REPRESENTATION OF TRADITIONAL AND FAITH HEALERS IN SELECTED ZIMBABWEAN NEWSPAPERS.

by

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DECLARATION

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I, Tevedzerai Gijimah, declare that Representation of Traditional and Faith Healers in Selected Zimbabwean Newspapers is my work and that the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

\[ \text{Signature} \]

15 November 2016

\[ \text{Date} \]
ABSTRACT

The study is an explication of the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. This is done through analysing newspaper articles from selected Zimbabwean newspapers: *Kwayedza, Umthunywa, The Herald, NewsDay, Daily News* and two tabloids which are *Bulawayo Metropolitan (B-Metro)* and *Harare Metropolitan (H-Metro)* are the papers that were used in the study to pursue the purpose of the study. The study is guided by the Afrocentricity and the extended pragma-dialectic theory. The theories allow the study to explore the issue of traditional and faith healers in line with the political, economic and the social context which shape the system in which they find themselves. The study recognises that traditional healing is the father of all healing systems in Africa. Faith healing and Western medicine are both colonial phenomena; they came into limelight following the colonisation of Africa thereby giving African countries a three-tier health system that comprises of traditional healers, faith healers and medical doctors. The research adopts a qualitative research paradigm. Data for the research is extracted from interviews, critical discourse analysis of newspaper articles and questionnaires. The study established that traditional healers are diabolically represented in Zimbabwean newspapers and this is because of Eurocentrism which is still rife in the minds of Zimbabweans. Eurocentrism depicts people of the African race as inferior, uncivilised, barbaric, savages and chaotic and this annihilates and dehumanises Africans. Faith healers on the other hand receive both positive and negative representation. Positive representation is necessitated by the idea that they are aligned to Christianity and negative representation emanates from the idea that their healing systems embrace the African understanding of disease and illness. The study concludes that the stories are a reflection of the idea that both the media and the minds of the people involved in news production are still held in colonialism. It is therefore concluded that media representation of traditional and faith healers is colonised. The study therefore advocates for the centering of the African in newspaper discourse about traditional and faith healers.
KEY WORDS

DEDICATION

To my daughter Matifadzaihe, Gracious Muchingami.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AFM - Apostolic Faith Mission Church in Zimbabwe
ZIFA- Zimbabwe Football Association
ACCZ- Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe
AIC- African Initiated Churches
ARVs- Antiretrovirals
ATR- African Traditional Religion
CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis
GZU- Great Zimbabwe University
HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
MDC- Movement for Democratic Change
MSU- Midlands State University
PHD- Prophetic Healing and Deliverance
STI’s- Sexually Transmitted Diseases
ICASA- International Conference on AIDS and STI’s in Africa
TMPC- Traditional Medicine Practitioners’ Council
TV- Television
UN- United Nations
UNAIDS- United Nations Program me on HIV/AIDS
USA- United States of America
UZ- University of Zimbabwe
WHO- World Health Organisation
ZANU PF- Zimbabwe African National Unity Patriotic Front
ZBC- Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZINIPA- Zimbabwe National Practitioners Association
ZIMPAPERS- Zimbabwe Newspapers
ZINATHA- Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association
ZCC- Zion Christian Church
ZNNP+- Zimbabwe National network of people living with HIV.
H-Metro- Harare Metropolitan
B-Metro- Bulawayo Metropolitan
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study
The subject of traditional and faith healers is dominant in Zimbabwean newspapers today. While it is dominant the practitioners are mostly represented negatively. Against that background, the research seeks to unravel the intentions and reasons behind such depiction. Stereotypes are not a new phenomenon, they have been prevalent in novels by white supremacists but in this modern era the stereotypes have permeated into media. In the light of this argument Achebe (2009:80) contends that:

... although these sensational African novels which were so popular in the nineteenth century and the early part the twentieth century have trickled to a virtual stop, their century old obsessions with lurid and degrading stereotypes of Africa has been bequeathed to the cinema, to journalism, certain varieties of anthropology even to humanitarianism and missionary work itself.

This assertion clearly shows that stereotypes are still rampant but they have invaded the media and other areas. Newspapers are a favourite of people and they are accessed even through the internet which makes them an effective platform for spreading stereotypes about African traditional religion.

Traditional healing is however an important aspect of the Shona religion. The use of traditional medicine has served the health needs of African populations for countless generations, well before the introduction of western medicines by missionaries and the colonisation of Africa. During this time all the health needs of Africans were attended to by traditional healers. It follows that traditional healers formed a group that was highly looked up to by their communities.

The arrival of the Europeans marked a significant turning point in the history of this age-long tradition and culture. According to Chavunduka (2001:3) “Christians have attempted to destroy African religion as a childish religion of fear, full of black magic, sorcery and witchcraft, full of superstition and senseless taboos, a religion which encouraged people to worship their ancestors instead of worshipping God.” Colonial administrators on the other hand decided that African shrines or places of worship were to be destroyed, their spirit mediums or religious leaders were
to be ignored and where possible they were to be stopped from organising and conducting their religious services. The colonial government employed the rule of law to shun Africans from using traditional medicines and from consulting traditional healers. This was done through the Witchcraft suppression Act of 1957 and the Witchcraft Suppression Amendment Act of 1970 which banned and explicitly prohibited traditional healers from their trade since it defines materials used by traditional healers as acts of witchcraft. According to Chavunduka (1982) the Act also removed control of witchcraft accusation from traditional courts. This implies that the witchcraft Suppression Act and the intrusion of Western health care system blurred the roles of the traditional healer. By despising African religion, the colonialists together with their Christian agents were also despising and undermining the role of the traditional healer since traditional healing and African traditional religion are intrinsically intertwined.

After the attainment of Zimbabwean Independence in 1980, Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association (ZINATHA) was formed without the government’s full recognition. In the new Zimbabwe Christians came outrightly against ZINATHA after its official recognition. Waite (2000:252) says that singling out the Catholic hierarchy; Chavunduka accused the church of embarking on a campaign to discredit ZINATHA.

Despite all the efforts to eradicate traditional healers, both Christians and non-Christians have continued to use the services of traditional healers. African religion as represented by traditional healers is still a very strong force in the hearts and minds of the majority of Zimbabweans. In fact it remains the main primary health care system in many developing countries. Part of its strong foundation lies in the fact that it has managed to cure diseases and ailments where European medicine has failed.

Apart from traditional healers and European medicine, Africans also engage faith healers who have gone a long way in complementing the health system of Africans. Faith healing has been a common activity of the churches among Africans for a number of centuries and today it has grown in popularity. Its tools lie in Christianity. According to Morekwa (2004) healing is one of the most important ministries in the Christian religion. Just like in the African traditional religion Christians believe that sickness is explained by parameters that are more than physical symptoms. Vere and Wilkinson in Morekwa (2004:20) say that “Christians understand health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of diseases
or infirmity.” What it means is that faith healing is like traditional healing in that it also unfolds what happens at the deeper levels of the situations.

The two forms of health care systems have survived since time immemorial and they have actually stood the test of time. Prophets who specialise in healing are increasing each day; on the other hand traditional healers have managed to survive condemnation. However despite their popularity and success both traditional and faith healers are presented badly in popular media.

1.2 Statement of the problem
Staugard (1985) is of the view that, the practice of traditional medicine has served the health care needs of African populations for countless generations, well before the introduction of western medicines. Traditional medicine continues to be the primary and sometimes the most easily reached health-care option for the vast majority of people. Since traditional medicine is affordable most people prefer to use it. Apart from this traditional healing is one of the oldest forms of healing that Africans have been exposed to, hence have learnt to trust. It has survived marginalisation through the suppressing legislation which was put in place by the colonial government. Until today traditional healers are plenty and culturally accepted as primary health care providers. UNAIDS (2000) says that the majority of populations in developing countries have access to traditional health care and it is widely accepted that 80% of people in Africa rely on traditional medicine for their health care needs. Of particular importance is that people visit traditional healers’ and faith healers everyday though some do this nicodemously.

The problem is that despite the hardwork, popularity, success and significance of traditional and faith healers among Zimbabweans, they have and are facing so much negative publicity. Popular media in Zimbabwe carry horror stories about traditional healers, faith healers and their medicine. Often stories carry disreputable conduct of traditional and faith healers and inefficiency of their medicines. The positive associated with traditional healers and faith healers is not referred to hence reducing traditional and faith healers to proponents of evil.

1.3 Aim of the study
The study aims at explicating the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. It treats the issue of traditional and faith healing from a historical and cultural perspective. It is also the focus of the study to find the reasons behind how traditional and faith healers are represented.
1.4 Objectives of the study
The objectives of the study are to:

- explore the field of faith and traditional healers.
- examine the portrayal of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers.
- assess the reasons why faith and traditional healers act in the way in which they are portrayed in newspapers.
- to examine if traditional and faith healers are portrayed truthfully in Zimbabwean newspapers.
- unravel the intentions and reasons/factors behind the negative depiction of traditional and faith healers.

1.5 Research questions
The study seeks to answer the following questions:

- What is involved in traditional and faith healing?
- How are traditional and faith healers represented in Zimbabwean newspapers?
- Why are traditional and faith healers portrayed negatively in Zimbabwean newspapers?
- What are the reasons behind the actions of traditional and faith healers?
- Are the images of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers truthful?

1.6 Significance of the study
The study contributes to the existing knowledge about traditional healers. There is substantial research work done on traditional healing. Among the scholars who have studied traditional healing are Richter (2003) who acknowledges that traditional healers have a crucial role to play in building the health system in South Africa and strengthening and supporting the national response to AIDS. His idea is that traditional healers are important in the battle against HIV/AIDS. Shizha and Charema (2011) advocate a situation where traditional healing and western healing systems are integrated. Kazembe and Musekiwa (2011) see the need to include traditional medicine in the school curriculum in Zimbabwe. Though a lot of work has been done on traditional healing there is no study to the best of the researcher’s knowledge that has focused
on the images or representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. The study broadens on scholarly research as it brings new knowledge in the field, thereby filling the knowledge gap that exists. The research therefore provides academics with a data bank and a reference work which they can exploit in their studies and their researches. The ideas that come out of this research provide aspiring researchers with a base for their work by way of providing them with literature.

Zimbabwean newspapers have concentrated on the bad side of traditional and faith healers and are silent on the good that is being done by faith and traditional healers. Contrary to this, research on traditional and faith healers has shown that these practitioners are central to the well-being of Africans and Zimbabweans in particular. Research has shown that the office of the traditional and faith healer is among the most popular, revered and crucial offices that have survived the test of time among Africans. In Zimbabwean newspapers traditional healers are understood outside the context of history and the prevailing situation. They are attacked outside the context of political, economic and the social conditions in which they live which shape the system that propels them to act in the way they do. They are actually viewed through Eurocentric lens which peripherises the Africans and objectifies traditional healers. This particular study has a different focus, as it intends to challenge the stereotypes associated with these health practitioners. The study therefore contributes towards the depiction with the view to challenge the negative perceptions of traditional and faith healers by local newspapers. The research therefore seeks to offer an alternative voice towards the perception but trying to interpret traditional and faith healers within the context of what is happening and of African history. By so doing the research benefits Zimbabweans and Africans at large who might as a result of the study view their culture positively. This suggests that the study provides Zimbabweans with a different set of lens to view traditional and faith healers. This results in them associating with traditional and faith healers freely and in open.

1.7 Literature review

Literature that deals with the traditional religion is reviewed. This is important because religion has been affected by colonialism and neo-colonialism and religion has in turn affected the way people think. This is relevant to the research particularly because traditional healing and faith healing are integral aspects of religion. Works that deal with, representation, traditional healing
and faith healing were reviewed. However it should be taken into consideration that very little has been done as far as faith healing is concerned.

According to Hall (1997) representation connects meaning and language to culture. He identifies three approaches to representation; the reflective which says that language reflects a meaning which already exists out there in the world of objects, people and events. The intentional which contends that language expresses only what the speaker or writer intends to say while constructionists postulate that meaning is constructed in and through language. This implies that in representation words do not always look or sound anything like the things to which they refer. This has been captured by Barker (2012) who says representation is a direct expression of social reality or a potential distortion of reality. This study inspires the present study in the sense that it helps the researcher to find out if traditional and faith healers are portrayed truthfully in Zimbabwean newspapers. Traditional and faith healers are portrayed negatively in newspapers which amounts to the distortion of reality especially considering that these people have solved the health problems of people since time immemorial.

In the essay “The whites of their eyes: Racist ideologies and the media” Hall (1981) proposes that the media is a principal form of ideological dissemination which produces representations of the social world via images and portrayals. He claims that we construct our understanding within an ideology and that ideologies become naturalised and ideologically motivated representations mask themselves as common sense within an ideology. The media as a key transmitter of representation shapes attitudes and beliefs of people. Representations of traditional and faith healers are conveyed as given by nature in newspapers and the people’s attitudes and perception of traditional and faith healers is shaped by the way they are represented in media. The fact that these people are negatively represented results in people looking down upon them.

Truter (2007) studies African Traditional healers from a religious and cultural perspective. He argues that African traditional healing is intertwined with cultural and religious beliefs and is holistic in nature. It does not focus only on the physical condition, but also on the psychological, spiritual and social aspects of individuals, families and communities. He goes on to argue that traditional healing does not separate the natural from the spiritual or the physical from the supernatural. He concludes his paper by acknowledging the importance of traditional healers in Southern African societies. This study informs the present study to a greater extent in the sense
that the present study also seeks to show that traditional healers are important. The study differs in the sense that the present study concentrates on the images of traditional healers in media as opposed to the previous study whose focus was on traditional healers in general.

Kazembe (2007) did a study on traditional medicine and his aim was to demystify traditional medical practices in Zimbabwe and to assist people in understanding Zimbabwean traditional medicine. In the process he acknowledged the special relationship that exists between Zimbabwean traditional religion and traditional medicine when he said Zimbabwean traditional religion and traditional medicine are inseparable and their relationship may in some cases be viewed as synergistic but ideally the nature of traditional medicine in Zimbabwe demands that it be under the influence and control of traditional religion. He concludes that traditional medicine is not talked about openly because of sociological labeling by colonial governments and missionaries as they attempted to blindly discredit and replace it with Western medical systems. This study informs the present study in unraveling the reasons as to why traditional healers are portrayed negatively in Zimbabwean newspapers.

Gelfand (1985) demonstrates his own knowledge on the traditional healers. Gelfand considers the term ‘witchdoctor’ with reference to traditional healers as inappropriate. The term was introduced by the missionaries as they did not want local religions to compete with Christianity. Gelfand observed the role played by missionaries in sidelining traditional healers. The purpose of the study was to demystify colonial ideologies about traditional healers. The study is related to the present study in the sense that they both aim at demystifying traditional healers, however they differ in the sense that the present study concentrate on how colonialism had underplayed the role of traditional healers whilst the present study goes further to consider other factors other than colonialism.

Bourdillon (1976) has written on how the Shona view the causes of illness. Bourdillon explains that the Shona believed that there are forces behind every sickness and death. The Shona believed that sickness and death may be a result of witchcraft, sorcery and evil spirits. Bourdillon further pointed out that the Shona believed that sickness can be a result of the punishment from the ancestors. Under such circumstances the guidance of a traditional healer are required to amend the relations between the people and their ancestors. Bourdillon explains the role of a traditional healer in amending relations so as to end sickness. In short his study acknowledges
the importance of traditional healers in the lives of Africans. The research is of help to the present study when appreciating the importance of traditional healers and when assessing whether traditional healers are portrayed truthfully.

Commenting on faith healing, Morekwa (2004) acknowledges that healing is one of the most important ministries in the Christian religion. He says that just like traditional healing faith healers heal both physically and spiritually. He contends that many people who go to church today are hunting for miraculous healing from their illness or sufferings.

Sackey (2002) also researched on faith healing and women’s reproductive health. He says that 80% of African women are flocking to African religious movements in search of solutions for health problems and socio-economic welfare for themselves as well as for their family members. He concludes that these churches, whatever their shortcomings have contributed positively in complementing the health delivery in the country.

1.8 Theoretical framework
This study uses a hybrid theory which comprises the Extended Pragma-dialectic Theory and Afrocentricity Theory.

1.8.1 Afrocentricity
Afrocentricity is a theory that was propounded by Molefe Kete Asante in the late 20th century. It is a relational theory which rewrites African history in the process of demythologising myths created by the Europeans. According to Asante (2007:29) the theory derives its name from the centrality of African people and phenomenon in the interpretation of data. Kankwenda (1994) says that Afrocentricity is a theory which rose in pursuit of serving African interests. It seeks to reposition African people and African reality from the margins of European thought, attitudes and doctrines to a centred, therefore positively located place within the area of science and culture. Generally Afrocentricity puts Africans at the centre and advocates for the promotion, protection and encouragement of what is African.

Afrocentricity is defined by Asante (1991:172) as:

… a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of an African person… it centres on placing people of African origin in control of their lives and attitudes about the world…As an intellectual theory, Afrocentricity is the study of ideas and events from the standpoint of Africans as the key players rather than
victims...It is Africa asserting itself intellectually and psychologically, breaking the bonds of western domination in the mind an analogue for breaking those bonds in and every other field.

The theory brings the people of African descent to the centre, removing them from the periphery where they have been pushed to by the Europeans. The theory aims to develop Africans to be subjects and agents of phenomena acting in their own cultural perception and human capacity, and not objects to be manipulated by other people. The study seeks to develop and empower Zimbabweans to love being African; it seeks to demystify the European stereotypes about the traditional healers. The Afrocentricity theory is used to judge the issue of traditional healing and faith healing from an African perspective.

The Afrocentric ideas place African principals at the core of any enquiry that encompasses African culture, belief and behaviour. The theory has been engaged in the study for it aims to empower the African population and make them agents of their own world. Central to the Afrocentricity is the duty of harmonising and humanising the dehumanised African population in the continent and in the Diaspora. Afrocentricity theory recognises that Africans have been dehumanised; hence it is the aim of the theory to humanise the African. Gray (2001:90) states that “the quintessential intent of Afrocentric thought and praxis is to humanise and harmonise.” The theory recognises that any effort or product qualifying as Afrocentric demonstrates the intent to humanise and harmonise African people. Afrocentric effort must emphasise, encourage and build upon the humanising and harmonising character, function, role and destiny of African people. Traditional and faith healers have been dehumanised in newspapers and viewed as threats to humanity. It is therefore the task of the study to show that traditional and faith healers are important and functional. It is the quintessential intent of this study to humanise traditional and faith healers.

The theory also recognises the importance of resurrecting and restoring African people with confidence. In the work of raising and restoring African people to their traditional state of greatness, an Afrocentric thinker where possible and beneficial redefines and recreates concepts and words.

It emphasises that culture is core and is crucial for people to attain greatness. Gray (2001) asserts that Afrocentricity advocates for the synthesis of ancient and traditional African cultural ideals
and contemporary issues. It is the synthesis that benefits and empowers African people and that does not compromise or injure the integrity of African culture. Both traditional and faith healers are important aspects of religion and religion in turn is the pillar of a people’s culture. It follows that the study sees a possibility of synthesising traditional and European medicine but without forgetting that what needs to be at the centre is what we already have and is part of the African culture that is traditional medicine.

This theme is important to this study because in Zimbabwean newspapers traditional healers are negatively portrayed contrary to the idea that these people were highly looked up to in traditional societies. It follows that there is need to resurrect them. The study aims to instill trust in African religion through deconstructing the myths and restoring confidence in African religion which is being demonised by the media.

The study uses Afrocentricity because it has a major thrust on history, culture and religion which are the issues to be discussed in this study. Afrocentricity stresses the issue of history and emphasises African descents to revisit the past experiences and bring them to the present so that they move forward. Asante (2007a:12) postulates that, “…one cannot divest himself of the past, and if a person seeks to divest himself of his own past or if past becomes distorted in his mind, then he will participate in the past of another.” This approach seeks the agency and self consciousness of African people within the context of own history. Africans are perceived as passive and imitators by the Europeans but history tells us that Africans experienced various forms of domination in the hands of the Europeans be it economically, socially, culturally or politically. Afrocentricity allows people to draw from the past functionality, anchoring efforts in the past by gleaning the most instructive and constructive information from the African past. According to Gray (2001) Afrocentric practitioners and thinkers should undergird their work with and anchor their work in the best of the African past. Thus the research draws from historical facts, culture and tradition of Africans in order to understand better the depiction of traditional and faith healers. The traditional healer is part and parcel of the African culture and guiding post to African Traditional religion therefore it is important to look back to a time where traditional healing was respected.
Gwekwerere (2010) says, the Afrocentric worldview informs African thought and behaviour in fields as politics, economics, geography, history, archaeology, medicine, architecture, love, marriage, mining, agriculture, religion, and literary and cultural criticism, among many others. On the other hand Achebe (1987:159) says that “if you want to get to the root of the murder, you have to look for the blacksmith who made the matchete.” It follows that with Afrocentricity, it is possible to judge traditional healers and faith healers within a cultural and historical context.

Africans have been stripped naked by slavery and colonialism to the extent that they were dehumanised to the extremes. The theory empathises with the Africans who are being manipulated and suffering, so the theory seeks to empower them and restore their dignity, pride and confidence. Afrocentricity is relevant in the study for the study interrogates the portrayal of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. It is prudent to take into consideration the relationship and the history that exist and has existed between the people of African descent and the Europeans and to restore humanity which has and is being stripped away from the Africans by European self-aggrandisement. Furthermore, the theory seeks to look into the past which is the goal of the study to unfold the past and bring it to the present and to use the past so that Africans understand the situation and be able to be agents in a positive way. It would be impossible to appreciate how the present came into being without visiting the past in this case the African history. Asante (2007a:9) states that, “Afrocentricity is a much more self conscious approach to the agency of the African people within the context of their own history.” This theory advocates for a situation where Africans develop knowledge of themselves and are able to define themselves in line with the experiences and to their best knowledge.

1.8.2 The extended pragma-dialectic theory
The extended pragma-dialectic theory is a theory of argumentative discourse that was developed by Peter Houtlosser and Frans H.van Eemeren at the University of Amsterdam. The program started in 1996.

The main aim of the extended pragma dialectic theory is to enable the study of argumentation as a discourse practice and to provide clear guidelines for discussing effectively. According to Van Eemerenetal (1996), argumentation is a verbal and social activity of reason aimed at increasing or decreasing the acceptability of a controversial standpoint before a rational judge. By verbal activity he meant that in argumentation people use words and sentences in an ordinary language
to argue state or deny. Argumentation is always related to a standpoint or point of view with regards to a certain issue. The speaker or writer defends this standpoint by means of the argumentation to a listener or reader who doubts its acceptability or has a different standpoint. Houtlosser and van Eemeren recognised that arguers have more in mind, that is, in as much as they may want to achieve reasonableness; they also want outcomes to be in their favour. To them arguers do not just argue for no reason, but to win the argument.

The theory is also popularly known as strategic maneuvering. The idea of strategic maneuvering is brought in because as arguers try to balance between arguing reasonably and trying to win the argument they make use of strategic moves. King and Polca (2010) say that van Eemeren and Houtlosser expanded the rules for critical discussion through the construct of strategic maneuvering.

The theory is applicable to the study in the sense that when reporters write stories they have a certain opinion that they want their audience to align with. In the study those who write stories about traditional and faith healers are putting forward a standpoint where they view traditional and faith healers in negative ways. In other words they argue for a certain idea and try to defend the idea through various ways. They write their stories in such a way that their recipients align with their line of argument. In other words when people are writing stories they are arguing for a certain opinion which they manage through strategic maneuvering. What it means is that the stories about traditional healers and faith healers are in a way arguments where writers’ strive to defend a certain line of argument. In other words they are arguing for a certain way of looking or viewing traditional and faith healers. It follows that views from the theory are useful in the study to guide the researcher as to how to appreciate discourse and to find out whether traditional and faith healers are portrayed truthfully. It also allows the researcher to find out the ways that are used by story writers to defend their standpoints.

1.9 Research methodology
The study employs the qualitative research methodology. Snape and Spencer (2003:4) are of the view that in qualitative research “the research designs adopt a flexible method of investigation and the researcher conducts inquiry in real world rather than in experimental manipulated settings. Ritchie (2003) says it provides a unique tool for studying what lies behind or underpins a decision, attitude, behaviour or other phenomena. The study gets data through interaction with
people and the qualitative research methodology allows the researcher to explore the reasons behind the portrayal of faith and traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. The research questions for the study require explanation or understanding of traditional and faith healers as they are portrayed in newspapers. The qualitative methodology is also chosen because it allows triangulation that is the utilisation of a variety of means to collect data. Triangulation is the key to see the same thing from different perspectives and thus to be able to confirm or challenge the findings of one method with those of another.

1.9.1 Research design
The study adopts a case study as the appropriate research design. Punch (2005) says a case study provides in-depth understanding of a case in a natural setting recognising its complexity and its context. It follows that with a case study the researcher has the room to look into the context that provides a platform for the negative portrayal of traditional and faith healers. This study makes use of *The Herald, Umthunywa, Kwayedza, NewsDay, Daily News* as well as two tabloids which are *H-Metro and B-Metro*. *Kwayedza* and *Umthunywa* were chosen particularly because these papers make use of the two major Zimbabwean indigenous languages. It follows that the papers target the Shona and Ndebele speaking people respectively. These are the two major language groups in Zimbabwe. Besides that they also deal with issues that have to do with the daily lives of the Shona and Ndebele people and among the issues they regularly deal with issues of faith and traditional healing. Tabloids were selected for the study because they deal with day to day experiences of people. They concentrate on social issues and issues that have to do with traditional and faith healing are popular features in such papers. *The Herald, NewsDay and Daily News* are used particularly because they are the mainline newspapers.

1.9.2 Sampling
The study uses purposive sampling. Bryman (2004:333) says purposive sampling is a qualitative research based sampling method. It entails an attempt to establish a good connection between research questions and sampling. In purposive sampling we sample with a purpose in mind. The newspapers were used in the research were chosen purposively. The researcher chose the newspapers that deal with issues to do with traditional healers and faith healers on many occasions. The key informants who are pastors, editors, academics, reporters, ZINATHA members,’ faith healers and those who use the services of faith and traditional healers were
chosen purposively. This population was used because they are directly linked to issues that have to do with traditional healers and faith healers. The population is chosen basing on the assumption that they have knowledge on issues that pertain to traditional and faith healers.

1.9.3 Data collection Instruments

1.9.3.1 Questionnaires
Data was collected through the use of questionnaires which involve the formulation of questions that aid in the collection of data. Questionnaires are most suitable for three types of data variables which are attitudes, behaviours’ and attributes. Questionnaires were answered by public members that is those who use the services of traditional and faith healers, students who are studying media and Society Studies who are experts in media issues, those studying African Languages and Culture as well as those studying, theology and religious Studies since they have hands on information with issues to do with religion.

1.9.3.2 Interviews
Interviews were to gather information from media houses, faith healers, from ZINATHA, religious leaders, traditional healers, cultural activists, and academics. Interviews were used to explore the matter in more detail. They enabled the researcher to delve deep into a situation in a way that questionnaires are often unable to do.

1.9.3.3 Textual analysis
Textual/document analysis is another data collection instrument that was used to collect data from primary sources which happen to be the major ways of attaining data for the study. The researcher analysed data from stories extracted from Newspapers. Focus was on those stories that focus on traditional healers and faith healers.

1.9.5.4 Desk research
The study also used desk research. Desk research is a term that is used loosely and it generally refers to the collection of secondary data or that which has already been collected. The researcher consulted books, journals, critical works, articles, the internet and dissertations to illuminate some ideas that were used in the study. Desk research sustains, concretises, authenticates and validates ideas that were used in the study.
1.9.3.5 Critical Discourse Analysis
The study used critical discourse analysis given that articles that are used for the study are part of media discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis is concerned with examining the way in which meaning is constructed throughout the text. It also considers intertextuality, that is, how language is used not only throughout a single text, but also across a set of different but related texts. Woods (2006) states that discourse is language plus context; the context that we bring with us when we use language, the context that includes our experiences, assumptions, expectations, the context we change in our relationships with others, as we both construct and negotiate our way through the social practices of the world we live in. Critical Discourse Analysis allows the researcher to collect historical data and to bring in context and the prevailing situation in the collection of data.

1.10 Scope of the study
The study focuses on the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. The research concentrated on stories in Kwayedza, Umthunywa, H-Metro, B-Metro, The Herald, NewsDay and Daily News. The study interrogates different articles on traditional and faith healers with particular emphasis on the factors that prompts the negative portrayal of traditional and faith healers. The study also interrogates the representation of traditional and faith healers from a historical and cultural perspective. Chapter 1 is the introduction to the study which defines the problem of the study, and spells out the aim of the study and the justification of the study. Chapter 2 focuses on literature review. The chapter provides a foundation on which arguments raised in later chapters are rooted. Chapter 3 illuminates the theoretical framework that is used in this study. The chapter explains the Afrocentricity theory. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the Extended Pragma-dialectic Theory and its applicability to the study. Chapter 4 focuses on the research methodology. In Chapter 5, findings of the study are presented and analysed. Chapter 6 concentrates on the discussion of findings from the research. Chapter 6 is the conclusion which provides summative conclusions on the major findings of the study.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
This chapter focuses on literature review. It reviews literature that is related to the objectives of the study. Focus is on literature that deals with African religion, traditional healers and faith healers and representation. The review of existing literature is divided into four categories. It starts by exploring representation paying particular attention to media representation. Literature on religion, traditional healers and faith healers is in three categories which revolve around global views, African views and Zimbabwean perspectives.

2.2 Representation
Representation is a key concept in the study of media. It is the point at which audiences engage with the products of media producers. Hall (1997) defines representation as the process by which members of a culture use language to produce meaning. It connects meaning and language to culture. Fairclough (1989) defines representation as the language that is used in a text or talk to assign meaning to groups and their social practices, to events and to social and ecological conditions and objects. What this means is that representation involves the production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the way in which meaning is given to depict images and words which stand for something else. In other words, as Hall (1997) puts it, representation is an act of representing a meaning that already exists. Representations are the patchwork of words, ideas, images, elements, events, meanings, objects and symbols that contribute to the ever evolving nature of discourse. According to Edwards (2003) representation refers to the processes involved as well as its products. He goes on to say that it involves how identities are constructed within a text; how they are constructed by the processes of production to attract the attention of the audience and the reception of such representations by people.

Hall (1997) makes reference to three approaches used in explaining how representation of meaning through language works. The three are the reflective, the intentional and the constructivist approaches. The Reflective Approach denotes that language reflects true meaning.
Hall (1997) says that in the reflective approach meaning is said to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world and language functions like a mirror to reflect the true meaning as it already exist in the world. In other words, the approach sees meaning as something that is embodied in a language. It sees a one to one relationship between language and meaning. According to Helsby (2005:4) the reflective theory of representation states that, “language reflects the meaning that already exists and imitates the truth or reality that is inherent in the text.” Simply put, language gives a true reflection of how the world looks like. In Hall’s (2003:15) words, “language simply reflects meaning which already exists out there in the world of objects, people and events.”

The intentional approach on the other hand stipulates that it is the author who determines the meaning of words. Language expresses what the speaker or the writer intends. Hall (1997) says that the intentional approach to representation holds that it is the speaker or the author who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language. In other words, people determine what they want language to mean.

According to Helsby (2005) the constructionist approach is the one that most media analysis explores. This is the approach that has received much attention in the area of representation and is the approach that was of essence to this study. Ottoson and Cheng (2012) say that constructivists believe that the world is socially constructed. It recognises the social character of language. Hall (2003) says that neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning to the language instead meanings are contextual. Meanings are constructed through the medium of language which operates as a representational system. Meaning is not in the object or person or thing, nor in the source. It is in the world. It is we who fix the meaning so firmly that after a while; it comes to seem natural and inevitable. It is constructed and fixed by a code. Hall (1997) says the constructionists say that all signs are arbitrary meaning that there is no natural relationship between the sign and its meaning or concepts. Signs themselves cannot fix meaning, rather meaning is relational. There is no meaning that we simply can find somewhere. It follows that language is exploited by people to create meaning. Language in itself does not
have meaning but it is people who construct meaning through the medium of language. In other words, meaning is constructed by the system of representation. That is to say human knowledge and knowledge is socio-culturally constructed. “Humans are fundamentally cultural beings and our views of the world are the products of historically situated interchanges among people.” (Gergen 1985:267). The ways in which we represent the world are culturally specific and contingent. Meaning is constructed through interaction between different people and their relation to objects and other people. It is created through language depending on how people use concepts and what the meaning of these concepts is. The central idea in the constructionist view is that things do not mean; it is people or social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning and to make the world meaningful.

In relation to the constructionist view, Hall (1997) says representation involves making meaning by forging links between three different orders of things. What we might broadly call the world of things, people, events and experiences; the conceptual world, the mental concepts which we carry around in our heads and the signs arranged into languages which stand for or communicate these concepts. The production of meaning is based on a number of interpretations and interpretation is sustained by us each using the code-encoding putting things into the code and by the person at the other end interpreting or decoding the meaning. It is important to note that codes operate like social conventions.

Helsby (2005) suggests that there are two versions of the constructionist methodology which are semiotics and the discursive. The semiotics approach uses a scientific approach to analyse the structure of language. It is concerned about how language works in society and it incorporates the idea of ideology and context. The discursive focuses on issues to do with power and knowledge and emphasis is on cultural understanding and shared meanings. It emphasises on the production of knowledge through a network of relationships rather than just the meaning of a text. It follows that it is rooted in a historical specificity and that it takes context as an important factor. All representations are culturally constructed and positioned in a specific historical
context. It is of significance to consider the fact that language is socially constructed as a result the construction of meaning is never neutral rather it is defined relative to the individual’s social and cultural experiences and subject to relations of power. This has got implications on the definition of representation where we now consider the construction of meaning as something which is neither fixed, nor is neutral but rather defined relative to the individual’s social and cultural experiences and subject to relations of power. To this Hall (1997) says that messages are connected with power and those who are in control of the media have control over the meanings that they present in the media.

From the above, it is clear that there is no single relationship of reflection, imitation or one to one correspondence between language and the real world. In representation the world is not accurately or otherwise reflected in the mirror of language. Edwards (2003) says that representation is a very different notion from reflection. It implies the active work of selecting, presenting, structuring and shaping. He goes on to say that media representation trades in stereotypes and these are not true or false but reflects a particular set of ideological values. In short, language does not work like a mirror that just reflects the truth out there. According to Hall (1997) meaning is produced by the work of representation. It is constructed through signifying, that is meaning produced practices. Representation is therefore an act of reconstruction rather than reflection and he suggests that a critical approach to cultural studies understands representation as an act of ideological recreation. Edwards (2003:64) says “when the term ideology is used in relation to representation it is primarily concerned with ideas and values.” To this Wenden (2005:93) says “ideologies are organised sets of fundamental and often normative ideas and attitudes about some aspects of social reality shared by members of a group, society or culture. They are used to frame, legitimate or validate opinions and actions in the domain to which they are applicable.” Since representation is concerned about how the producers and audience make things mean it is ideological through and through which means that they are capable of inculcating ideas and views in people. They control how people understand the world. The overriding idea in representation is that it deals with the construction of meaning through language. However, it should be noted that the meaning that is constructed is not always a true
reflection of the world. Hence Hall (1997:17) says “there is no simple relationship that is achieved through the medium of language.” He goes on to say “representation is the production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the ‘real’ world of objects, people or events of indeed imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events.” It is, therefore, important to recognise that representation involves understanding how language and systems of knowledge production work together to produce and circulate meanings. Language, whether textual or visual, is perpetually and purposefully at work. Part of the work that language does is to represent particular attitudes, entities, individuals, ideas and institutions. Representations depend on how language is deployed and operationalised and by whom. To this Gee (2005) argues that language works to represent in two interconnected ways; as support for the performance of social activities and social identities and to support human affiliation with cultures, social groups and institutions.

In summation, Hall (1981) says that the media is a principal form of ideological dissemination and it produces representations of the social world via images and portrayals. This provides a network of understanding that informs us about how the world is and why it works the way it does. The media has the power to control and shape attitudes and beliefs held in the popular imagination. This has been supported by Gandy (1998) who proposes that the mass media is understood as the most important shaper and socialising agent of the present day society. However, it should be taken into consideration that media products must comply with the requirements of advertisers, policy makers and the audience. They take into consideration the ideological and economic imperatives that are dominant. Representation does not merely reflect reality but forms reality in the social environment by shaping perceptions and understanding in the audience. It follows that media representations are not a mirror of society but they are highly selective and constructed portrayals. In media representation, active decisions are taken at every stage of the process of producing and transmitting media material regarding what should be included and how and when the content should be presented. A number of variables are taken into consideration in order to understand media representation. There is need to know about the
originator of the representation, the time when it was made, its purpose, the intended audience and the media landscape. In the end, a media representation is a depiction, a likeness or a constructed image. Despite the idea that representations are a depiction they should present themselves as authentic such that the recipients can believe in them.

Stewart and Kowaltzke (2007) identify the following as characteristics of representations: i) they invite audience to understand them and agree with them in certain preferred ways. ii) They consist of repeated elements that are the more we see these elements repeated the more the representation will appear to be natural or normal. iii) They invite people to identify with or to recognise the representation. iv.) They make categories of people, events or ideas. Representations are generalisations about categories and why events, ideas or people belong in them. The categories become part of people’s thinking processes. v) Representations contain a point of view of those who make them. The meaning in a representation is selected, constructed and contain built in value judgments. vi) Representations have a mode of address. Hidden behind the apparent naturalness of the presentation is some assumption of who you are. In the whole all representations are appealing.

Harth (2012) says representation is the process of speaking for’ and speaking of those who are represented. The media tells someone else’s story and it speaks for people when they evaluate the story. It follows that misrepresentation is telling someone else’s story without considering their point of view. It can take the form of telling only a part of the story. What the media represents becomes all that is known, leaving no room for other ideas. What this means is that what the media represents about traditional and faith healers is the only truths that people embrace. The media constitutes the most significant forms and channels of cultural representation and exchange. Individuals look up to the media to be informed. It names the world’s parts and certifies reality as reality. Harth (2012) therefore says that when the media represents a story, it is not merely a story, but the story. He goes on to say that the media’s role in representing Africa is definitive. It constructs a particular way of looking at Africa. It concentrates largely on presenting Africa in a negative way.
Representation then helps form the images people have of others and it gets embodied in institutions and informs policies and practices. Both the receivers and creators of meanings have a part to play in the production of meaning. Hall (1997:10) says, “Representation functions less like the model of a one-way transmitter and more like the model of a dialogue; it is as they say dialogic.” At the end of the day, meaning should not be looked at in terms of accuracy and truth but more in terms of effective exchange. Language can use signs to symbolise, stand for or reference objects, people and events in the so-called ‘real’ world. Languages on the other hand can also reference imaginary things and fantasy worlds or abstract ideas which are not in any obvious sense part of our material world. At the end of it representation determines the way in which we think about particular objects, events, situations and as such functions as a principle of action influencing actual social practice. It influences the way we view the world.

