

~~The~~ clean-up needs to be quickly followed by proper planning in both rural and urban areas.

⁷ Parts of news paper story were unreadable because bad documentation and poor quality of news print

—This process needs to be expedited so that people's enterprises are back on track as this is also good for the economy. Planners should also assist by ensuring the required documents are promptly sorted out," he said.

Though the clean-up continues to receive a thumb up from expert quarters, fears abound among some people whose areas were reached by the "cleansing waters" claiming that the exercise might be open to abuse.

Authorities have, however, since refuted the claims, saying the operation is being undertaken objectively.

Another urban planner, who declined to be identified, called on the authorities to act within the confines of the law. The planner said the magnitude of such operation required the engagement of expert discretion in the decisions that would be taken out of the field.

—The exercise should critically adhere to planning legislation so that the authorities do not run into problems with the law.

—One appreciates that the clean-up needed to be carried out, but there is need for professionalism.

—There is dire need to strictly adhere to planning legislation in order to avoid the whole programme running into problems with the law.

—There have been a few problems here and there but the exercise has overallly gone on well.

Primarily, the operation kicked off in urban centers, where illegal business structures were demolished and public transport pick-up and drop-off points reviewed in the central business districts of Harare and other major centres.

The structures and uses were not only illegal but caused congestion in the concerned areas, restricting movement of both human and motor traffic as well as inhibiting the maintenance of public utilities. Backyard shacks and improperly constructed residential structures were also caught up in the exercise. The structures had contributed to the huge population explosion in the country's cities and towns especially Harare, where the available public utilities almost collapsed under the heavy weight of the ballooning population.

The exercise has since been cast wider to cover the rural areas, where authorities last week descended on business centres and growth points, demolishing illegal structures.

Structures that were brought down in the thumping march towards restoring order through organised business practises and adherence to stipulated legislative provisions included shops and some informal business set-ups.

Law enforcement agents have been playing a "cat and mouse" with fruit and vegetable vendors who usually ply their trade along the country's highways.

Desperate to earn a living, the vendors sometimes go into hiding only for a short while, subsequently venturing into their familiar territory when the coast is clear.

The Minister of Local Government, National Housing and Urban Development, Dr Ignatius Chombo, said in a recent interview that the situation in the country's cities, towns and growth points had become "chaotic", resulting in illegal business superseding established business in some instances. Dr Chombo said Government decided to embark on the cleansing operation code-named

—"Murambatsvina/Restore Order" in a bid to clean up the mess.

President Mugabe on Thursday backed the clean up exercise saying it had brought orderliness to the country's urban centres.

He emphasised that Government was fully behind the operation adding that "a new breed of organised entrepreneurs, business and residential areas" had emerged.

Said Dr Chombo: "As a Government we embarked on the clean-up campaign at this particular time because we realised very clearly that the cities, towns and growth points in our country, and even the suburbs and other communities, were becoming chaotic.

—Chaotic in the sense that one could not distinguish between legitimate businesses and these other businesses without permits that were just selling at any points.

—To make it worse, some of the illegal traders took their wares and sold them in front of licensed shops that have met certain hygienic standards, et cetera, which were and are paying taxes to the local authority.

—Even some investors who saw the chaotic situation on our streets, in the flea markets and all over the city, got the wrong picture about business opportunities in our country, yet that was not the reality. So government decided to implement this programme, Operation Murambatsvina/Restore Order, in order to clean up the mess."

While conservatives argue the operation has had disastrous effects on many in urban areas, reform-minded people have been quick to defend the operation, arguing its effects are only but birth pangs that will soon disappear as the full benefits of the programme unfolded. Since independence in

1980, authorities had always taken a populist approach insofar as ensuring that rural and urban planning requirements were adhered to.

Despite the incentives such as housing schemes and small-scale business creation that were proffered, it was relatively easier to manage the situation***** activities and uses.

Despite arguments that the authorities should have engaged alternative approaches in the exercise, regional and urban planning experts say the clean-up operation is necessary as a lot of decay had collected in urban centres over many years. The experts also say massive lawlessness had continued to haunt the country and needed to be removed to enable the respective areas to manage their affairs in keeping with laid down stipulations.