2.3 Global perspectives on religion
The subject of African religion has been an area of concern among scholars at a global level. The subject was given prominence particularly among the colonisers because it was considered the chief measure of the African mind. There are two schools of thought with regard to African religion among scholars of European descent. One school contends that Africans had their religion and a civilisation prior to their encounter with the European whilst the other school denies Africans of a religion and civilisation. The latter subscribes to the idea that Africans discovered themselves after their encounter with the European. Underlying this line of argument is the view of Africa as a savage and the reverse of European civilisation. It follows that the studies on Africa and African religion by scholars of European descent are masked in ambivalence.

The image of Africa that was projected by European writers in the 19th century was that of a place of chaos. Hegel who was the most influential 19th century philosopher is one such writer. His writings have a great influence on religion, politics, aesthetics and law. In his writings he projected Africa as a dark continent before the encroachment of Western civilisation. Hegel (1952:199) in his famous publication, The Philosophy of History says:

At this point we leave Africa, not to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the world, it has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movements in it – that is
in its northern part belong to the Asiatic or European world...What we understood by Africa is the unhistorical, underdevelopment spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature...only as on the threshold of the world’s history.

Hegel is of the idea that Africans were a mindless people who did not have a history out of the confines of Europe. The history of Africa is seen as an extension of European history. To him Africa did not deserve any serious attention because historically it did not exist. He considers Africans as a people who first saw the light the time they get into contact with the European. He sees Africans as a people that could not define themselves and who played no role in the building of world civilisation, thus he says, “Historical movements in it—that is in its northern part belong to the Asiatic or European world.” This implies that Hegel did not see anything good coming out of Africa to the extent that, he sees everything good as coming from the European world and European mind. To Hegel the civilisation of the world has its origins in Greece and not in Egypt. In a way he is saying Africans were a people who were not capable of initiating anything positive. The only history of Africa that can be referred to is when in connection with the Europeans. He views Africans as a people that were veiled in darkness who were shown the light by the Europeans. The fact that he sees Africans as a people that lacked a civilisation means that they did not even know how to cure their patients; hence medicine was introduced in Africa by the European.

The idea that Africans were not civilised before the coming of the European is a commonplace especially in Early European writings. Hume (1758:14) says that “I am apt to suspect the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There is scarcely ever was a civilised nation of that complexion, nor even any individual, eminent either in action or in speculation. No ingenious manufacture among them, no arts, no sciences.” In this way Africans were described as people who lack morality and intelligence, hence they were regarded as a people without a philosophy, since philosophy is regarded as a rational activity. From this viewpoint it means that Africans were naturally inferior to Europeans thus Best 1578 in Okon (2013:94) posits that, “the black skin of the Negroes was a natural infection, which the forebears of Africa contracted and which is to be perpetually transmitted genetically. Blackness to the English mind is an incurable
disease.” From the outlook of things the Black skin of Africans was synonymous to danger hence the scholars did not see anything to write home about Africa.

What is interesting in these Western writings is the idea that Africa did not have a history. Hegel (1854) in Garlake (1978:28) says, “Africa is not an historical continent, it shows neither change nor development and whatever may have happened there belongs to the world of Asia and of Europe.” This sentiment has been echoed by Trevor-Roper (1963:871) when he says, “At present there is no African history, there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa, and the rest is darkness.” When he says that “the rest is darkness”, in a way he is saying that there is nothing worth emulating about Africa. By denying Africans a history, again Hegel is denying them the status of a human being. He accused Africans of being a people who have failed to dissociate themselves from nature. This idea has been made reference to by Karenga (1982:5) who says, “A people without a recognised or respected past can hardly be said to be human.” He is of the idea that the agenda of denying Africans a history by Europeans was to rationalise their dehumanisation. Karenga (1982:50-51) therefore says:

In fact Europe declared that the more history you have the more human you are and then set out to claim all relevant history and deny Blacks any... It is a fundamental fact that only humans have history and when Europe could claim without effective challenge during slavery and the colonisation of African peoples and lands that blacks had no history they could and did claim Blacks were not humans for to be denied historical achievement is to be placed outside of humanity for only humans make history.

Hegel and his successors deny the idea that philosophy begins in Africa by reducing Africans to non-humans. They denied Africans of a past and a culture that guided them for centuries. Consequently; they also denied the existence of traditional healers and traditional medicine. To this Hegel (1952:196) says:

Africa proper as far as history goes back has remained for all purposes of connection with the rest of the world shut up; it is the gold land compressed within itself—the land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of self-consciousness history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of night.
This implies that Africa at any rate could not have any hand in the building of culture. The Europeans see the Negro as naturally inferior to the European. He actually denies Africa of rationality hence he sees Africa as a baby who has refused to grow and mature.

Hegel (1952) goes on to attack the African religion. He sees African religion as a childhood religion. What this implies is that if ever there was a religion, it was not a serious religion. Hegel (1952:23) says that, “Negroes are mired in sorcery, worship of graven images that are easily perishable and worship of the dead.” The African religion was dismissed as ancestor worship and the medicine man was regarded as a witch doctor. He reduced African religion to ancestor worship. In a way he did not acknowledge African religion as a valid religion at all. In this context the African was regarded as a heathen who was supposed to be taught to worship God. That way they justified the role of the missionary in teaching the African about God. On the same note Moffat in Parrat (1997:39) says “Satan has employed his agency with fatal success, in erasing every vestige of religious impression from the minds of the Bechuanas, Hottentotts, and Bushmen, leaving them without a single ray to guide them from the dark and dread futurity or a single link to unite them with the skies.” The same sentiments were also echoed by Emil Ludwig in Chitakure (2016:33) who says “How can the untutored African conceive of God? Belief in deity is a philosophical concept of which savages are incapable of framing”. These arrogantly Eurocentric scholars denied Africans a religion before their encounter with Europeans. Once they say that these people did not have a religion it automatically means that there were no traditional healers among Africans prior to the encroachment of Western civilisation. This is because traditional healing is a sub-set of African traditional religion. To these scholars, the conception of God has everything to do with rationality which Africans were denied of hence, they did not know about God.

There are however writers who see Africa from a positive perspective. This school of thought recognises that Africans always had a religion. They did not learn about religion, culture or civilisation from the westerner. They acknowledge that Africans have a hand in the building of world civilisations.
In 1883 in a speech that he offered to missionaries journeying to the Congo, King Leopold II says “Revered Fathers and Dear Compatriots; the task asked of you to accomplish is very delicate and demands much tact and diplomacy. Fathers, you are going to preach the Gospel, but your preaching must be inspired by first, the interest of the Belgium government state.” This shows that missionaries did not have the interests of Africans at heart as they expressed in their gospel. In the speech he acknowledged that Africans had a religion prior to the coming of the European when he says “The main goal of your mission in the Congo is not to teach the Negro the knowledge of God, because they already know him. They talk and commit themselves to their God. They know that killing; stealing, adultery and blasphemy are not good.” To King Leopold II the gospel was just supposed to be used to facilitate the mission of the coloniser which was to colonise.

Missionaries were informed that the gospel was supposed to be used in such a way that the African becomes docile and submit to the European that is should at the end of the day serve the interests of the coloniser. With respect to religion he says “I am alluding myself here to their magic, i.e., Ju-Ju, Voodoo. They should not feel like abandoning their Ju-Ju, and you will do your best to take them away at the same time.” Teach the Negroes that their statues, idols, are works of the devil, confiscate them and fill our museums with them. Teach the Negro to forget about their heroes in order to worship and give praise to ours. King Leopold also told the missionaries that “Teach the Gospel to the Negroes in an African style, in order that they are kept submissive to the White colonist.” The speech echoes the idea that the gospel was used as a tool of making the African submissive and as a way of taking them away from their religion.

King Leopold II appreciates that Africans had a religion but he instructs missionaries that they should be driven as far away as possible from their Gods and should be taught to appreciate the European God. Once Africans were moved from their Ju-ju and once they were taught to despise their own God it means the role of the traditional healer was also disrupted since the three cannot be separated. This information inspired the present study by way of explaining the reasons.
behind the negative depiction of traditional healers. This allows the study to take a historical perspective.

Karenga (1993:211) writes about Black Religion. He says that “Religion has always been a vital part of Black life in both Africa and the United States.” He makes reference to African religion where he says that it is at the helm of whatever the African does. When referring to the religion of Black people in the US he observed that the most common religion is Judeo-Christian, but Islam, both Black orthodox and ancient African religious and ethical traditions are growing among African Americans. According to Karenga (1993:212) “the essence of people’s religion is rooted in its own social and historical experiences and in the truth and meaning that they extract from these and translate into an authentic spiritual expression which is specific to them.” He sees the religion of black people as a unique religion. In a way he is counteracting the ideas of Hegel and his successors who are of the view that Africans did not have a religion until a time they get into contact with the Westerners. He goes on to quote Lincoln (1949:3) who says, “Black religion represents in its essence then, not imitation but the desire of Blacks to be self-conscious about the meaning of their blackness and to search for spiritual fulfilment in terms of their understanding of themselves and their experience of history.” This supports that Black religion is not modelled upon other religions but it is a religion that Blacks have always been proud of. His idea is that Black religion is religion whose origins are in Africa. It can never be described out of the confines of the African land.

Karenga (1993) goes on to identify the general themes which appear in African traditions. He observed that all Africans believe in one supreme God and they stress ancestor veneration. It also stresses on the necessary balance between one’s collective identity and responsibility and a profound respect for nature. To Africans death is seen as a stage in human development and not as an end in itself. Contrary to Hegel’s view that religion in Africa is synonymous to ancestor worship, Karenga sees more in Black religion than just the mere Hegel’s flawed understanding by acknowledging the worship of the supreme God.
It is also noteworthy that Karenga (1993:220) acknowledges Egypt’s contribution to Western religions and indeed to western civilisation. He says that “given the deeply religious character of Egyptian society, all activities whether science, government or art were informed and inspired by its religion.” He is of the idea that world civilisation has its origins in Egypt and not in Greece as some Western scholars would argue. His idea is that civilisation was inspired by the Egyptian religion. According to Karenga Higher Education in ancient world was informed by the Egyptian Mysteries System and students from Europe and Asia and other parts of Africa studied there. All Greek philosophers borrowed from the Pythagoras which again started in Egypt. He is of the idea that this knowledge was stolen from Egypt during the conquest of Egypt by Alexander. To him Africans always had a religion and they are the fathers of world civilisation. However, these Africans were uprooted from their religious heritage by colonisation and slavery. This information is of great importance in unveiling the reasons as to why Africans do not want to associate themselves with their religion and the reasons why traditional healers are received with deceit. It unravels the reasons behind the way traditional healers and faith healers are represented.

Ani (1994) also talks about religion. Her focus is on the relationship between religion and ideology where she says “religion is related to the development of an ideology. She says that in most cases religion functions to socialise a nationalistic ideology. She sees European religion as a formalised institution existing in relation to other institutions of European culture as opposed to the ‘religion’ as the expression of beliefs about the supernatural world and as the basis for ethical behaviour. What this means is that the European conception of religion is quite different from the African one. The only thing that is regarded as supernatural among Europeans is science. European ideology determines the nature of the formalised religious statement in the west. Europeans see their religion in comparison with others. For the Jews, those who did not profess one-god were in fact irreligious. They do not see religions as different from each other and as their source and that which defines them. To be Jewish was to be special and chosen and religious as well as being superior in an evolutionary sense. Contrary to this to be Gentile is
synonymous to being a heathen, pagan, idolatrous and irreligious and culturally inferior. According to Ani (1994:149):

Traditionally one is born into a religion just as one is born into a culture. Christian ideology radically altered this concept and presents religion as a choice when one chooses to belong to a certain religion. To them one is not born a Christian, one must accept Jesus and get baptised to become a Christian.

What this means is that those who accept Jesus had no religion earlier. To Africans, religions are not universal and no one preaches his religion to another. To the European, the Christian ideology was developed to achieve his imperialist tendencies; hence there is a direct relationship between the church and European imperialism. According to Ani (1994:162) “Christian ideology is an ideally fashioned weapon for the destruction of the self-image, and value-system of Africans and other non-European peoples.” It has been more effective than guns in uprooting people from their cultural base which was necessary for the formulation of an effective self-deterministic ideology.

Ani (1994) also recognised the fact that the school was also used to alienate Africans from their culture and makes them to be ashamed of the things that would otherwise give them political strength and resist colonial rule. Education and Christianity were necessary instruments in the stealing of the confidence of Africans in themselves. What it means is that European religion was used to form an ideology that in turn destroyed African religion. Ani’s study emphasises the uniqueness of African religion and it is of paramount importance to this study as it helps to assess the factors that are taken into consideration in representing traditional healers.

Asante’s (2007b) study focuses on the betrayal of Africa, where he says that the betrayal of Africa appears in two general areas which are the ordinary areas of commerce and culture, as well as the extraordinary areas of thought and knowledge. He goes on to say that the betrayals have been set in motion to disinherit Africans and to dislocate them in the context of human history. Africans have been betrayed by missionaries who called their own priests and priestess false while presenting them with non-African alternatives. Asante reiterated the fact that philosophy originated in Africa and that the first philosophers were Africans. He made mention
of the idea that European writers could not conceive of Africans as having philosophy. Philosophy was meant in their minds to indicate a kind of reflection that was possible only with the Greeks. This suggests that Africans are a historical people; hence Asante’s study allows the research to take a historical stance when analysing texts on traditional and faith healers.

Williams (1987) explores the destruction of Black civilisation. In the process, he talks of religion which he says was an important tool in the colonisation of Africans. Africans were converted into Christianity and in the process assumed the white man’s world, which triumphed over the black. At the end of the day, millions of Africans became non-Africans. Williams (1987:56) says “Africans were classed as ‘pagans’ and were required to disavow their whole culture and to regard practically all African institutions as ‘backward’ or ‘savage.’” Their names were also changed to Christian and Arabic ones in order to destroy their African identity. In the end, he says, “these psychological shackles still handicap the rebirth of modern African states everywhere. Asante (1987:331) says:

The present day confused outlook of the African people is the result of centuries of Caucasian acculturation, a quite natural process where yet one people come under economic, political and social domination of another people. The ideologies and value system of the oppressors quite unconsciously become those of the oppressed even when the result is demonstratively against themselves.

What this means is that Africans were deliberately uprooted from their life line and resultantly are ashamed of themselves. This tendency seems to linger in the minds of the Africans as evidenced by how they portray what is theirs.

Clark (1991) writes about the myths that were created by Europeans as a way of degrading the African. He realises that Europe’s greatest achievements during the 15th and 16th Century was not enslavement or military conquest of the world but the conquest of the minds of most of the people of world. What the European did not achieve militarily they achieve through propaganda. What Europe has managed to do successfully is to propagate concepts that reverberate up to today which are basically untrue. He identified the following as some of the myths that were developed by the whites: i) that the world was waiting in darkness for Europeans to bring the light of culture and civilisation. Clark (1991) is however of the idea that contrary to this Europe has
destroyed more civilisation and cultures than what she has managed to build. ii) That the European concept of God is the only concept worthy of serious religious attention. Europeans deprived the people of the right to call on God in a language of their creation and to look at God through their own imagination. They openly said that only Europeans could represent God. iii) That the European is a civiliser. Clarke (1991) disputes this and says that conquerors are never benevolent. They are experts in spreading their way of life at the expense of the conquered people. The European is discoverer. This myth is still with us. The role of image and mind control is very destructive. It tells the colonised what to wear, what to like, what to hate and what to consume. The propagandised strives to be more unlike herself.

Clark (1991:324) says that “for Africana to free themselves they should take a serious look at everything that the African has been and is exposed to that is the print media; the visual media; popular magazines’ that are used to perpetuate the distortion of the image of Africa.” He also makes reference to colonialism when he talks about the crisis of the African intellectuals. He says at the basis of this crisis is what we lost as a people during slavery and colonisation and what we are still losing under neo-colonialism. Clark (1991) also emphasised the centrality of history in the quest for African liberation. He says that for Africans to save themselves they must first know themselves. They must first know where they have been and what they have been where they are and the significance of what they are. This kind of knowledge helps them to understand the world better. His idea is that what we see in ourselves influences what we do about ourselves. He condemns the idea that the African history is told through colonialism.

He also made reference to the damage that is perpetuated by the mass media in disrupting the image of Africa. He contends that the role of image and control of the mind is more important now in a media saturated society than ever before in history. He observed that the mass media; bible interpretation and religious training are part of attempt at controlling the minds of the people. He however, pointed the idea that the images of Africa reflected in mass media e.g. Television, radio, newspapers and religious literature projects African people rarely playing a heroic role use the Europeans did not. Clark (1991:363) says “because the Europeans did not have enough manpower to control the vast territories and populations they were taking over in Africa and Asia they began to use the mass media as a form of mind control, colonising people around the world.”
With regards to religion Clark says that before colonialism most of the people of the world had a concept of God shaped by their own culture and their own understanding of spirituality. They saw God as a figure that resembles them. This belief system was destroyed by the Europeans who made them to consider an image of God that was completely alien to them. He blames Christianity as one institution that was used by the Europeans as a form of mind control. Clark (1991:402) supports the persistence of African religions and he sees a scenario where the Europeans who once turned against the African religion turning to the same religion. He says “among other things, whites are turning to African religions because Africa is the origin of Eastern religions. Europeans are losing confidence in the gods that they sold to us.” He however recognises that whilst Europeans are turning toward Eastern and African religions, blacks’ are turning to millionaire gospel peddlers like Jimmy Swaggart and Billy Graham who are racists. He says that this scenario shows that we are living in a world of fantasy when in actual fact all we need to do is live ourselves. Clark concluded by saying that the way out for Africans is, ‘to take a three way look at themselves, using the past to evaluate the present and using the present to prophesy the future.’ Clark’s ideas are inspirational to the study as it allows the researcher to assess whether newspapers are doing the work of reawakening the African mind or are still playing the role of bombarding the African and his religion.

Clark (1999) concentrates on the myths that were created by Europeans to justify their colonial agenda. He laments the idea that Africans were indoctrinated into believing that whatever African is not worth to be emulated. He made reference to the idea that the African history was colonised and that the African religion was downgraded. Clarke (1999) concentrates on how Africans were betrayed into worshipping an alien God. He sees nothing to associate with from the Bible which happens to be a blueprint of Christianity. He says that Africans are immersed in a contradictory religion which preaches love, but does not do anything in the name of love. Clarke (1999:8) says:

When the Europeans emerged in the world of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the second time, they not only colonised information about the world. They also colonised images including the image of God, thereby putting us into a trap, for we are the only people who worship a God whose image we did not choose. That was our trap then, it is our trap now. We cannot conceive of a God that looks like us. We are trapped by the white image and a lot of these images come straight.
He laments that Africans were exposed to a God that is foreign to them and that they are the only people who worship a God that was chosen for them by other people. His idea is that apart from stealing African civilisation, they also colonised a people’s religion. They made it a point that the African knows nothing about his own religion which was the very source of her survival.

Clarke (1999) also disputes the idea that was brought forward by some European writers that Africans did not have a history before their encounter with Europe. He is of the idea that Africans have an ancient history; a history which is as old as humankind and that it has a civilisation that is older than the European. To Clark (1999:8) African history is as old as humankind and he expressed this when he says, “Africans were already old before Europe was born, that half of human history was over before we knew Europeans were in the world and that we had built great civilisations.” They made it a point that Africans know nothing about themselves. Clarke observes that the absence of African people from the respectful community of world history is not accidental but something that has been planned and was in the interest of Europeans. Once Africans became unconscious about themselves and their history the agenda of the coloniser to control became easy. Europeans have learned that it is not possible to oppress a consciously historical people because a consciously historical people would not allow it. By denying them a history, the Europeans were successful in dehumanising the African. Clarke (1999:36) acknowledges the importance of history in life when he says:

...history is a clock that people use to tell their political and cultural time of day. It is also a compass that people use to locate themselves on the map of human geography. History tells you where you have been. It tells you what you are and where you are. Most importantly, it tells you where you still must go and what you still must be.

He sees a situation where history and a people cannot be separated. Without history a people are cast out of the human arena. It is history which makes people human and Europeans knew that once Africans are stripped of their history, it means they become docile and useless; hence it becomes easy to exploit them. Clarke’s idea is that the knowledge of a people’s history is tantamount to an understanding of themselves. He says that for Africans to liberate themselves they should first of all reclaim those things that belonged to them and they should draw some
lessons from their history and locate themselves on the map of human geography. This study allows the present research to evaluate whether the representation of traditional and faith healers is colonised or not.

Stewart (2004) addresses the issue of how the experience of African descents fit into grand historical narratives. He says that Ancient Egypt was an African civilisation and that Western civilisation owes a lot to Egypt. He is of the idea that those who would identify themselves with the interests of people of African descent have an ethical responsibility to refrain from disseminating messages that are damaging to Africa. He advocates for a situation where Africans empower themselves through adapting core values and practices found in classical and traditional African societies. He however, considers that the world is changing when he says that tradition function in response to changing conditions and contemporary challenges for cultural survival. Stewart (2004) advocates for a situation where Blacks must produce information that addresses the cultural needs of Blacks for their liberation. Stewart also acknowledges the importance of history in shaping a people’s future. He says that Africans should tap on the best that the past can offer to approach the future. Since traditional and faith healers are a part of the African civilisation, information is informative because it suggests that newspapers should play the role of disseminating messages that speak positively about Africa.

Asante (2000) writes about Egyptian philosophies. In the process he demonstrates that Egyptian philosophy is a unique philosophy and is the eldest philosophy. His idea is to counteract the Western perspective which says that the origin of philosophy is in Greece. He labels the idea that Egypt was simply located in Africa but was really a part of the Near Eastern an anti-African viewpoint of Egyptian history and attempt by Europeans to isolate ancient civilisation from the rest of Africa. Westerners argues that the cataracts prevented the Egyptians form interacting with the rest of Africa and they also argue that since Sahara Desert was so difficult to cross, Egypt was virtually isolated from other African nations but connected to the near East. Asante (2000:411) says that: ‘This is patently false position which has no basis in fact; it is simply, “wishful thinking” of Eurocentric scholars that create such a misleading understanding of Egypt's place in Africa. Asante (2000) is of the idea that there were centres of learning and knowledge in ancient Egypt. He believes that knowledge was a part of Africans of the Nile River. He subscribes to the idea that Egypt is the mother of all philosophy. He also disputes the
idea that Africans have failed to separate themselves from nature. He is of the view that when the Greeks found Egypt, the Egyptian philosophers had been reflecting on the nature of human relationships and the meaning of life for several years.

Binda (2011) focuses on the renaissance of native spirituality. In the process he made reference to the place of traditional medicine in Australia, United States and the Philippines among others. He says that in Australia, Ancient Aboriginal medicine is finding a place in the fast-paced world of the city workplace. He says that the medicine man captures what is invisible and takes out the cause of ill-health. They are also involved in the spiritual purging of houses where inhabitants’ demand of Ngang-kari medicine men (Ancient Aboriginal medicine) is overwhelming. He says that in Australia three types of healers work together. He talks of the nurses, church leaders and maparn (local healers) whom he said provide care and attention in an attempt to save life. The nurse maintains the drip, the church leaders pray and marpan works to remove the sickness from her body. This suggests that just like Zimbabwe Australia has a three-tier health system and traditional healers are regarded as legitimate health practitioners. To this end traditional healers have a place in modern day society’s world over.

Binda (2011) says that in California, hospitals welcome Hmong Shamans who are the local healers to perform ceremonies and chants. He says that the medicine men are involved in the treatment of diabetes and hypertension. They believe that the soul is the Shaman’s responsibility. The Hmong rely on their spiritual beliefs to get through illness. Among the Hmong the hospital has a Hmong Shaman policy that formally recognises the cultural role of traditional healers.

Binda (2011) also talks of a Philippines Maramba who combines the rigorous discipline of science with an open mind to traditional medicines. Maramba who happens to be the overall coordinator of the National Integrated Research Program for Medicinal Plants says that Philippines is a leading country in herbal medicine. She observes that the advantage of traditional medicines is that they are affordable and farmers grow herbs and the pharmaceutical conglomerates are faced with competition from herbal medicines locally sources and manufactured. Binda’s study recognises the importance of traditional healers in the Philippines, Australia and United States.
Binda (2011) also talks about Complementary and alternatives medicine which he says is a common practice across the world. He says that there are over seventy countries that utilise Complementary and Alternative Medicine/ traditional medicine as an alternative way of healing for their illness. He goes on to say that the factor that drives global Complementary and Alternative medicine trends is the lack of side effects. Apart from that practitioners look to treat the whole person rather than just symptoms. He states the most common reason for referring patients to Complementary and Alternative Medicine practitioners is failure of conventional medicine.

Henderson (2009) says that the indigenous people of America have developed and used their rich and diverse traditional medicine systems for millennia. He defines traditional medicine as a collective term used to describe the systems of medicine and healing that were developed before scientific medicine, largely by indigenous people and that cure still in use today. This implies that traditional medicine system derives from language, behaviour and beliefs of the people with whom the system is associated. The widespread use of these systems has continued even after contact with European cultures. He talks of South Dakota where he says traditional healing practices of the Lakota Sioux have survived and are experiencing a contemporary renaissance. A common trait of the Indigenous people of the America is that they frequently use both traditional and Western medicine at the same time. The Lakota Sioux traditional healing system is fairly typical of most traditional healing systems in that a holistic view of health and wellness is subscribed to with disease felt to stem from an imbalance within the patient. The Lakota traditional healers view themselves as mediums through which the sacred spirits affect the healing. The Lakota distinguish between healers that operate more or less exclusively in the realm of the spirits or WicasaWakan (holyman) and healers who use plant or animal based medicine or PejutaWicasa (medicine man). To Henderson traditional medicine among Americans is still a part of the people and it is being used together with modern medicine.

Ephraim (2003) also researches about the subordination and the oppression of black people by the whites. He says Black people have failed in their liberation efforts because of their lack of self-knowledge. They have been conditioned to think of themselves as quite other than they are. They have been given a wrong image of themselves. The unfortunate thing such knowledge has settled well in their minds. Blacks have been taught to feel inferior in order for Europe to fulfil
her project of self-aggrandisement. The encounter of Black man with the white man has deprogrammed Africans as persons and robbed them of their identity. Africans were taught to worship a white God whom Ephraim says has representatives that were terrorising them. He is against the idea that Africans are ahistorical. He says that the African past is as old as the origin of man and hence with the beginning of human history. He concurs with Karenga (1993) who says that a people without a recognised or respected past can hardly be said to be human. He also blames miseducation for the predicament in which Africans find themselves. His idea therefore is that for Africans to develop they should have self-knowledge which results in self-consciousness. This implies that Africans should recapture their history which has been buried by the Europeans.

Hanaway (2012) carried out a study on the development of a global perspective on healing. He contends that there is great wisdom present in traditional Chinese medicine. He makes reference to the birth of integrative holistic healing systems in the west. He says that traditional medicine acknowledges the inextricable link between man and the natural world. It works to understand the root cause of disease and focus is on the whole person to return balance. It uses empiric observation to grasp the interrelationships inherent in the whole systems view of illness and wellness.

Wangchuk (2008) says that life without natural products is unimaginative. He acknowledges the idea that though traditional medicine has its limitations; it is addressing the health needs of millions of people across the world. He says that estimates have it that 65-85% of the world’s population uses traditional medicines for their primary health cares. Traditional medicine is gaining popularity mainly because it is a holistic system with fewer side effects, it is evolving as an evidence based medicine and its ethno-medicinal knowledge is applicable to modern drug discovery programs. He talks of Bhutanese traditional medicines where he says Bhutan is fortunate to be gifted with rich natural bio-diversity and rich traditional knowledge. Wangchuk (2008: 117) acknowledges the developments that have taken place in the field of medicine, however he says “of the known 30 000 human diseases or disorders only one third can somehow
be treated symptomatically with drugs at a very great economic and social cost.” He says that such drugs are not effective with respect to the fight against drug resistant pathogens and newly emerging diseases as AIDS, TB, Cancer and Central nervous system disabilities. It follows that mankind should value and appreciate the role and impact of natural products, traditional medicine and modern drugs discovered from natural products. In Bhutan traditional medicine is an important part of the health care delivery system and hospitals and some Basic Health Units provide traditional medical services. He concurs with Hanaway (2012) in that traditional medicine is gaining popularity because of the use of natural products and the concept of holism with minimal side effects. He identifies Bhutan, China, Mangola and Vietnam and some of the few countries that support the practice of traditional medical system alongside bio-medicine.

2.4 African perspectives on religion
African scholars agree on the centrality of religion among Africans. Religion in African societies occupies a central position and it is also central to a definition of a people. The idea was echoed by Mbiti (1969:1) who says that “Africans are notoriously religious and that each people have its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices.” This implies that the way African people approach life is influenced by their religion. In trying to cement the centrality of religion among Africans; Mbiti says that in whatever the African does his religion is there. It escorts him in whatever endeavour he engages in. Mbiti (1969:12) says:

Wherever the African is, there is his religion, he carries it to the fields where he is sowing seeds or harvesting a new crop, he takes it with him to the beer party or to attend a funeral ceremony, and if he is educated he takes religion with him to the examination room at school or in the university, if he is a politician he takes it to the house of parliament.

This shows in no uncertain terms that the African religion occupies a central and revered position in the lives of Africans. In actual fact, Africans cannot do without their religion which acts as a guide in whatever they do. Thus Mbiti (1969:228) says “African people are deeply religious. It is religion more than anything else which colours their understanding of the universe and their empirical participation in that making life a profoundly religious phenomenon.” In other words, the Africans’ worldview is shaped by their religion. This implies that religion also affects the
way people view illness and the alternatives that they take to combat and to cure illness. In other words, Africans treat their sick ones from an African perspective.

Mbiti (1969) also acknowledges the centrality of the traditional healer in African societies. Mbiti calls the traditional healer, medicine-men and he says they are the greatest gift and the most useful source of help. He contends that in Africa every village has got a medicine-man within reach who is accessible to everybody and at all times. Among Africans medicine-men are concerned with sickness, disease and misfortune and these are believed to be caused by the ill-will or ill-action of one person against another, normally through witchcraft and magic. Mbiti (1969:165) says “In treating people the medicine-men has “to discover the cause of sickness, find out who the criminal is, diagnose the nature of the disease, apply the right treatment and supply a means of preventing the misfortune from occurring again.” This implies that he treats both the physical and spiritual. To him the medicine-man is both a doctor and pastor. Disease and misfortune to Africans are religious experiences which require a religious approach to deal with them. Mbiti is of the idea that modern hospitals can deal with the physical side of diseases but they cannot reach the spiritual side which is a stronghold of traditional healers. This implies that as long as Africans view sickness as religious experiences the medicine-man will always have a place among Africa. This is so because once disease is treated as a religious experience it follows that it should be approached from a religious perspective.

Mbiti also made reference to the harm that African religion has suffered at the hands of Christianity and Islam. He says the two religions have caused havoc, particularly by invading the areas of traditional religions since the 19th century. Mbiti (1969:231)’s idea is that Christianity should be understood in the context of colonialism as he quoted a Gikuyu proverb which says that “There is no Roman Catholic Missionary priest and a European, both are the same.” What this means is that the Christian agenda is the same as that of the colonialist. The agenda of both Christianity and Islam was to expand by pushing traditional religions on the defensive, expecting them to keep silent, listen to their sermons; whatever they could to reduce traditional religions to ashes and historical anachronisms. Mbiti also makes reference to the idea that African religion
has been exposed to other religions through colonisation. A lot has happened to dilute this religion which forms the foundation and the end of the lives of Africans. The African traditional religions have been encroached by other religions that is, Christianity and Islam which are both missionary oriented. His idea is that colonialism has affected the African Traditional Religion in so many ways. In the whole African traditional religions were undermined but Mbiti observed that they were never overthrown. This information drives the study as it aided in unravelling the reasons behind the negative depiction of traditional healers and to suggest the reasons as to why they are still thriving despite the treatment that they get.

According to Abdullahi (2011) prior to the introduction of cosmopolitan medicine, traditional medicine used to be the dominant medical system available to millions of people in Africa in both rural and urban communities. This form of medical system was sufficient for the health needs of Africans and there was no alternative. Abdullahi (2011) noted that the arrival of Europeans made a significant turning point in the history of this age long tradition and culture. The coming in of the European brought in a lot of things whose agenda was to undermine traditional medicine as well as the religion that embodied it. With the rise of the European the office of the traditional healer which was once revered is looked down upon. Abdullahi (2011) in his study sees the introduction of Western medicine and culture as an aspect that gave rise to cultural ideological clash which had hitherto created an unequal power-relation that practically undermined and stigmatised the traditional health care system in Africa because of the overriding power of the western medicine. He made reference to the idea that Traditional Healing was banned in 1955 in South Africa by the South African Medical Association which outlawed traditional medical system in South Africa. The witchcraft suppression Act of 1957 and the 1970 Amendment also declared Traditional medicine unconstitutional thereby disallowing the practitioners from doing their business in South Africa. He concludes his work by saying that the ban that was partially based on the belief that the conception of diseases and illness in Africa was historic to westerners reinforces backwardness, superstition and a dark continent.
Magesa (1997) writes about the impossibility of dialogue between Christianity and African religion. He says that there is monologue between the two religions which is bedevilled by assumptions prejudicial against African religion, with Christianity culturally more vocal and ideologically more aggressive. He therefore says that what has been heard so far is largely Christianity speaking about African religion, not African religion speaking for itself. He also makes reference to the idea that Africans still cling to their religion despite the introduction of Christianity. He says that African Christians have a dual character. They do not always adhere to the religious and ritual demands that are formulated and expressed by the leaders of their churches. They sometimes seek comfort in their own religious symbol systems even though these may not correspond exactly to those inculcated and expected by their Christian leaders. To him Christianity did not manage to change Africans but it has just managed to give them a dual character where they portray themselves as Christians but resort to their religion particularly in times of crisis. Magesa portrays the African traditional religion as a religion which is still alive in the lives of Africans which is a contradiction to how they are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. The reasons why this religion still stands despite the efforts by colonialists to eradicate the religion tells a positive story about it.

Magesa (1997) goes on to attempt a typology of traditional healers where he talks of herbalists whom he referred to as people with knowledge of herbs, roots or fruits with the power to prevent or cure disease or other afflictions. They use medicine to protect or restore life. Those who practice herbal medicine usually depend on spirits for their knowledge. They acquire knowledge through inheritance or they can acquire through friendship and can purchase such knowledge.

He also identifies a diviner as another type of a traditional healer. The diviner to him is a diagnostician whose role is concerned with the spiritual causes of the affliction. They use supernatural powers in favour of life. They find out whether it is witchcraft which causes illness and advise patients on the procedure to take in order to do away with illness. They have got a gift of communicating with the spirits which makes them capable of diagnosing what kind of spirit is
causing the illness. The information on the types of traditional healers helps the present study understand who the traditional healer and the duties that he is expected to undertake.

Rodney (1972) contends that the underdevelopment of Africa is a direct result of its exploitation by Europeans. He subscribes to the idea that because of colonialism and cultural imperialism, Europeans and Africans themselves in the colonial period lacked due regard for the unique features of African culture and religion. The features of the traditional African religions help to set African cultures apart from those in other continents. He says that a man who thinks in religious terms starts from the ideal rather than with the material world. Though they were castigated African ancestral religions were no better or worse than other religions. Religion among Africans dominated politics, geography, medicine etc. However, by the end of feudalism, Europeans began to narrow the area of human life in which religion played a part saying that religion had its own sphere and the things of this world have their own secular sphere. They override the idea that religion for Africans pervaded their lives. By so doing they speeded up the development of capitalism and socialism.

Rodney (1972) also identified western education in which religion is quite central as the perpetrator in the underdevelopment of Africa. He terms such education, ‘Education for Underdevelopment’. Western education was generally irrelevant to Africans. The rationale behind the colonial school system was to train Africans to help oversee the local administration at the lowest rank and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. It was not designed to benefit Africans but to select a few Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole. European Education was designed to instil a sense of deference towards all that is European. Colonial education was basically Christian education; hence its role was to impart Christian values. Rodney (1972:264) says “Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation; the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment.” The school curriculum content was full of ideas that were alien to Africans. To this Rodney (1972:271) says “To some extent Europeans thoughtlessly applied their own curricula, without reference to African conditions, but very often they deliberately did so
with the intent to confuse and mystify.” Very little was said about the African past in colonial schools, and whatever was said has to do with European activities in Africa. This implies that by creating a sense in Africans where everything that is European is seen from a positive perspective, Western education bred Africans that were not proud of themselves. At the end of the day everything that was theirs including medicine was looked down upon.

Rodney (1972) also regarded missionaries as playing a complementary role with the colonialists. He says that missionaries were as much part of the colonising forces as were the explorers, traders and soldiers. The church’s role was primarily to preserve the social relations of colonialism, as an extension of the role it played in preserving the social relations of capitalism in Europe. It stressed humility, docility and acceptance. The role of the church was that of an arbiter of what was culturally correct. It condemned African ancestral beliefs equating them with the devil. By so doing, the African was distanced from his religion and this mentality is still lingering in the minds of Africans. Once the belief in ancestral spirits was destroyed what it means is that the role of the traditional healer was also destroyed because there was a very thin line between the two. Such destruction of the African religion might be the one that is still lingering to such an extent that it is now being seen in how traditional healers are represented in newspapers.

Njoh (2006) noted the relationship amongst colonialism, Christianity and traditional healers. He emphasised the idea that traditional healers were at once priests, magicians, spiritual and political leaders. This did not bode well with colonial authorities especially in colonies such as the Belgian Congo where direct rule prevailed. He attacked Christian missions as responsible for destroying traditional healing. The Christian doctrine holds that traditional healing practices and the rituals which were intertwined with African religion were antithetical to Christianity. According to Njoh (2006:157) “It is important to note that Christianity and colonialism were in a quid pro quo relationship in which each complemented the other’s efforts.” It was part of the Christian missionaries’ agenda to exterminate the practice of traditional healing with an aim of Europeanising and Westernising African by replacing all vestiges of African tradition and culture
with Eurocentric substitute. Njoh is of the idea that by removing the African from his roots, the Europeans were in a way making him less functional. Njoh is of the idea that Christianity was a colonialisagent whose role was to uproot the African from his roots, one of which was traditional healing. Such information is important in understanding the reasons as why traditional healers are presented negatively in Zimbabwean media.

Njoh (2006) sees the importance of health in Africa as an incontestable factor. He acknowledges the fact that modern medicine has gone a long way in eradicating some of the continent’s health problems. However, he noticed that modern medicine is too expensive and that Africans have developed sophisticated healing methods and techniques before the arrival of the European, though it is presented in most cases as no more than footnotes in Eurocentric hospital accounts of Africa. African healing methods were unique particularly because they were defined by African traditional customs and beliefs. Njoh (2006:144) says that:

> Despite aggressive propaganda campaigns designed to promote Western or so-called modern medicine, traditional African techniques continue to be the health care option of choice for most Africans on the continent and on the diaspora.

From what Njoh says it seems there is a great discrepancy between research work and how traditional healers are viewed in newspapers.

Idowu (1973) is of the idea that Africans have a strong belief in the spirits. He says among Africans death is not regarded as an end in itself. The deceased still have a role to play in the lives of the living. In fact they are taken as the protectors of the living; hence there is communion and communication between those alive and the deceased. The latter according to Idowu (1973) have the power to influence, help or molest the former. The long gone complain about and even punish, dereliction of filial duties on the part of their offspring. Idowu (1973) in his study of African religion made reference to medicine which he says was closely associated with religion since it was a possession of a divine healer who dispensed it through the agency of a priest. To him among Africans the basis of medicine is religion. The two enjoy an inseparable relationship. Idowu (1973:206) also talks about the persistence of Traditional Religion in present day Africa when he says that “In matters concerning providence, healing and general well-being, therefore
most Africans still look up to their own religion as the way.” He says those who outwardly profess faith in other religions but are constantly resorting to the traditional religion for succour may not decrease substantially in numbers for a long time to come. It also appears that there will always be the faithful remnant whose loyalty to the religion of their forebears will continue steadfast. This argument inspires the present study in interrogating the reasons as to why traditional healers are negatively present when it is a part of a religion that has survived the test of time.

Idowu (1973) goes on to write about the impact of colonialism on African Traditional Religion. He says that colonial indoctrination has been effective in many areas that the aboriginals have come to see themselves as grasshoppers in their own eyes and have become so mentally inferior, despising their native cultures and religious values and ultimately abandoning them and forgetting their basic tenets and practices. He emphasises the idea that Africans lost what was theirs and envied so much to be like Europeans. His idea is that with colonialism Africans were indoctrinated to believe that whatever is European is better. At the end of the day they despised what is theirs in favour of what is European. Apart from the colonial policy of assimilation he identifies Education and the influence of other cultures and religions as culprits in the alienation of Africans from their cultures and religion. Once these Africans were alienated from their religion it also means that they were alienated from their traditional healers who were part of their religious leaders hence looking down upon them. Since traditional healers are part of what is theirs, they do not see anything good in it because they were socialised to believe that anything African is bad. This belief can have implications on information that is selected for human consumption by media producers.

Truter (2007) makes a comparison of traditional medicine and western medicine. He says western medicine is usually associated with diseases of the physical body only and is based on principles of science, technology, knowledge and clinical analysis developed in North America and Western Europe. Traditional medicine and traditional healers form part of a broader field of study classified by medical anthropologists as ethno-medicine. In South Africa, most people
associate traditional medicine with herbs, remedies and advice imparted by sangomas or inyangas and with strong spiritual components. Traditional medicine has at its base a deep belief in the interactions between the spiritual and physical well-being. They therefore use a holistic approach in dealing with health and illness. The healer deals with a complete person and provides treatment for physical, psychological, spiritual and social symptoms. Truter is of the idea that traditional healing has more advantages as compared to western healing since it considers the person as a whole. Though the present study is not concerned about the differences and similarities between the two modes of health care systems, the information is of help in assessing the kind of treatment that traditional healers get from local newspapers as compared to western healers.

Truter (2007) also elucidates about faith healers. He says a faith healer is a professed Christian who belongs to either mission or African independent churches. They heal mostly through prayer, laying hands on patients or providing holy water and ash. They believe that their healing comes from God. It is a form of healing which is favoured because the doctrines used seem to integrate both Christian and African traditional beliefs. They interpret sickness in terms of the patient’s world view and perception.

Ritcher (2003) says that traditional healers have a crucial role to play in building the health system in South Africa and strengthening and supporting the national response to HIV/AIDS. He says that popular media in South Africa carry horror stories of traditional medicine and its practitioners. Consequently the role that can be played by ethical traditional healers in South Africa’s response to HIV and AIDS and its efforts to build up its health system has largely been ignored. His idea is that traditional healers should be included in South Africa’s response to HIV/AIDS. He says that traditional healers take a holistic approach, treating the patient’s spiritual and physical well-being together. With a terminal disease like AIDS, the spiritual side becomes important. Ritcher’s study is important since it made mention to how media producers concentrate on horror stories about traditional healers at the expense of the good that they
provide to the society. This enables the present research to evaluate the reasons why there is too much interest in what is bad about traditional healers.

He talks about the prevalence of the use of traditional medicine. The World Health Organisation estimates that up to 80% of the population in Africa makes use of traditional medicine. Ritcher (2003:10) says, “In Sub-Saharan Africa, the ratio of traditional healers to the population is approximately 1:500 while medical doctors have a 1:40 000 ratio to the rest of the population.” It is clear that traditional healers play an influential role in the lives of African people and have the potential to serve as components of a comprehensive health care system. The fact that traditional healers are prevalent helps in appraising how they are represented.

Sackey (2002) in his paper about faith healing and women’s reproductive health says faith healers include categories of religious personnel called prophets, pastors, diviners, healers, priests etc. He says that 80% to 90% of women are flocking to one African religious movement primarily in search of solutions for health problems and socio-economic welfare. They prefer churches because they believe in the religio-cultural dimension of illness that classifies illnesses into physical and spiritual diseases. The churches specialises in the spiritual while hospitals on the physical. The roles of the churches and bio-medicine according to Sackey are complementary. He says the church plays a significant role in a witchcraft prone society with inadequate medical facilities. He identifies the problems of women as those concerning their ‘stomach, their marriage and witchcraft.’ These are interwoven since the inability to give birth has implications for the stability of a marriage, while the main causative agent for this state of childlessness is supposed to be witchcraft. It is believed that these churches provide remedy for witchcraft based afflictions especially those that affect the reproductive health. Sackey recognises the significance of traditional healers particularly in the reproductive health of women which is a clear indication that she is saying that traditional healers have got something to offer to the South African health system.

Diop (1991) recognises Africa’s contribution to the sciences. His idea is that Africa had a well-developed science before her encounter with Europe. He acknowledges the fact that Africa has
contributed a lot towards world civilisation. He talks about the idea that the origins of science are traceable to Africans. In the process he talks about medicine which he says originated from Africa. He says that Hippocrates, the father of medicine has learned from the library of Temple of Imhotep at Memphis. He says that the healing of the possessed was supposed to be accomplished through the simple incantation of magic at formulas as in Black Africa. It works on its own without pharmaceutical treatment. Medicine was practised at three different levels, which are there were physicians and magicians. He says that the Egyptian physicians were the ones who first had the idea of taking pulse. There were general and specialists in diseases. Medical practice was hereditary; a situation that still exists in Africa. He also says that physicians were officials who in some cases gave free treatment on military expeditions. The physicians would do bone surgery and of external pathology. The method indicated by the papyrus for the treatment of the dislocation of the lower jaw was copied by Hippocrates. The Egyptians were the first to practice suturing and to use wooden splints for fractures. Diop (1991:284) says “The Egyptians surgeons had reached the peak of their art from the Memphite epoch onwards, at least in the domain of bone surgery, everything about them is to be admired, their ingenuity, and their good sense.”

Diop (1987: 205) concentrates on the development of techniques in pre-colonial Africa. He says “Empirical medicine was quite developed in Africa”. In Africa a family would practice a single branch of medicine on a hereditary basis. Therefore healers were specialists in specific illnesses. He made reference to Senegal where war wounds were treated by extracting bullets then cauterising the wound with a mixture of boiling oil and clean sand before sewing it up. He also says soap is a local manufacture, a female slave freed by the Askia guaranteed him as a sign of appreciation, ten cakes of soap each year. Diop is of the idea that Africans are the originators of world civilisation.

p’Bitek (1986) contends that Christianity and Islam have failed in their endeavour to convert the African. He is of the idea that if one is out to convert someone he should be clear about what he is converting him / her from, that is his philosophy and should be clear about what you intend to convert him to. Besides he subscribes to the idea that one need to be converted to something which is better than what he or she is being converted from. He says that: “The Christian missionaries were pathetically ignorant about the ‘thing’ they worked so hard, shed blood and
even died to convert the African from. They did not have the faintest idea of the culture of the African. When missionaries offered their services they needed a reward and the reward was in form of Africans becoming Christians. He went on to say that the African was attracted to the Christian community simply because of the ‘useful thing’ and services that the churches offered or promised to provide that is material things not spiritual or ethical teachings. He said that the African of tradition who went to church did not reject his culture because there was no alternative. That is when p’Bitek (1986:56) asks the question “Convert to what?” His idea is that the missionaries did not know about the God that the Africans were converted from and he is of the idea that they still cling to their religion despite the teachings that they got from Europeans. It follows that they accept the role of the traditional healer and the way that they view the traditional healer should have a bearing on how they are presented. This information allows the researcher to use context to examine the nature of treatment that is received by traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers.

According to p’Bitek (1986:67) “The African was not attracted to the altar because of salvation from sin. In the whole process of civilisation the African has to tell a lie, that “he had left black, things and had become saved.” His idea is that Christianity could not form a philosophical foundation relevant for Africans to build social institutions. It has never become a basis for social life anywhere. p’Bitek (1986:103) says that “religion is totally bankrupt of a political economic and social doctrine in the sense of an ideal set of principles or laws for the governance of particular nation or state.” Unlike most scholars p’Bitek is saying Christian has failed to tame the African. He is saying that the African religion has always remained at the back of his mind.

Wa Thiong’o (1986) researched about the hegemony of English in Kenyan schools. To him English was the language before which any other language had to bow. He talks of the linguistic gap that was created between the home environment where Gikuyu was used as the language of communication and the school environment where English was used. English was a hegemonic language in Kenyan schools so that learners were not allowed to speak Gikuyu within the vicinity of the school. Those who were caught speaking Gikuyu were made to carry inscriptions
such as “I am a donkey on their necks, fined money that they could not afford or given three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks. Children were made into witch hunters who would hunt for those who speak Gikuyu. Wa Thiongo (1986:13) says “language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture. Culture embodies those moral, ethical and aesthetic values, the set of spiritual eyeglasses through which they come to view themselves and their place in the universe.” He goes on to say that “language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people’s experience in history.” Wa Thiongo (1986:16) says “Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world.” Since children were not allowed to speak in their own language it also means that they were also alienated from their culture which was carried in a language which they were not allowed using. This study inspires the present study in the sense that once people are alienated from their culture it means that they are also divorced from their religion which is an aspect of culture. This study therefore is of importance in examining the factors that affect how traditional healers are represented.

Chinweizu (1987) laments the idea that the consciousness of the African was colonised and miseducated. He says that Africans were made to believe what is not true about Africa, a misrepresentative of events and the world by colonial and neo-colonial interests. Colonial miseducation forced Africans to accept the official, imperialist presentation of the world. Chinweizu (1987: xii) says:

It was a miseducation which, under the mystique of “modernising” me into some “civilised” condition, had worked to infect me with intellectual meningitis that would twist my cultural spine, and rivet my admiring gaze upon Europe and the West.

He accuses European education as a kind of education that withheld every memory of the African past. The education was designed in such a way that Africans would accept anything European and denigrate anything African. It forces Africans to have a low self-esteem and negative attitudes towards things African. The African was indoctrinated with the coloniser’s ideology. At the end of the day Africans were nurtured into passive recipients of the imperialist’s dictations. He advocates for a situation where Africans should cure themselves mentally from
the colonial miseducation. Africans should be decolonised and re-educated so that they see things from an African perspective. Chinweizu's idea is that Africans were given an education that imparted foreign ideals such that they end up despising what is theirs. This study helps in appreciating the role that colonial education has played in affecting the way traditional and faith healers are portrayed in Zimbabwean newspapers.

GBenda (nd) investigates the impact of colonisation on the study and practice of African Indigenous Religion. He contends that according to recent historical evidence Africa Indigenous Religion is the oldest of all the religions of the world. He says that this religion forms the foundation of African civilisation which dominated the world and is the source of world religions before history of mankind. GBenda (nd) also proposes the disentangling of Nigerian framework of thought from colonial and neo-colonial impositions. In relation to the African religion, he says that Africans believe in a Supreme Being or the Creator. The religion unlike the European one has no written scripture. He isolated divination, magic, witchcraft, medicine, libation, spirits and life after death as some of the belief systems of the Africans. He also says that Egypt is the cradle of African religion-cultural heritage and civilisation. African domination of the world reached the greatest height during the reign of Ausar (Osiris) around 4100B.C. from Osirian reign. Africans began to civilise the rest of the world by teaching them agriculture, commerce, industrialisation, religion and politics as well as nation building. He goes on to say that the interaction of Africa and the Western culture has failed to destroy the African cultural beliefs. He says that they still remain separated and strong. He says that this religion has survived the test of time and has actually spread to various parts of the world where Africans are found. This implies that Africans have carried with them their religion to wherever they are. In Nigeria traditional religious practices still persist and many people resort to them particularly in times of crisis.

To GBenda (nd) what makes African religion a stand-alone is that its healing rituals and rites among others could treat cases of ill-health arising from mystical causes, that is those illness that defy Western medicine. According to GBenda (nd: 4) “there are indications that some traditional practices still persist among the Africans even at this 21st Century. They include puberty rites, marriage rituals, funeral ceremonies, witchcraft and divination etc. He says that it is impossible to completely destroy a people’s culture. The core values, particularly those embedded in the religious heritage those that some up into people’s culture are the hardest to change despite
foreign influences. These have remained largely pristine, native and unchanged. It is important to note that divination has remained unchanged. This information should inform the way traditional healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers.

Mbwayo, Ndetè, Mutiso, and Khasakhala (2013) talk about the role of traditional healers in the provision of mental health service in Nairobi. They say that in developing countries up to 80% of the population depend on traditional medicine to help meet their healthcare needs. They contend that traditional healers are an important source of psychiatric support in many parts of the world. Their idea is that they provide a parallel system of belief to conventional medicine regarding the origins; hence they give an appropriate treatment of mental health problems. In cases of mental illness Africans contact traditional healers first since they form part of the community’s cultural belief system. The authors say that the causes of mental illness are evil spirits, being bewitched, inheritance, substance and alcohol abuse, displeasing the ancestors, being cursed or being involved in an accident. Most of the causes of the mental illnesses that are mentioned in the study demand the attention of the traditional healer.

Morekwa (2004) identifies traditional, modern and faith healers as three types of health services providers that are recognised in Africa. He comments that the exchange and interchange amongst these approaches strengthen the spiritual and physical healing of humanity. He is of the opinion that such an approach is important in the treatment of HIV/AIDS. He does not see one approach as superior to the other hence he says that in Africa all the approaches are common and influential.

On faith healing he says it is the most important ministry in the Christian religion. To Christians health is a state of complete mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease. Sickness is considered as punishment for sin. To them there is no illness that God cannot cure. He sees no difference between faith healing and ritual healing. The faith of an individual is of paramount importance. Their theology of healing is based on miraculous healing which they claim happens only if a person has faith in God.
He subscribes to the idea that healing for Africans is holistic and has an intrinsic relationship with faiths and beliefs of people, hence part of religion, culture and tradition. In the process, he talked about African traditional healing of which he says has been practised since time immemorial and that it is still proving to be the best and most popular method among African people today.

Morekwa (2004) talks about African Traditional Religion which he says is characterised by a belief in a supreme being who provide vital forces to humans. The vital forces are withdrawn when people do not follow the traditional norms and values of society. In such instances people are punished by illness. This implies that the African God is the provider of everything that is life and illness. In the African religion there is also a strong belief in ancestral spirits whose duty is to protect and wisely guide people. Again when they are annoyed they withdraw their protection. Under such circumstances they become exposed to witchcraft which causes sickness, illness and misfortunes. To Africans health is a state of balance between the human world and the spirit world. He also made reference to two types of illnesses, one that caused by man and others by God. The one that is caused by man emanate from the spiritual world. Traditional healers are basic to such types of illnesses and others can be cured by modern doctors. He also acknowledges the role of traditional healers as community leaders.

King (2000) sees collaboration between traditional healers and modern healers as a positive development towards the treatment of HIV/AIDS. He says that traditional healers are capable of performing at least as well as, if not better than their bio-chemical counterparts in their new roles as AIDS educators and counsellors. He is of the idea that the treatment of AIDS needs diverse strategies. He acknowledges that 80% of Africans rely on traditional medicine. Traditional healers are well-known for treating sexually transmitted infections (STDs). Health policies have advocated for cooperation with traditional healers.

Okon (2013) bemoans the distortion of African religion in Western Ethnographic Studies. He focuses on the shortcomings of African ethnographic studies that were done by Europeans. He says that the greatest of the negative impact of the lopsided ethnographic study of African
society was in the misinterpretation of traditional religion. He sets out to correct the hermeneutical error that has hindered progress in the understanding of the African worldview. He accused some European scholars of mutilating and distorting facts and sequence on African religion, culture and society. He emphasises the importance of the insider view in the humanistic scholarly study of African and other religions. He talks about African-phobia which he defines as the hatred and fear of Africa. He made reference to the idea that the Europeans despised everything about the African and they see blackness as an incurable disease. They denied Africans of rationality, of knowledge of God and of a history. He contends that there is oversimplification and subjective interpretation of the African. The studies of African religion lack historical analysis and periodisation. He concludes by quoting Mazrui who says that the challenge before an African scholar is four-fold: how to indigenise what was foreign; how to idealise what was indigenous, how to nationalise what was sectional and how to emphasise what was African.

Staugard (1986) researches on the traditional health care in Botswana. He says that the belief in witchcraft and magic is still prevalent among the Tswana people; hence he sees the religious background to the practice of contemporary Tswana medicine in general and the role of Independent church healing as of central importance. He acknowledges the importance of the traditional healer in the tribal life. The Tswana religious beliefs were based on the existence of the omnipotent God (modimo) who is the creator of all things. This God could punish tribal members if laws and rules are not followed. There is also the ancestral spirits (Badimo) who acts as mediators to God. These could express their dissatisfaction with the living descendants by casting disease upon them. He also made reference to the harm that was experienced by the traditional healer at the hands of the colonialists.

Staugard also makes reference to faith healers whom he said are closely linked to African Independent Churches. He says that among the Tswana the traditional healer is a new phenomenon and is not based on centuries of traditions, habits and conceptions which form the background of the traditional healer. He says that independent churches are to some extent alien
to the Tswana culture and represent an intermediary stage between the indigenous culture and European conceptions. Faith healing is a calling from God he treated faith healing as a part of traditional healing because of the fact that they use that same tools as those used by traditional healers. He says that the role of healing in the Zionist Church could be seen as an adaptation of Christianity to the social reality of the typical Tswana village in which the demand for health care is dominant in the population. The Tswana faith healer is deeply rooted in indigenous culture and plays the same role as a local healer hence categorised under traditional healers.

Kamwaira and Katola (2012) explore how the Dinka’s concept of health and illness is interpreted through religion, culture and worldview. They say that health and illness have a broader dimension that includes religious, cultural and ecological components. They have got everything to do with people's belief system. The Dinka like any other African community believe in God who is the creator and source of life but who is too distant for direct contact with human so they approach him through ancestors. The Dinka of South Sudan have got a very high regard for ancestors. These ancestors are believed to have interest in the day to day affairs of the community and have powers to influence the affairs of the living for good or for worse. The ancestors are involved in the practice of medicine. The Dinka attribute any remarkable occurrence to the direct influence of spirits and sometimes mark the occasion with an appropriate ritual. Healing encompasses the idea of wholeness which the Dinka value as a state of balanced and harmonious relationship between people, God, ancestors and nature.

The notion of evil is expressed in terms of social pollution and the agents of evil can be the angered spirits of those killed during the civil war or those not properly buried. The Dinka believe that after the civil war people become exposed to evil when they get in contact with death and such people are vehicles that are used by angry spirits to enter and afflict the entire community. They went further to say that the Dinka accept both modern and indigenous health system. The acceptance of biomedicine is partial and many people consult indigenous healers after hospitalisation to complete their treatment and perhaps to determine who caused the illness.
and why the illness came. From his research, it seems that traditional healing is a form of health care which is legitimate and is used side by side with modern health system.

Aigbodumah (2011) explores the healing practices in African indigenous churches in Nigeria. He says that the chief characteristic of indigenous churches in Nigeria is the emphasis on healing and prayer as actual signs of intervention of God in human affairs. Healing is an integral part of African Traditional Religion and the same perception was carried over into the new-found faith. In African Traditional society, the spirit theory overwhelms the germ theory. Psychic disturbances are partly attributed to the evil spirits, the devils and require an exorcism. Belief in the dominance of the spirits over human affairs is pervasive in African cultures. Among the Yoruba people of Nigeria there is a belief that every person has at least one enemy called Ota who can bring painful consequences. This perception of reality has hardly changed I modern times even among the Christians. The medicine-man (babalawo) in the traditional setting is the chief health consultant who mediates between the worlds of the spirits and humans. In many African societies, the medicine man is important just as good health is desirable. Among African Indigenous churches healing and quest for power to overcome life’s adversities is a major concern. They draw largely from the African Traditional religion background where the dominant emphasis is on good health, wellbeing and peace with oneself and the environment. To deny the existence and operations of the spirits influence in the world of humans is a failure to understand a critical element in the African worldviews. African Indigenous churches took into account the worldviews and cultures of Africans in their theology and liturgy had a greater appeal amongst Nigerians. His idea is that traditional and faith healers approach disease and illness from the same perspective. With that information the present study critically engages the treatment of traditional healers in media.

Washington (2010) focuses on the role of Zulu traditional concept of spiritual wholeness has played in maintaining a sense of beingness for the Zulu people throughout the Apartheid era and how this notion can become a part of African Centreed psychology. He recognised that the traditional systems of Africa’s indigenous people have played a pivotal role in their maintenance.
The systems of healing have existed since time immemorial and it speaks to the specific needs of the people. Among the Zulu, healing centres around God, the ancestors, nature and a people’s connection to those spiritual forces in a deep and profound manner.

He identifies three types of traditional healers in South Africa which are the traditional herbalist, the diviner and the faith healer. He contends that the faith healer has evolved recently with the influx of people moving from the rural areas to urban areas. The faith healer is an intricate part of the combination of traditional African religion and Christianity. They prophesy, heal and divine using prayer, holy water; baths etc. and they are primarily within the Zionist and Apostolic churches. Traditional healers mostly deal with illnesses that intrigue the Zulu which are referred to as Metaphysical disorders. He is of the idea that Zulu thought can be instrumental in the mental, spiritual and intellectual healing of African people. To the Zulu a healing system that denies the communal context out of which the aberrant behaviour evolves is inept in providing total healing for the community. Washington also categorises faith healers under traditional healers and this drives this research into exploring where they merge and diverge and the factors that affect how they are represented in media.

2.5 Zimbabwean perspectives on religion
Bourdillon (1976) talks about how the Shona view illness. He talks about two types of illnesses that are observed by the Shona people, which are the natural and a serious illness. He says the natural illness does not perplex the Shona because it is of a fleeing nature. However to the Shona an ailment that lingers and threatens life requires an explanation beyond the natural causes. This is a kind of illness which he says requires the attention of a traditional healer. To him the causes of such an illness are not accessed by modern doctors because they are invisible since they are caused by angered spirits, witchcraft or sorcery. He says that natural causes can answer the question of how something happens, but the why questions is a stronghold for traditional healers. He contends that Africans consult both modern doctors and traditional healers. This is so because the origins of the sickness determine the kind of treatment. In his study he mentions that the traditional healer occupies a place that is revered among Africans.
Bourdillon (1976:151) acknowledges the fact that the Shona just like any Africans strongly believe in the spirits. He says that:

The Shona believe that their well-being depends on their relationship with spirit guardians who control their lives. Any persistent trouble or anxiety is likely to be interpreted in terms of this relationship and in terms of tension and ill-will within the local community.

Bourdillon says that the African conception of illness is that modern medicine is only capable of treating the symptoms of the diseases whose origins are not in the spirits. To Bourdillon traditional healers are numerous even in towns and cities and he sees a situation where their numbers are increasing. He also points to the idea that they are never short of clients of different backgrounds that is those that are rich and poor as well as the educated. Bourdillon (1976:167) is of the idea that they are more successful than Western medicine in treating psychiatric cases or in calming patients with terminal diseases. Bourdillon says that the success of traditional healers lies in the fact that they are able to give more personal attention to their patients than is possible in busy western type hospitals and that they are also concerned with the anxieties and hidden fears of the people that they deal with. He sees a situation where traditional healers are going to persist simply because psychological troubles are not likely to decline. This study informs the present study in quite a significant manner in the sense that it acknowledges the fact that there are illnesses which modern doctors can not cure. As such the traditional healer is indispensable among many Zimbabweans. This information helps in the unravelling of the reasons behind the treatment of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. This study is also important to the present study as it helps in interrogating the rationale behind negative depiction of traditional healers. Bourdillon is of the idea that this form of medical care is not likely to die anytime soon which is clear evidence that it is successful; hence the study debates the stereotypical depiction of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers despite the recognition and reverence of the same by the societies.

Bourdillon (1976:168) further reflects on faith healers. He says, “It is a way of coping with disease that opposes both traditional and modern medicinal practices.” He says that faith healers are found in new independent Christian churches who claim to follow the example of the
Biblical Christ and his Apostles by healing all kinds of diseases through faith. They preach that the use of medicines of any kind displays a failing of faith. To Bourdillon these healers to some extent replace traditional healers. They practice divination and they accept traditional explanations of the spiritual causes of misfortune, they also deal with witchcraft and all practices outside the domain of Western medicine.

To Bourdillon, there are similarities that can be identified between traditional healers and faith healers. He says the diagnosis by a prophet follows closely the patterns of diagnosis by traditional diviners though their insights come from different sources. Both types of diviners attribute disease to conflicts within the community supported by witchcraft. He acknowledges that the office of the healer is one of the principal offices in the church and concludes by saying “In practice, Shona people may try all three types of healing in turn when they do not receive satisfaction at first.” He appears to be saying that faith healing is an alternative to traditional healing. Using such views as the launch-pad, this study critically engages images of traditional healers in the media. It also leads the present study to expound on the areas of divergence and convergence between traditional healers and faith healers and in interrogating the advantages and disadvantages of any of the three healing systems that are used by the Shona people.

Gelfand (1973) studies the origins of good and bad things among the Shona. His idea is that among the Shona the creator God is the originator of everything. He talks about the Shona belief in ancestral spirits. He says the role of the ancestors is to guard the interests and welfare of the family. However, if angered the ancestors withdraw their protection. He also made reference to the idea that death among the Shona is not natural. Life is removed by the ancestors, who attacks or allows their people to be attacked by illness. In terms of illness, they are consulted to see the spirit that has caused the family to lose the protective powers of the spirits. It is the role of traditional healers to identify the spirit. He made reference to the coming of European Education which he says was completely opposed to ‘mudzimu’ (ancestors). With time the ‘vadzimu’s hold become much less strong. He however concluded that despite European teaching, the Shona have not by any means accepted the moral/spiritual teachings of the White man. They still prefer their
own way of life. This means that the belief in ancestors and traditional healers is still strong. The present study focuses solely on the representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. However Gelfand inspires the study because he is concerned about the origins of the diseases that traditional healers deal with. Such information is important because despite the fact that African religion has received so much torture, it has remained a part of the Zimbabwean people. That on its own is evidence that traditional healers are still relevant today and this should have implications on how they are presented.

Shoko’s (2013) study focuses on the role of religion during crisis time. He talks about the self-styled Chinhoyi traditional diviner who claimed to have discovered diesel producing rock in Chinhoyi in 2007. The cash strapped government was lured into the belief. The diesel was considered a gift from the ancestors. The n’anga was rewarded with cash and a house. The claim only turned out to be a deception when it was discovered that some men pumped diesel behind a rock and tricked the delegation that it was coming from the rock. To Shoko this is evidence that African Traditional religion remains alive and well even within the upper classes. From the study it is clear that the belief in ancestors is still strong among Zimbabweans which might be reason enough to justify the reason why traditional healers are of importance even in present day Zimbabwe contrary to what is presented in newspapers. The study also brings the idea that traditional healers are not only there to deal with diseases but anything that befalls the African. With this information the study unravelled some of the duties that are expected of traditional healers. One of the major importance of this study is that it assesses the role of the traditional healer in present day Zimbabwe and finds out that they still attain a lot of respect from the society, however it also suggest that not all traditional healers are genuine and this has to do with how they are represented.

Chiwome and Mguni (2000) focus on the traditional healer in Zimbabwean Literature. They concentrated on analysing the contrasting images of the traditional healer in novels that were published in Zimbabwe from the 1950s. The images are analysed in the context of the polarisation of traditional African and Western medicinal knowledge systems. They demonstrate
how the ‘educated’ Africans become agents in Europe’s destruction of Africa’s institutions and sources of knowledge. Chiwome and Mguni (2000:89) say “When literature in indigenous languages was born the stereotype of the traditional healer as a symbol of evil and charlatan was in vague.” The literate people out of whom writers were drawn by publishers were from the viewpoint of their perceptions soldiers of colonialism in the war to uproot solid African institutions that stood in the way of modernisation.” The agenda of the European was to do away with African knowledge.

They talked about Samkange’s “On the Trial for my Country” (1966) fails to distinguish between a witch and a traditional healer. Mzilikazi compliments his son for associating with the witches of Matopo Hills. He is referring to spirit medium as witches. To Chiwome and Mguni (2000) the writer’s use of colonial terms to describe two opposing African indigenous concepts subverts the positive images of African medicinal knowledge. They say that the change of the healer’s image begins to be reflected around the 1980s. They make reference to Mazibuko’s satire “Umzenzi kakhalelwa” (1982) where they say Christianity is depicted as an overlay of African traditional beliefs. He presents church leaders committing anti-social deeds while the healer restores order in the community. They concluded by saying that despite all the torture that traditional healers have experienced at the hands of colonialists, the traditional healers were and have largely remained community leaders whose popularity rested on the perceived importance of their roles in society. Whilst Chiwome and Mguni’s focus is on literature, this study focuses on media representation with particular attention on Zimbabwean newspapers. However, the idea that they identify colonial education as one of the reasons why traditional healers were looked down upon is important when analysing newspapers because it helps in identifying why traditional healers are negatively depicted. This study allows the researcher to look at media representation from a historical perspective which helps to unpack the forces that are behind how traditional healers are represented.

Leornard (2001) discusses traditional healers and economics. In the process, he subscribes to the idea that they are a legitimate source of healthcare for which Africans have always paid. He says
that they have remained popular in the midst of modern medicine. He focuses on the method of payment, the patient’s role and the healer’s ability to enforce contracts. Leornard (2001:179) says “traditional healers receive a fee contingent on the outcome with the greater part being due only if the patient is cured.” The fact that healers have to heal to get paid persuades them to provide high quality care and differentiates them from even the best modern health care providers. They sell their services in a way that makes sense to their patients. They also recognise the important role that patients can play in their own treatment. By contrast with modern medical providers, patients pay before they receive their services. Leornard says the pay-only-if-cured contract provide a string of incentives for healers to give quality care even if the patient cannot evaluate or observe it. Leornard (2001:85) concludes by saying that “As long as modern medicine is delivered in a context that does not guarantee high quality, patients will continue to be attracted to traditional healers.” He also points to the idea that they have a more close relationship to their patients than modern healers. To Leornard traditional healers are preferred as compared to modern doctors because of the way they treat the issue of payment. Whilst the main focus of this present study is not on traditional healers and economics perse, the information inspires the study with regards to issues that make traditional healers common even in present day Zimbabwe.

Chavunduka (2001) refutes the existence of any genuine dialogue between practitioners of the African religion and practitioners of other religions in Zimbabwe. He posits that for over one hundred years attempts were made by Christian missionaries to destroy the African religion. They viewed the African religion as a children religion of fear, full of black magic, sorcery and witchcraft, full of superstition and senseless taboos; a religion which encouraged people to worship their ancestors instead of worshipping God. According to Chavunduka (2001:3) “The church viewed witchcraft as a myth..., the belief in witchcraft was to be destroyed.” He acknowledges the idea that there is a strong connection between healing and religion. He says that this is due in part to the African theory of illness. The African theory of illness is very broad, it includes African theology. The conception of illness among Africans attempts to explain the relations amongst ancestors, God and the universe. It does not explain illness and disease only.
To him there are two types of illnesses one which he calls natural and the other which he calls social illness. The former is easy to understand since it is caused by germs, bacteria and viruses. The later on the other hand is caused by social agents as witches and spirits of various kinds. In cases of social illnesses people turn to spirit mediums that have the ability to communicate with the dead.

Chavunduka (1986b) makes reference to the torture that traditional healers have suffered at the hands of colonialists. He makes reference to a period before colonialism when traditional healers were respected. He says that they performed a wide range of roles. Apart from being medical specialists they were also expected to deal with a wide range of social problems. In the social field, they were religious consultants, legal and political advisors, marriage counsellors and social workers. He contends that although many of the traditional healers still take up these roles much of their respect has been wiped away by colonialism. He points to the idea that many missionaries and government officials felt that traditional healers encouraged the belief in witchcraft and the worship of ancestors which they thought were a greatest hindrances and stumbling block in the way of Christian work. He condemns the provision of Western Education, and colonial legislation for the denigration that traditional healers faced. Colonial education discouraged traditional medicine through teaching and the books that learners were exposed to. He also points out that the Medical council did not recognise traditional healers as medical practitioners. Chavunduka (1986b) also talks about the Witchcraft Suppression Act which he says was aimed at least in part at preventing the activities of the traditional healers. In the Witchcraft Suppression Act, Chavunduka (1980:131) says witchcraft is defined as “the throwing of bones, the use of charms and any other means or adopted in the practice of sorcery.” The definition puts the traditional healer under the category of witches. Chavunduka (1994:102) points out that it aimed at five categories of people: (1) Any person who names or indicates any other person as being a witch is guilty of an offence, (2) People referred to as “witchdoctors,” any person who names or indicates any other person as witch and is proved at his trial to be by habit and repute a witchdoctor or witch-finder faces a heavy sentences (3) It is an offence to employ or solicit any other person to name or indicate thieves and other wrong doers by means
of witchcraft, similarly a person who employs someone to advise him, how by means of witchcraft such thieves or wrongdoers may be identified commits an offence (4) People who claim to have a knowledge of witchcraft or the use of charms. It is an offence to advise someone how to bewitch any person or animal or to supply someone with pretended means of witchcraft. (5) Anyone who on the advice of a witchdoctor or witch-finder...uses or causes to be put into operation such means or processes...calculated to injure any other person or any property including animals, shall be guilty of an offence. The witchcraft suppression act was designed to suppress the activities of the traditional healer. It was made in such a way that there was no division between the witch, the traditional healer and the one seeking advice from the traditional healer. Whilst this study focuses on the effects of colonialism on the role of the traditional healer it motivates this study in the sense that it unravels some of the motives behind how traditional healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. Chavunduka also made reference to a period before the encroachment of colonisation where traditional healers were revered. He traces the history of the indigenous healers from the pre-colonial period up to the colonial period and observed that they lost grip during the colonial period. He however acknowledges the fact that they are still relevant in present day Zimbabwe because of how Zimbabweans view illness. Although the studies do not focus on representation; they are of motivation to the present study as they allow the present research to delve in some of the factors that affect how traditional healers are viewed and why they have managed to survive the test of time and in turn the circumstances surrounding how they are represented.

Chivaura (1998) is of the idea that Africa cannot develop if it functions as a client of development organisations and social institutions which have their own economic and political agendas. He talks about the fact that the African mind was enslaved by Europeans. He says that underdevelopment of Africa is caused by the destruction of Africa’s social, economic and political organisations. He is of the idea that the destruction of Africa’s institutions and human factor is still continuing. One of the agendas of Africa’s colonisers and detractors is therefore to ensure that Africans do not believe in the values and ideas of their own traditions and social institutions. He says that the process of colonisation eroded the integrity and personality of the
African people. Chivaura (1998:93) says “It produces creatures which are at the mercy of the colonisers, creatures which have rejected themselves.” He made reference to the content of education which he says produced brain-washed people. He goes on to say African institutions and organisations have been labelled as pagan, a situation which Africans have accepted. Chivaura is of the idea that to develop Africa should rely on human factor. Chivaura’s concern was on the human factor approach to development but in the process he talked about the destruction of social institutions and traditional healing is one such. To him the destruction of such institutions is still continuing and this information might give the present study direction in connection with the way traditional healers are portrayed. Chivaura’s ideas are quite revealing and provide inspiration in as far as portrayal of traditional and faith healers are concerned. Chivaura directs the present study towards understanding representation of traditional healers within the context of destruction of life-affirming institutions.

Chavunduka (1978) also talks about the traditional healer among the Shona speaking people. He acknowledges the idea that illnesses are of two types, one which is natural and the other which is spiritual. He also subscribes to the idea that the concern of traditional healers is to identify the cause of illness or other social problems. In the process he talks about colonialism and traditional healers. Chavunduka (1978:77) says, “Christianity and western education have propagandised for a long time in favour of Western medicine.” They have made serious attempts to discourage the use of traditional medicine. Missionaries conceived of a traditional doctor as a death-dealing charlatan, a rogue and a deceiver preventing patients who would otherwise be treated effectively with scientific drugs, from reaching mission hospitals. To missionaries the traditional healer was a stumbling block to the services of missionaries. He also identifies colonial education, colonial legislation, the church and building of mission hospitals as measures that were put in place to do away with traditional healers. He however concluded that traditional healers have persisted because their work has always been successful. Chavunduka acknowledges the positive contributions of traditional healers which are contrary to how they are presented in media. This inspires the study critically interrogate the wide gap between research works and how the media portrays traditional healers. It also helps to assess whether Zimbabweans have been able to shake
themselves away from all the vestiges of colonialism and accept their religion as a unique religion.