Furthermore, they argue that what perhaps needs to be expedited is the regularisation of settlement areas and business space for displaced residents and informal sector operations.

So far, the Government has allocated over 20 000 stands in Whitecliff for occupation by those without houses and also constructed stalls in different areas as it moves to organise business and residential land uses.

Some 1, 5 million housing stands are expected to have been allocated and construction to have begun in the coming four years." Annually we expect a quarter of that. In Harare alone we expect 115 000 stands.

Last year we created 80 000, so this year we need to create more, and I think we are going to make a significant dent," said Dr Chombo.

—Once we begin to put up these houses, rentals will begin to come down as everyone will be busy wanting to build two or three rooms, while occupying their own houses instead of staying as lodgers and paying double.

—The only way to curtail the exorbitant rentals charged by some unscrupulous people is to make stands available very quickly, and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe has already availed a \$1 trillion package for the construction of starter homes."

Since many people had over the years set up structures that were affected in the on-going exercise, the anti- cleansing sentiments has been the dominant view as the massive operation caught up with what some of them spent a great deal of their lives establishing.

Some former residents of Tafara in Harare who were last week on their way to their rural homes in Mudzi complained the exercise had been unfair on***, she had not been given ample time to evacuate, thereby prejudicing the family the only shelter they had called home for the past 11 years.

—Police announced through a loudspeaker on the morning of June 9 that residents in our area were supposed to demolish structures thought to be illegal.

To avoid such situations in the first place, they should have at least surveyed the areas during their planning.

—The situation has been difficult as many children had to drop out of school as a result.

—My husband, who is a printer with a local company, could not stop working and was forced to move in with one of his workmate while the children and I headed for the rural areas.

—Still, I am worried about whether my children will be able to get places at schools in the area. The authorities should quickly move in to save the situation because we do not know what to do," said Mrs Maramba.

Another former Tafara resident, Mr Munodaani Munodaani, said life had become almost unbearable in the city and had decided to take his family to his rural home in Katsade, Mudzi.

Mr Munodaani, who was a security guard, said he used to earn \$1. 2 million a month and failed to find alternative accommodation as profiteering landlords have since rentals to about \$1.5 million per room. Like others who were assisted by the Roman Catholic Church, Mr Munodaani was grateful to the church for chipping in with help.

The Church really assisted my family and I because we would be sleeping out in the open for the past week now.

—But at least they accepted us and we were able to sleep at the Church premises and use some of their facilities.

—I think Government should promptly act on our fate now that the exercise has been carried out. We need to get alternative places to stay and a chance to go back into formal employment," said Mr Munodaani, who still had another 17 km to travel from East Hunyani to his rural home in Katsade. My husband said he would go ahead of us with part of our property while I would follow with the children and other items.

—The children have not had anything to eat and things are really difficult as it is".

With those largely affected by the clean up operation quick to lash out at the rationale behind the exercise, case studies show that the exercise is not peculiar to Zimbabwe.

Similar interventions were also carried out in other Southern African countries.

Around 1999, Zambia embarked on an exercise to cleanse the capital, Lusaka, of illegal structures. A similar operation is understood to be going on in that country with a view to ridding its towns of illegal structures and settlements.

South Africa and Botswana have also carried out similar programmes. But the difference was that in those countries alternative accommodation was provided before the demolition of the illegal structures. Zimbabwe Institute of Regional and Urban Planners president Mr Percy Toriro pointed out that while the operation was necessary in Zimbabwe, it was important for authorities to be clear about what they are trying to address.

He also emphasised the need for the exercise to legislation in order to avoid the whole programme running into problems with the law.

—There have been a few problems here and there but the exercise has overall gone well.

—In a few instance structures that were necessarily illegal were caught in the crossfire, —said the urban planning expert.

—The local planning authorities is empowered to _remove or demolish or alter existing buildings or discontinue or modify uses or operations or require abatement of injury‘ in terms of the Regional, Town and Country Act.

Section 35 of the Act reads,” Subject to this section, a local planning authority may upon compensation being paid in terms of section 50, except as otherwise provided in subsection (4) of subsection 52:

- Remove, demolish or alter any building which constitutes existing development;
- By order, require the discontinuance of any use or operations;
- By order, impose any conditions subject to which any use or operations shall continue, in which case such order shall, upon it becoming operative, be deemed, for the purpose of this part, to be a permit issued subject to the conditions so imposed.”

Appendix 7

THE SUNDAY MAIL: 26 June 2005

Hefty Budget To Drive Restoration of Urban Centres-President.

GOVERNMENT has set aside three trillion dollars for the construction of urban centres which is expected to be implemented by end of August through an Inter Ministerial Committee as part of the ongoing Operation Murambatsvina-Restore-Order, with the housing topping the priority list followed by factory shells and market stalls.

Addressing the 22nd ordinary session of the Zanu –PF National Consultative Assembly in Harare yesterday, President Mugabe told delegates that the clean –up operation was, In fact, a reconstruction programme designed to weed out hideouts of crime and grime, filthy stalls and encourage the construction of orderly, planned and tidy residential and business structures in their place.

—Predictably, the clean-up operation has excited our detractors,

Britain and America and others of like mind who have been quick to use their willing tools, the BBC and CNN, to accuse us of human rights violations.

—They questioned why President Mbeki is quite, but he knows about what is happening because that sometimes happens in his country. Locally, their stooges, the narrow-minded and so called Broad Alliance, recently but unsuccessfully attempted a demonstration to protect against the clean-up exercise.

—Their crocodile tears will not deter us from carrying out our necessary action to rid ourselves of malpractices that have caused hardships to our people through the illegal trade in essential commodities like sugar, soap, mealie meal, fuel, foreign currency and clothing items,” said President Mugabe.

While thanking the delegates for Zanu- Pf resounding victory in the March parliamentary elections, he said up to 50 countries, both in the region and abroad, as well as international organisations had agreed that the poll was an expression of the free will of the people.

—Only Britain and her angry kith and kin predictably tried to dispute the outcome.

And just last weekend, the people of Mudzi East gave us yet another resounding victory in the by-election that was held there, this being icing on several victories we have also registered in recent local government elections,” he said.*****

Government was mobilising available construction capabilities in order to quicken the programme’s pace with the building the brigades expected to absorb the swelling numbers of unemployed youths.

Last week British Prime Minister Mr Tony Blair and his Foreign Secretary Mr Jack Straw were in the forefront in trying to discredit the clean-up.

Mr Straw has even tried to put pressure on the African Union and South African President Thabo Mbeki whom the South African Broadcasting Corporation reported to be "irritated" by calls from UK Foreign Secretary Jack Straw to do more to end the horrors in Zimbabwe.

—South Africa refuses to accept the notion that because suddenly we're going to a G8 summit, we must be reminded that we must look good and appease the G8 leaders

—We must do things because we believe they are correct and right," said President Mbeki's spokesman, Mr Bheki Khumalo.

The African Union has also rejected calls from the UK and US to put pressure on Zimbabwe to stop its demolition of illegal houses and market stalls.

The AU spokesman, Desmond Orjiako, told the BBC that it had many more serious problems to consider than Zimbabwe.

To allay UN Secretary-General Mr Koffi Annan's fears that have likely been raised by the bad Press to Clean-up has generated, President Mugabe has agreed to his request to allow his special envoy, Mrs Anna's Kagumulo Tibaijuka, to assess the situation.

The President said this year has been a particularly difficult one for Government as it has to ensure the nation has adequate food supply through grain importation from South Africa while at the same time preparing for the next farming season.

—Besides providing drought relief food, Government is anxious to see an extensive and intensive irrigation development programme that will cushion the country in times of drought, he said.

Because of the severity of the increasingly frequent dry seasons, President Mugabe said, there was a definite need to fully exploit the country's irrigation potential.

While urging the delegates to play their part in land preparation for the coming season, the President said, as resolved by the Zanu-PF congress in December last year, there was need to ensure that inputs of seed and fertiliser are made available on time.

He commended the on-going party restructuring in the Midlands, Matebeleland

North, Bulawayo, Manicaland, Masvingo and Mashonaland West Provinces and said the Party should continue to consolidate and rejuvenate itself in order for it to remain relevant to the people's needs.