Shizha and Charema (2011) see the importance of integrating biomedical approaches and traditional healing system. They say that healing systems in Southern Africa focus on the holistic approach to the health and wellness of people. To them an integrative approach provides a vital component of holistic healing and can yield extensive results in healing the physical body and psychological illnesses. They acknowledge the idea that causes of illness and death that are rooted in the belief in sorcery, witchcraft and superhuman forces have continued to thrive in Africa. This suggests that traditional healers are always in the limelight.

They realised that bio-medicine can no longer cope with the many health problems and medicines are less and less available. Traditional medicine has been taken as a legitimate form of healing. They say that most Africans depend on traditional healing for health services. Shizha and Charema (2011:169) say that UNAIDS 2000 reports that in the case of Zimbabwe in 2000 there were approximately 45 000 traditional healers and only 1 400 medical doctors, hence they reach more people. Shizha and Charema (2011:169) also pointed out that in rural Africa, “the majority of people approach traditional and faith healers for health needs.” Western medicine alone cannot detect, prevent, solve or treat the multiple aspects of spiritual, psychological illnesses.

Shizha and Charema (2011:171) also write about the effects of colonialists on traditional healers when they, say “after the settlement of Europeans in Africa the missionary influence, as well as repressive political ideologies of colonial administrators outlawed African medical practices by castigating them as ‘heathen’, primitive, barbaric, uncivilised and ignorant knowledge.” Shizha and Charema (2011) also agree to the idea that traditional healers are not perfect hence is of the idea that serious illnesses should be examined by medical doctors first. He calls for a situation where traditional healers could be recognised and respected. He says that if traditional healing had no merit, it could not have survived to this day against the burdens of time and prejudice against it. Shizha and Charema bring the idea that traditional healers are not perfect but he sees a
situation where they work for the same cause as modern doctors. What this means is that they are as good as modern doctors and that they deserve respect. The paper inspires the study in the sense that it touches on issues that are pertinent to this study particularly the fact that traditional healers are important in Zimbabwean societies today. Such information is of paramount importance in assessing the reasons behind the way traditional healers are portrayed in Zimbabwean newspapers. It suggests that most Zimbabweans visit these healers and that there should be a correlation between how they are represented and what they do in society.

Kazembe (2007) says in Zimbabwe traditional religion and traditional medicine are inseparable. The nature of traditional medicine in the Zimbabwean context demand that it be under the influence and control of traditional religion. He looked at how the African religion was undermined by Christianity; however he recognised that despite the bastardisation of the African religion the spirit mediums have remained the custodians of the people’s culture. On traditional medicine he recognised that human induced illnesses cannot be treated by modern doctors. He goes on to say that Africans move between western and traditional medicine for the same illness at the same time. This implies that both western and traditional medicine are legitimate forms of basic health care, hence of importance to people.

Mwandayi (2011) investigates about the Shona death and after-life rituals. In the process he talks about colonialism and traditional healing. He says with the advent of the colonial era, traditional healers saw themselves suffering a heavy blow that would nearly have seen them thrown out completely from their profession. Christians were against the belief of traditional healers in ancestors. Europeans were coming from a background where everything medical had to pass through a test tube to prove its effectiveness. They felt that traditional healers encouraged other people to divert from the worship of God to the sinful worship of ancestors. The traditional healer was seen as one who encouraged belief in witchcraft, an art which was considered in the way of missionary efforts at evangelisation. As a way of eradicating the traditional healer, they erected mission and government hospitals as well as schools. The education imparted western values and those who elect not to attain such an education were labelled as ignorant. The
Medical council on the other hand denied cognisance of traditional healers. The 1899 Witchcraft Suppression Act suppressed the activities of the traditional healer. In this bill traditional healers were unfairly blanketed under the definition of witchcraft. Mwandayi (2011) says witchcraft was defined as “the throwing of bones, the use of charms and any other means or devices adopted in the practice of sorcery.” Witchcraft means the use of medicines, poison, harmful charms, magic and any other means aimed at causing illness or death. There was also the use of inappropriate terms like witch doctor, witch finder, diviner, medicine men, herbalist, magician, and birth attendant. The terms that were used were narrow and restrictive and did not explain the role of the healer in full. Mwandayi (2011) goes on to write about the fact that traditional healers have stood the test of time. He notes that despite the efforts, many are still using the services of traditional healers. They are now consulted only for medical problems but for psychological matters. Their agenda is to treat the whole man. Their popularity also lies in the fact that they are capable of treating illnesses that modern doctors cannot like chronic dysfunctions. He says that it is a reality that people move between traditional healers and modern doctors. He concluded by saying traditional healers deserve a highly respectable recognition for their concern and commitment to the welfare of many. The perception of traditional healers as agents of the evil calls for a review. Mwandayi (2011:254) is of the idea that “both modern and traditional healers are important hence attempts at supplanting one another should be defied. He says they should not be looked at as antagonists but people should improve the divinely-ordained collaborative nature that lies hidden between them.” To him the traditional healer provides a wide range of services. He sees him as a doctor of sickness, a priest in religious matters, a lawyer in legal issues, a policeman, a person who possesses magical charms, a psychotherapist and an exorcist. This multiplicity of roles bears evidence that traditional healers are very important. Mwandayi acknowledges the important roles that played by traditional healers. He seems to be saying that it is a form of medical health care that is indispensable. This study goes further to examine whether there is a relationship between what happens in society and what people consume from the newspapers that is if traditional healers are portrayed in a respectable manner as Mwandayi’s study suggests.
Masaka and Chingombe (2009) focus on the applicability of ‘Gata’ in the context of HIV/AIDS. They say that relatives of the deceased are more often aware of the fact that the departed succumbed to the HIV/AIDS pandemic but are always inclined to find out why such life-limiting disease affected their family member. They subscribe to the idea that some Shona traditions have to some extent survived Western influence and this include the ritual gata (consultation of the traditional healer to account for the death or life threatening illness of a person). In times of death the Shona are interested in knowing the cause, even if the cause appears apparent and uncontested. They do this through a practice called gata. Gelfand, (1973:114) says “This is because they believe that death is unnatural”; hence they are interested in finding the cause and to take corrective measures to safeguard the remaining family from a related mishap.

Gata remains relevant in the midst of HIV/AIDS related deaths. Science cannot fully account for a plethora of mishaps that trouble humanity including HIV/AIDS. Their idea is that death can be explained with finality by appealing to the supernatural world that has the capacity to allow or prevent illnesses and death to befall man; they say that death emanates from the spirits. Among the Shona, even if a person dies in an accident, they would want to know why the person dies and not anyone else. It is not enough to say that the nature of the accident meant that some people had to die. They consult to answer pertinent questions such as why and who caused the deceased to meet the fate because the Shona deny that death can just occur out of nothing. They concur with the idea that to some extent the Shona follow the scientific explanation for acquiring HIV/AIDS but they resort to mystical powers as somehow responsible for the misfortunes of getting infected. They conclude by saying that it is a truism that Shona people do accept the existence of a medical condition called HIV/AIDS as a reality but believes that the supernatural world has something to do with this life limiting disease.

Masaka and Chingombe (2009:197) therefore say, “Gata remains a permanent feature of the Shona people’s way of life even in the context of the illnesses and deaths related to devastating HIV/AIDS pandemic.” It follows that among Zimbabweans a people’s belief system has got a lot to do with issues of healing; hence the role of traditional healers is indispensable. The idea that the role of the traditional healer finds a place in present day problems like HIV/AIDS is of particular importance to the study as it allows the study to question the place that is accorded to traditional healers in newspapers.
Chitando (2007), talks about theology in the HIV/AIDS era. He says the belief that HIV/AIDS is a form of punishment from the spiritual world is quite dominant in Africa. Africans believe that such a devastating disease can only occur because God and the ancestors have withdrawn their protection. He says that the indigenous approach to well-being is important in the struggle against HIV/AIDS. To him regarding HIV/AIDS as an evil might be helpful in encouraging people to work towards defeating it. He mentions that Africans believe in spirits some of which promote human well-being and others are opposed to it. The spirits that are opposed to the well-being of people promote disease, misfortune and death. Such evil spirits can be defeated through constant interaction with God and the ancestors. He classifies HIV/AIDS under the category of evil. To him evil is removed by consulting traditional healers and other religious specialists. He also makes reference to faith healers when he says; the popularity of healing in Africa can be seen in the emergence of African initiated churches. Most of these churches have prophets who provide healing for various ailments. They address issues that emerge from the African worldview. He suggests that the role of faith and traditional healers will always survive because of problems that originate from the African worldview. The study informs the present study since it acknowledges the rationale behind the role of faith and traditional healers in present day Zimbabwe.

Gundlanga and Makaudze (2012) refute the notion that African people’s indigenous knowledge systems were barbaric and savagery. Their idea is that indigenous knowledge systems should be seriously considered as sources of culture and civilisation. To them, Africans had technology and were civilised prior to the coming of the European. They also talked about medicine where they say Africa had advanced medical practice and that they boast of a long history of medical practice. In relation to medicine, they make reference to a wide range of herbs that were used to treat various ailments and they also appreciate the role of birth attendants whom they say would prescribe herbs for expectant women for safe delivery. They also say that the uniqueness of traditional healers lies in the fact that they do not just prescribe medicine but also diagnose the cause of the illness. Their idea is that Africans should tap indigenous knowledge systems in order to develop.
Chavunduka (2012) talks about the relationship that exists between a people’s ideas concerning the cause of illness and the treatment sought when he researched on the African perception of illness. He reiterated the idea that illnesses have a normal or even an abnormal cause. Abnormal illnesses are caused by spirits and witches whereas normal illnesses are caused by germs, viruses and bacteria among others. For abnormal illnesses people consult traditional healers and he says this tendency is necessitated when modern medicine fail to achieve the expected results; when there is failure of illness to respond to treatment and when there is an appearance of additional symptoms that in the light of traditional knowledge are regarded as unusual. He appreciates the idea that modern doctors alleviate symptoms faster than traditional healers but they are limited when it comes to uprooting the cause of illness. Such information is important in assessing how traditional healers are represented.

Shoko and Chiwara (2013) study makes a comparative analysis of Prophet Makandiwa of the United Family International Church and the n’anga in the African Traditional Religion. They observed that Makandiwa’s praxis shows that the church is characterised by some religious features that may seem to resemble those of the n’anga found among the Shona people. They quote Daneel (1970:25) who says, “The success of the Zionist and Apostolic prophet churches through healing has been a result of that they have modelled their practice the traditional pattern.” In line with this Shoko and Chiwara (2013:119) say “It’s this same style and pattern that is drawing thousands of people in the UFI of Prophet Makandiwa.” They identified a number of characteristics which make Makandiwa a model of the Shona n’anga traditional healers and Makandiwa share a common belief in the world of the spirits. The belief in the spirits and the way of dealing without using the power of a spirit which possesses an individual makes Prophet Makandiwa similar to a n’anga. Shoko and Chiwara (2013:220) say that “When Makandiwa is ministering under the influence of the Holy Spirit; he can be regarded to be having the same status as a n’anga ministering under the influence of the ancestral spirit which is the Holy Spirit according to African Traditional religion.”

Makandiwa’s narration of his calling resembles to a greater extent the narratives of many n’angas. He says that during his calling he was taken to extraordinary places through
extraordinary means which is typical of the way n’angas are called. It is also noteworthy that both practitioners can predict the future. The issue of spiritual fathers is also something that makes Makandiwa’s ministry a resemblance of the ministry of a n’anga. Traditional healers were mentored by their biological fathers and even by people whom they were related to. Makandiwa has a Ghanaian Spiritual father, Victor Boateng whom he frequently visits for his power to be renewed and rejuvenated. When Victor Boateng visited Zimbabwe in 2010 he claimed that he has come to rescue Makandiwa from people who wanted to kill him. This lives a lot to be desired because the gospel of Christianity says that it is God who can do everything. What Boateng does resembles what happens to a n’anga in all respects. They went on to say that this may suggest that Makandiwa went to Ghana to borrow some prophetic traditions of a foreign tradition.

Shoko and Chiwara (2013) also suggest that Makandiwa is a cultist. They condemns the way he interprets the Bible as contrary to that of the orthodox and the principles of Biblical exegesis in many ways. Both traditional healers and Makandiwa perform miracles and it should be noted that people want to associate with miracles for their own security. There is also a common belief that diseases are caused by possessing spirits that need to be exorcised. Makandiwa and the n’anga follow the same steps when healing the sick. The first step is always to establish the cause of the illness and the next stage in the treatment is the prescription of medicine. Focus in both cases is on personal causes of illness and misfortune. Makandiwa claims to have the power to kill and resuscitate people back to life. N’angas on the other hand can use a needle and a mirror to kill a victim even when he is not there physically.

The basis of Makandiwa’s ministry is on the gospel of prosperity. He expects clients to come back and offer some token of appreciation for services rendered which is typical of the way the n’anga operates. Singing and dancing characterises both ministries. According to Shoko and Chiwara (2013) in both contexts, every session starts with eulogy and the religious leaders will be possessed by the spirit and then starts to minister. In both contexts there is the use of personal assistants who act as religious aides. Makandiwa works with his brothers T. Makandiwa and R. Makandiwa. In line with this a n’anga works with a ‘makumbi.’

Following the common characteristics between a n’anga and Makandiwa, Shoko and Chiwara (2013) say that it is not clear whether the powers that Makandiwa use are from the Holy Spirit or ancestors. They concluded their study by saying, “Prophet Makandiwa can be regarded as both
Christian and traditionalist because of the nature of his ministry. His UFIC is a Christianised version of tradition. Shoko and Chiwara are of the view that prophet Makandiwa’s operations are more like those of a traditional healer. This study is important since it appreciates the relationship between traditional healers and faith healers who are represented by Makandiwa in this case. The research helped this study to evaluate whether traditional and faith healers are represented in the same manner in Zimbabwean newspapers.

Mangena and Mhizha (2013)’s focus is on white collar prophecy in Zimbabwe. Their idea is that this type of prophecy arose because of the socio-economic and political crises in Zimbabwe which is punctuated by high levels of unemployment, mortality rates and a dysfunctional health system. They say that such a situation has forced Zimbabweans to sought solace in Pentecostal persuasions. Mangena and Mhizha (2013) take note of the idea that everything that Zimbabweans encounter in life is given a religious interpretation. Mangena and Mhizha (2013:135) define White Collar Prophets “as prophets who are motivated by the desire to professionalise the word of God through monetising it.” They emphasise on money and prosperity as pillars of deliverance and salvation. They operate from an angle where poverty, misfortune and disease are said to be caused by evil spirits.

Mangena and Mhizha (2013) discuss the different strategies which White Collar Prophets employ as they package their messages. Among the strategies they identify the idea that their gospel centres on solutions for the present needs which make the gospel to be readily accepted by ordinary African people. White Collar Prophets devise ways to attract people to their churches by promising them to help them overcome socio-economic problems. Their sermons emphasise prosperity. The research also observed that White Collar Prophets exploit the knowledge that the lives of Africans are influenced and affected by evil spirits i.e. witchcraft and ancestral spirits. The need to address the spiritual needs of people resulted in the birth of the first batch of Pentecostal churches in Africa. White Collar Prophets also reach out to their clients by using icons associated with them, preaching the gospel of prosperity which they emphasise at the expense of spiritual matters. They equate the gospel of giving with seeding and sowing.

There is also the concept of ‘spiritual fathers’ or mentors from West Africa who reportedly give them powers to perform miracles. Muzire (2011) in Mangena and Mhizha (2013:142) say “West Africa apparently is believed to be popular for widespread occultism involving the use of
traditional medicines.” These White Collar Prophets are also well known for offering deliverance sessions. Congregates look up to them for protection from avenging spirits, goblins fertility healing, success in public examinations and jobs as well as in troubled marriages. Mangena and Mhizha (2013:145) are of the opinion that “The Pentecostal approach may be seen to reflect basic principles of market capitalism a phenomenon that is driven by the demands of popular consumerism.”

Mangena and Mhizha (2013) went on to consider the moral standing of these White Collar Prophets. They say that White Collar Prophets are morally suspect because they sometimes participate in the politics of governance by supporting government activities and policies, even if the policies are retrogressive. They are also not courageous to challenge authorities. They also trade on the gospel of prosperity at the expense of the gospel of salvation and redemption and they take advantage of their clients whom they know have a strong belief in the spirits. They subscribe to Biri (2012:9) who say that “It is interesting to note that the lavish lifestyles of leaders show that the love of the gospel is far outweighed by the love of accumulating material wealth.” The study suggests that not all prophets are true prophets. This study is therefore used to explain the negative representation of faith healers, since these White Collar prophets categorise themselves under faith healers.

Mateveke, Mukenge and Chivandikwa (2013) carried a study on media representation of Prophet Makandiwa. The study makes a comparative linguistic analysis of the portrayal of Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa by The Herald and NewsDay. They observed that contemporary prophets such as Makandiwa have received a lot of media coverage. Mateveke et al (2013:264) say that “The study argues that, the apparently partisan manner in which Makandiwa is portrayed in the papers reveals the individual ideology of the newspaper itself and also manipulates how man, as well as the judgements imposed upon his mistrial work.” The language that is used to discuss prophet Makandiwa in the papers is perceived to reflect the separate worldviews of the papers on the issue of the prophet and at the same time constructs social ideas and images of the man and his prophetic deeds. It is mentioned in the study that Pentecostal prophets are characterised by the (i) controversial nature of contemporary media-based prophets (ii) the pre-occupation of these prophets with contemporary socio-economic deprivation which attracts the public and the
media and (iii) the way the prophets appear to ‘exploit’ the media to popularise the legitimacy of their prophecies.

Mateveke et al (2013) appreciates the role of the media in influencing human behaviour. They contend that the media influences what people think about and how they think about certain issues. They also noted that selection and omission are key factors in agenda setting. The research observes that *NewsDay* and *The Herald* reveal contradictory messages when describing Makandiwa. *NewsDay*’s depictions about Makandiwa denote some hero worship with words such as “leader, founder, the prophet or charismatic, high flying” being employed to define him. These phrases are meant to dramatise the success of Makandiwa as a prophet and the progress that he is making within his ministry. *NewsDay* uses dramatic headlines to celebrate Makandiwa’s success and to capture audience attention e.g “Makandiwa foretells Turmoil.”

On the other hand *The Herald* refrains from the hero worship that is characteristic of *NewsDay* instead there is some scepticism that accompanies *The Herald*’s representation of Makandiwa. *The Herald* use phrases as ‘popular preacher.’ There is a note of scepticism regarding Makandiwa’s title of prophet and instead the writer prefers to acknowledge Makandiwa’s competence in preaching. It reduces Makandiwa to a celebrity who is at loggerheads with religious ethics and acts of service and humility. *NewsDay*’s portrayal of Makandiwa’s deeds and religious activities reiterates the newspaper’s worship of Makandiwa. *The Herald* on the other hand disregards Makandiwa as a man of God. *The Herald* do not entirely focus on Makandiwa, it uses Makandiwa’s popularity to publicise state affairs and national issues. With regards to Makandiwa’s followers, *NewsDay* observes that they are many and they have benefited from the prophecy whereas *The Herald* regards them as forceful and intense.

The scholars also observe that the way Makandiwa is represented in these two papers has to do with media ownership and control. *NewsDay* is a privately owned newspaper, whereas *The Herald* is the State Owned hence uses Makandiwa to publicise state agenda. The papers select and exclude information so as to meet their respective agendas. There are political influences at play hence *NewsDay* seems to use Makandiwa to attack the government while *The Herald* uses him to publicise state affairs. They also acknowledged that the religious beliefs of individual journalists and commercial interests have a bearing on the content of the papers. The study therefore recommends that the media has to uphold its traditional role of informing, educating
and entertaining regardless of ideological inclinations. The study concludes that the media constructions are biased but they confirm the fact that Pentecostal prophets are asserting themselves in the public sphere and perhaps unsettling the hegemony of political leaders. This study is crucial because it concentrates on media representation which is also the focus of the present study. It also brings the idea that the media does not only represent the truth but it makes selections. This allows the researcher to consider factors that are outside the text itself that might affect the way traditional and faith healers are represented.

2.6 Conclusion
The chapter has reviewed literature on representation and religion. On religion focus was on global, African and Zimbabwean voices. From the review it has been ascertained that media representation is not a true reflection of the society. It is selective and ideological in nature and is always characterised by overtones of voices of those that are responsible for the production of the representations. This has got implications on the study in that it brings the idea that what we see in newspapers is not the only truth about traditional and faith healers thereby allowing the researcher to probe more about traditional healers. On the global level there are two prominent voices about the African religion which are at loggerheads. One of the voices subscribes to the idea that the African first learn about religion from the European and the other one which says that the African has always been religious. The early European writers among them Hegel (1952) and his successors subscribe to the idea that Africa is ahistorical and that it lacked the knowledge of God. Amongst global voices on the other hand are scholars like Karenga (1993) who sees religion as a vital part of Black life. There is also Ani (1994) who concentrates on the relationship between religion and ideology. Her idea is that the European religion was used to form an ideology that in turn destroyed African religion. Williams (1987) also talks of the destruction of Black civilisation. These scholars among others subscribe to the idea that Africans are the mothers of civilisation which was stolen by the Europeans through colonisation and slavery. This school of thought says that Africans have always been religious people prior to the coming of the European and their religion was castigated and destroyed by the Europeans. Such information was of paramount importance to the study of representation of traditional and faith healers as it allows the researcher to take a historical stance in analysing data. Scholars of
African and Zimbabwean descent agree on the centrality of religion, faith healers and traditional healers in African and Zimbabwean societies. They agree on the idea that these health practitioners are still relevant in present day societies since Africans trace the origins of illness from the spirits. They are of the idea that; with this conception of illness Africans and Zimbabweans in particular cannot do without the services of faith and traditional healers since these are the people who have access to the spiritual world. They also talk about the harm that colonialism has inflicted on traditional healers but goes on to say that colonialism did not manage to do away with traditional healers and that they will persist forever. To them the role of the faith and traditional healer is indispensable to Africans. The writings of Africans and Zimbabweans bear witness of the success story of traditional and faith healers. These views drive the study into interrogating why there is a gap between what is happening in society and media representation of traditional and faith healers.
CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction
The previous chapter focused on literature review. The aim of the chapter was to provide a deeper understanding of the area under study. This chapter explains the theoretical underpinnings adopted for carrying out the research. It provides a detailed account of the theories used and justification for the critical canon that were chosen for the study. The study is guided by Molefi Kete Asante’s Afrocentricity and the extended pragma-dialectic theory. The theories are utilised together to direct argumentation in the proceeding chapters. The Afrocentric theory is a theory of change which protects the interests of Africans. It answers the question, “What is in the best interest of Africans?” and it desires African Renaissance. This theory is appropriate for this study because it allows the researcher to approach the problem from an African perspective. Through the use of this theory the researcher provides an Afrocentric appreciation of the representation of traditional healers and the effort is in search of African renaissance in the context of African peoples’ reclamation and defence of their indigenous religion. The extended pragma-dialectic theory is a theory of discourse analysis which provides the researcher with the tools of analysing newspaper articles. Since the study deals with media discourse the extended pragma dialectic theory is the appropriate theory for the study because it allows the researcher to examine how language is used to bring about different ideas about traditional and faith healers. Together the two theories are used to conceptualise, analyse and evaluate newspaper articles.

3.2 Afrocentricity
The Afrocentric theory is a theory of change that was popularised by Molefi Kete Asante in 1980. Asante (2007a:2) observes that Afrocentricity is a paradigmatic intellectual perspective that privileges African agency within the context of African history and culture. It is a theory which is anti-domination and anti-hegemony as noted by Mazama (2001) who says that Afrocentricity is an anti-western world view and perspective. It counteracts the grant hegemonic narrative that regards all that is not Europe unworthy. Generally, it is a theory that is opposed to theories that dislocated Africans in the periphery of human thought. It is a theory that recognises that the state in which Africa finds herself in is not a natural one but a creation of Europe. It is manmade; a brainchild of European thought and behaviour. Gwekwerere (2010:124) boldly
states that “Afrocentricity facilitates the critical realisation that Europe deliberately invented the non-humanity of Africans, targeted them for decapitation and educated them against themselves”. It moves from the idea that Africans were moved from the centre by Europeans and is opposed to viewing the world from a European perspective. It is fundamentally a theory of change that revolutionises African people’s thinking. Asante (1998:96) says “to be Afrocentric is to be quite radical because it is about a fundamental shift in the way we have viewed African people and phenomena.” His idea is that African people have for a long time been viewed through European lenses and as a theory the Afrocentric theory provides Africans with a new lens of perception through which anything African should be appreciated. To this Gwekwerere (2010:110) says:

Afrocentricity challenges the defining principles of European supremacist domination of African people and other majority people of the world. It seeks the liberation of information, images, concepts, definitions and symbols from European hegemonic control, which keeps African and other majority people psychologically shackled.

The idea here is that the image of Africa has not always been as it is but it has been tarnished by Europeans who have pushed Africans to the margins of human history. The African has been dominated, defeated, harassed and conquered by the European. Mkabela (2005:179) notes that “… Africans have been moved off of social, political, philosophical and economic terms for half a millennium.” On the other hand, Gray (2001:ix) says “As we move forward in history, it must always be remembered and recounted that there was a time in the Earth’s history when African people were physically and psychologically free, healthy and self-defining”. He further says that “Simultaneously, it must be remembered and recounted that near the end of the 1800s, Africans were being invaded and disrupted by Europeans, Europeans who had given themselves the mission and goal of conquering and colonising the people of Africa and extracting and exploiting the natural resources of the continent of Africa”. This implies that the state of Africans is not a natural one but it is a historical accident. The state of Africa is generally in the interests of others, they have been deliberately pushed to the margins by Europeans. Since the African encountered the European, her life was never the same again because of the European’s grand plan of conquering and plundering. It is then that she lost her self-consciousness and the Europeans took upon themselves the duty of defining the African in whatever way that they wish. This state of affairs has survived for so many centuries.
The foundation of the theory lies in the fact that Africans were pushed to the periphery through slavery and colonisation. Interestingly, as Asante (2007a:57) puts it, “the colonisation of Africa was not only a physical act but an intellectual one.” This has bred mental enslavement and psychological incarceration. Afrocentricity is therefore developed to challenge and question the status quo as it provides a new way of viewing the African world. It is a theory that discredits the philosophy which holds one race as superior and another inferior. In short it is a theory and paradigm which is against any form of domination. It is quintessentially a critique on domination. It advocates for a situation where Africans free themselves from the chains of the Europeans. It is from the western ideas that Africans together with their culture have been relegated to the margins. The theory deals with the oppressed people and is concerned with rebuilding lost pride and glory among Africans. The Afrocentric theory strives to relocate African people historically, economically, socially, politically and philosophically. Asante (1998) notes further that Afrocentricity is a ‘critical perspective’ consisting of placing African ideals at the centre of any analysis that involves culture and behaviour. It is a theory that privileges African agency within the context of African history and culture. It challenges the place that is being occupied by Africans and suggests that it is time that Africans forge forward and claim their proper position. According to Asante (2007c:32) “Afrocentrists tend to pose three questions which are: (i) How do we see ourselves and how have others seen us? (ii) What can we do to regain our own accountability and to move beyond the intellectual and cultural plantation that constrains our economic, political and scientific development? (iii) What allied theories and methods may be used to rescue those African ideas and ideals that are marginalised by Europe and thus in the African mind as well?”

According to Gray (2001:3) “Afrocentricity is the belief in the centrality of Africans in post-modern history.” Asante (1998:xii) says “Afrocentricity is a moral as well as an intellectual location that posits Africans as subjects rather than as objects of human history and that establishes a perfectly valid and scientific basis for the explanation of African historical perspectives.” It advocates for a situation where Africans become inevitable players and makers of their own history rather than just spectators. For Afrocentricity, Africans should occupy the centre stage which according to Asante (1998:21) “liberates the African by establishing agency as the key concept for freedom. It gives people the platform to examine all data from the standpoint of Africans as subjects and human agents rather than as objects in a European frame.
reference.” It means that the African is occupying a foreign space in fact, is dislocated. Asante (1991:172) decidedly says:

Afrocentricity is a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of an African person... It centres on placing people of African origin in control of their lives and attitudes about the world... As an intellectual theory, Afrocentricity is the study of ideas and events from the standpoint of Africans as the key players rather than victims... It is Africa asserting itself intellectually and psychologically, breaking the bonds of western domination in the mind an analogue for breaking those bonds in and every other field.

From the above, it is clear that the theory advocates for total freedom and it recognises Africans as people who can do for themselves as contrary to what Europeans say. For Europeans Africans cannot do without the help of Europeans. The theory revers the indigenous African’s point of view hence it castigates the treatment of Africa as ‘the other’. Asante (2003) says metaphors of location and dislocation are the principal tools of analysis as events, situations, texts, buildings, dreams, authors are seen as displaying various forms of centeredness. To Gwekwerere (2010:118) “Afrocentricity is all about remembering the dis-remembered, re-connecting the dis-connected, re-orienting the dis-oriented and emancipating the enslaved.” WaThiong’o (2009:88) says “Re-membering Africa is the only way of ensuring Africa’s own full rebirth from the ages into which it was plunged by the European renaissance, Enlightments and modernity.” In summary, it is against any form of supremacy and it concentrates on developing, sustaining and introducing the totality of the African’s existence to the world. Consequently the relocation of Africans to their proper and respected position is its major intent.

Afrocentricity is identified by its five characteristics as put forth by Molefi Asante. Asante (2007:33) identifies the following key characteristics:

- An intense interest in psychological location as determined by symbols, motifs, rituals, and signs.

- A commitment to finding the subject-place of Africans in any social, political, economic, architectural, literary or religious phenomenon with implications for questions of sex, gender, and class.

- A defence of African cultural elements as historically valid in the context of art, music, education, science and literature.
- A celebration of centeredness and agency and a commitment to lexical refinement that eliminates pejoratives about Africans and other people.

- A powerful imperative from historical sources to revise the collective text of African people.

The first characteristic of Afrocentricity is an interest in psychological location. Asante (2007a:25) says “location is a principal activity of the Afrocentric analyst.” Any situation must be studied and analysed in relationship to psychological time and space. Asante (2007a:42) says “The direction and orientation out of which African people operate is prioritised and determined by symbols, motifs, rituals, signs and language that African people create.” In order to understand anything it should be located within a certain historical period. History is given a central place in Afrocentricity. Wilson (1999:48) says people who suffer from a lack of knowledge of themselves and of their history are people who suffer from a loss of identity. Afrocentrists believe that nothing happens in a historical vacuum. They subscribe to the fact that everything anchored within a certain historical epoch.

The Afrocentric researcher should always begin with history. Afrocentricity emphasises the importance of taping on history when analysing data. The work of Afrocentric thinkers should always be anchored in history. Afrocentrists move from the angle where they believe that people cannot understand the present unless they are placed in the context of history. The idea is that there is always a correlation between the present and the past where the present is always informed by the past. Afrocentrists should always draw from the most instructive and constructive information from the past. Gray (2001:102) says “It includes drawing from the past functionally, anchoring efforts in the past; gleaning the most instructive and constructive information from the African past.” This implies that the past is the key to the present. By taping on history, it in a way takes into consideration the experiences of African people.

Describing the importance of history in the Afrocentric approach Tembo (2012) says it involves returning to the source as we forge into the future. He goes on to say there is need to reach back into the past and take with us all that works and is positive. Asante (1998:181) says “Without paying attention to African ownership of values, knowledge and culture, it is impossible to ferret
out the manifold ways that a text can be interpreted”. The research analysed on historical facts, culture and tradition of traditional healers and their depiction in newspapers. The researcher analysed whether the newspaper producers are taping on history when representing traditional and faith healers. Turning to a people’s history is crucial as it allows the researcher to dig into the experiences of Africans which in turn shapes how traditional and faith healers should be represented. This also allows Africans to understand their background, be able to rebuild their image and fight against any form of domination. By taping on history the researcher is offered with the tools to identify the many faceted factors that affect the way traditional and faith healers are represented. Thus the research drew from historical facts, culture and tradition of Africans in order to understand better the depiction of traditional and faith healers. The traditional healer is part and parcel of the African culture and guiding post to African traditional religion therefore it is important to look back to a time where traditional healing was functional and interrogate all the historical facets that affect how faith and traditional healers are represented.

The centrality of Africana people as subject in all phenomena be they social, political, economic or religious is the second characteristic of Afrocentricity. Afrocentrists must take care to seek the subject role of African people, ideas and concepts. Asante therefore advocates for African centeredness which to Mkabela (2005) means to be located as an agent not as the other. Harth (2012) says the aspect of the other has made it possible to view Africans as people who are primitive and backward. It separates Africans from Europeans and therefore constructs a certain way of looking at the world. This means that with Afrocentricity Africans are able to castigate the subaltern place which has always been conferred to them by Europeans.

Afrocentrists regard Africans as agents in the world and not mere spectators. This idea is subscribed to by Mazama (2003:5) who says “the key in Afrocentricity is epistemological centeredness which involves placing Africans as self-willed agents instead of objects of investigation. The idea that Africans are subjects in the building of world civilisation is central to Afrocentricity. Stewart (2004: vii) says that “ancient Egypt was truly an African civilisation and the degree of debt owed to ancient Egypt by Western civilisation is very huge.” Afrocentricity therefore views Africans as mothers and fathers of world civilisation which means that they are initiators and authors of world civilisation. It challenges the European view that civilisation began in Greece and clings to the idea that it was stolen from Egypt through colonisation and
slavery. To this Asante et al (2008:106) say “Afrocentric analysis is not only a critique on domination but a critique on hierarchy and patriarchy because the analysis stems from all forms of oppression.” The role of Africans as subjects and initiators of the world civilisation is stressed in Afrocentricity. It castigates the idea that Africans are just recipients of European civilisation. It stresses on the idea that Africans should reclaim their central position in the building of world civilisation hence they should condemn the object position which peripherises them to the margins of world history. It is therefore regarded as a theory of agency which endeavours to view Africans as agents rather than spectators to historical revolution and change. To this end Asante (2010:52) says, “Afrocentricity seeks to examine every aspect of the subject place of Africans in historical, literary, architectural, ethical, philosophical, economic and political life.” The theory demands the recognition of the contributions of Africans to humanity and towards civilisation.

In Afrocentricity there is a strong belief that Africans were thrown into the margins of human thought through colonialism and slavery whose aim was solely to dehumanise. To this Gray (2001) sees the role of an Afrocentric thinker as that of humanising and harmonising. According to Gray (2001) any work that qualifies to be Afrocentric should have at its core the intent to harmonise and humanise. This extends the idea that Africans should be proud of themselves; they should recognise what they have managed to achieve and should recognise the potential that is bestowed in them. Gray (2001:90) says “Any such effort also demonstrates a commitment to restoring and maintaining harmony with African persons and the African community and thereafter, between the African the ecosphere and all communities.” This idea guards against anything that hurts the being of Africans and strives to protect good relations among Africans. Afrocentricity intends to resurrect and restore African people to their original position since it recognises that Africans were once a great people.

Afrocentricity provides the possibility of interpreting characteristics of African life from an African perspective. It entails that Africans must determine their reality and view of the world. African phenomena should be looked at from the standpoint of Africans as people with agency and not as victims. The theme projects Africans from a positive perspective. It realises that an Afrocentric thinker should tap the most empowering aspects of African culture and it emphasises restoring people to their traditional state of greatness. The study holds that traditional and faith
healers represent African civilisation and allows the researcher to find out how such a civilisation is treated in Zimbabwean newspapers. The idea helps the researcher in analysing whether traditional healers have a place in present day societies. With this idea in mind the researcher can inquire whether the media is doing the work of restoring the pride that traditional healers once hold. It also permits the researcher to find out whether the media is doing justice or is doing the work of humanising and relocating traditional and faith healers to a respected place. This theme is important to this study because in Zimbabwean newspapers traditional healers are negatively portrayed contrary to the idea that these people were highly looked up to in the traditional societies. It follows that there is need to resurrect them. The study aims to instil trust in African religion through deconstructing the myths and restoring confidence in their religion which is being demonised by the media. It is the task of the study to show that traditional and faith healers are important and functional therefore should be accorded the subject place in newspapers. The media should communicate about the subject position of traditional and faith healers. It is the quintessential intent of this study to humanise traditional and faith healers. The theory is relevant since it endeavours to protect the image of Africa, hence according Africans the subject position.

According to Asante (2007a:43) “The third characteristic of Afrocentricity is that there should be total safeguarding and defence of African culture.” Africana values, habits, customs, religions, behaviours and thoughts must be protected and clear of all interpretations that are un-African. African culture has been a subject of European ridicule; it has been misinterpreted and undermined. Asante (1990:9) defines culture as “shared perceptions, attitudes, pre-dispositions that allow people to organise experiences in certain ways.” African values, habits, customs, religions, behaviours and thoughts must be protected and be interpreted from an African point of view. There should be defence of African cultural elements thus Asante (2010) says in the Afrocentric view the problem of cultural location takes precedence over the topic or data under discussion. This implies that Afrocentricity locates African culture at the centre. Commenting on the fact that the African culture is usually disregarded Asante (2008:106) says that “Since Europe has asserted Greece as the standard by which it judges and evaluates all things cultural, Africa finds it difficult within this context, to speak of its own classical art, music and literature.” What this means is that for something to be judged as cultural it should meet European standards. Afrocentricity recognises that Africans have low self-esteem. Afrocentricity confronts and challenges this notion as it seeks the defence of African cultural elements. For Afrocentricity,
Africa has its own unique culture which should not be judged through European lens. Asante (1991:171) says “There is need to establish a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person. He concluded that it is crucial to “preserve the African culture ancestral traditions and show respect for one’s personal and collective ancestors.” Mazama (2003:5) on the other hand says that “Afrocentrists operate within African ways of knowing and existence and results in the implementation of principles, methods, concepts and ideas that are derived from our own Africana cultural experiences.” The prioritisation of African people’s customs, beliefs, motifs, values and conceptualisations is the rubric in the operations of Afrocentricity. Afrocentricity therefore emphasises the importance of culture. It entails cultural liberation hence Modupe (2003:58-59) says “Afrocentricity is the continental and diasporic African collective cognitive will to cultural and psychic liberation with the ultimate goal being Africana existence on Africana terms.” It stresses the idea that phenomena should always be anchored in culture. Tembo (2012) says Afrocentric writers must emphasise that culture is core, fundamental matter that must be understood. Asante (1998:8) emphasises the need for Africans to appreciate their culture when he says:

By regaining our own [African] platforms standing on our own cultural spaces and believing that our own way of viewing the universe is just as valid as any, we will achieve the kind of transformation that we need to participate fully in a multicultural society. However without this kind of centredness, we bring almost nothing to the multicultural table but a darker version of whiteness.