—Weak leadership structures, failure to perform given tasks, and the existence of factionalism, are some of the common problems the party must address. Personal ambitions should always be subordinated to the collective interests of the party," he urged Zanu —PF supporters.

He took a swipe at MDC legislator for Harare North Trudy Stevenson for being in the forefront of sending out pictures taken during the clean — up to the international community, wrongly claiming human rights violations.

Government had to sought dispossess or disempower the people through the clean-up, but only meant to make income-generating projects and residential structures conform to local government by-laws for orderly

Appendix 8

THE SUNDAY MAIL: 26 June 2005

Murambatsvina winds up

The clean — up operation code named "Operation Restore Order" is winding up and is being replaced by a new one known as "Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle", under which the Government aims to provide residential and business accommodation to deserving people under a comprehensive reconstruction programme.

Sources say that the new operation will be implemented with immediate effect and will see the construction of houses, micro, small and medium enterprises business facilities and attendant infrastructure in cities, towns, townships, growth points and resettlement areas by August 30 2005.

The implementation will involve all line ministries, municipalities, uniformed forces, the construction industry, the youth and all unemployed and retired artisans from industry and uniformed forces.

Sources told *The Sunday Mail* yesterday that "Operation Garai/Hlalani Kuhle will seek to realise the needs of the National Housing Delivery Programme and to create infrastructure necessary for the informal sector and SMEs to undertake their business.

This will ensure the success of –Operation Restore Order” or –Operation Murambatsvina” which saw hundreds of thousands of illegal buildings being pulled down across the country, creating an accommodation shortage.

Money to finance this massive reconstruction exercise will be provided by the Government through the Ministry of Finance, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, the National Social Security Authority and the Ministry of Public service, Labour and social Welfare.

–The key institutions that will spearhead the whole exercise will be the Ministry of Local Govrnment, Public Works and Urban Developments, the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of small and Medium Enterprises,” said one highly placed source.

Although the operation is going to be a nationwide exercise, priority will be given to the country’s two main cities, Harare and Bulawayo.

Apart from the construction of houses and business accommodation road, electricity and sewage systems will also be built.

Phase one and two of the new operation, which entails the establishment of the scope of works and the mobilisation of the requisite financial resources respectively, was completed last week.

President Mugabe indicated during a Zanu- PF Central Committee meeting on Friday that about \$3 trillion had been budgeted for the reconstruction exercise.

Phase three will see the construction process that is expected to end by August 30. Reconstruction in all the provinces will be done in three phases under the surveillance of the Inter-Agency National Operation Committee (INOC).

Progress reports will be presented to the INOC secretariat every Wednesday while labour and equipment returns will be submitted every Thursday, according to documents detailing the whole operation.

Beneficiaries of the programme will be gainfully employed Zimbabweans, including licensed micro, small, and medium enterprises as determined by the Ministry of Local Government, Public works and Urban Development and the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises,” said one source.

The Ministry of Information and Publicity will set up information centres throughout the provinces to educate the public on the exercise.

The Sunday Mail understands that the State Procurement Board (SPB) has already been directed to ensure that all requirements of the reconstruction exercise take precedence over all other requests while the National Oil Company of Zimbabwe will provide adequate fuel to support the programme.

Parastatals such as the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (Zesa) and the Zimbabwe National Water Authorities will also play their part by providing energy and water needs respectively.

Emphasis has been placed on the need to complete the reconstruction in the next two months to ensure that all the people affected by –Operation Restore Order” will have shelter by the time the rains start falling.

It could not be established at the time of going to press how many housing units will be constructed during the reconstruction period.

It is, however, envisage that the reconstruction exercise will significantly contribute to the turnaround of the country’s economy.

After completion, local authorities are expected to strictly enforce by laws to ensure that the lawlessness that had taken root before the onset of –Operation Restore Order” will not characterise their areas of jurisdiction.

Appendix 9

THE STANDARD: 22 May 2005 Angry Residents Beat Up Police

FRASTRATED residence of Chitungwiza rose up on Friday after enduring days of brutality and intimidation and fought running battles with police officers who where demolishing tuck-shops and confiscating goods from vendors.

Police and residence, as well as children were engaged in running battles, resulting in the stoning of a Zupco bus and a supermarket in the area.

MDC president, Morgan Tsvangirai lashed out at the government, saying the ongoing clampdown in urban areas to flush out alleged illegal foreign currency dealers, flea market and tuck shop operators was a government sponsored exercise to punish urban dwellers for voting for the MDC in the 31 March general elections.

The police blitz was also unleashed on other MDC strong-holds of Harare, Bulawayo and Gweru.

Other areas that were also targeted include Harare's Kuwadzana Extension, Highfeild and Epworth. Unconfirmed reports said some police details may have sustained injuries when they faced a barrage of missiles from the defiant residents of St Mary's.

Job Sikhala, the member of Parliament for the area, confirmed the skirmishes in the volatile constituency but was quick to distance himself from the violence.

"Kwakagwiwa hondo inohlisa mu st Mary's". (There was a fierce fighting in St Mary's).

Sikhala said: *"It was not something that was organised. It was the people's combined eruptive anger".*

Police spokesperson, Superintendent Oliver Mandipaka, was said to be *"busy"* according to a person who answered his cell phone when *The Standard* sought his comment.

A small detachment of police details also reportedly ran for dear life as an angry mob bayed for their blood. Re-enforcements came to their rescue at Huruyadzo.

A resident from St Mary's who spoke to the Standard said: *"We could not allow the police to confiscate goods sold by our parents because the money that they earn sends the children to school."*

Speaking in an interview with *The Standard*, Tsvangirai said the government wanted to provoke urban residents into resisting the brutal campaign as an excuse to declare a State of Emergency.

On 10 May, Police struck at the Registrar-General's Office and arrested 94 people in a *"clean up"* campaign of people accused of creating artificially long passport queues.

On Wednesday, police descended on Harare and arrested nearly 7 000 alleged illegal foreign currency dealers and stall-holders at licensed flea markets. Among the people arrested were those accused of using *"abusive language"*, public drinkers and touts.

Tsvangirai said: *"It defies logic that the Zanu PF government can arrest legally licensed flea markets operators when they know that they have destroyed the economy to an extent that 80 percent of the population is not formally employed."*

"The majority of Zimbabweans depend on informal trade to feed, clothe and educate their families."

Despite the creation of a ministry responsible for informal traders, the government wants to force hard-working and honest citizens to resort to criminal activities for survival.

He said the time had come for Zimbabweans to engage the *"dictatorship"* in a new struggle. *"Each person must ask themselves what they have done each day for the struggle although we emphasise that this is not an armed struggle, but a social revolution."*

He said the MDC's intelligence wing had informed him that flea markets were being cleared up to make way for Chinese traders.

"The county has been mortgaged to the Chinese. How can we violently remove Zimbabweans from our flea markets to make way for the Chinese?"

He said the Chinese would be handed the flea markets in appreciation of the free MA 60 plane which the government received from China.

Flea market operators interviewed by *The Standard* said they were puzzled why they were being beaten up and evicted.

A stall holder who identified herself only as Joyce said when they asked police for an explanation of the evictions, their questions were met with further beatings.

"We have licences and we don't deal in foreign currency. If they want foreign currency they should ask Chinese traders where they are getting the foreign currency to bring in cheap goods which have flooded the markets."

Sikhala added: *"The government's actions are a punitive act of vengeance against urban dwellers."*

By taking away their only source of livelihood, they want to starve them as a form of punishment because of electoral outcome.

In Kuwadzana Extension, residents were left traumatised after all tuck-shops in the area were demolished. There are no supermarkets in Kuwadzana Extension and this means residents have to travel long-distance in order to get basic groceries like sugar, bread, and milk, if they are available.

By Friday morning, commuter bus drivers were instructed to drop off passengers on the outskirts of the Central Business District, forcing them to walk the rest of the way into town.

Yesterday residents of the capital were still battling to come to terms with the combined police and Harare city council blitz.

As they struggled to get transport to their homes, the shortages of basic commodities still awaited them. Fuel, electricity, grain, sugar, water, beer, medical drugs, foreign currency, cigarettes and matches remain in short supply.