The way traditional healers perceive illnesses is grounded in culture and it is also important to note that they represent one of the most important religious leaders hence they are core to a definition of culture. This idea directed the research into evaluating whether the media is doing the work of developing appropriate cultural knowledge when representing traditional and faith healers. It helps the researcher to evaluate whether the way traditional and faith healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers is congruent with a cultural understanding of traditional and faith healers. The cultures, motifs, traditions, histories of African people must inform the way traditional and faith healers are represented in newspapers. The history and culture of Africans should be reflected in the way that traditional healers are represented. Stories about traditional and faith healers should provide a culturally accurate understanding of traditional and faith healers.
The other characteristic of Afrocentricity is that there should be a celebration of “centeredness” and agency and a commitment to lexical refinement that eliminates pejoratives about Africans and other people. This means that the terms and definitions used to define African people are not outsourced from other cultures but instead are derived from Africana social historical experiences and languages. To this Pellerin (2012:155) says “In the Afrocentric theory language plays a critical role.” Afrocentrists seek to connote that the language used in a text is based upon the idea of Africans as subjects. This entails that the person who creates the text must have some understanding of the nature of the African reality. Pellerin (2012:156) goes on to say that “Afrocentric operationalisation is achieved when it is rid of language that negates Africans being agents within the domain of Africana history that is inclusive of African cultural values and that is welcoming of African people’s understanding of their own reality.” In other words, Afrocentricity is against anything that demeans Africans. To this Asante (2007a:9) says Afrocentricity is a self-conscious approach to the agency of African people within the context of their own history. This implies that newspapers should not make use of terms that present traditional healers as objects. This characteristic guide the research by seeing to it that the terminology that is used in newspaper articles is non oppressive and does the work of liberating and humanising traditional healers and faith healers.

Asante (2007a:44) says that the final basic characteristic of an Afrocentric project is a commitment to a new narrative of Africa which consists of generating accurate accounts of Africana phenomena. A narrative that is produced should not falsify the social history of Africa but promote culturally centred histographies. This characteristic challenges the idea of always looking at Africa as a failed continent. Asante (2007a:44) says that “This entails creating a new corrected history of African people throughout the world.” This has to do with the liberation of the African mind. The idea is that Afrocentric thinkers should aim at promoting authentic Africana histories and religions. The representation of traditional and faith healers should therefore be conscious. Stories should be written from a centred position where traditional and faith healers are portrayed as subjects. The way traditional and faith healers should be represented in Zimbabwean newspapers should try to do away with the myths and misconceptions that were created by the colonialists against the African religion. The media should not stereotype, it should do the duty reorienting people and of humanising traditional
healers and faith healers. Stories about traditional and faith healers should seek to put Africans at a respectable position.

In summary Afrocentricity has connotations of location, re-centering, self-consciousness, freedom among others. The study holds that Afrocentricity is ideal for the research because it has a major thrust on history, culture and religion which are the major issues analysed by the research. The images of traditional healers and faith healers were analysed from an Afrocentric point of view. The theory has been chosen because it places the history and culture of African people at the core of any analysis. Afrocentricity is sensitive to African values and serves what is in the best interest of Africans; hence it centres on self-discovery, self-re-evaluation and self-esteem.

3.3 Extended Pragma Dialectic Theory
The extended pragma dialectic theory is a theory of argumentative discourse that was developed by Peter Houtlosser and Frans H.van Eemeren at the University of Amsterdam in 1996. The major tenet of the theory is that an argument does not exist in a single individual, it is part of a discourse procedure where two or more individuals who have a difference of opinion try to find a solution or to arrive at an agreement. The general idea is that in argumentative discourse two distinguishable participant roles can be identified and these are that of a protagonist and that of an antagonist. In general people hold that an argument is always characterised by quarrelling, bickering and bombardment of each other hence it becomes strange to approach media discourse from an argumentative point of view. However, for the purposes of this study the extended pragma dialectic theory is exploited following the idea that those who write newspaper articles do not do that for the sake of it. They do that to sell a certain standpoint which is sometimes contrary to what the recipients hold and they employ the same strategies as those that are used in argumentative discourse to express their views. As a result, they intend to convince their readers to align with their line of argument hence media discourse in this context is treated like argumentation and the extended pragma dialectic theory as the rightful theory to interrogate stories about traditional and faith healers. To support their views those who write newspaper articles should provide rational argumentation. They should be able to convince the recipients.

The extended version brings the aspect of rhetoric in the reconstruction, a concept that has been relegated in argumentative discourse. Initially, the pragma-dialectical method of analysis
concentrated solely on the dialectical aspect. The underlying idea then was captured by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) who say that people engaged in argumentative discourse are characteristically oriented towards resolving ‘a difference of opinion and may be regarded as committed to norms instrumental in achieving this purpose, maintaining certain standards of reasonableness and expecting others to comply with the same critical standards. This has been the norm in theories of argumentation, particularly those that are normative in force. Houtlosser and van Eemeren, however, recognised that arguers have more in mind, that is, in as much as they may want to achieve reasonableness; they also want outcomes to be in their favour. To them arguers do not just argue for no reason, but to win the argument. This is quiet relevant to the study because producers of newspaper articles provide argumentation to support their ideas about traditional healers and faith healers. It follows that the theory provides the lens that enables the researcher to identify the moves that are used in media discourse to convince the recipients about a certain standpoint.

Houtlosser and van Eemeren incorporated rhetoric in the pragma-dialectic theory, by making it a counterpart of dialectic and thereby ending the phase for pragma-dialectic theory. According to Knox (2009), the separation between rhetoric and dialectic has been counterproductive in the study of argumentative discourse since dialectical norms and rhetorical devices are not mutually exclusive. This entails that the integration aims to bridge the yawning conceptual and communicative gap that has separated dialectical and rhetorical perspectives. The Extended Pragma-dialectic theory is also popularly known as strategic maneuvering. The idea of strategic maneuvering is brought in because as arguers try to balance between arguing reasonably and trying to win the argument they make use of strategic moves. King and Polka (2010) say that van Eemeren and Houtlosser expanded the rules for critical discussion through the construct of strategic manoeuvring. Similarly producers write their stories in a reasonable and yet favourable way.

Basically strategic manoeuvring is designed to retain the balance between descriptive and normative components of pragma-dialectical theory. Its focus is on rhetorical strategies that allow discussants to follow the rules for critical discussion and maintain a focus on rational resolution. Fahnestock and Tonnard (2011:8) observe the following of Strategic Maneuvering: “The theory views argumentation as a means to realise the dialectical aim of resolving a
difference of opinion on the merits, while taking into account the fact that arguers also purse rhetorical aims.” It is generally a theory whose aim is to balance rhetorical and dialectical aims in argumentative discourse. To this effect, dialectic and rhetoric are complimentary and useful entities in the analysis of argumentative discourse.

The extended pragma-dialectic theory invalidates the gap between dialect and rhetoric. van Eemeren and Houtlosser are of the opinion that, arguers do not only endeavour to argue reasonably, but also to win the discussion. In view of this argument, van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2011) say, there is no reason to assume that the rhetorical norm of artful persuasion is necessarily in contradiction with the idea of reasonableness that lies at the heart of pragma dialectics.

They go on to identify the theoretical starting points for extended pragma-dialectics which are that the speakers are committed to resolving the difference of opinion effectively, that is, according to what they regard as being in their favour and that the two commitments, are in principle reconcilable. van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2007) define dialectic as a method for dealing systematically with critical exchanges, that amounts to the pragmatic application of logic, a collaborative method of putting logic into use. Rhetoric is seen as the theoretical study of the potential effectiveness of argumentative discourse in convincing or persuading an audience in argumentation.

In extended pragma-dialectical theory it is mandatory that at every stage arguers recognise dialectical as well as rhetorical considerations. According to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002:138):

Each of the four stages in the resolution process is characterised by a specific dialectical aim. The dialectical objective of a particular discussion stage always has a rhetorical analogue and the presumed rhetorical objectives of the participants must be specified according to stage, it depends on the dialectical stage one is in what kind of advantage can be gained.

The four stages that are being referred to here are the confrontation stage, opening stage, confrontation stage, argumentative stage and the concluding stage. In each of these stages both parties have to reconcile their own preferences for rhetorical effectiveness with the dialectical
requirement of reasonableness inherent in the stage concerned. It follows that the way parties manoeuvre strategically is solely dependent on the stage of the argumentation.

On the confrontation stage the dialectical objective is to achieve clarity about the specific issues that are at stake in the difference of opinion and about the positions that each of the parties assume in the difference of opinion. Tindale (2006) says that the dialectical aim is to identify and define the disagreement. Rhetorically, the parties aim to make the strongest case and to launch the most effective attack. Since the idea is to direct the confrontation in the way that is most beneficial from its own perspective, each party attempts to achieve a definition of the difference of opinion that favours the issues this party wishes to discuss.

The dialectical objective of the opening stage as according to van Eemeren (2010) is to establish an unambiguous point of departure for the discussion. Discussants strive to define the discussion’s point of departure in terms of shared starting points. Rhetorically parties aim to arrive at a point of departure that serves their own interests best. Here the aim is to establish the most workable starting points and the most opportune allocation of burden of proof.

According to Tindale (2006) the dialectical objective in the argumentation stage is to put forward and critically test arguments for and against standpoints. The main concern is to test the acceptability of standpoints. According to van Eemeren (2010:44) “For participants who act as protagonists this means that they have to advance their arguments responding to the critical doubts expressed by the antagonists until no further questions remained to be discussed and vice versa.” At this stage the rhetorical objective of the parties is to make the strongest case and to launch the most effective attack. To Eemeren (2010) here the protagonists try to make the strongest possible case by articulating in their argumentation those reasons that satisfy the antagonists and continue to do so until no critical doubts remain unanswered.

In the last stage of argumentation which is the concluding stage, the dialectical objective is to try to agree on the disputed standpoints. van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) say that parties establish the result of the critical testing procedure and decide jointly whether the protagonist can maintain the standpoint in the light of criticisms advanced by the antagonist and vice versa. Rhetorically each party makes an attempt to claim victory. van Eemeren (2010) says each party claims that its own position has carried the day.
In order to balance effectiveness and reasonableness in extended pragma-dialectic theory interlocutors should make use of three analytical aspects which are topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices. According to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2007) these three aspects of strategic manoeuvring run parallel to classical areas of interests which are topics, audience orientation and stylistics. Fahnestock and Tonnard (2011) say that while argument choice and audience accommodation are dimensions in the selection of a rhetorical strategy; linguistic devices are the points of their realisation and hence of their retrieval in analysis. The three aspects of strategic manoeuvring work hand in hand, they are actually inseparable. In explaining this idea van Eemeren (2010) is of the opinion that there is no strategic manoeuvring that can occur without making simultaneous choices regarding how to use the topical potential, how to meet audience demand and how to employ presentational devices. To him strategic manoeuvres should take note that these three aspects affect each other. To explain the interconnectedness of these three aspects of strategic manoeuvring, van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002:141) use the term convergence. They say:

We shall say that a fully-fledged argumentative strategy is being followed only if the speakers’ or writer’s strategic maneuvering in the discourse converges with respect to choosing from the topical potential, adapting to the audience demand and the exploitation of presentational devices.

Pertaining to convergence, Tindale (2006) says a further criterion for assessing whether a rhetorical strategy is being followed in any stage is that of convergence. He considers convergence as a criterion for success. To him a rhetorical strategy is considered ‘optimally successfully’ when such a fusion of influence occurs. This entails that the choice of one’s presentational devices is dependent on the type of audience one will be dealing with and the topic at hand or vice versa. To this Fahnestock and Tonnard (2011:104) say van Eemeren and Houtlosser’s concept of strategic manoeuvring, incorporating rhetorical insights has three ‘inseparable’ aspects “… in trying to be effective an arguer naturally summons the best available arguments, considers their acceptability with the audience addressed and tries to present or frame them in the best way possible given the outcome desired”. It follows that to achieve one’s goal, an arguer should not treat the three in isolation. According to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) topical potential can be regarded as the set of relevant alternatives available at a given stage of the resolution process. It has to do with the viewpoint, angle or perspective from which the arguer selects the argumentative move he makes in strategic manoeuvring. From this the
arguer is expected to select a topic. In topical potential arguers select materials from those available according to what they believe best advances their interests. King and Polca (2010) quoted van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2000) who say that the role of topical potential is most pronounced at the opening stage when discussants are identifying their standpoints. An arguer’s choice of topic should satisfy the goal of audience persuasion.

In strategic manoeuvring an audience is given a central position; it is ideally the focal point. The kind of moves that an arguer advances should correspond with the expectations and needs of the audience. In other words the whole argumentation process is in a way shaped by the beliefs of an audience. van Eemeren (2010) says that two issues are by definition crucial to audience demand and these are the identification of the audience and identification of its demand. In audience demand, the driving force is to achieve communion or to establish common ground with the audience. According to Houtlosser and van Eemeren (1999:484-85):

For optimal rhetorical result the moves must in each stage of the discourse also be adapted to audience demand in such a way that they comply with the listeners’ or readership’s good sense and preferences.

It follows that by meeting audience demand, the arguer will be trying not to hurt the feelings of the audience. It is without doubt that the audience somehow occupies a central place in strategic manoeuvring, since it seems to determine how to go about the other two of the aspects of strategic manoeuvring which are topical selection and presentational devices. These two seem to be determined by the audience that will be dealt with, that is to say that the presentational devices or the topics chosen are pointed to by the audience in question. To support this Tindale (2006:17) says that:

While the primary motivation behind strategic manoeuvring seem to be the interest of the arguers, as important in the success of strategic manoeuvring is the interest of the audience. And the manoeuvring that ensures is for that in reason, constrained by the audience.

This suggest that in a way, or implicitly the audience is important for the other features in strategic manoeuvring, since the topics to be chosen and the most effective devices for presentation are both decided with the audience in mind.

Presentational devices generally have to do with the language and the kind of expressions that an individual uses to express his line of argument. Presentational devices deal with the how part of
the argumentation, that is the ways employed by the arguers to bring about their views. Presentational devices do not affect the argumentative organisation of discourse but the ways it should be rendered in order to maximise its effectiveness and its compliance with the presumed audience demand. Echoing the importance of presentational devices van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002:140) quoted Cicero (1942) who observes an unbreakable unity between expression and content-verb and res. This explains the idea that presentational devices are chosen in relation to the information to be communicated. This entails that presentational devices differ with different messages. Tindale (2006) gives rhetorical figures as examples of presentational devices and he sees their purpose as that of impressing moves upon the mind and creating ‘presence’. They make things present to the mind.

Dissociation is a strategy used at any stage of argumentation in strategic maneuvering. The strategy was introduced in studies of argumentation for cases when a speaker reorders and rearranges existing notional content. According to van Rees (2009:250):

Dissociation is one of the general categories of argument schemes, association and dissociation distinguished by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) in their taxonomy of argumentative techniques, The New Rhetoric’.

In association the speaker establishes a link between two independent entities in order to transfer judgements of the audience about the one thing to the other one. It is done to align the hearer with one particular notion. The strategy of dissociation is used at any stage of argumentation, when presenting a particular state of affairs in a way that is favourable to their interests. According to Andone and Gata (2010) in dissociation a protagonist carries out three moves which can be analytically distinguished, that is he makes a distinction among various aspects of a notion; he makes a concession with respect to some of the aspects by indicating their acceptance and he negates some other aspects of the initial notion by indicating their non-acceptance. It means that the main constitutive elements of dissociation are a distinction, a concession and a negation. Van Eemeren (2009) says that in dissociation, the speaker splits up a notion considered by the audience to form a unitary concept into two notions one of which comprises the aspects of original notion that the speaker considers real or central, the other aspects that he considers apparent and peripheral. In this definition the aspect of distinction is apparent in the sense that the notion the audience regards as a conceptual unit is split up into two notions each comprising part of original one. The issue of definition is also apparent because as a result the original term
is newly defined and alongside the old one a new term is called into being receiving a definition of its own.

In most cases, dissociation is used when a negative judgement of an outright accusation is directed against someone that one is committed to defend. In such cases it is not always feasible to plainly and directly deny the accusation. One would resort to a strategy that is not clear, that is when dissociation can be used. The inability to plainly deny accusation may have grounds of which one might be because of the fact that the speaker has earlier committed to the same assertion which he/she does not subscribe to anymore. This makes it impossible to deny without running the risk of being accused of being inconsistent. It can therefore be said that dissociation can be used to do away with an accusation of inconsistency and to redefine a situation. van Rees (2009) gives an example of dissociation as he quotes a situation where a granddaughter of Maria Montessori, responding to an accusation that her grandmother was vain and ambitious. She says, ‘she was not vain ambitious, but loved beautiful clothes and that she was driven.’ She puts it in a lighter way than her critics did. Dissociation can therefore be used to lighten a difficult situation, and to change the interpretation of the facts. Dissociation can further be used to rule out any further argument; in cases where it is presented as common knowledge.

According to van Rees (2009) dissociation may serve dialectical reasonableness by enabling the speaker to execute various dialectical moves. It can as well promote rhetorical effectiveness because it serves critical dialectical functions as improving the clarity, precision and consistency of language used in the discourse. One can therefore conclude that dissociation is a powerful rhetorical instrument which can be manipulated by arguers to come up with a situation that is favourable to them.

In extended pragma dialectical theory argumentation arguers maintain at least two goals that is resolving a difference of opinion in one’s favour which is a rhetorical goal and appearing reasonable in front of an audience which is dialectical goal. These goals are assumed to be potentially in conflict, and arguers seek to balance them. According to van Eemeren (2009:840):

In our view, in strategic maneuvering the pursuit of dialectical objectives can go well together with the realisation of rhetorical aims, this does of course not automatically mean that in practice the two objectives will always be in perfect balance.
Although in strategic manoeuvring adherence to the rules of a critical discussion is a special requirement. Failure to adhere to the rules impedes the aim of dispute resolution and results in derailments hence van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2007) say that if a party allows his commitment to a critical exchange of argumentative moves to be overruled by the aim of persuading the opponent, we say the strategic manoeuvring has derailed. In strategic manoeuvring derailments and fallacies are synonymous hence van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2007) say that fallacies are derailments of strategic manoeuvring. This concept has been captured by van Eemeren (2009:84), who says that “Because derailments of strategic manoeuvring always involve violating a rule for critical discussion, they are on par with the wrong moves in argumentation designated as fallacies.” Fallacies ‘populate’ our reality and they are dialectically defective attempts at maintaining both an appearance of reasonableness and deciding a difference of opinion in one’s favour. To van Eemeren (2010) a fallacy obtains when an arguer shifts or evades the burden of proof or wrongly accuses the other party of an inconsistency. From the perspective of strategic manoeuvring fallacies can be described as derailed attempts to balance the dialectical and rhetorical aim. It should however be noted that a fallacy or a derailment only occurs when an arguer fails to balance effectiveness and reasonableness, but giving effectiveness preference, that is it occurs when the rhetorical aim gains upper hand, thereby violating reasonableness and not vice versa.

Another point to note is that the arguers cannot do without fallacies; this is because of the strong desire to win arguments that arguers sometimes have, hence fallacies are strategies used by arguers to win arguments. There are circumstances when arguers are carried away by the need to be persuasive that their moves become unreasonable. The reason behind these fallacies is that people also and perhaps even primarily are interested in resolving the difference of opinion effectively in favour of their case.

Such practices as wrongly accusing the other part of an inconsistency and calling names are examples of fallacies. Fallacies in strategic manoeuvring usually go unnoticed and it is in such cases that they normally have undesired results. van Eemeren (2009:14) subscribes to this notion and gives reasons as to why fallacies can pass unnoticed. He says that fallacies have counterparts that are manifestations of the same mode of strategic manoeuvring. He further goes on to say that ‘they are not completely different animals’ that are immediately recognisable as such, so that one
can be easily fooled. This shows that fallacies do not stand out, they are not apparent, hence can be regarded as part and parcel of the whole process of strategic manoeuvring.

In connection to this the fact that rules for critical discussion can be violated or adhered to means that we can talk of sound of fallacious acts in strategic manoeuvring. van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002:142) therefore says:

Particular ‘types’ of categories of strategic manoeuvring can be identified and for each of these types specific conditions can be formulated that need to be fulfilled if the manoeuvring is to remain dialectically sound. Certain instances of strategic manoeuvring can then be recognised as sound while other instances of strategic manoeuvring can be pinned down as fallacious because the relevant conditions are not satisfied.

The idea of sound and fallacious moves can be regarded as a reason why fallacies can go unnoticed. This has been commented by van Eemeren (2009) who contends that each mode of strategic manoeuvring has its own continuum of sound and fallacious acting and the boundaries between the two are not always immediately crystal clear.

The other reason as to why it is difficult to identify fallacies as according to Jackson in Eemeren (2009) is because it is a common assumption of reasonableness that each party will normally uphold a commitment to the rules of critical discussion, so that the idea of reasonableness is conferred on every discussion move that is in fact fallacious. The part that commits a fallacy can pretend to be reasonable and if it is deliberate the party that creates it covers it such that it appears reasonable. The trust that people have that people follow rules makes them unsuspicious as a result if one decides to be unreasonable, he or she can go without being noticed.

Fallacious acts can also be witty that everyone may like them, hence are sometimes ignored if they are seen not to affect the result of argumentation. Whilst fallacious acts can be very difficult to identify, arguers should be on the lookout, because they distort an argument since they prevent the resolution of a difference of opinion on the merits. Apart from that arguers use them to their advantage.

The theory is applicable to the study in the sense that when reporters write stories they have a certain opinion that they want their audience to align with. In other words they argue for a certain idea and try to defend the idea through various ways. They justify their line of argument and do that in a way that encourages their recipients to align with a certain point of view. What this
means is that the stories about traditional healers and faith healers are in a way arguments where the writers strive to defend a certain line of argument. This entails that they are arguing for a certain way of looking or viewing traditional and faith healers. It follows that views from the theory are utilised in the study to guide the researcher as to how to appreciate discourse and to find out whether traditional and faith healers are portrayed truthfully. It also allows the researcher to find out the ways that are used by story writers to defend their standpoints. Producers of newspaper stories can strategically use argumentation to create common ground with their readers. Through the use of strategic manoeuvring it can be explained how producers of newspaper stories strive to reach a mutual decision that is based on a reasonable discussion process, while simultaneously aiming to convince their readers that their own point of view is most favourable. Basically the extended pragma-dialectic theory provides an analytical tool that is both normative and descriptive in nature. It is a tool that is used to assess the extent of reasonable conduct demonstrated by the participants in discussion.

3.4 Conclusion
The chapter has discussed the theories that guide the study. Afrocentricity is a theory of social change that challenges European hegemony. It is a theory which is against all forms of domination and it focuses on African Renaissance, which according to Wa Thiong’o (2009) has to do with the rebirth and the spring of a new vision of being. The theory is historically grounded, culturally specific and focuses on recentering Africans as agents in human interaction. The chapter has demonstrated that the Afrocentric theory allows the researcher to take a cultural and historical approach towards the representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. The theory allows a reconceptualisation of African phenomena and allows researchers to come up with objectives and questions that attempt to do away with the social conditions that African people face. The theory also gives the researcher a platform to operate within the confines of knowing and consequently results in the use of methods and ways that come from the experiences of Africans. The extended pragma-dialectic theory on the other hand is a theory of Argumentative Discourse which allows the researcher to unravel the moves that are taken by those who produce newspaper discourse on traditional and faith healers to convince the readers to align with them. It is a tool that is used in the research to analyse newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers. The two theories direct the development of arguments in the
proceeding chapters. The findings of the current research are in corroboration with this hybrid theory.
CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction
The chapter outlines and discusses the methods that were used in the study for data collection, presentation and analysis. It focuses on the research design, data collection, population, sample population and data analysis procedures. According to Chikoko and Mloyi (1995), research methodology refers to the methods which are used in collecting information for research purposes while to Bailey (2007:63), “methodology includes such things as sampling, gaining entrée, resolving ethical concerns and maintaining relationships in the field and the methods that the research uses.” It relates to the manner in which the researcher solicits information from respondents. A methodology should specify the methods but only in order to justify their use for defined purposes in specified situations and circumstances. Neuman (2006:2) says, “Methods are sets of specific techniques for selecting cases, measuring and observing aspects of social life, gathering and refining data, analysing the data and reporting on the results.” Generally, methodology is a way of thinking about and studying social reality: it gives a sense of vision. It deals with where it is that the analyst wants to go with the research. It is important to note that the methodology should be directly related to the research questions; that is it should be chosen with research questions in mind because it deals with everything that is done in a bid to find answers to research questions. In this chapter, the research paradigm, research design, population, data collection methods and methods of data analysis are going to be identified and explained. The chapter basically maps the way towards answering research questions.

4.2 Research Paradigm
According to Chalmers (1982:90) a paradigm is “made up of the general theoretical assumptions and laws and techniques for the application that the members of a particular scientific community adopt.” It is understood as a set of assumptions, concepts, values and practices that constitutes a way of viewing reality.” Consequently a paradigm is accompanied by specific methodologies. The way researchers go about researching is determined by the research paradigm that they adopt. Chalmers (1982:91) identifies the following as five components that constitute a paradigm:
- Explicitly stated laws and theoretical assumptions.
- Standard ways of applying the fundamental laws to a variety of situations.
- Instrumentation and instrumental techniques that bring the laws of the paradigm to bear on the real world.
- General metaphysical principles that guide work within the paradigm.
- General methodological prescriptions about how to conduct work within the paradigm.

This implies that a research paradigm provides a worldview that guides research and how researchers operate. On the whole, a research paradigm encompasses a worldview, the methods and techniques that are adopted when conducting research. It has to do with the nature of inquiry hence guides the way research is to be undertaken. It provides assumptions about what constitutes valid research and what research methods are appropriate when carrying out a research. There are generally three paradigms which are the qualitative, quantitative and mixed method research paradigms. This research adopted a qualitative research paradigm.

4.2.1. Qualitative research paradigm

According to Rakotsoane (2012:21) “Depending on whether the researcher is interested in the quality or quantity of what is being studied, the research can thus be either qualitative or quantitative.” The study adopted the qualitative research paradigm because it targets quality. According to Berg (2007:3) “quality refers to the what, how, when and where of a thing, its essence and ambience.” The qualitative research paradigm is a type of scientific research and just like scientific research it seeks to answer questions systematically, uses a predefined set of procedures to answer the questions, collects evidence, and produces findings that are applicable beyond the immediate boundaries of the study. This research paradigm focuses on the meanings, traits and defining characteristics of events, people, interactions, setting, cultures and experience. Leedy (1997) describes qualitative research as a systematic, interactive and subjective approach used to describe life experiences and give them meaning. Qualitative research is meant for researchers to understand people; the social and cultural contexts within which they live and allows humans to talk as humans. Its goal is a deeper understanding of the research object. It considers the point of view of the participants and takes the context into consideration.

This research required that the researcher finds out how traditional and faith healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers and why they are represented in the manner in which they are represented. It follows that in line with the qualitative research paradigm this research
was concerned with answering the how and why, questions about the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. The research achieved this through interacting with people who are concerned with traditional and faith healers and those that are involved in coming up with newspaper articles. Parallel to qualitative research, this study sought to critically engage the field of traditional and faith healers and to unravel all that is considered when people write stories about traditional healers. It sought to unfold the reasons behind media representation of traditional and faith healers, hence qualitative research is the appropriate methodology. Put simply, qualitative research refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and description of things and in this case the way traditional and faith healers are represented was that which needs to be defined. Qualitative methodology is an approach that centralises and places primary value on complete understandings, how people understand experience and operate within milieus that are dynamic and social in their foundation and structure.

4.2.1.1 The Tenets/Philosophical underpinnings of qualitative research
Miles and Huberman (1994:5) describe the following as features which occur in most species of qualitative research.
1. It is conducted through an intense and or prolonged contact with a specific field or life situation. These situations are typically banal or normal ones, reflective of the everyday lives of individuals, groups, societies and organisations.
2. The researcher’s role is to gain a holistic overview of the context under study, its logic, its arrangements, and its explicit and implicit rules.
3. The researcher attempts to capture data on the perceptions of local actors from the inside through a process of deep attentiveness of empathetic understanding and suspending or bracketing preconceptions about topics under discussion.
4. Reading through these materials the researcher may isolate certain themes and expressions that can be viewed with informants, but that should be maintained in their original forms throughout the study.
5. A main task is to explicate ways people in particular settings come to understand, account for, take action and otherwise manage their day to day situations.
6. Many interpretations of this material are possible, but some are more compelling for theoretical reasons on the grounds of internal consistency.

7. Relatively little standardised instrumentation is used at the outset.

8. The researcher is essentially the main measurement device in this study.

9. Most analysis is done with words.

Qualitative research methodology is planned, ordered and is grounded in the world of experience. One key characteristic of qualitative research is that it takes place in natural settings and in this study concern was on the way traditional and faith healers are portrayed in selected Zimbabwean newspapers and tabloids. Snape and Spencer (2003:4) are of the view that in qualitative research, “The research designs adopt a flexible method of investigation and the researcher conducts inquiry in real world rather than in experimental manipulated settings.” Ritchie (2003) says it provides a unique tool for studying what lies behind or underpins a decision, attitude, behaviour or other phenomena hence it allows the researcher to make a critical appraisal of the representation of traditional and faith healers in selected Zimbabwean newspapers through the use of varied methods. Qualitative research therefore accommodates the answering of the why and how, questions behind the representation of traditional and faith healers.

Qualitative research provides the researcher with results in a narrative format and it investigates a topic in depth, interprets the outcomes based on the participants, not the researcher’s point of view and creates a holistic picture of the situation. It focuses on how people are affected by events that go on around them and gives primacy on interaction between variables. To this Cresswell (2009:175) says that “the researcher keeps a focus on learning the meaning that the participants hold about the problem or issue and not the meaning that the researchers bring to the research. In this research, the researcher delved into respondents’ perceptions, feelings and attitudes towards the representation of traditional healers. The research was characterised by intense interaction with research respondents to understand the meanings that they give to issues that do with traditional and faith healers as well as their representation. Over and above, the researcher became more familiar with the subject of the representation of traditional and faith healers and qualitative research paved way for a deep understanding of respondents’ views on
faith and traditional healing. The other advantage with qualitative studies is that they typically have small sample sizes which allow the researcher the time and opportunity to have extensive interactions with the participants.

Apart from hypothesis generating qualitative research is descriptive in nature. The descriptive thrust makes it possible to make generalisations thus Leedy (1997:107) observes that, “By observing the specifics of situation, qualitative researchers hope to increase their understanding of the broader phenomenon of which the situation is an instance.” The research adopted a qualitative approach because the research questions require explanation or understanding of the representation of traditional and faith healers. The aim was to obtain and analyse information on the processes and practices of traditional and faith healers as they are portrayed in newspapers.

Any qualitative research utilises a variety of means to collect data. The use of a variety of methods to collect data is also important in the sense that it yields a more complete picture of the phenomenon under study. This corresponds to the tenets of triangulation in research. In triangulation the strengths and weaknesses of each method must complement each other resulting in improved validity of the data collected. Each of the techniques can be incredibly useful for giving insight into a particular aspect of what is being studied. According to Cohen and Manion (1980) triangulation is an attempt to map out, or explain more fully the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint. Triangulation is the key to seeing the same thing from different perspectives and thus to be able to confirm or challenge the findings of one method with those of another. It is a strategy for increasing the validity of evaluation and research findings. The qualitative research design was chosen because it allows triangulation.

The other advantage of using qualitative research was that it recognises the central role of the researcher in the research process. Researchers are regarded as key informants and as primary instruments of data collection and analysis. It is the researcher who engages the situation, collects data and makes sense of data collected through a variety of means.

Basically, qualitative research has to do with how and why things happen. It aims at gaining a holistic overview of the study including the perceptions of the participants. The main focus is to understand the way people act and account for their actions thus it is associated with words,
language and experiences rather than measurement, statistics and numerical figures. In this regard, the qualitative research design was used because it allowed the researcher to explore how traditional and faith healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. It also permitted the researcher to identify the reasons behind how they are portrayed and it also enabled the researcher to appreciate phenomena from a historical perspective by interacting with traditional healers and faith healers, people who use the services of these practitioners and those who are consumers of media products. This research paradigm allowed the researcher to deeply engage and interact with people.

In this study, the researcher used an exploratory and descriptive qualitative research paradigm. Burns and Grove (2003:313) define exploratory research as “research conducted to gain new insights, discover new ideas and/or increase knowledge of a phenomenon.” Exploratory research is done to investigate the full nature of the phenomenon and other factors that are related to it. The research intended to discover and learn the truth, increase insight and gain knowledge about the portrayal of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. It endeavoured to have an in-depth understanding of the role of traditional healers and faith healers particularly their representation in Zimbabwean newspapers and factors that determine how they are represented. The exploratory approach enabled the researcher to share in the understanding and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and relate to their everyday life.

According to Polit and Hungler (2004:716) “Descriptive research refers to research studies that have as their main objective the accurate portrayal of the characteristics of persons, situations or groups.” It attempts to describe systematically a situation, phenomenon or attitudes towards an issue. This approach was anticipated to provide a clear picture of the business of traditional and faith healers and how they are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. Burns and Grove (2003:201) say that “descriptive research is designed to provide a picture of a situation as it naturally happens. It may be used to justify current practice and make judgment and to develop theories.” In this study, it was used to draw insights into the respondents’ perceptions about the representation of faith and traditional healers in selected Zimbabwean newspapers and tabloids. It enabled the researcher to obtain access to hidden data that concerns traditional, faith healers and how they are represented in the media. It endeavoured to give an accurate description of traditional and faith healers.
4.3 Research design

Khotari (2004) says that decisions regarding what, where, when, how much, by what means concerning an inquiry or a research study constitutes a research design. According to Punch (2009) research design is a basic plan for a piece of research which consists of strategy, the conceptual framework, the question of who and what was being studied and the tools and procedures used for collecting and analysing empirical materials. He goes on to say that the research design sits between the research questions and the data and it shows how the research questions will be connected to data. Leedy and Ormrod (2001:91) define it as “a complete strategy of attack on the central research problem.” Accordingly a research design can be described as a researcher’s plan of action for answering the research problem. Wimmer and Dominick (1987) hold the view that it is a blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. In brief a research design is a process of planning and organising the components that constitute a research. It focuses on what is done to make a research successful. Khotari (2004:32) further says that “the important features of a research design includes the following: It is a plan that specifies the sources and types of information relevant to the research problem and that it is a strategy specifying which approach will be used for gathering and analysing data. Precisely, a research design should contain techniques to be used for data gathering, the population to be studied and the methods to be used in processing and analysing data.” This entails that it is a guide to how the research is carried out. It discusses everything that is done in a bid to answer research questions and its purpose is to minimise errors by maximising the reliability and validity of data.

According to Punch (2005:134) “Qualitative research is not a single entity but an umbrella term which encompasses enormous variety.” Flick (2006:5) says “the label qualitative research is a generic term for a range of different research approaches.” This suggests that within qualitative research there are different approaches to research which differ in their theoretical assumptions, their understanding of their object of investigation and their methodological focus. From the different qualitative research designs the present study specifically adopted a case study as the appropriate research design for the study.
4.3.1 Case study
As indicated above, this research adopted a case study as the appropriate design for the study. The researcher chose a case study as the research design because it is an effective way of explaining a specific situation. Also since the case study is rich in detail it can become immediately useful in addressing issues from the case. It provides answers to the questions why and how things happen in a certain way.

4.3.1.1 Case study defined
Fraenkel and Wallen (2003) view a case study as an in-depth investigation of a phenomenon at a specific instance or location. The unit under analysis can be an event, individual, company or country. According to Yin (2012) a case is generally a bounded entity, a person, organisation, behavioural condition, event or other social phenomenon. The case serves as the main unit of analysis in a case study. According to Somekh and Lewin (2005) a case study is an approach to research which seeks to engage with and report the complexity of social activity, in order to represent the meanings that individual social actors bring to those settings and manufacture in them. According to Punch (2005) a case study provides in-depth understanding of a case in a natural setting, recognising its complexity and its context. Yin (2012) provides three situations that create relevant opportunities for applying the case study method which are:

1. The choices among different research methods including the case study method can be determined by the kind of research question that the study is trying to address. Accordingly case study methods are pertinent when your research addresses either a descriptive question—what is happening or has happened?—or an explanatory question—How or why did something happen?

2. By emphasising the study of a phenomenon within its real context, the case study favours the collection of data in natural setting compared with relying on derived data.

3. The case study is now commonly used in conducting evaluations.

In the present study the unit under study was selected Zimbabwean newspapers. The study sought to understand the way traditional and faith healers are represented in selected Zimbabwean newspapers. In a case study, the researcher intensively studies a single case or a phenomenon on the assumption that it is typical of other cases. The study is detailed and intensive; the phenomenon is studied in context and multiple data collection methods are used.
4.3.1.2 Underpinnings of Case study

Kumar (2008) gives a summary of the characteristics of a case study as:

1. Aims at deep and detailed study of a unit. The selected unit is studied intensively, i.e. studied in minute detail.

2. The researcher can take a single social event of such units for his study purpose; he may even take a situation to study the same comprehensively.

3. It is a comprehensive study and it covers a wide cycle of time.

4. This method adopts a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach. Every possible effort is made to collect information concerning all aspects of life. As such it depends on our perception and gives us a clear insight into life.

5. Under this method an effort is made to know the mutual interrelationship of casual factors.

6. The researcher has to rely more on his own power of observation and sense of logic than facts.

The general idea in using case studies is to get a deeper meaning hence you are not going horizontal but you have to go deep. The aim of the case study research is to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under examination. This has been alluded to by Somekh and Lewin (2005) who say that the case study design privileges in-depth inquiry over coverage. The basic question in case study inquiries is “What is happening here?” It allows the researcher to make valid hypotheses as it helps to study and understand the human nature. In this instance, the case study was utilised as it was hoped that it can provide evidence to explain what is taking place in newspapers. It offered information that explains the factors and reasons behind how traditional and faith healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. The case study was selected on the assumption that the results can be generalised to similar cases. This is subscribed to by Cohen and Manion (1980) who postulate that the purpose of the case study is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitutes the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs.
The researcher chose a case study as the research design because it is an effective way of explaining a specific situation. Furthermore, since the case study is rich in detail it can become immediately useful in addressing issues from the case. The case study allowed the researcher to fully examine the attitudes of respondents at a specific location, that is, in selected Zimbabwean newspapers. A case study is also an effective way of explaining a specific situation. It provides answers to the questions why and how things happen in a particular direction or trend. The idea that it makes use of multiple methods to collect data makes this an appropriate design since it results in thick descriptions.

The cases for the study were selected Zimbabwean newspapers and tabloids. The current study utilised newspaper articles about traditional and faith healers as its primary sources of information. Haralambos and Holborn (1990:720) hold the view that “primary sources of information consist of data collected by the researchers themselves during the course of their work.” This study utilised newspapers namely; The Herald, Kwayedza, Daily News, Umthunywa and NewsDay as well as two tabloids, B-Metro and H-Metro.

*Kwayedza* was chosen particularly because it makes use of one of the most widely spoken Zimbabwean indigenous languages, Shona that is spoken by at least 75% of the total population. It follows that the paper targets the Shona speaking people. Besides that, the paper deals with issues that have to do with the daily lives of the Shona people and among other issues the paper regularly deals with issues of faith and traditional healing. It is important to note that the issue of traditional and faith healers is a religious issue hence an issue that affects people since it forms the foundation of their survival.

*Umthunywa* was used in the sense that it is a paper that deals with issues that affect the Ndebele people. The paper makes use of Ndebele which is one of the major languages of Zimbabwe. The use of *Umthunywa* made it possible to assess whether the issue of traditional and faith healers is treated in the same manner as amongst the Shona as represented in *Kwayedza*.

The tabloids, *B-Metro and H-Metro*, were selected for the study because they are papers that deal with the day to day experiences of people. They largely deal with social issues in which
traditional and faith healers feature prominently in such papers. *B-Metro* and *H-Metro* were selected as representative samples of all Tabloid papers.

*The Herald, Daily News* and *NewsDay* were used particularly because they are the mainline newspapers. *The Herald* mainly concentrates on what happens in Harare and surrounding areas. *The NewsDay* and *Daily News* unlike *The Herald* are independent papers. The researcher chose the papers because they bring in an interesting and comparative dimension to the study of the way traditional and faith healers are represented. A comparative analysis allowed the researcher to look at the way traditional and faith healers are represented in all the newspapers in order to establish the extent to which they differ with regards to the way they represent traditional and faith healers. This is possible because the different papers that were chosen for the study have different and varied orientations. It is interesting to discuss whether or not there is a paradigm shift in representation of traditional healers in main line newspapers and tabloids and even between state newspapers and independent papers.

### 4.3.2 Phenomenology

Phenomenology aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature of the meaning of our everyday experiences. It seeks to understand a phenomenon from the point of view of those who experience it. It focuses on uncovering the meanings that are contained in texts. In this case phenomenology was relevant since the research intends to understand newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers. According to Grbich (2007:84) “Phenomenology is an approach which attempts to understand the hidden meanings and the essence of an experience together with how participants make sense of these.” It follows that with phenomenology the researcher understood the aspect of traditional healing and faith healing. This approach allowed the researcher to understand the phenomenon under study from the angle of the respondents thus Leedy and Ormrod (2010) says phenomenology attempts to understand people’s perceptions, perspectives and understandings of a particular phenomenon. Rakotsoane (2012:42) says that “In phenomenology human experience is examined through the descriptions that are provided by the people involved.” Human experience is important for phenomenologists. It is regarded as the source of all knowing and as the foundation of the knowledge of themselves and the world in general. The goal of this design is to understand the phenomenon as it appears and is experienced by those being studied. Through interaction with research respondents the researcher grasped the
perceptions of the respondents with regards to the office of the traditional and faith healer and understood the perceptions of the people in relation to how they are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. The advantage of phenomenology is that it involves exploring in depth experiences or texts to clarify their essences, hence newspaper articles were explored. To Grbich (2007:84) “its advantage is that it can document changes in feelings and experience in depth and over time. Its major outcome is the description of the structure of consciousness of everyday experiences as experienced at first hand.” The general understanding is that the media has got great influence on how people make sense of the world. By exploring phenomena through phenomenology people can understand a variety of aspects that affect media representation and this might result in a shift in how they perceive the world.

4.3.3 Research instruments
As mentioned earlier on, one of the key characteristics of a case study design is that it is achieved through the use of a variety of research instruments. The research questions for this study were answered through gathering information using a variety of means. Research instruments are the methods used to gather data for the study. According to Borg and Gall (1989) research instruments are devices or techniques used to obtain standardised information for subjects in the sample. For the purposes of this study, the researcher used both primary and secondary data collection methods. Haralambos and Holborn (1990:720) say that “primary sources of information consist of data collected by the researchers themselves during the course of their work.” They further note that primary sources would include data collected by researchers using questionnaires, interviews, and observation. For the purposes of this study selected newspapers and tabloids, questionnaires and interviews constituted the primary sources of data. Selected newspaper articles were the primary object of study complemented by interviews and questionnaires. Secondary sources on the other hand are described by Haralambos and Holborn (1990:720) as those sources that “consist of data that already exists.” They say that such sources include statistics, mass media products, letters etc. In the study the researcher used books, journal articles, the internet and theses as secondary sources of data.

4.3.3.1 Questionnaire
a) Questionnaire defined
Burton and Bartlett (2009) define a questionnaire as a form prepared and distributed to secure responses to questions. They further note that it is that form of inquiry which contains a
systematically compiled and organised series of questions that are to be sent to the population samples. According to Babbie (1990) a questionnaire is defined as a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate to analysis. They are research tools through which people are asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order. The questionnaire that was used in this study comprised both closed-ended and open-ended questions.

b) Closed-Ended and Open-Ended Questions

Open-ended questions are those questions that have more than one answer and which can be answered in many ways. These questions give the researcher the opportunity to express himself and they open up conversations. Such questions include the possibility of discovering the responses that are given spontaneously and thus avoiding the bias that may result from suggesting responses to individuals. According to McGuirk and O’Neill (2005) open ended questions allow participants to share their understandings, experiences, opinions and interpretations as well as their reactions to social processes and situations. They produce verbatim comments, hence add depth to results. In this study they were used to understand how people perceive the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers.

On the other hand close-ended questions are those questions that demand a single word answer. Foddy (1993:127) says that “they limit the respondent to the set of alternatives being offered, while open ended questions allow the respondent to express an opinion without being influenced by the researcher.” The advantage of closed questions is that they are easy to administer, to code and to analyse and they allow for comparisons. These questions are useful in gathering information that places participants in relation to others. Through such information the researcher got to know the background of researchers and try to understand how they view the representation of traditional and faith healers. Close-ended questions were also preferred because they produce results that are easily summarised. Through the use of a questionnaire that comprises of closed and open-ended questions the results of the study have depth.

c) Advantages of the questionnaire

The researcher chose to use the questionnaire in this study since each respondent was given the same set of questions as everyone else in the sample and thereby ensuring reliability of the instrument and it allows the responses of participants to be comparable. This made the analysis
of responses comparatively easier. Since the questionnaire designed comprised of both open and closed ended questions, this allowed the researcher to use qualitative analysis which examines the uniqueness of individuals’ lived situation and each person is said to have his or her own reality which is subjective. As for data analysis, the questionnaire allows classification and ranking of data.

The advantage of questionnaires is that they may give the freedom to respond in private. In this regard questionnaires have the advantage of ensuring confidentiality hence the responses that are obtained through the use of questionnaires are most likely to be objective. This is so because respondents have the freedom to express their views about the representation of faith and traditional healers. Because they do this in their own time and in their own privacy, questionnaires are most likely to increase the validity and reliability of information. The questionnaire was useful in this study since information of personal nature on views and attitudes often may be obtained more readily especially if the respondent is permitted to omit personal and contact details. Thus chances of truthfulness are high since a questionnaire is confidential. In addition, Haralambos and Holborn (1980) say that the use of a questionnaire is a method which is comparatively cheap, fast and efficient when collecting large amounts of data from a large population.

Gillham (2000) in Gray (2009:339) says that the popularity of questionnaires is based on their inherent advantages which are:

i. They are low cost in terms of both time and money. They can be sent to hundreds or even thousands of respondents on relatively little cost.

ii. The inflow of data is quick and from many people.

iii. Respondents can complete the questionnaire at a time and place that suits them.

iv. Data analysis of closed questions is relatively simple and questions can be coded quickly.

v. There is a lack of interview bias.

The questionnaire is most suitable for three types of data variables which are attitudes, behaviour and attributes. Behaviour can be habits, experiences or intentions. Attributes are about
respondents’ personal characteristics e.g. sex and age. Attitudes variables measure what respondents think about something. The questionnaire was therefore used in this research to solicit information about the way respondents feel about traditional and faith healers, the agenda of newspaper stories about faith and traditional healers and the experiences of respondents with faith and traditional healers. Questionnaires were used in the research to obtain factual information on how people view traditional and faith healers and on the factors that affect the way they are represented. It allowed the gathering of respondents’ attitudes and behaviour towards traditional and faith healers and in relation to how they are represented. The research sought to explore the feelings of people towards traditional, faith healers and their representation in the media.

Questionnaires were designed in such a way that they captured the pertinent issues of the study. Questionnaires were constructed in such a way that they capture the three variables which are attitudes, attributes and behaviour and in such a way that they address the different research questions. Open and closed questions enabled the researcher to get rich data. Questionnaires provided instruction on what is required of respondents.

**d) Disadvantages of the questionnaire and how to overcome the limitations.**

Despite the advantages noted above, it can be noted that questionnaires are subject to bias since the respondents may find some questions vague and therefore fail to understand the questions. This problem was countered by employing a pilot test which helped the researcher to test the validity of the questions and also to check if the questions are correctly and unambiguously phrased. Apart from that they were designed in such a way that they are easy for respondents to comprehend.

The other disadvantage of a questionnaire is that respondents can take advantage of the fact that they are confidential and end up giving false information or assign someone else to answer the questionnaire. This problem however arises when research is done without informed consent. The researcher sought informed consent by explaining clearly the purpose of the study and assuring respondents of anonymity. Questionnaires do not allow room to probe for further explanations and also to observe non-verbal communication skills. This was overcome by use of triangulation, which is the use of a variety of research instruments to collect data. The other
problem with questionnaires is that of low return rate. The researcher distributed questionnaires personally to avoid low returns.

e) Target population and sampling for the Questionnaire

Questionnaire respondents were selected on the basis of volunteer sampling. This is whereby respondents are given the freedom of volunteering to participate in the research. Logistically their volunteering to participate as respondents may expedite the research process because volunteers may be genuinely interested in the research topic or just curious about how research is conducted. The researcher asked for volunteers to answer questionnaires from members of the public who are the consumers of newspaper stories and who are the people who utilise the services of traditional and faith healers. The general public was selected as key respondents because these are the people who rely on the services of traditional and faith healers. It follows that these people were selected because they provided information with regards to their experiences with traditional and faith healers. Their experiences have an impact on how they feel about the way traditional and faith healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. These were also selected because they are the consumers of the newspaper stories about faith and traditional healers hence they could comment on the way faith and traditional healers are represented in newspapers.

Media students’ answered questionnaires and these were selected because of their knowledge of media issues. These respondents provided information that has to do with the factors that are taken into consideration when people come up with media stories. These respondents shed light on the issues that can impede the truthful representation of traditional and faith healers. These people provided information about the dynamics of media discourse. Such information helped in understanding the reasons behind the way traditional and faith healers are represented.

Students who are studying Theology and Religious Studies as well as students from African Languages and Culture also answered questionnaires. These respondents were selected because it was assumed that they study different religions and African religions respectively, hence they were assumed to have knowledge about traditional and faith healers. The issue of faith and traditional healers is a religious issue hence their views clarified the role of traditional and faith healers in society. Students from the African Languages and Culture and those from Theology and Religious Studies provided information that enables people to understand the representation
of traditional and faith healers from a religious perspective. The student population was drawn from Midlands State University, Great Zimbabwe University and University of Zimbabwe.

All respondents who answered questionnaires provided information with regards to how they view traditional and faith healers and how they feel about the way they are represented; as well as to make a critical appraisal of the impact of the media on their understanding of faith and traditional healers. This means that through the use of questionnaires the researcher got to know about the feelings and attitudes of the recipients of newspaper articles towards traditional and faith healers. Questionnaires were distributed personally, through colleagues or through e-mails. Data solicited through questionnaires was supplemented by interviews.

4.3.3.2 The Interview
a) Defining the interview
An interview is a semi-personal method of collecting information. Borg and Gall (1989) define the interview as the collection of data through direct verbal interactions between the interviewer and interviewee. Bailey (2007:95) says “an interview is whereby the field researcher asks questions for the purpose of seeking information directly related to the research.” It is a conversation between people in which one person is the researcher. According to Gray (2009:369) the interview “…is used if the objective of the research is largely exploratory, involving the examination of feelings or attitudes.” This process allowed interviewees to express themselves at some length but has enough structure to prevent aimless mumbling. It is a very good way of accessing people’s perceptions, meanings, and definitions of situations and constructions of reality. The interview in this research was used to solicit detailed information about the representation of traditional and faith healers.

Telephone and direct interviews were used to gather data. In addition to that interview guides were e-mailed to key informants who are difficult to access. Through the use of interviews motivations behind the way traditional and faith healers as well as the attitudes of people towards these practitioners were explored.

b) Advantages of using interviews
In this research, the researcher used a semi-structured interview which is considered as an important supplement to observation. According to Chiromo (2006) it is more conversational and
freewheeling, which in turn sought deeper understanding of concepts. The advantage of a semi-structured interview is that it can depart from the set questions and follow the demands of the situation. It enables a free flowing conversation to develop around the questions and for exploration of previously unexpected avenues. Semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to explore issues as they arise and they allow the participant to tell the story in their own words. According to Mason (2002:62) “a semi-structured interview has four core features which are, dialogue between interviewer and interviewee: relatively informal conversational interviewing as opposed to rigid formal questions and answer sessions, a topic by topic or theme by theme narrative approach and it points out specific contexts within which knowledge is to be constructed or reconstructed.” They enabled the researcher to delve deep into a situation in a way that questionnaires are often unable to do. According to Chawawa (nd) the semi-structured interview provides a desirable combination of objectivity and depth and often permits gathering valuable data that could not be successfully obtained by any other approach. Semi-structured interviews are conducted with a fairly open framework which allow for focused conversation, unlike the questionnaire where detailed questions are formed ahead of time.

Interviews also have the advantage of the use of non-verbal codes which aid in the interpretation of information. They assisted the researcher to explore the perceptions of respondents towards the representation of faith and traditional healers. It follows that interviews gives a human touch as they allow some appraisal of the validity of the responses. The interviewer had access not only to what interviewees say but also how they say it, hence revealing the emotions behind the responses. They also give the respondents freedom of expression thereby allow ample information. Interviews also provide an opportunity for the researcher to probe deeply to uncover clues, open up new dimensions of a problem, and provide accurate complete accounts based on personal experiences. Gray (2009:369) says that “probes motivate the respondent to elaborate or clarify an answer or to explain the reasons behind the answer and they help focus the conversation on the specific topic of the interview.” In a conversation between an interviewee and an interviewer, the interviewees can share what they know and what they learn and they can add a dimension to the understanding of the situation thus enriching the data. The importance of the interview also lies in the fact that it enables the researcher to orally seek clarification on given areas.
In summation, interviews were of importance because they ensured a good return rate, provided highly personalised data, offered opportunities for probing and allowed the researcher to make use of non-verbal communication.

c) Disadvantages of using the interview as a data collection instrument
The disadvantage of using interviews is that they are time consuming. During an interview, non-verbal cues may lead to biased findings if the researcher is not careful and on this note, the researcher used these where necessary but without directing the interviewee’s line of thinking.

d) Target population and sampling for interviews
Interview respondents were selected purposefully. The researcher purposely chose to interview cultural activists since she believed they provided information that has to do with traditional healers and faith healers. These respondents were selected because it was assumed that they possess valid knowledge to do with cultural aspects. Cultural activists were believed to have knowledge about traditional and faith healers in general hence this group was expected to have an intense interest in how they are represented in the media. They provided descriptions of traditional and faith healers in different historical epochs and they also identified factors that shape the representation of faith and traditional healers.

Religious leaders and traditional healers as well as faith healers were interviewed. These key informants were the object of study in the research and they were the ones that suffer from media representation. They provided information with regards to why traditional and faith healers are presented and give a comprehensive analysis of what these traditional and faith healers really are and what they are expected of in society. Their perspectives were quite handy in this research. It is important for the voices of these people to be heard and the researcher also got insights into their personal experiences in the field of traditional and faith healing. It was also most likely that respondents from this group are interested in how they are represented in newspaper articles. By interacting with these informants the researcher understood how these people react to media representation.

Reporters and editors of newspaper were interviewed. These are the people that are involved in coming up with newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers. They were expected to shed light on the factors that are taken into consideration when producing newspaper articles and
the motivations as well as reasons behind media representation of faith and traditional healers. These respondents gave information related to the way faith and traditional healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. Insights into the ideologies informing the reporters in handling faith and traditional healers’ were also drawn from reporters and editors. Academics were also interviewed. These were considered to have considerable expertise in issues regarding faith and traditional healing. Through interaction with these informants the researcher got a chance to glean knowledge from individuals that have particular expertise. Academics provided some of the reasons behind the actions of traditional and faith healers.

Members of Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association (ZINATHA) and ZINIPA (Zimbabwe National Practitioners Association) were also interviewed. These are legal associations to which all traditional health practitioners should be registered in order to be recognised as legitimate. The respondents from ZINATHA and ZINIPA provided valued information particularly with regards to whether traditional healers are represented truthfully or otherwise. They provided information as to whether traditional healers are doing the work that they are expected to do. These key respondents provided this information since they are custodians of culture whose duty is to preserve and perpetuate Zimbabwe’s culture and morals. The information that these respondents provided is of great value since they have information that concerns how traditional healers and faith healers should behave hence can comment on how they are represented.

4.3.3.3 Desk research
Desk research is a term that is used loosely and it generally refers to the collection of secondary data or that which has already been collected. The research made substantial use of desk research. The researcher consulted books, journals, critical works, articles and dissertations to illuminate some of the ideas that were discussed in this study. The advantage of using desk research is that it allowed the researcher to make informed decisions, it is less expensive and data is easily available. It sustained, concretised, authenticated, and validated ideas that were raised in the study.

4.3.3.4 Textual Analysis
Textual analysis involves analysing texts. It is a method that is used for analysing written, verbal and visual messages. According to Schutt (2006) textual analysis is a systematic and objective
analysis of message characteristics. It is a survey of some documents or other records of prior communication. It is a kind of secondary data analysis procedure because it involves taking data from a text that already exists and subjecting it to a new form of analysis. Lasswell 1941 in Tutscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter (2000) are of the opinion that in textual analysis we look upon statements and signs as raw materials to be summarised, in order to bring out either the impact of content upon audience or the influence of control upon content. The advantage is that the researcher does not rely on what people say. Kothari (2004) says that it is when we make educated guesses at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of a text. It is a method that allows the researcher to obtain direct data. It is based on researchers’ interpretation of texts to understand the deeper meanings of texts and the likely interpretation by audiences. Finnegan (1996) in Punch (2005:226) says “All documentary sources are a result of human activity produced on the basis of certain ideas, theories or commonly accepted, taken-for-granted principles and these are always located within the constraints of particular social historical or administrative conditions and structures.” When engaging in textual analysis researchers should understand the social production and contexts of the texts. This is because the meanings of texts are informed by where they are used, by whom and to whom. The purpose of textual analysis is to describe the content structure and functions of the messages contained in texts. Newspaper articles about traditional and faith healers were used as objects of the inquiry. Textual analysis was used to gather information from newspapers about traditional and faith healers. With textual analysis the researcher found the ideologies that informed those who write newspapers articles and found out how those ideologies in turn affect stories about faith and traditional healers. Textual analysis was used to illuminate deeper meanings which may be revealed by the style used in writing those texts.

The researcher analysed texts from newspapers with the view that there are a lot of factors that are taken into cognisance when people are coming up with stories about faith and traditional healers. For this reason newspaper articles were approached from a historical perspective. The researcher went out of the texts; that is to consider aspects like social production and contexts of the texts in order to understand the reasons behind the representation of faith and traditional healers. This is because the meanings of texts are informed by where they are used, by whom and to whom. This in turn helped the researcher with the description of the content structure and functions of the messages contained in the articles. Newspaper articles about traditional and faith
healers helped the researcher to find the ideologies that informed those who write them and found out how those ideologies affect stories about faith and traditional healers. Deeper meanings which may be revealed by the style used in writing those texts were illuminated by analysing newspaper articles.

The researcher drew valuable information from the comments that were made by readers after reading articles about traditional and faith healers. Such feedback was invaluable to this research. These comments were valuable in revealing the opinions of the general public towards the representation of traditional and faith healers. This infers that the researcher relied on the internet in very large measure. The information was of value because it showed that those who read newspapers are not passive recipients of what they read from newspapers but conscious subjects who react to stories that they read. The information revealed information about how people feel about the way faith and traditional healers are represented in newspapers. Such information was rich in the sense that those who respond to newspaper articles do so at will hence the information is objective and expresses the true feelings of people towards the way traditional and faith healers are represented.

4.4 Population
Population is described by Best and Khan (1993) as the entire group about which some specific information is required. Sekaran and Bougie (2009:122) define population as “the total set of units in which the investigator is interested that is the larger set from which the sample is drawn.”

It involves all the objects and people or a more restricted part of that group in the study and these usually have common characteristics that are of interest to the researcher or which the researcher wishes to generalise the result of the research on. A population is therefore any group of individuals who have one or more characteristics in common that are of interest to the researcher.

The population for this study comprised of culturists, editors and sub-editors, reporters, academics, traditional healers, faith healers, religious leaders and members of the public who use the services of traditional and faith healers and who are the consumers of newspaper articles, and ZINATHA and ZINIPA members as well as students from the African languages and Culture department and from Theology and Religious Studies as well as from Media and Society Studies drawn from Midlands State University, Great Zimbabwe University, University of Zimbabwe.
4.5 Sampling
If a researcher desires to obtain information about a population through questioning or testing he or she has two basic options which are;

(1) Every member of the population can be questioned or tested and

(2) A sample can be contacted, that is only selected members of the population are questioned or tested.

Contacting and obtaining information from a large number of people is difficult, expensive, time consuming and in most cases impossible. Sampling is therefore a norm in research. According to Smarsh (2006) a sample is any number of the members of the population that has been selected to represent the population. Best and Khan (1998) added that a sample is a representation of subjects in a population. Thus sampling is critical in the creation of a representative part of the population. Sampling is an art or process or technique of selecting a suitable representative part of the population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population. In everyday life people tend to make conclusions about a given phenomenon after making a few observations about that phenomena and this is possible only through the use of sampling methods. Sampling is a process by which a relatively small number of individuals, objects or events is chosen and analysed in order to find out something about the entire population from which it was drawn. A sampling procedure provides generalisations on the basis of relatively small preparations of the population. Sampling is a process of drawing a sample from the population. Sampling has to do with the selection of the research population. The population which is referred to as the sample should be as representative as possible of the target population for it to make valid generalisations. Rubin and Babbie (2010) define a sample as a subset of a population observed for the purposes of inferences about the nature of the population. It is generally a representation of the population from which research respondents are drawn.

4.5.1 Sampling Techniques
The research adopted the non-probability sampling technique which is a sampling procedure in which there is no way of assessing the probability of the elements of population included in the sample. This is a technique where the process of case selection is non-random. This method is mostly used in humanities. In non-probability sampling one cannot specify the probability that each element will be included in the sample. The selection of sampling units in non-probability
sampling is quite arbitrary since researchers rely on personal judgment. Since elements are chosen arbitrarily there is no way to estimate the probability of any one element being included in the sample. The basic assumption in non-probability sampling is that there is an even distribution of characteristics within the population. This is what makes the researcher believe that any sample would be representative and because of that results will be accurate. The other advantage of using this method is that of convenience and less cost. Apart from that there are practical reasons that support the use of these methods. In this particular study the researcher used purposive and volunteer sampling. These sampling techniques were chosen for reasons of convenience and they allowed the inclusion of individuals from different strata of a population.

4.5.1.1 Purposive sampling
It is a sampling technique where the researcher deliberately chooses the respondents with some purpose or focus in mind, thus Gray (2009:141) says “the principle of selection in purposive sampling is the researcher’s judgment.” The rationale behind purposive sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest and that enables the answering of research questions. It entails an attempt to establish a good connection between research questions and sampling. In purposive sampling we sample with a purpose in mind. A sample is made which enables the researcher to specify her specific needs in a research. The most productive sample is selected to answer research questions, thus Patton (1990) in Bailey (2007) says the key to purposeful sampling is to select cases for systematic study that are information rich. It is a type of informant selection as people are constantly looked upon for knowledge and information and its advantage is that chances that only relevant information is collected are very high.

Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest three guidelines for selecting informants when designing any purposive sampling strategy. He says that informants should be knowledgeable about the cultural arena or situation or experience being studied; they should be willing to talk and should be representative of the range of points.

Simply put the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience. In purposive sampling the units are selected according to the researcher’s own knowledge and opinion about which ones they think will be appropriate to the topic area. The researcher selects people
knowing that they have the information to be used. Sampling is therefore considered as a strategic choice about with whom, where and how to do your research i.e. the way you sample has to be tied to your objectives.

Interview respondents of the research were selected on the basis of purposive sampling. The researcher purposely chose to interview culturists since she believed that they would provide information that has to do with traditional healers, religious leaders since they are believed to have knowledge about traditional and faith healers, producers of newspaper articles are also expected to provide information to do with the factors that are taken into consideration when producing newspaper articles. Purposive sampling was also used in selecting religious experts, and media experts. Through the use of purposive sampling the researcher was able to glean knowledge from individuals that have particular expertise. Purposive sampling was used because the emphasis of the research questions is on quality and not quantity hence it is fundamental to the quality of data to be gathered. Apart from that the inherent bias of the method contributed to its efficiency.

4.5.1.2 Volunteer Sampling
Questionnaire respondents were selected through the use of volunteer sampling. This is whereby respondents are given the freedom of volunteering to participate in the research. Logistically their volunteering to participate as respondents may expedite the research process because volunteers may be genuinely interested in the research topic or just curious about how research is conducted. The researcher asked for volunteers to answer questionnaires from members of the public who are the consumers of newspaper stories and who are the people who utilise the services of traditional and faith healers. Volunteers among University students from the Department of African languages and Culture, Media and Society Studies and Theology and Religious Studies answered questionnaires.

4.6 Ethical considerations
It is very important to consider ethical issues when conducting research. Ethics are described by Robson (1993) as rules of conduct, typically to conforming to set principles. Ethics are moral principles by which people can judge their actions as right or wrong, good or bad. Research ethics deal primarily with the interaction between researchers and respondents. Focus is mainly
on the well-being of research respondents. Simply they are norms for conduct that distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

When people engage in research they should ensure that the research procedures that they are likely to undertake do not cause any physical or emotional harm to the participants. Thus Bailey (2007:15) says “Ethical considerations permeate every aspect of the field research process from selecting the research topic to disseminating the results. The research was openly done without any deception. Bailey (1996) observes that deception might prevent insights, whereas honesty reduces suspicion and promotes sincere responses. The researcher sought informed consent from the respondents who filled an informed consent form before they participated in the research. Respondents consented voluntarily without being coerced. Silverman (2013:162) says “Informed consent entails giving as much information as possible about the research so that prospective participants can make informed decisions.” This implies that respondents were adequately made aware of the type of information the researcher wants from them, why information was sought, what purpose the research will be put to, how respondents were expected to participate in the study or how the respondents were directly or indirectly affected. The researcher informed respondents that they were participating in research and what it entails to participate in the research. The purpose and the nature of the research were well explained to prospective respondents before they chose to participate in the research. Respondents were informed that they have got a right to desist from participating in the research.

Confidentiality of the information supplied by the research respondents’ was guaranteed. Burns and Groove (2001:201) say that “Confidentiality is the researcher’s management of private information shared by the participants who must not be shared with others without the authorisation of participants.” Respondents were informed that the data that was gathered from them is going to be used strictly for research purposes. The audio tapes that were used were transcribed by the researcher herself.

The researcher observed the anonymity of respondents. The researcher promised not to reveal the participants of the research. Respondents were assured that identifying information will not be made available to anyone. Respondents were advised that their names were not going to be mentioned. The researcher considered that the subject of religion is very sensitive, hence was on
guard not to ask sensitive questions. Data will be destroyed five years following the completion of the dissertation. The researcher made sure that all works are well referenced and acknowledged.

4.7 Data analysis
According to Shamoo and Resnik (2003) data analysis is a process of systematically applying statistical and logical techniques to describe and illustrate, condense, recap, and evaluate data. Marvasti (2004) says all forms of qualitative analysis seem to be based on three procedures 'data reduction, data display and conclusion. Coffey and Atkinson (1996:9) on the other hand say that “analysis is the systematic procedures to identify essential features and relationships.” It is the process of transforming the data through interpretation. This implies that the purpose of data analysis is to summarise data and to organise information in a meaningful way that is comprehensible to the recipients.

During field research the researcher coded field notes. Codes and coding were used as a way of indexing data or identifying categories of data. This allowed the researcher to identify patterns that emerged from the data and to classify data into categories. The information collected was organised and analysed in various forms.

This research used narrative data analysis and data was presented through the use of narratives and tables. Data was analysed from the onset of field research. The researcher noted important themes. This type of narrative data analysis is specifically called thematic analysis. Thematic analysis emphasises pinpointing, examining, and recording patterns or themes within data. Killehear and Gliksman (1997) note that themes are patterns across data sets that are of importance to the description of a phenomenon and are associated to a specific research questions. The themes are the categories for analysis and they were drawn from the objectives. Thematic analysis helped the researcher capture his data in a uniform manner since it provides the grouping of data and it helps in that the information became clear to the readers.

For purposes of data analysis the research used hermeneutics. According to Rakotsoane (2012) it provides a way of understanding textual data. The basic concern in hermeneutics is the meaning of the text. It goes beyond the reading and understanding of the text to the interpretation of what is being read. It requires an understanding of the worldview of the author and his or her
community and of the particular controlling idea embodied in the text. Hermeneutics was used to analyse newspaper articles about traditional and faith healers.

Critical Discourse Analysis, henceforth CDA, was used to analyse data from newspaper articles. Bloor and Bloor (2007) are of the view that discourse is a controlling force in society and language is used to persuade individuals and manipulate both individuals and social groups. This implies that the researcher unravelled all the connotations that are in newspaper stories. In other words, the researcher treated words at face value. In analysing texts about traditional and faith healers the researcher considered broader issues such as the social context of discourse, the role of discourse in social practices and the function of media discourse in particular.

Woods (2006) states that discourse is language plus context; the context that we bring with us when we use language, the context that includes our experiences, assumptions, expectations, the context we change in our relationships with others, as we both construct and negotiate our way through the social practices of the world we live in. This implies that discourses are about much more than language, they encompass all the practises through which meanings are produced and circulated, subjects are formed and social conduct regulated within particular institutions or social formations and at particular historical periods. With CDA the researcher went out of the text to consider all the variables that affect the representation of faith and traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. It enabled the researcher to take a historical stance when looking at issues to do with traditional and faith healers. Critical discourse analysis was necessary in exploring the agenda of newspaper articles about faith and traditional healers.

Gunnarsson, Linnell and Nordberg (1997:173) say that CDA studies “real and often extended instances of social interaction which take a partially linguistic form.” The critical approach is distinctive in its view of the relationship between language and society. In this regard, CDA sees discourse as a form of social practice. Concern is with questions that deal with the analysis of power in society, how societies are governed and how access to symbolic and material resources are distributed. Stubbs (1998:128) supports this view by saying, “CDA argues that all linguistic usage encodes ideological positions, and studies how language mediates and represents the world from different point of view.” It follows that the researcher dug into the ideological orientations that inform the shaping of stories about traditional and faith healers in different newspapers.
The researcher considered the factors that affect the shaping of media discourse particularly discourse that deals with traditional and faith healers through the use of CDA. The use of this method allowed the researcher to go out of the text and consider some of the variables that affect the shaping of discourses about traditional and faith healers. Through the use of CDA the researcher had an opportunity to take a historical stance when analysing newspaper articles about traditional and faith healers.

4.8 Conclusion
The chapter has discussed the research design to be used in the study. The chapter pointed out and explained the research design and the relevance of the design to the present study. The case study was chosen as the appropriate research design for the study. It was chosen because it allows the researcher to interact with the respondents and to have a deep understanding of the phenomena under investigation. The chapter also discussed and justified the instruments that were used in the study. The study used interviews and these were chosen because they allow interaction with the respondents which is regarded as a rich way of probing for information from respondents. Questionnaires were used as data collection tools because they allow the researcher to reach people’s feelings and attitudes towards traditional healers. The chapter also discusses the non-probability sampling methods as the type of sampling that was used in the study. The study employed purposive sampling and volunteer sampling because of their convenience. Purposive sampling allowed the researcher to approach only those respondents whom he believes to have information about the area under study whereas volunteer sampling targets only those who are willing to participate in the research. Hermeneutics and narrative analysis were also discussed as methods of data analysis. A presentation of the findings established through these instruments is the focus of the following chapter.
CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction
The previous chapter discusses the methodology that is used in the study. The focus of this chapter is to present and analyse data collected through various methods discussed in chapter four. The chapter presents and analyses interviews and questionnaire data as well as data collected from newspapers. Interviews were done with media personnel, academics, cultural activists, religious leaders, faith healers and traditional healers. Three questionnaires were administered to students who are doing African Languages and Culture, Media and Society Studies, Theology and religious Studies as well as members of the general public. The chapter presents and analyses results from interviews and data from newspaper articles that were extracted from Kwayedza, NewsDay, Daily News and The Herald. All the percentages that are used to describe data are rounded off to the nearest whole number.

5.2 Findings from Interviews

5.2.1 Interviewee 1
Interviewee 1 is a journalist cum traditional healer. He is a practicing herbalist who started his career at a very tender age. He said that he became a herbalist through learning and when he was advanced in age he started to research on his own.

This herbalist said that there is no difference between a traditional healer and a herbalist. He described both as personalities who treat people spiritually. However, he indicated that traditional healers treat patients using traditional medicine while faith healers would claim to use faith. To him the way herbalists and faith healers operate point to the same source. To authenticate his claims, he gave an example of a traditional healer who uses an alien spirit whom he said uses white garments, clay pots and stones and water which is the same with prophets from apostolic churches. The interviewee did not see the difference between a traditional and faith healer since he views both as pursuing the same cause and as people who operate in the same manner.
The respondent was of the idea that traditional and faith healers are very much relevant in present day societies. He was of the view that there are diseases that cannot be treated by modern medicine thus he says “Chivanhu chinorapwa nechivanhu.” (Diseases with African roots should be treated from an African perspective.) This idea is supported by Mokgobi (2012) who argues that illness and healthcare systems in any society whether traditional or western are closely connected to the culture or worldview of that society, it is culture dependent. This suggests that illness amongst Africans is a religious matter which should be approached from a religious perspective and by so insisting modern medicine is rendered inadequate to the treatment of some diseases that require African explanations. He singled out cancer which he says has become so common because people are shunning the traditional ways of treating it. The interviewee suggested that diseases like cancer were successfully treated by traditional healers and have become common now because people have shunned their traditional ways of treating diseases. He echoes Idowu’s (1973) observation that European medicine without augmentation with the traditional remedy appears to Africans by and large as inadequate. The medicine falls far short of possessing the power to deal with the different types of diseases that Africans encounter. He underlined the idea that traditional healers have a special place in Zimbabwean societies today when he says:

Spirits are real and they manifest in different ways. Spiritual diseases are treated by traditional and faith healers. We should never run away from the fact that we are Africans. In as much as we want to deny it Chivanhu chiriko and we still consult.

The above view is suggesting that there are problems that Africans face which emanate from the spiritual world. For Africans, diseases are of two types. There are some which are natural and some which emanate from the spiritual world. According to the respondent, diseases that are triggered by spirits should be approached from an African perspective hence of the idea that for Africans diseases have a religious dimension. Failure to recognise this is to sacrifice a patient.

The respondent attributed traditional healers’ special place among Africans to the fact that they are a highly religious people and they appreciate all phenomena from a religious perspective. He insisted that Africans can refuse to accept that ancestors are there but what they cannot do is to run away from the fact that we are Africans. To this Mbiti (1969:2) says:

A person cannot detach himself from the religion of his group for to do so is to be severed from his roots, his foundation, his context of security, his kinships and the entire group of those who make him aware of his own existence. To be without one of these
corporate elements of life is to be out of the whole picture. Therefore to be without religion amounts to a self-excommunication from the entire life of society and the African people do not know how to survive without religion.

This suggests that traditional healers are still revered amongst Africans because they are part of African religion and religion is the foundation of their understanding of the world and a source of their survival.

On the representation of traditional and faith healers in newspapers and tabloids he contended that it all goes down to the issue of understanding religion. People are not sure about their origins. He said that faith healers are sometimes portrayed negatively. He saw what he calls ‘white collar prophets’ as people who are in business such that they sometimes pay the media to portray them in good light and their rivals in bad light. He saw this scenario as a cause of a situation where at one point one is at the top and at another point is down. He therefore is of the idea that most of the newspaper stories about faith healers as products of public relations.