Appendix 10

THE STANDARD: 5 June 2005

Stayaway! MDC, civic bodies call for mass action

OPPOSITION political parties, civic organisations and labour unions have called for a potentially crippling mass stayaway this week in protest against the government's ongoing crackdown against its citizens, The Standards can reveal.

The mass stayaway will see people not going to work, while protests have reportedly been plotted throughout the country, The Standards understands.

Sources close to the planned mass actions told The Standard that the showdown was being organised by a coalition comprising the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), Crisis Coalition, Zimbabwe National Students' Union (Zinasu) and several other bodies opposed to the government's conduct in the clean up campaign and crippling transport crisis.

This is the first time that a large number of organisations have been involved in calling for a mass stay away.

The convenor of the Broad Alliance which incorporates the MDC, ZCTU, NCA and other civic and political organisations, Lovemore Madhuku, all but confirmed the stayaway when contacted by the Standard.

He said: "The Broad Alliance is prepared to provide leadership to the masses of Zimbabwe in their struggle against the oppressive dictatorship. Some activities are being planned which will be announced during the course of the week. The people should look forward to the announcement of the activities".

Madhuku said the Broad Alliance was a coalition of democratic forces, which were co-ordinating activities in pushing for democratic reforms in the country.

—The regime has turned against its people to the extent that they are beating them up, destroying their homes and flea markets stalls.

—Instead of addressing pertinent issues like food fuel and electricity shortages, the government is arrogantly embarking on a process to introduce a Senate without consulting the people," said the fiery Madhuku.

The stayaway was also being announced on mobile phones via Short Message Services (SMS) and the Internet. The organisers of the stay away have kept their cards close to their chests amid concerns that the government could pounce on them and thwart their plans.

Over the last two weeks, the government has embarked on scorched earth policy in which more than 20 000 people have been arrested under the guise of eliminating illegal foreign currency dealers, criminals, flea markets operators and illegal shacks and houses.

Morgan Tsvangirai, the MDC president, told a press conference on Tuesday that the only option left in dealing with state brutality was resistance.

He said: "We have reached the upper limits of tolerance against an insensitive regime that does not have answers to our national plight.

—The only option available to us is to organise the people to resist through legitimate and democratic.

Appendix 11

The Standard: 12 June 2005

Child Killed in Clean

The government's controversial clean-up operation took an ugly turn last week when a child died in Tafara after a wall, that police had partially destroyed, collapsed on her while in other case, police ordered mourners to take a corpse out of a house in Bindura before it was razed to the ground.

Two-year old Charmaine Nyika died on Wednesday in Old Tafara the day police stormed the high-density suburb ordering residents to destroy illegal cottages and tuck shops.

Charmaine's mother, Lavender Nyika, is distraught.

—I did not imagine this operation reaching the extent of taking away my daughter's life. It really pains me to keep on remembering that she is no more just because of the ill-planned operation," sobbed the grief stricken mother.

The clean-up operation code-named *Murambatsvina* has also spread to peri-urban and rural areas.

Last week the government rolled out the clean-up operation, destroying property and "illegal" structures in Murehwa, Nyazura, Makoni, Seke and parts of Mashonaland Central and West provinces.

In Bindura's Kitsiyotota mining compound a family, that requested anonymity for fear of further victimisation, said they were mourning their dead relative when police ordered them to take the body out of the house before torching the building.

—They told us to remove the body and threatened to burn it (the body) if we did not comply,” said one family at Shanai Compound.

At Chimoi, another compound at Kitsiyatota, police allegedly almost burnt terminally ill Chawaira Mbadzo, who was bedridden in one of the houses.

His mother, Delia Mbadzo, was away at the time of the demolitions but noticed thick smoke coming out of the house so I ran towards it. I knew I had left Chawaira sleeping in there. I managed to drag him out, because I could not lift him, before the fire spread to the rest of the house.” She lost all her belongings during the demolitions.

Chawaira, who has been ill for nearly a year, was due for a review on the day disaster struck.

In the pandemonium, Charity Mutasa, from the same compound, went into premature labour and gave birth to a baby girl. She said: —have never slept in the open all my life and I was so depressed on that day that I went into labour. I haven’t had time to even think of a name for her.”

The displaced families have been sleeping in the open for the past week at Kitsiyatota mining compound on the outskirts of Bindura town in Mashonaland Central.

Distraught evictees, mostly descendants of emigrants from Malawi and Mozambique who survive mostly on illegal gold panning in a nearby disused mine, told The Standard the police action was —insensitive and brutal”.

The evictees said police gave them less than four hours to remove their belongings before their houses were torched and razed to the ground.

There are fears of disease out-break in areas where people are staying in the open and are using the bush for ablutions.

Meanwhile the situations at Caledonia Farm, a holding camp for those displaced in Harare, has been described as —pathetic”. The families are overcrowded and there are no health facilities.

The operation has left vulnerable groups more exposed and confronting death from starvation and disease, triggering outrage from various human rights organisations and the international community. The Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops’ Conference (ZCBC) said it found it hard that the government could —leash such violence” on innocent civilians.

The Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADHR) said it deplored in the —strongest possible terms” the ongoing operation that has displaced thousands of families.

Appendix 12

THE STANDARD: 25 June 2005

Clean Up Forces 300 000 Pupils Out of School

Education, one of the sectors where Zimbabwe won world recognition for post independence successes, is a major casualty of the government’s on- going clean- up operation, the Standard can reveal.

The Progressive Teachers’ Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) and the Zimbabwe Teachers’ Association (Zimta) estimate that as many as 300 000 children dropped out of school after their homes were destroyed.

The teachers’ organizations last week said they understood regional directors of education were compiling a list of children who have dropped out of school since the operation started.

The Minister of Education, Sport and Culture, Aeneas Chigwedere, and the permanent secretary for Education, Dr Stephen Mahere, were last week said to be in a series of meetings and by yesterday, Mahere was reportedly out of town while the minister was not reachable for comment.

Children have dropped out of school because some have found themselves living in areas far away from their schools, or because the transport crisis has rendered it impossible to travel daily to and from school arrive on time. Others have completely relocated and face challenges of raising school and uniform fees without a regular source of income.

Zimta said: “Learners whose parents have been forced to relocate to other settlements or rural areas, have had their learning programmes disrupted. Even those few affected learners who remain at the sites of demolished structures seem so traumatised that they cannot concentrate in their learning. The affected teachers are in a similar state of shock.”

Reminding the government that education is a basic human right, Zimta said school children and teachers who were affected by the postponement of the June 2005 examinations were seriously disoriented.

“It is likely that the affected learners will not be resident in the suburbs or townships near enough to their examination centres when the rescheduled examination papers are written. How will the candidates who were forced to relocate to far away rural or resettlement areas daily commute to their examination centres?” asked Zimta, which described the predicament of school children and teachers affected by the clean-up as “desperate”.

The more outspoken PTUZ said thousands of school children had lost valuable learning time as a result of their teachers were busy looking for accommodation or asking for time off to find new lodgings.

Learning time has also been lost because children were arriving at school late or asking to go home early because of transport problems, resulting in learning time being eroded.

According to the PTUZ: “In the first three weeks attendance was in-consistent and sporadic as children helped in safe-guarding family property against theft while parents were looking for accommodation.”

The majority of teachers were lodgers and bore that brunt of clean-up. But as if that was not enough, rentals soared as accommodation became scarce.

The most acutely affected school children and teachers were in the Harare suburbs of Mbare, Hatfield, Highfield, Glen Norah, Glen View, Budiro, Mufakose, Warren Park, Kuwadzana, Malbereign, Dzivarasekwa, Epworth, Tafara and Mabvuku.

In Harare central, the impact was more on teachers than on pupils, although there were reports of pupils missing lessons.” Teachers have not been reporting to work because they fear losing their property.”

The PTUZ warned of threats to the family unit saying there were disruptions within families, leading to separations as a result of the clean-up. The union said it was worried that the disruptions could fuel child prostitution among those dropping out of school.

“The girl child is going to be the biggest victim of this exercise. There has also been a substantial increase in children asking for transfer letters, but the real movement of children will be seen during the August school holidays. The benefits of the operation remain more apparent than real.” the PTUZ warned.

The two teachers’ organisations said they were concerned that while teachers were among the victims of the clean-up, they were not being accorded any preference in the allocation of stands announced by government for civil servants.