He observed that traditional healers are in most cases portrayed in bad light because they do not have money and have limited access to the media. He bemoaned the situation where people who are not traditional healers but mere masquerades being written about as if they were traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. People are engaging in unscrupulous activities because of the bad economic situation. To this end, there are lots of fake prophets and traditional healers. He blamed the irresponsible media which he says needs to be schooled. He further noted that when media personalities write stories about traditional and faith healers they just write without engaging in thorough research. He gave an example of the Chitungwiza blast, an incident that attracted newspapers reporters to the extent that they were quick to blame the traditional healer without engaging in meaningful research. He argued that the problem is also aggravated by the idea that genuine and malicious traditional/faith healers are enclosed in one bracket. Journalists do not seem to separate false and true practitioners when writing newspaper stories about traditional healers. The interviewee seems to subscribe to the idea that there are false prophets and traditional healers who are mere masquerades. He also pointed out that people should not ignore the fact that those who write stories are humans who have their perceptions about traditional and faith healers. These perceptions in turn influence the way they write about these practitioners.
Interviewee one also noted that the way traditional and faith healers are perceived by the general public reveals that most people are sceptical. They like the services that are provided by these practitioners but they visit them nicodemously. Most people are not comfortable coming in the open. There is so many stigmas that is associated with the work of the traditional healer. Many think that they are witches. However, he pointed out that the majority of the people consult traditional healers and this augments what Ritcher (2003)’s observation that WHO estimates that 80% of the population in Africa makes use of traditional medicine.

On the effects of the stories on a people’s self-definition he says that people understand themselves through different sites including newspapers. It is rare to find a positive story about traditional healers and this continues to perpetuate prejudices and warped conceptualisations of these practitioners. He said that the problem is that those who write these stories are not aware of the debilitating effects of biased reporting without proper research. To them, negativity sells and their duty is to look for stories that sell. He said that this has affected the work of the traditional healer in a big way because people are confused as to whether they should consult or not. The respondent was of the idea that the media has got power to control a peoples’ perception of the world.

He recommended that people should be educated that the work of a traditional healer is spiritual and that the malicious dealings of some elements in the stories are a result of colonialism which has created a situation where people shun what is theirs yet Europeans are ordering herbs from Africa. The respondent was aware of the damage that colonialism has done to Africa. He understood the role of colonialism in changing African people’s beliefs as well as teaching Africans to hate and hurt themselves and their religion. He contended that colonialism enforced Africans to assimilate some definitions of the oppressor that divorced, raped, distorted and strangled African humanity. This created what Fanon (1968) calls ‘a third Europe’. He therefore understood that Africans are suffering from resentment which was deliberately created by the Europeans when Africans were cheated and robbed in broad day light and forced to absorb falsehoods about themselves.

He pointed to the idea that people should be conscientised not to write about things that they do not fully understand. He held the view that those who write newspapers are just blindly writing of things that they do not have any knowledge about. He advocated for a situation where
Journalists should engage in investigative journalism where they should dig deep and engage in thorough researching before writing a story. The interviewee argued that “there is the issue of lack of knowledge. People just write about what they do not know about. They do not engage in investigative journalism where people need to dig deep and engage in thorough researching before writing a story”. He also advocated for a situation where African things should be documented. To him, the negative perception of traditional healers is hinged partly on the lack of proper documentation and packaging. He blamed those in powerful positions for not being supportive to the work of the traditional and faith healer when he says “Those who are at the top are not supportive. The government is running away from who we are. It should incorporate traditional healers in to the health system.”

On whether today’s traditional healer is compatible to the ancient traditional healers he says that true traditional healers are there. There are people who have quitted their professional jobs after receiving calls to be traditional healers. His idea is that those who are becoming traditional healers against their will are examples of true traditional healers. He singled out one former sister-in-charge at Harare Hospital who has since left her job to become a traditional healer. Her aid is a graphic designer by profession but left to assist the now full time traditional healer who is a professional nurse. There is also a Midlands State University Economics graduate who is practicing in Domboshawa. This information suggested that there are people who have left their prestigious positions to become traditional healers hence he is in support of the idea that there are traditional healers who meet the standards of ancient traditional healers. The respondent was of the view that traditional healers are indispensable hence is of the idea that the government should incorporate traditional healers into the health system. He noted that “missionary hospitals like Karanda are harmonising traditional and modern methods because missionaries have always embraced African Traditional Religion.

In his capacity as a journalist he says that principles are there but what defines what happens in the media are the sales. Media practitioners gauge their expenses against their gains. He also said that the other reason why people ignore journalistic principles is because the law of defamation has been stripped off and most people particularly traditional healers do not know about legal representation.
On the role of the media he said that it is supposed to serve three interests which are to educate, entertain and inform. He however said that since we are in a capitalist world, the media is rather in the business of making money. He contended that the media is there to make money and to set an agenda of the owner. The owner of the media determines what comes out.

5.2.2 Interviewee 2
Interviewee 2 is an academic and a lecturer in the Theology and Religious studies at a Zimbabwean University.

The interviewee acknowledged the importance of a traditional healer in African societies. He said that for Africans everything centres on the traditional healer. He describes the traditional healer as a lawyer, herbalist, midwifery and consultant of family affairs. The interviewee lamented the view that people have negative perceptions about traditional healers because of Christianity that has crippled people’s minds. Accordingly, he says:

Because of Christianity people are shunning the traditional healer and they transport as it were the duties they would expect from the traditional healer to the faith healer. They are sort of substituting the traditional healer with the faith healer. Almost every key aspect that has been taken care of by the traditional healer somehow has been taken care of by the faith healer.

This idea has been alluded to by Bourdillon (1976:168) who says that “The prophets and healers of these churches to some extent replace traditional diviners and healers; they practise divination, accept traditional explanations of the spiritual causes of misfortune and they deal with witches and witchcraft, all practises outside the domain of Western medicine.” This suggested that he does not see the difference between the traditional healer and the faith healer. He saw the faith healer as a substitute for the traditional healer. To him, the faith healer is just a traditional healer who is seeking relevance in a society that is polarised by Christianity and who is finding recognition because of Christianity. The interviewee recognised that the society acknowledge faith healers because of Christianity. Christianity has exerted a lot of influence in African societies. Christianity has violently crushed with African Traditional Religion and Christianity has won the battle at a conscious level such that Africans are more comfortable to be associated with it as compared to African Traditional Religion.

The academic contended that despite the circumstances that favour the faith healer over the traditional healer, the latter still holds a key place in present day Zimbabwe. He said that “Many
of our people are believers but that does not necessarily remove them from being Africans.” The interviewee suggested that there are problems that Africans face that can only be solved through African traditional ways. For him, there is nothing that can make someone withdraw from being African hence the relevance of the traditional healer. This is supported by the view that despite people preaching against these practitioners they all the same visit them. Thus Njoh (2006:144) “Despite aggressive propaganda campaigns designed to promote Western or so-called modern medicine, traditional African techniques continue to be the health care option of choice for most Africans on the continent and in the Diaspora.” What is interesting is that people know and have been able to categorise the problems on their own. They know when to visit a traditional healer when to visit a modern doctor and when to visit a faith healer.

He insisted that traditional healers have a big space in society as he says:

Despite church leaders lambasting them saying they are useless and devilish, if we follow them closely we would realise that they as well visit them. They have a place right in the church where they are lambasted.

He alluded to the deplorable situation whereby traditional healers have been lambasted even by the government but alas their influence is still dominant. Idowu (1973) notes that relatives of patients admitted in hospitals smuggle medicine from the traditional healers during visiting hours. They have been condemned but they have a place even in the church where they are condemned. This suggests that for Africans, being converted to Christianity does not necessarily mean abandoning one’s religion. Africans take their indigenous religious beliefs with them into Christianity and turn to them when the need arises. Mbiti in Magesa (1997:6) notes that “acceptance of Christianity or Islam in Africa means that Africans come of African religion but they don’t take off their traditional religiosity. They come as they are. They come as people whose worldview is shaped according to African religion.” Traditional healers have therefore remained dominant despite the negativity associated with them.

Concerning similarities and differences between a traditional healer and a faith healer he said that the difference is to do with the kind of power they are using. The traditional healer calls on a power given to him by someone for example mermaids and forefathers that one cannot see so much of the hand of God. On the other hand the power of the faith healer comes directly from God. However, he went on to say that this seems to be a difference but to him there is no difference because flora and fauna belong to God who is the creator of everything. The
interviewee said that he gets inspiration from Ecclesiastes which emphasises that God created plants and he gave power to the plants and he gave humanity the wisdom to know the plants and to use them as herbs. He therefore concludes that whether the plant is recommended by a traditional healer or a faith healer the plant was created by God.

Commenting on the reasons why faith healers have become popular he stated that “we need to contextualise the world we are living.” He saw the sprouting of faith healers in Zimbabwe as something that is conditioned by the environment which favours Christianity and which is economically crippled, thus he says:

As long as our world is defined by money, we will see more of these people. People see that faith things are paying these days. Faith healing is therefore a form of business and people are doing whatever they can in order to get rich.

The respondent is therefore of the view that faith healers are not driven by the need to help people but to make business. They take advantage of the fact that the country is crippled economically and faith activities are paying. He therefore sees faith healing as a business or entrepreneurship activity. The environment is pushing people to engage in every form of activity to prosper. The interviewee however had reservations about the work of what he calls ‘white collar prophets’. He said that there is something quite sinister about them and the possibility of them tapping from the other world is very high. He raised the following questions that revolve around faith healers’ insistence on spiritual fathers:

- Why is it that they have spiritual fathers?
- Is it because they cannot speak to their God directly from Zimbabwe?
- Why is the spiritual father privileged to be able to impart power?

Emerging out of the above is that there are two types of faith healers. There are those that have always been there but now there is a new crop which he calls “white collar” which he disapproves of. He suspects that the latest crop of faith healers is abusing the name of God for personal gains. To him these are crooks masquerading as God’s messengers.

On the representation of traditional and faith healers he said that “We tend to hear more of faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers.” He said that faith healers are gaining publicity because what they are doing by nature attracts the attention of the media. They engage in activities that
are not common. He made reference to the issue of ‘Miracle money’, ‘miracle baby’. The media is obsessed by new phenomenon. He further said “I don’t see them interested by the removal of chitsinga (bad medicine that is meant to harm people) because that is not new and that is what is expected of a traditional healer.” This suggests that they are written about when they divert from what is expected of them. He also contended that stories about faith healers are more common because they are out to seek attention. In fact, they are business-oriented and hence without publicity they are doomed to fail. Consequently faith healers can actually buy media space. He also said that there are sponsors behind the scene, who might want to discredit the activity. As a result the coverage we have is mixed and is determined by so many factors.

On the representation of traditional healers, he is of the view that they are not widely covered because what they are doing is not new. In most cases, they are indirectly referenced only after a certain event happens; where they are presented as solutions behind some mysterious things hence they are roughly positively portrayed. He singled out the Tsikamutandas who according to him are exposed in the media. In short, they are thieves.

On the effect of representation on a people’s self-definition and survival he noted that people have mixed perceptions. There are some who are quick to believe what they read from newspapers. He said that for insiders negative publicity of faith healers had strengthened them to stand behind their healers. For others they have been drawn further away from their prophets and traditional healers because of the stories that they read about them. He therefore is in support of Wenden (2005) who says that representation determines the way in which we think about particular objects, events, situations and as such function as a principle of action influencing actual social practice. This entails that the way people interpret the world is largely influenced by what they are exposed to.

He lambasts the media for not doing its job justly. He said that the media imparts information that is determined by what brings money which blurs their informative role. He concludes that he does not see the media doing so much to the society in terms of feeding it with correct information. He lamented the idea that the media is controlled by people within Zimbabwe so there is so much bias. Objectivity is only seen in the media that is not controlled in Zimbabwe for example WhastApp. He also indicated that traditional healers are not represented enough.
The media is interested in new things. The coverage of faith healers is adequate and is both positive and negative.

5.2.3 Interviewee 3
Interview 3 is a ZIMPAPERS reporter who is based in Gweru, Zimbabwe.

The respondent is of the idea that the crucial motivator for stories about traditional and faith healers is that newspapers provide human interesting stories and things that are unusual. Stories about traditional and faith healers are written when they have done something unusual like exposing goblins. Newspapers trade on things that are mysterious and hard to believe. Anything normal is not considered as news. He said that the other motivator for such stories is that people do not like hard news like stories about politics, but prefers social and light stories. To him, this is the reason as to why sometimes *H-Metro* sells better than other papers.

On the representation of traditional and faith healers he said that traditional healers are usually portrayed negatively because people are comfortable with associating themselves with Christianity as a religion more than African Traditional Religion. This is alluded to by Ross and Playdon in Awan (2008) who contend that all representations are culturally constructed and positioned in a specific historical context. This suggests that in terms of the representation of traditional healers they are negatively portrayed because the society at large looks down upon them. He said that the Christian community condemned and it still does traditional healers and the media is simply an extension of the Christian community. He also contended that people are socialised to believe that traditional healing is evil and the media is simply capturing the reality that is already there in society. In a way, the respondent recognised that in terms of the negative representation of traditional healers the media is not bringing something new, but is reflecting on something that is already there and the most expected.

He also noted that the way the traditional healers are represented may be partly because of the fact that they are not in the mainstream medical system. He also recognised that because of Westernisation people tend to believe medical doctors so that they find it difficult to understand that a traditional healer can cure diseases that modern medical doctors have failed. The interviewee seems to refer to the European demonisation of the traditional healer who was cast as unscientific relative to modern medical practitioners. It is not recognised that science is not adequate to explain the multifaceted understanding of disease in Africa as captured by Masaka.
and Chingome (2009:149) who hold the view that; “For the Shona people it may be true that such a disease is caused by some viruses but for them science may not be able to fully address the questions why and how …” However, on the whole the interviewee blamed colonialism for the kind of treatment that traditional healers receive. He recognised that prior to the coming of the European ‘civiliser’ the traditional healer was well respected among Africans and that colonialism marked the eclipse of their status in society. The interviewee specifically said that it is only one out of ten of the time when traditional healers are represented positively because the media targets Christians. Consequently, due to the fact that the majority of Zimbabweans have turned to Christianity, representation is tilted against the traditional healer because by its very nature Christianity is antithetical to traditional healers. Thus Magesa (1997:11) says “On meeting African religion missionary Christianity looked upon it as an “abandoned building occupied by squatters”. They relegated African religion to a system of old facts whose meanings were no longer valid” and this suggests that the way traditional healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers is a historical accident.

On faith healers he said there is a lot of satire surrounding the representation for example “Pastor kills and resurrect congregants”. He went on to say that the way faith healers are represented has so much to do with the stance, the political and economic situation of the media house. Some media houses sympathise with some of these faith healers probably because there is an invisible hand.

He postulated that the political economy of the media affects the representation. The media can never be independent, it can be independent from the government but someone may influence the media particularly the owner. Hall (1997) makes reference to this when he says that the communication of ideologies is linked with power and those groups that build power have control over what gets represented in the media. The NewsDay newspaper was given as an example. He noted that the owner is Ndebele and issues that are of Ndebele interest are prominent in the paper. He said that this might be the reason behind the extensive coverage of Gukurahundi in the paper. If the paper is owned by the government it is mandated to serve the government and to promote government policies, hence we find some stories that are not of government interest being downplayed.
Regarding issues of ownership and control one has to consider issues like what is the stance of the Government towards traditional healers. He went on to say the government acknowledges traditional healers; it appreciates their existence and actually has an association that is registered with the ministry of Health and Child Care. This is the reason why *The Herald, Chronicle* and other government papers write about them. However, bias is towards faith healers because most people are Christians. According to the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ) 2013 statistics, 84% of the population of Zimbabwe is Christian. He went on to say that though faith healers are widely represented 80% of the time they are negatively represented.

The editorial policy is one other factor that affects media representation of faith and traditional healers. To him there is conflict between journalists and the owner and that is why there is the editorial policy which is there to control journalists. It stipulates that “if you want to write about traditional or faith healers, this is how you should write about them. In the case of ZIMPAPERS, if it is about healing people the government does not tolerate because they are saying there are traditional and faith healers who are misleading people and they stop taking ARVs. He said 80% of the content is determined by the owner.

On whether journalists are reflective of their personalities when writing newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers, he said that beliefs play a very important part in determining the outcome of a story. He said that ideally journalists are supposed to separate their beliefs from the stories that they write but it is something that is inevitable. As gatekeepers journalists select articles. They leave out that which is not newsworthy using their own discretion. In the process, they can allow their beliefs to encroach in the stories that they write. The way journalists look at things is affected by a lot other things including ownership and control as well as editorial policies. He said that the political economy of the media is a crucial determinant of what journalists choose to write about when he says, “The media can never be independent; it can be independent from the government. The government might not have business in the business of the media but someone may influence the content.”

He also mentioned advertising as a crucial determinant of media representation. He said that newspapers are sustained by advertisements and it is not possible to write negatively about the people who advertise in your paper. Ncube (2013:786) writes about the power of advertising in influencing the content. He says, “It has been asserted elsewhere that advertising revenue is the
latter day licensing authority in newspapers, largely determining editorial content in newspapers (Murdock & Golding, 1978; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Kellner, 1995; Mosco, 1996).” It follows that it is those who are in control of the media who determines the tune. The interviewee indicated that editorial policies determine how a journalist should write a story. It stipulates the stance of the government with regards to traditional healing. In the case of ZIMPAPERS it has the mandate of informing people about government policies. The parameters of ZIMPAPERS with regards to healing are set by the government and it requires these practitioners to be registered.

On whether they are guided by professional ethics when writing newspaper articles he says that ethics are there and they encompass, objectivity, truthfulness, and accuracy but they are not followed. He said that the way people should write is no longer determined by ethical consideration but rather by the editorial policies.

He also identified chequebook journalism as a hindrance to the observation of ethics. He said that the economy is bad hence sometimes journalists are paid to portray a certain personality in positive light. He said that once a reporter is bribed he or she cannot write negatively about that person. They obviously cannot bite the hand that feeds them. He went on to say that “corruption is the order of the day and that one of the popular prophets in Zimbabwe is giving journalists’ money that is why he is positively portrayed.” He further said that due to the fact that corruption is rife, some faith healers receive positive representation even in circumstances where it is clear that they are on the wrong. Those who write newspaper stories use their expertise to paint a faith healer positive. This implies that sometimes the stories that we read in newspapers are not true and they are at times channelled in favour of particular individuals.

Commenting on the role of the media he said it is still undertaking its roles. It is still informing the society but it depends on how one wants to be informed. It informs but may misinform that is the reason why there is propaganda. He said that there is also an issue of manufacturing consent. The informing part depends on what the owner wants to convey to the target audience. The media concentrates on what it wants people to believe in hence it is ideological in nature. However, he noted that the informing part is a contested terrain. With regards to the entertainment role of the media he said that the media is still in control since it focuses on human interest stories.
Responding to the question on the effects of representation on a people’s self-definition and survival he said that “David Morley in Nationwide Audience says “No information is received by the audience in isolation.” He contends that it is myth that the media is a hypotheric. Morley (1981:51) argues that “members of a given sub-culture will tend to share a cultural orientation towards decoding messages in particular ways. Their individual "readings" of messages will be framed by shared cultural formations and practices.” The interviewee concluded that people have their own way of thinking which is shaped by culture and socialisation. On the issue of the agenda, his idea is that the agenda is set within the parameters of the editorial policy.

5.2.4 Interviewee 4

Interview 4 is an academic and a lecturer in the Department of Media and Society Studies at a Zimbabwean University.

The interviewee was strongly of the opinion that the representation of traditional healers is stereotypical. He observed that before colonialism these practitioners represented sanity. The interviewee blamed colonialism for the ‘othering’ of the traditional healer. Ani (1994:402) posits that:

The cultural other is a “conceptual construct” that will become the norm in identifying others. The concept of cultural other further enables the continued existence of the extremely negative image of others that is dialectically necessary part of the European self image.

The traditional healer in Zimbabwean newspapers is represented as the cultural other. The stance that is taken by newspapers on the traditional healer is a symbol of cultural imperialism. The interviewee contended that when Christianity came to Zimbabwe in 1890 by the British South Africa Company it pushed African traditional religion to the margins of the society. Africans were taught the new reality that their religion, was a childish and barbaric religion which was full of superstition and evil. Europeans created dichotomies between African religion and European religion represented by Christianity which were biased towards luring people to Christianity and away from their own religion. Chinweizu (1978:76) who avers that “Christian ideology is an ideally fashioned weapon of destruction of the self image and value system of Africans and other non-European peoples…” Christianity is used as a weapon of devaluing everything that was central to African. Zimbabweans were made to believe that it is backward and diabolic to practice their cultural ways of managing diseases from an African perspective. As a result they
embraced Christianity which was associated with holiness and turn their backs on their own religion.

He also noted that from Colonial Rhodesia, media was controlled by white power and white power portrayed African Traditional Religion as an ‘unholy’ religion whilst Christianity enjoyed a hegemonic place in media representation. Christian is treated as a pseudo religion. People only turn to African traditional religion when it is convenient for them. In most cases they want to appear Christian as Christianity is portrayed as a symbol of civilisation. The interviewee contended that:

Traditional healers having been placed in the terrain of African Traditional Religion, find themselves in an unfair position, where there is a given culture inherited in the colonial period in the newsrooms. This colonial culture operates as a regulated framework and as a discourse which regulates what can be said and what cannot be said.

This suggests that there is an unwritten policy and a discourse in existence in the newsroom that somehow influences the operations of the media. Ultimately, journalists are left with no option than to look for sensational issues when it comes to traditional healers and overlooking the good that they do to the society.

He talked of the perpetration of colonialism in the media after Zimbabwe got its political independence. He said that after independence as contended by post-colonial theorists there was mere substitution of the Rs by the Zs from Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation to Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. This scenario is correctly captured by Wa Thing’o (1993:65) who declares that, “The age of independence had produced a new class and a new ownership that often was not very different from the old one: Black Skins White Masks? White skins Black Masks.” For the interviewee, colonial policies that control the running of the media were adopted in independent Zimbabwe. This implies that when it comes to the representation of the African Traditional Religion, it remained in the margins because the media makes use of an approach that was set by colonialists. However, Ani (1997) is against this state of affairs when she argues that as Africans we need to take our cultural forms more seriously and learn to reject alien interpretations of their significance and build on our strengths that most often lie on our uniqueness.

Apart from colonialism he also contends that by its very nature journalism strives on negativity hence they focus on sensational issues to do with traditional healers. He also recognised that
traditional healers are at the margins of power. In terms of stratification they are at the margins of society. He identified that the modern day prophets are closely connected to capital and they have got money to buy space so that they castigate traditional healers. He identified a situation when Magaya went to South Africa where journalists were competing to accompany him so that they get travel and subsistence allowance. This is unlike traditional healers who do not have the economic muscle and corporate power to lure journalists so that representations can be treated in their favour. He also talked about the Chitungwiza blast where he said that the media made noise about the issue. It took a didactic approach, educating people that they should stay away from traditional healers because they should learn from those who have lost lives. In that story, the n’anga/dare rasekuru (traditional healer/the traditional healer’s court) becomes a dangerous place where people can lose their lives. This entails that the other reason why traditional healers received marginalised representation in newspapers is because they are not economically fit and this is in line with the idea that the politics of representation revolve around issues of power where those who are powerful dictate the kind of representation that we receive.

He pointed to the idea that even people who visit traditional healers do that at night. For him the way people relate with traditional healers is clear evidence that they have accepted to a certain degree the European supremacy because they seem to be ashamed by themselves. He blamed the system as a whole when he says that “When football teams play if there is reference to juju it is strongly condemned, but when people/players bow their heads and pray before a match it is regarded as a symbol of civilisation.” This suggests that the issue of the representation of traditional healers is not an issue that goes beyond the traditional healers and the media per se but something that hinges on the system as a whole. Consequently media representation is the representation of a meaning that is already there in the society, thus Hall (1997) says representation is an act of re-presenting a meaning that already exists.

The interviewee also identified journalistic interest as the other factor that affects media representation. For him, the beliefs and personalities have an impact on the outcome of the stories that they write. Some of the journalists have never visited traditional healers but they write so badly about them yet they are not privy to what takes place there. They base their conclusions on assumptions; their socialisation infringes on their understanding of traditional healers. On the whole traditional healers are represented negatively.
With regards to the representation of faith healing, he said that faith healers are of two types. He talked of those prophets who are promoting the gospel of prosperity. His idea is that these are positively represented because they have capital. Marx, 1845 in Elster (1986:302) argues that:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas.

The idea is that dominant ideas are those of the ruling class. The aim of the media is to make money; they have become profit oriented entities. He said that these prophets have money to advertise of which advertising creates revenue for the media houses, they have money to bribe journalists and money to sue. Consequently they have capital which forces media representation to be tilted in their favour. He said that in post 2000 Zimbabwe has always been economically limping. Journalists are some of the people who are not handsomely rewarded hence ethical journalism remains a myth. Unfortunately, in such an economy it is the journalists who are actually after these prophets in search of the brown envelop and once this happens they are left with one option which is to dance according to the tune of those who provide the brown envelope.

Apart from this it is also crucial to recognise that the nation embraces Christianity and so it is the broader framework which controls how these discourses are articulated. The interviewee further noted that the media does not operate in a vacuum. There are legal constraints practising codes and the invisible hand of the owner which all play different roles in shaping the nature of newspaper articles.

He identified the African initiated churches prophets as another group of faith healers. He labelled these “uncivilised prophets” and said that these have over the years been at the receiving end. They were most represented as cheats. Largely, they were subjected to stereotypical representations e.g. the apostles that have beaten the police. However, he went on to say that the way they are attacked now is no longer explicit because in post-2000 ZANU PF in the midst of its political wailing realised that as in Gramcian’ terms cultural domination paves way for political domination and religion is one of the political institutions that can be used to negotiate
hegemony. They realised that these African Initiated Churches are crucial in a bid to revive ZANU PF brand, hence we see Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe visiting these churches. It should be noted that ZANU PF is the controlling organ for ZIMPAPERS through the Ministry of Media and Broadcasting Services. At the end of the day we see some positive representations of such faith healers.

The interviewee said normatively the role of the media is to educate, inform and entertain. The Social Responsibility Theory says that the media has to be responsible when disseminating information. He however said that:

The media in this age has been short circuited by the reality on the ground. African media system always faces viability challenges hence they are mostly after money. They are operating in a dual market where on one side there are audiences who want news and on the other end are advertisers. Advertisers want to access the audience and they do so via the media. They pay for space and make the media viable. The audience wants news; advertisers dictate content and their interests reign. Advertisers’ revenue is referred to as the later day licensing authority in newspapers. It influences what eventually comes out in newspapers.

This scenario compromises the responsibility of the media in disseminating information. Following this the interview sees the job of the media as that of setting the agenda of the politically and economically powerful. It is the agenda of those who control and finances the media that is prioritised in Zimbabwean newspapers. They dictate what to discuss and what not to discuss.

On the impact of the stories upon a people’s self-definition and survival he made reference to the Cultural studies Approach which was propounded by Richard Hoggart and his successor Stuart Hall which celebrates the autonomy of the audience. They say that the audience are not Zombies. Hall (1980:136) rejects textual determinism, noting that “decodings do not follow inevitably from encodings. He acknowledged the significant role to the ‘decoder’ as well as well to the decoder. The ideology that is sent by the media is not necessarily the ideology taken by the people. People do not approach these media texts culturally naked. The way they decode information is informed to a large extent by their different cultural backgrounds hence the meaning making process is quite complex. He said that the way people make sense of the stories is determined by their experiences. With regard to this, Hall (1980:136-8) talks of negotiated reading where one agrees with some and discard some information, oppositional reading where
one totally disagrees and preferred reading where one totally agrees with what one reads. He went on to say that gender and level of education also have an impact on how people receive these stories. The interviewee was of the idea that newspaper readers are not shaped by the messages that they read from newspapers.

5.2.5 Interviewee 5
Interviewee 5 is a deputy editor at one of the State owned Media houses.

The interviewee was of the idea that the crucial motivator for stories about traditional healers and faith healers is to cover evil operations. The interviewee identified two types of prophets. He talked of those who engage in stage managed prophecies which he says are so prevalent particularly in the high density suburbs. People are being paid ten dollars for them to pretend as if they were prophesied. He seems to be associating this group of prophets with the AIC prophets. He went on to talk of the civilised prophets whom he says are receiving positive coverage in most cases. The interviewee said that the problem with smaller prophets is that they have fewer followers that cannot warrant the attention of journalists and this has got implications on sales. At the end of the day the prominent faith healers attract the attention of journalists and get positive coverage and this explains why there is more coverage of white collar prophets.

When asked whether the way faith healers are represented is determined by the kind of following that he commands he was quick to say that there are prominent prophets that have received negative publicity. He gave an example of Prophet Chiza who prophesied that the Zimbabwe Warriors were going to win in the 2013 Chan tournament in South Africa. They lost the game. He also talked of Makandiwa’s oil prophecy which was dismissed by Professor Jonathan Moyo as ‘crap.’

Asked about the issue of the brown envelope he says that it might be true. He said that Magaya is one prophet who gives journalists the brown envelop. He quoted an incident when he went to SA and people from B-Metro and H-Metro were given money. He went on to say that in any case every organisation strive to maintain good relations with the media because they regard the media as a stakeholder.

He appreciated the idea that editorial policies have got an effect on the stories. There are newspapers that carry stories that are positive about a given group of people and others that want
to be negative and there are also those that take a middle line approach. He said that because of editorial policies stories will never be the same.

He said that there are cases where, for example, a prophet foretells that there is going to be danger in Zimbabwe. One finds that the private media would cover the story about the danger foretold about Zimbabwe and would pay lip-service to those stories that relate to economic boom in the same country. While on the other hand the public media would give prominence to economic boom and focus less on the danger.

On the roles of the media he contended that the media is still undertaking its roles. He concentrated on the informing role where he says informing is merely passing on of information. People are told what happens in the society in a way that they want because the media cannot afford to write stories that they know people will not buy.

On the issue of how reflective they are regarding their personality, he noted that it is quite difficult to separate your personality from the stories that you write. According to Hall (1980) people interpret the world through the way they were brought up and their traditions. Ideally it means that the way stories are written is to a certain extent influenced by the beliefs of journalists and editors.

The interviewee was of the idea that most of the stories that are covered in Zimbabwe are anti-traditional healers. He contended that this is because the stories are produced by journalists who are humans. As human beings they have got preferences and they are affected by so many things one of which is their socialisation. In most cases, people are raised to believe that Christianity is a superior religion. Journalists are human beings and as such it is difficult for a Christian to write positively about traditional healers.

He also talked of ideology where he said that the ideology of the ruling class rules. The ruling class wants us to believe that African tradition is evil. In the case of faith healers he says that “Sometimes the leaders visit them particularly towards elections and as ZIMPAPERS we have to write positively about them.” This suggests that the media serves the interests of the powerful. He also made references to ownership. The views of the owner carry the day and the owner is also controlled by advertisers. In summary he said that the five propaganda factors have a role to play on the way traditional and faith healers are represented.
5.2.6 Interviewee 6
Interviewee 6 is an academic and a lecturer in the Department of Media and Society Studies in a Zimbabwean University.

The interviewee acknowledged the importance of traditional healers in society. She viewed them as contributing to the spiritual well-being of societies. She was of the view that people look down upon these practitioners but what should be acknowledged is that they have contributed so much to Western medicine. Stewart (2004) says that Ancient Egypt was an African civilisation and that Western civilisation owes a lot to Egypt. This suggests that Westerners have learnt quite a lot from Africans. The interviewee saw a connection between a traditional healer and a faith healer. She said that Africans believe that most of the problems that they encounter in life are spiritual and to her such problems can only be addressed by a traditional or faith healer. For her these practitioners are of relevance in present day societies.

She blamed economic challenges on the mushrooming of faith healers whom she saw as taking advantage of the desperation of people especially those whom she referred to as the “man of God” type of prophets. She said these prophets promise people heaven on earth and instant riches in an economy that is not performing. She doubted the authenticity of such prophets as she said that for the past three years they have been promising people an economic boom which was never be. For her, their agenda is to make money. From what she said it is clear that she is of the opinion that there are two types of faith healers which are “the man of God” type of prophets and the other prophets.

Commenting on the representation of faith healers her idea is that it has not been the same throughout. There have been shifts in terms of how these faith healers are represented. She talked of those prophets that have started “gosprenreurship.” She said that their relationship with the media has been evolving. At first there was an adversarial relationship. She talks of Daily News and Prophet Makandiwa taking each other to court and H-Metro on the extra-marital affair. For her the press was sceptical at the beginning, they would have the man of God in quotes. This alone shows that they doubted the genuineness of these people.

She however talked of an evolution regarding the representation of these practitioners from being negatively represented to being positively represented. This suggests that in terms of representation faith healers have received mixed coverage. She believes that the reasons for the
turn of events on the portrayal of faith healers range from social to economic ones. She said that one of the reasons might be that these prophets are media serving. It is probably because initially they did not know that the media can destroy them. She said that after those first mistakes they recruited media people into their media departments. She identified some ZBC presenters and media personnel who work for renowned faith healers. These are people who understand the operations of the media and have connections in the media fraternity. She stressed the importance of recruiting media people when she makes reference to an article when people were saying that Makandiwa was lying about the oil considering that at one time he talked about the gold rain that never was. His spokesperson who happens to be a media person says that the prophecy was fulfilled because figures show that the bigger chunk of gold products was coming from the small scale miners and that is a miracle. It is perplexing why these people are so uncritical but this shows how media people can manipulate issues in favour of their masters.

The interviewee also said that these positive representations might have been triggered by the idea that some of the journalists have become members of these churches. Following the idea that journalists are the first gatekeepers, this might have implications on how they portray their church leaders since they are the ones who determine what needs to be written or obscured. This suggested that for the interviewee it is difficult for journalists to separate their beliefs and personalities from the stories that they write.

The other reason why these prophets receive positive representation might be because there has also been “positive prophecies” that they have given. They have shown that they are politically correct for example when the MDC calls for a demonstration Makandiwa discouraged the demonstration and that alone makes him welcome to the system. Magaya has also been involved in community work donating to Parirenyatwa hospital and Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA).

Apart from the stories being affected by the personalities and beliefs of journalists, she also says that news passes through a lot of filters of which the journalist is just one. The journalist chooses what to and what not to write about. This is determined by a lot of factors including the editorial policy and issues to do with ownership and control which she says have got an impact on the outcome of a story. She singled out the editorial policy of ZIMPAPERS which she says should
support the government of the day, so anything that they write about religion should not be anti-status quo.

When asked about the extent to which people can depend on the media she said, journalists do not fabricate stories but the reason why sometimes stories come out differently is because of the way they look at these things differs. They take different angles because of the different organisations that they work for. She said that it is the reason why those who are in the media talk of frames. What differs is how they frame these things. She is of the opinion that newspapers are still undertaking their roles. She however said that stories about traditional and faith healers are not truthful because there is no absolute truth, there are versions of truth and that is the reason why we talk of media polarisation. In the end, she said in most cases the stories inform and do not educate because with education it really depends with how one interacts with the text.

On the representation of traditional healers she says that there has not been enough coverage. She said that “we cannot talk of Sangoma who is well known and written about in the same manner as the Makandiwas in newspapers.” The interviewee however talked of the Tsikamutandas whom she said are represented as tricksters who are extorting livestock and hard earned cash from poor villagers. In the whole she said traditional healers are negatively represented probably because they are considered as the other. African traditional religions are located at the fringe of the society and this explains why in newspapers there are lots of articles on Christianity.

5.2.7 Interviewee 7
Interviewee 7 is a traditional healer who has been in the practice for 5 years.

The interviewee said that traditional healers are there to help people and that their main duty is to heal people. She said that the media always publish negative stories about traditional healers. The interviewee blamed the economy for the state of affairs. She said that most of the things that are read in newspapers are not characteristic of Zimbabwean traditional healers. She went further to say that there are people who go out of the country to get healing powers and for her these are the people who engage in atrocious activities. The interviewee said:

(Issues to do with selling medicine that promote infidelity and bribing people are not indigenous to Zimbabwe. Zimbabwean traditional healers are there to heal people. The problem is that because of poverty people are engaging in whatever activity to earn a living. There is no money and jobs.)

The interview said that what is written in newspapers is the truth, but it is not something that is done by the Zimbabwean traditional healers proper. She said that, those are the deeds of people who are in the business of making money. The problem is that reporters do not separate people who masquerade as traditional healers from true traditional healers. For her the stories have got a bad impact on the duty of the traditional healers as some people will shun the services of the traditional healer. She contended that they have lost clients because of the idea that true traditional healers are overwhelmed by tricksters. She recommended that reporters should try to separate true traditional healers from those who masquerade as traditional healers when writing newspaper articles about traditional healers. Commenting on the future of the traditional healer she said that she sees a situation where people turn back to traditional healers for their health services. The interviewee recognised the imminence of Afrocentricity which is defined by Asante (2012), as a theory of social change which is committed to moving Europe from the centre and Africa to the centre by calling for Africans to leave all the modern or European way of doing things and going back to the roots. The interviewee therefore saw a shift of consciousness where people are reapproving the traditional healer.

5.2.8 Interviewee 8
Interviewee 8 is a herbalist. She learnt the job from her late mother.

The interviewee was of the idea that traditional healers are of much relevance in present day societies. Their role is to help people. She subscribed to the idea that there are diseases that can only be treated by the traditional healer and this makes the traditional healer inevitable. This has been made reference to by Bourdillon (1976:150) who says that “The Shona believe that Western medicinal treatment can only alleviate symptoms of abnormal illness or at best it can cure the present illness which can always strike again.” This supposes that modern doctors are not capable of sufficiently treating abnormal illnesses, hence the idea that traditional healers are indispensable. Commenting on the representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers, she said that they are represented negatively. She however said that she cannot say whether these stories are true or false. She said that:
Bad traditional healers are there, there are those with dangerous medicine. People are looking for money and fake healers who are looking for money are numerous.

The interviewee seems to be accepting that the stories are true since there are lots of false traditional healers that are coming up. The interviewee was of the view that such representation does not have an impact on their job. For her people do not take everything that they read from newspapers since they know that traditional healers are helpful. She recognised the autonomy of the recipients of newspaper articles when she says:

_Vemapepanhau vanenge vachida kunzwa kuti tinoti chi, manje isu hatina basa nazvo. Vanhu vanoramba vachiuya. Vanhu vakadzidza hupenyu hunonetsa, saka havanei nezvindobuda mumapapepa nhau._

(Those who write newspapers want to hear what we say, but we do not care about what they say. People are continuously consulting; they have learnt that life is difficult, so they do not care about what they read in newspapers.)

The interviewee did not see any difference among the traditional healer, faith healer and the medical doctor. She said that faith healers are just into tradition but they are hiding behind Christianity in order to get clients since most people subscribe to Christianity. With regards to medical doctors, she said that the medicine that they use is refined from traditional medicine. She went further to say that faith healers actually get their powers from traditional healers. She suggested that the faith healer is just an appendage of the traditional healer who cannot function on his own.

**5.2.9 Interviewee 9**

Interviewee 9 is a spirit medium.

The interviewee regarded the role of the traditional healer as that of helping people. She is of the idea that these practitioners hold a very special place in today’s world. She was of the opinion that there are areas and diseases that people experience which are an area of traditional healers hence traditional healers are indispensable.

Commenting on the negative representation she said that she does not blame those who write newspapers but what she calls _n’anga muporofita_ (traditional healer-cum-prophet). She denied the idea that traditional healers are involved in atrocious activities and puts the blame to a group of healers whom he calls _n’anga mupositori_ (traditional healer-cum-apostle). She said that this
class of traditional healers comprises of tricksters and they are different from the true traditional healers. She was of the opinion that the only problem with those who write newspaper articles is that they do not separate the two and they are not specific about the kind of traditional healer that they will be referring to when writing newspaper articles. She said that the bad things that are written in newspaper articles are about false traditional healers. She subscribed to the idea that there are so many people who are fake traditional healers in order to earn a living. She said that people are in business and the economy is bad. N’angas just like medical doctors specialises but because people want money they are claiming to be all-rounders so as to get money. The interviewee blamed the economy for the status quo.

On the relationship between a traditional healer and the faith healer she says that prophets are trying to replace the traditional healer. Bourdillon (1976:303) reports that “faith healing is an important aspect of the fight against traditional religion, the ceremonies of which focus on the need for obtaining the good will of ancestral spirits in times of sickness and trouble. The healing ritual of faith healers supplies a replacement for the traditional appeasement of the spirits supposedly causing the sickness” The respondent was of the idea that faith healers are doing things the Christian way to lure people because people want to be associated with Christianity. She went on to say that the prophets consult traditional healers and they get their powers from traditional healers. She said that traditional religion is still there hence the role of the traditional healer is indispensible. She observed that the reason why faith healers get positive representation is because they are the ones who approach newspapers to advertise their services.

5.2.10 Interviewee 10
Interviewee 10 is a young traditional healer who is twenty one years old and has been in the profession for seven years.
The interviewee said that, because of modernism people find it strange for someone of her age to be a traditional healer. They view traditional healers as people who are old fashioned. She said that the majority does not believe the first time but once they are treated they will surely come back. The traditional healer said that she is not ashamed because it is her way of life and she was raised by a traditional healer. She said that she does not see anything wrong about the traditional healer because she believes that God is the creator of everything. The existence of traditional healers of this age is evidence to support that traditional healing is never a dying tradition.
Commenting on the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers she said that newspaper stories are derogatory about traditional healers but she for one does not care about what is written in newspapers. She believed that no one can say good things about traditional healers hence she did not expect anything good about traditional healers in newspapers because newspapers are just representing what is already there in the society.

On whether the stories are true or false she said that some of the stories are true and some are false but most of the stories are exaggerated. She said that the reason why the stories are negatively exaggerated is because they want people to turn to Christianity and shun traditional religion. The interviewee was of the view that those who write newspapers are perpetuating the colonial agenda of alienating people from themselves. She said that despite all the efforts to remove people from what they believe traditional healers are still vibrant; people are still using their services which is evidence that people are not controlled by what they read from newspapers. She went on to say that their importance also lies in the fact that even Christians are amongst their clients. On the reaction of people to newspaper articles about traditional healers she said, “Vanhu vava kuvhurika njere saka havatevedzeri zviri mumapepanhau.” (People are reasonable enough not to fall for whatever they read in newspapers.) The respondent concurred with Wa Thiong’o (1993:9) who postulates that “knowing oneself and one’s environment was the correct basis of absorbing the world that there could never be one centre from which to view the world, but that different people in the world had their own culture and environment as their centre.” This suggests that newspaper stories about traditional healers do not dictate what people should do. People are guided by their experiences in decoding what they read from newspapers.

To this Porter and Samivar (1988:21):

When a message reaches the culture where it is to be decoded, it undergoes a transformation in which the influence of the decoding culture becomes a part of the message meaning. The meaning content of the original message becomes modified during the decoding phase of intercultural communication because the culturally different repertory of communicative behaviour and meanings possessed by the decoder does not contain the same cultural meanings possessed by the encoder.

This implies that people do not take everything that they read from newspapers. For the interviewee people have experiences which help them to decode the messages that they read in newspapers. For her the n’anga has got the same mission as the medical doctor. She felt comfortable being associated with the medical doctor as compared to the faith healer.
5.2.11 Interviewee 11

The interviewee is a traditional healer and has been practising for the past 10 years. She said that most of the stories that we read in newspapers about traditional healers are negative. She did not see anything wrong about writing about bad traditional healers however she was sceptical about the idea that newspaper articles do not point to good traditional healers as if to say that all traditional leaders are bad. She went on to say that the reason why traditional healers are treated badly in newspapers is historical and can be traced back to the coming of the European. She said:

*N’anga dzakagara dzaita zita rakaipa. Vanhu vanoti n’anga dzakaipa nekuti vese vava kuviiita makristu. kun’anga unofo, kuhosipitari unofo kuchipatara unofo, hapana kusingafiwi.*

(Traditional healers have attained a bad name. People say that traditional healers are bad because they regard themselves as Christians. Death is everywhere; people die in hospitals at traditional healers.)

She condemned the kind of treatment that traditional healers have suffered at the hands of the European. Chukwuokolo (2009:24) pointedly argues that, “Africa has not remained the same again since the rape of its continent by the West who pretended to be on a ‘civilising mission’.” There was total distortion of all values of the African people to the advantage of the West which was necessitated by Christian ideology. The interviewee disputed the superiority of modern medicine when she contends that people die even in hospitals.

On whether traditional healers are relevant she said that they are very much relevant because, even people who castigate them consult them. She said that newspaper stories have no impact on how people think about them. She said people continue to consult despite what they read from newspapers. She sealed Idowu’s (1973:206) idea that:

Also it appears that those who outwardly profess faith in other religions but are constantly resorting to the traditional religion for succour may not decrease substantially in numbers for a long time to come. It also appears there will always be the ‘faithful’ remnant whose loyalty to religion of their forebears will continue steadfast.

As for traditional healers she indicated that they do not care about what is written in newspapers. She advocated for a situation where there is collaboration between traditional healers and medical doctors for she believed that there are diseases that can only be treated by medical doctors and those that are an area for traditional healers.
5.2.12 Interviewee 12

Interviewee 12 is a reporter for *NewsDay*

The interviewee said the crucial motivator for stories about traditional and faith healers is that they are human interest stories hence they sell. They are not as serious as political stories, hence they appeal to people. He said that the other reason why there are many stories about faith healers is that faith healers compete among themselves and this might be visible to people. Apart from this these prophets have got big followings hence they make sales. For him the media is still playing its role. He proposed that it is informative in the sense that it provides people with information as to where they can get healing services. On the issue of representation he said that in most cases stories about traditional healers are bizarre. He said that this might be because these practitioners are old fashioned. They talk about witchcraft and witchcraft does not have space in the constitution. This suggests that the media is perpetuating the aspirations of the coloniser. It does not recognise that witchcraft is a common belief amongst Africans; hence it takes the stance of the colonial government which enacted the Witchcraft Suppression Act of 1889 which was aimed at preventing the activities of the traditional healer.

On whether journalists can separate their own feelings from the stories that they write the interviewee said editors are gate keepers. They have the final say on what goes into the newspaper. They have the prerogative to select the content that should be included and plucked out. They can choose to ignore some vital information for personal reasons. This supposes that their feelings get into the stories that they write. The interviewee said; “There is always self-censorship. We always want to sympathise with where we belong.” In as much as journalists may want to be professional personal feelings always have a part to play in stories that they write.

The interviewee was of the opinion that ethical journalism is difficult because of the economic situation. He revealed that because of chequebook journalism, it is difficult to be ethical. He said that people actually ask to be covered. He further says that corruption is everywhere. He also talked of advertisers whom he said have got influence on the stories that are written in newspapers. Journalists have to compromise with advertisers since advertisers have got a big place in the running of newspapers. He said that newspaper articles always set the agenda of the owners of the organisation. It is what the owners’ want that comes out in newspapers.
He said that people can still depend on newspapers because it is not everything that is distorted. The media is still playing the role of informing, but we cannot run away from the fact that it operates like a business. Stories are packaged in a way that appeals in order to balance sales and roles. In a bid to achieve that a lot happens that can affect the outcome of the stories.

1.2.13 Interviewee 13
Interviewee 13 is an academic. He is a lecturer in the Department of African Languages at a Zimbabwean University.

The interviewee was of the idea that the role of traditional and faith healers is to assist patients with health delivery needs of their clients. They also offer spiritual prophylaxis for their clients. This suggests that the interviewee was of the idea that these two practitioners have got the same role to play. They are all concerned about illnesses that emanate from the spiritual world.

On the common ground and the area of divergent about the way traditional and faith healers operate he said that:

Both use and claim to use spiritual powers to assist their clients. Their practices are couched in mystery and cannot be scientifically proved. However, traditional healers seem to derive their power from the ancestors while faith healers claim to be powered by God

This suggests that the role of the two practitioners is the same but what differs is the source of their healing powers.

Commenting on the reasons behind the popularity of traditional/faith healers the interviewee noted that Africans have always had a strong belief in the supernatural and the mystic, given the low level of scientific development in their communities. Issues are explained in spiritual and religious terms. He was also of the idea that many people lack access to the Western health delivery system which is not only expensive but also presently in tatters because of economic hardships.

He saw the traditional and the faith healer as people who occupy a very important position in society. When asked about whether these practitioners have a role to play in modern Zimbabwe’s health system he says “Certainly, because of economic hardships, these practitioners offer handy alternatives. Also, the African approach to health is holistic. Even with Western health implements at their disposal, African people always feel that a good spiritual relationship with
their ancestors and creator is indispensable. This finds resonance in Mbiti (1969:225) who says “Africans, who traditionally do not know religious vacuum, feel that they don’t get enough religion from this type of Christianity, since it does not feel up their whole life and their understanding of the universe.” Consequently the respondent was of the idea that Africans; are not satisfied by the services of the modern medical doctor whom they view as someone who cannot adequately address the dimension of their illness. Traditional and faith healers provide them with the bridge to the ancestors and the creator. In any case, these practitioners have intimate knowledge about their clients and the afflictions that trouble them. Some of them may be fraudulent, but anyone can be fraudulent, even in the Western health delivery system which claims to be superior to traditional and faith healers. This idea has been propounded by Mbiti (1969:166) who says that “As in any profession, there are those who deliberately cheat their fellow men for the sake of gain and publicity.”

On the reasons as to why there is more representation of faith healers as compared to that of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers he suggested that it may have to do with the ownership of the newspapers and the philosophy of the editors. Also, traditional healers are seen as a threat to power because their practice and trade involves resistance to Western medical practice and the system that brought it into Africa. Traditional healers have a strong relationship with African ancestors from whom they say they derive their power and African ancestors are deemed undesirable by the capitalist world that owns newspapers because their struggles inspire resistance to capitalism. On the other hand, spiritual healers profess to be inspired by the Christian God that apparently has a very strong relationship with colonialism and the subjugation of African people. If faced with a choice, the capitalist owned newspapers give more space to faith healers ahead of traditional healers because the former derives from the same Christian ethos as the owners of the newspapers. Expecting newspapers to accord space to traditional healers is like expecting the Daily News or NewsDay here in Zimbabwe to have anything positive to say about Pan-Africanism and Afrocentricity. This suggests that the media is one other machinery used to manufacture Africans that are divorced from their roots. The interviewee echoed the idea that traditional healers only feature in newspapers when they have to be undermined because they have done something unpleasant.
He identified power dynamics in capitalist societies as one of the factors that affect media representation of traditional and faith healers. Our newspapers are owned by forces that are antithetical to Africa, African people and African culture. Also, the issue of profit is important. Negative stories on traditional and faith healers are juicier compared to those that are positive and because they are juicier, they attract readers and boost newspapers sales. Newspapers are not here to help anyone but to make money for their owners.

The interviewee was of the opinion that traditional healers are never truthfully represented in the newspapers. Each time they are featured in there it is because they have done something that helps undermine them in the face of the readers. He said there is an on-going and deathless struggle between Western and African science. So, if African traditional healers are undermined, it means more space and visibility for western medicine and therefore more money for European companies that manufacture drugs and medical equipment. To this Njoh (2006:157) posits that “efforts to discourage traditional healing practices were part of a more elaborate strategy to eliminate any real potential competition with Western medical and pharmaceutical interests.” But the battle has to be won at the level of images first where people, as the clients, must be inculcated with negative thoughts about African traditional healers so that they do not consult them.

On the effect of stories about traditional healers and faith healers on a people’s self-definition and survival he said it depends on whether the stories are positive or negative. If they are negative, the stories inject inferiority complexes among Africans who then begin to desire to distance themselves from their culture and ultimately themselves. Such a people cannot challenge imperialism. They are walking lies and that is the kind of people that imperialism and capitalism desire; people who do not know their worth, who see themselves as the last born of humanity and eternally dependent upon the system that destroy them.

He said that today’s traditional and faith healer cannot be compared with the classical ones. Things have changed if we are to compare with the classical past when traditional healers could first perform the tasks and then be rewarded after the patients are healed. Today people are driven by greed and so they abuse sacred African traditions in order to survive in the face of the dog eat dog economic environment brought by capitalism. Such practitioners are fraudulent and cannot be taken as representatives of African traditional healers properly understood. Being that
as it may, we still have genuine traditional healers. The same can also be said about faith healers. The majority of them are fraudulent.

The interviewee took into consideration the fact that these practitioners are sometimes involved in negative actions because there is just too much poverty in African societies and people try anything and everything in order to survive. The same capitalist system whose newspapers negatively portray traditional and faith healers is responsible for undermining African economic well-being.

For him the role of the media is ideally supposed to educate, inform and entertain. The interviewee went on to say “However, I think it mis-educates, mis-informs and amuses instead of entertaining.” Media is regarded as the weapon of the rich and the powerful which they use to keep their victims in chains.

5.2.14 Interviewee 14
Interviewee 14 is an academic in the Centre for Lifelong Learning at a Zimbabwean University. Commenting the role of the traditional and faith healer the interviewee said that, I am taking the term ‘traditional healer’ as generic, referring to the n’anga (Traditional healer) as well as the svikiro (spirit) medium. The two have different but related roles. The n’anga is the one who casts out spells through the performance of rituals and use of magic spells. S/he may send back bad spells such as ill-luck to those who would have sent them. The svikiro on the other hand has a spiritual function. His/her role is to communicate with one’s ancestral spirits and gives guidance on matters that are largely spiritual. It is him/her who usually advises on what needs to be done if one’s problem is emanating from angered ancestral spirits. He/she consults with the ancestral spirits to find out what they want so that the ailment or problems they would have cast on their ward have to be done away with.

The interviewee believed that the faith healer has evolved from both the svikiro and the n’anga as realised in the way they operate and the prescriptions they give. Faith healers like Johane Masowe prophets besides giving their ‘patients’/clients water and oil or milk, they give them stones to throw away usually at crossroads. The clients throw away these stones at times accompanied by water. The same prophets also give fat to their clients. They usually give the fat of lamb and what they claim to be fat of lions. The so-called lion fat is said to fortify one against
problems in the family, community and even at the work place. In addition to these they may ask clients to buy *mbiya* (clay pots) on which they offer prayers and they tell them how the *mbiya* are to be kept. They may also instruct clients to put some pieces of cloth of a given length and they for example tie knots which they pray over.

The apostles from Johane Marange do things differently. They have prophets whose role is only to prophesy. Those responsible for prayer usually do the spiritual healing through the laying of hands and prescription of holy water. If one is not healed through faith, their verdict is usually it is God’s will, or the healed person lacked faith.

The faith healer has evolved further into the urban based prophets whose wives automatically become prophetesses and have spiritual fathers who are mainly from West Africa, specifically Ghana and Nigeria. Most of these pray for their clients but encourage them to buy what they call anointed oil. The interviewee was generally of the idea that today’s faith healer is an evolution from the traditional healer. His idea was that faith healers are offering a replacement for the traditional healer.

The interviewee recognised that traditional/faith healers are not a new phenomenon in Zimbabwe. They have always been there, although the faith healers appear to have increased considerably. It is important to point out that both have to be registered with ZINATHA although not all are registered. These healers have remained common and popular in Zimbabwe for different reasons, which are all spiritual but which have a bearing on the socio-economic well-being of those who solicit for their services. Most people who consult traditional healers and faith healers do so may be because of devastating calamities that they would have faced in the family. Chitando (2013) says that religion makes sense of a crisis and suggests strategies to both survive and overcome the crisis. It may happen that some people inexplicably fall ill and even die. Some members on enquiry from traditional healers may be informed of the possibility of a *ngozi* (avenging spirit), or *mamhepo* (evil spirits) which may lead them to seek for assistance from extended family members. In most cases today, extended family members do not participate. So the affected may end consulting traditional healers for assistance. They may also end up consulting faith healers.
Usually job-seekers or those who have lost employment are among those who consult traditional and faith healers to have better opportunities of getting employed or getting employed again. There are also those who would be having disciplinary hearings in their work places who also consult traditional and faith healers. Of late there are reported cases of even criminals who also consult traditional and faith healers to ensure that their criminal spoors are covered and they escape detection. During the election season, whether it is at local or national level, traditional and faith healers are also consulted by the hopefuls who expect to be elected.

The interviewee subscribed to the idea that traditional/faith healers have a role to play in modern Zimbabwe’s health system. He said, first and foremost it is important to remember that Zimbabwe is a multi-faith country. That means all faiths have a role to play in Zimbabwe in the lives of their adherents. I think it is also wrong to assume that because a country like Zimbabwe has modernised, or is modernising it therefore has to abandon its beliefs and practices. Those are practices that reflect the diversity of Zimbabwean communities. It is also important to note that as much as people may want so-called backward practices to be abandoned, that cannot be possible in a country whose economy continues to plummet, and where communities remain unequal. It is as well important to note that some ailments that people may assume to be spiritual may not be. But this cannot be confirmed because of an ailing if not non-existent health system. So, in a so-called modern Zimbabwe, these healers are still very relevant.

The interviewee was of the idea that motives for newspapers to write stories about traditional and faith healers are different. They range from outright ridiculing of the practice and attacking certain practitioners, to what he calls ‘praise and reverence’. Ridiculing comes with an attack usually on those who perform ritual murders to enhance their business success, or those who rape minors (this does not mean that anyone has to be raped) in the belief that they will be healed of ailments like HIV and AIDS. They will also be attacking people like politicians who are believed to be ‘enlightened’ who also consult traditional healers especially during election time. The idea that the enlightened also consult traditional healers is captured by Chavunduka (1986a) who argues that those Africans who consider themselves ‘Westernised’ and therefore ‘civilised’ tend to consult with Western medical practitioners during the day and with African traditional healers at night when people cannot see them. The notion that the politicians are enlightened people
emanates from the assumption that because Zimbabwe is a modern state, it does not need to have traditional healers.

It is not only traditional healers who are ridiculed but certain faith healers as well. Faith healers, especially from the apostolic sects are usually ridiculed for the same reasons that traditional healers are. In addition to that they are accused of seducing and raping their female clients.

On the other side there are what we may call the ‘bling’ healers of faith such as Makandiwa, Angel and Magaya. These get favourable coverage in the print media in Zimbabwe. In fact they even have public relations officers like Oscar Pambuka for Magaya and Psychology Maziwisa as deputy director of Information for Makandiwa’s religious outfit. The interviewee commented that what causes the later day prophetic healers to get positive coverage is because most politicians attend these.

He went on to say that later day prophets get much coverage as compared to traditional and Apostolic faith healers because, they have money and politicians and the rich and powerful who attend their churches may influence or lean heavily on the press to report favourably on their churches.

He propounded that the media is deliberately skewed in favour of the later day faith healers like Makandiwa. This is partly because to go to churches that do not worship under trees like apostolic sects is considered as fashionable. The second thing he noted is that all newspapers, especially Sunday newspapers, have sections on Christianity. This also explains why they usually report favourably for those sects like PHD. Traditional healers and apostolic faith healers of all shades and hues are mostly reported negatively on because they are said to lie, and some besides protecting criminals are also criminals who steal cars, smuggle goods into the country and rape and murder some of their female clients. Such kind of representation is largely done to discredit African Traditional religion and to promote Christianity.

The interviewee was of the opinion that these practitioners are not truthfully represented. Most of them are rural based and cannot even afford to bribe journalists to report favourably about them even if they are urban based. The only time they are reported positively on is when they are linked currently to ZANU PF as Madzibaba Lawrence Katsiru was. Even after he had been
incarcerated for rape, the papers were not very harsh on him but in fact; write positively about him when he was released early from prison.

The interviewee was of the idea that the stories that are reported in newspapers do not have an impact because people are defined by the need to survive. In the harsh economic environment that Zimbabwe is currently facing, most people do not appear to be worried about what the media reports on traditional and faith healers. They still consult them because they feel that it is these healers who help in solving most if not all of their economic and social problems. Ani (1994:255) states that “The European and African world views are so different, in such crucial aspects, that explanations of the African world view cannot use European definitions, for it would be blatantly absurd.” This implies that people do not wait for the media to interpret their lives for them.

He further said that traditional and faith healers who encourage their clients to rape, or to avoid medication when they are terminally ill or who have ailments that require their clients to take on a daily basis are not compatible with the role expected of them. They are supposed to be honest. Unfortunately, most of them are not compatible with what is expected of them.

On the role of the media he said that the media ideally should tell the truth and nothing but the truth. It should therefore tell the truth about whatever they are reporting on. It is unfortunate that in Zimbabwe the media only chooses to report favourably on some segments of traditional and faith healers, with however the majority of the cases being negative. They do not even report on the medicines that most people who have failed to respond to western medicine have responded to, after these were prescribed by traditional healers. They do not even mention the fact that traditional healers are well known for calming terminal illnesses, neither do they mention the contribution of traditional medicine in the development of Western medicine.

On the issue of agenda setting he contended that newspapers serve the interests of the rich and powerful, especially of those who own and control them, or those who claim to superintend over them on behalf of the majority of Zimbabweans such as the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) alias ZIMPAPERS.
5.2.15 Interviewee 15

Interviewee 15 is a lecturer in the department of Theology and Religious Studies at a Zimbabwean University.

The interviewee considered the traditional and the faith healer as practitioners who offer counselling and spiritual as well as physical healing where possible. He recognised that these practitioners focus on holistic healing which is tantamount to African understanding of disease and illness.

He said that both the faith and the traditional healer look into the patient’s life to get guidance as to how to proceed in the healing processes. Their sources of power are different. Traditional healers get their powers from ancestors and other spirits unknown to them such as spirits of the mermaid etc. whereas faith healers claim that their powers are from God. Although others use divination and faith healers prophesy the procedure is the same.

For him the traditional/faith healers are common in Zimbabwe today because a lot of them are not genuine. Anyone can claim to be a faith healer or traditional healer. There is need to tighten the registration process so that bogus practitioners are weeded out. However he purported that these practitioners are relevant in modern Zimbabwe’s health system but what needs to be done is for their work to be regulated to avoid cheating and faking.

He was of the idea that the proliferation of these practitioners draws the interest from the media. He also talked of cases of abuse that are always reported e.g. rape which constantly catches media attention. He however pointed to the idea that there is more representation of faith healers as compared to that of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers particularly because faith healers are the most common ones who sometimes openly advertise their services and even form churches where they claim to be used by God but some of their deeds tell a different story altogether.

Commenting on the idea that most of the stories about traditional and faith healers are blatantly anti-traditional healing and faith healing he said:

> It is a matter of perception whereby these healers are regarded with suspicion and is equally regarded as backward and uncivilised. Western medicine is regarded as the epitome of progress and many would wish to identify with it.
The interviewee was of the opinion that faith and traditional healers are not always represented truthfully, sometimes there is a lot of exaggeration bordering on malicious propaganda to demean these healers e.g. the reputation of tsikamutandas as wealth diggers and pirates.

For him stories about traditional healers and faith healers have diverse effects on a people’s self-definition and survival. He said that by reading such stories people became confused and removed from their traditional survival skills which are equally cheap as they are forced to embrace the expensive western ways of medicine,

He went further to say that the work of traditional and faith healers is still vital as most people consult them here and again. So there is need to regularise and accord them respect instead of the condescending attitude of some of the medical practitioners in Zimbabwe as well as the media itself.

He saw the duty of the media as that of informing, advising and teaching its readership on different topical issues. He however observed that the media is not being responsible when disseminating information about traditional and faith healers. In some instances the media has been observed to be lacking in these areas. He said that this is partly because the media is in the business of promoting the agenda of the advertisers and that of the owners of the papers which in turn determines their editorial policy as well as the reporters’ religious beliefs. He also blamed the attitude of the government towards these healers which he says also contribute to the perception of the media on the same.

The interviewee was of the opinion that these medical practitioners are not represented truthfully. He said that in most instances they focus only on the bad ones leaving out others who are doing good and progressive work. He recommended that there is need for balancing the representation so that people are well informed.

5.2.16 Interviewee 16

Interviewee 16 is an academic and lecturer in the department of African Languages and Culture at a Zimbabwean university.

The interviewee defined traditional and faith healers as counsellors and doctors as well as opinion leaders. She saw no difference at all between the two practitioners as they both use faith
at a healing platform. The difference is that one uses traditional religion and the other uses exotic religions. The other may abhor herbs but the tendency today is they all use herbs.

She said that traditional and faith healers are common in Zimbabwe today because the economy is unstable. She said that in a stable economy there are less people who consult these but in Zimbabwe they seek prosperity, healing and luck because of unemployment, poor economy and poverty, they also cannot afford services such as health care. This suggested that her take is that if it was not for the economy which is not performing these practitioners were not going to be many. This suggested that people are taking this as an opportunity to make money, hence the possibility of fake prophets and traditional healers.

The interviewee purported that the major role of traditional and faith healers in present day societies is that of offering moral and psychological support for patients. Traditional healers however, are more important in that the herbs they administer are effective and affordable.

On the representation of traditional healers and faith healers she was of the opinion that the two are represented differently. She was of the idea that faith healers are represented in positive light whereas traditional healers are mostly represented in bad light. She said that the reason for this scenario is that Zimbabwe is predominantly a Christian nation and this ideology guides newspapers. Many journalists are born again Pentecostals who work to demonise traditional healers. This suggested that media representation is just representation of what is already there. Most of these newspapers ridicule and downplay traditional healers yet they glorify faith healers. She also goes on to say that traditional healing is seen as an appendage of devil worship. She went on to say that most of the faith healers in Zimbabwe have been proven to be fake and some are in prison for crimes such as rape and fraud and this is the reason why most of the newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers are anti traditional healers. The interview was therefore of the idea that these practitioners are truly represented because many have lied about curing all diseases, some claiming to prophesy everything and some claiming to produce diesel from rocks.

The interviewee suggested that the representation does not have any effect on a people’s definition. She was of the idea that despite the fact that these healers are demonised, people continue flocking to them. This suggests that people are capable of thinking out of the box. They
are not controlled and directed by what they read in newspapers but rather by their life experiences.

She lamented the idea that traditional and faith healers are not compatible to what she understands to be their role. They appear to be playing to the gallery; they follow current problems and ride on them to make money which is not the expectation. The interviewee seems not to understand the idea that these practitioners are driven by the idea that they are living in a capitalist society.

The interviewee, however, praised the media for being responsible in disseminating information about traditional and faith healers. She said that the media are opinion leaders and they represent them well as they seek to protect the public from being duped by these crooks especially faith healers who are growing by the day. She concluded that newspapers are mostly selling the Christian agenda. The respondent however seems to be contradicting himself since at one point she says that the media is responsible and at the same time she was saying it is selling the agenda of the Christians.

5.2.17 Interviewee 17
Interviewee 17 is a cultural activist who is based in Bulawayo.

He was of the idea that traditional and faith healers are there to heal people. For him these health care practitioners are indispensible to African societies. He applauded traditional healers for being a healthcare service that has been there for centuries. The interviewee commented that traditional healing is important in the sense that it has been the only health care service prior to the coming of the European which was sufficient for the health needs of Africans. The interviewee was of the view that there is no difference between white garment faith healers and traditional healers. He contended that the two are two sides of the same coin. He observed that they have the same understanding of disease and illness. The interviewee said that the only difference is that one is aligned to Christianity whilst the other is aligned to African traditional religion.

The interviewee appreciated that traditional and faith healers hold a very important place in Zimbabwe today. He remarked that both the old and the young are privileged with information of what these practitioners are capable of doing. He said that people know the importance of
traditional healers and they accept them. The respondent however commented that those who prophecy ignorance to traditional healers are guided by a Eurocentric ego. He denounced the society which he accuses of being Eurocentric about the definition of civilisation. The interviewee appreciated the idea that people distance themselves from traditional healers because they think that they are civilised. He however disputed the definition of civilisation which he says is largely Eurocentric. His idea is that traditional healing has always been civilised. He attached the idea of modernity and civilisation to time where he argues that what we experience at any given time is a civilisation of that time. The interviewee therefore concurred with Ani (1994) who states that, European and African world views are so different, in such crucial aspects, that explanations of the African world view cannot use European definitions, for it would be blatantly absurd. The interviewee therefore showed concern over the definition of civilisation which is Eurocentric such that it tends to regard anything African including traditional healing uncivilised. His view was that the Eurocentric definition of civilisation is limited and inadequate and is deliberately designed to relegate African religion. His argument was that such a definition is not applicable to Africa.

The interviewee disputed the idea that there are people who are Christians in Zimbabwe. He contended that in the case of Zimbabwe all people consult and for him Christianity is just a pastime, but people are still deep in their religion. He subscribes to Bourdillon (1990:274)’s view who says “even in mission churches, Christians accepted and understood Christianity very much within their old ways of thinking.” This suggests that the fact that people turned to Christianity does not necessarily mean that they have abandoned their own African ways of survival. They become Christians as they are, and this suggests that they theoretically profess Christianity but practically practice their own religion. Hence the interviewee did not see any African who is a Christian.

Commenting on the representation of traditional and faith healers, the interviewee was of the idea that they receive negative representation. He blamed negative representation on the attitude of the media which he says is shallow. He castigated journalists whom he said they write about things that they do not have deep understanding of. For him it is not the practice of traditional and faith healing that is bad, but the media which is shallow. The interviewee realised the
traditional healer can be used for negative and positive reasons. He however blamed the media for focusing on the negative side only and totally ignoring the positive.

He is of the idea that what people read in newspapers about traditional and faith healers is not true. He was actually of the view that the media has a challenge because if traditional and faith healers were that bad they would have run out of business. The interviewee observed that what makes these practitioners to survive is because they have positive results which are completely concealed by the media. The interviewee categorised diseases into three classes. He talks of physical diseases which he says are the stronghold of physician. He said that these are the diseases that are attended to by modern medical doctors. He also identified faith diseases which he says are for faith healers and psychologists and spiritual diseases which he says are attended to by spirit mediums. The interviewee said that traditional healers excel in the treatment of such ailments and for him no other person is privileged to treat these diseases. The researcher therefore questions the reasons behind newspapers concealing the positive side of traditional and faith healers. He therefore concluded that the media lacks quality.

The interviewee strongly believed that people are not affected by what they read from newspapers. He contended that there are a lot of factors that affect their interaction with media material. He said that one other thing that people consider is who exactly is writing. This suggests that he appreciates that those who write newspapers might have agendas. For him people who read newspapers give hid to people who are influential, whom they know have got knowledge about the subject being discussed. He also noted that people are controlled by their cultural behaviour when interpreting newspaper articles. He vehemently said that if people were listening to these stories, traditional healers and faith healers would have run out of clients.

The interviewee said that traditional and faith healers are still very relevant in Zimbabwe. He said that they have been there for centuries. He insisted that these practitioners have served the health needs of generations before the coming of the European. His idea is that the society can actually do without modern medical doctors, but not with traditional healers. He also mentioned that traditional healers have success stories. They are well known for treating ailments that modern medical doctors have failed to cure.
Commenting on the White Collar Prophets he says those are spirit mediums. He said that this class of faith healers is not accepted in churches, neither are they accepted in African tradition. He said that what they are doing is in-between African religion and Christianity. He observed that Christianity has been in Africa for too long and some of the spirit mediums have died Christians. He said that the White Collar Prophets are evidence of a religious transition where people are going back to their religion. He therefore saw the imminence of African renaissance through faith healing.

5.2.18 Interviewee 18
The interviewee is the president of Zimbabwe National Practitioners Association (ZINIPA). ZINIPA is an association of traditional and faith healers. The interviewee recognised the relevance of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwe. He said that this is supported by their clientele which is quite significant. According to the interviewee WHO statistics holds that 80% of the world population depends on the services of traditional healers. For him the fact that the majority of people use the services of these practitioners is evidence of their relevance.

He said that the reasons for their relevance are that they are easily accessible. He said that these practitioners live within communities. He also recognised that their prices are negotiable. He said that no one is turned back unattended by traditional healers. He also proposed that the other advantage of these practitioners is that they operate 24 hours a day. They have people at heart and clients are also guaranteed of their privacy since they can visit them at night.

The respondent also contended that traditional and faith healers have success stories. He said that traditional healers even get in hospital unofficially. They smuggle medicine to clients admitted in hospital. He supported the idea that most of the people that claim to have been treated in hospitals would have been treated by medicines that are smuggled into hospitals by traditional and faith healers. He indicated that doctors actually advise their relatives to visit traditional healers.

He however said that there have been global changes which have affected African Traditional Religion. He talked of modernity and Christianity having taken a leading position. He therefore contends that the changes in African Traditional Religion are largely political. He recognised that these changes were brought in through colonialism thus Chukwuokolo (2009:24) notes that,
“Africa has not remained the same again since the rape of its continent by the West who pretended to be on a ‘civilising mission’. There was total distortion of all values of the African people to the advantage of the West.” Even as Africans gained their freedom from colonialism, their psychology suffered the traumatic effects of slavery and colonialism; the European arrogance totally destroyed the African’s understanding of himself.

The interviewee was actually of the view that traditional and faith healing is superior as compared to modern medicine. He said that traditional medicine is older and wider than science. He refuted as falsehoods the claims by Europeans that traditional medicine is unscientific. His idea is that traditional medicine has always been sophisticated. He said in traditional healing there are traditional pharmacologists in form of the spirits. He went on to say that spirits offer information of quantities that should be taken by patients depending on the age.

The respondent was of the idea that traditional and faith healers specialise in spiritual healing. He contended that scientists can study herbs but not spirituality. This suggested that modern medical practitioners are not qualified to deal with ailments that emanate from the spiritual world. The healing of spiritual ailments is solely reserved for traditional and faith healers. He went on to say that medical doctors also suffer from spiritual diseases and they are not capable of treating themselves rather they visit traditional and faith healers. The other reason for the popularity of traditional medicine is that it is accepted by people because it does not have side effects. He was of the opinion that modern medicine is actually creating more harm than good, because some of the medicines have go side effects. He therefore saw traditional medicine as a better option as compared to modern medical doctors.

From his observation, the interviewee was of the mind that traditional and faith healers are largely accepted by the society despite the fact that they are not openly talked about. He said that they are accepted more than anything else and they hold people’s lives. The interviewee observed that the reason why they are not talked about is not because people are ashamed of them, but because they are revered and respected. He regarded traditional healers as synonymous to human private parts among Africans which are not talked about yet they are the ones which determine whether one is male or female. The interviewee said that we do not talk about traditional healers openly because they are the private parts of our religion. The society accepts
and appreciates traditional healers. However, these practitioners do not advertise their services out of respect for the profession.

He said that the other reason to support that they are accepted is that they are recognised at international forums. The interview said that in 2012 he was the one who presented on the protection of indigenous knowledge systems at World Health Organisation (WHO) and in 2016 he presented on the role of traditional healers in the treatment of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STI’s) at the International Conference on AIDS and STI’s in Africa (ICASA). Such recognition is evidence of the importance of traditional and faith healers.

Commenting on Christianity he says that “Yes people have been converted to Christianity but that does not mean that they have been saved from their religion”. He said that people have got dual membership. The issue of dual membership has been alluded to by Mbiti (1969:257) who asserts that “Christianity and Islam have made only an astonishingly shallow penetration in converting the whole man of Africa, with all his historical-cultural roots, social dimensions, self-consciousness and expectations.” This suggests that Christianity was never adequate for the African problems that it failed to convince the African to throw away his own religion. Magesa (1997: 6) also concurs with this when he says “Africans come out of African religion but they don’t take off their traditional religiosity. They come as they are. They come as people whose worldview is shaped according to African religion.” This suggests that despite being converted to Christianity, Africans remained married to their African religion. In a way they consciously profess that they are Christians but deep in their subconscious they are controlled by their own indigenous religion. They visit their churches in the afternoon and these are the same people who visit traditional and faith healers at night. The interviewee strongly believed that everything that is precious and important is not done openly.

The interviewee did not see any difference between traditional healers and prophets from white garment churches. For him, the two are tapping from the same source but they use different healing methods. He said that their approach to disease and illness is the same. He said that 65% of traditional healers are coming from the churches where they begin as faith healers. The interviewee believed that there is communion between ancestors and God. He goes on to say that there is an intrinsic relationship between traditional healers and faith healers and that is the reason why they are registered under the same organisation. The interviewee said that even when
they hold their meetings they can start with a prayer which is done the Christian way and end with a prayer done the traditional way.

Commenting on the later day faith healer, he says that they do not appreciate such. He said that those people are not either Christians or traditionalists. They are just magicians. For him this is the reason why they are not accepted in churches, which force them to talk about ministries and they are as well not accepted by traditional healers. He further went on to say that they do not associate themselves with traditional healers because they know that the job of the traditional healer is guided by ancestors, hence they fear to be exposed by ancestors or to be punished. At the end of the day they masquerade as Christians where they know they will survive exposure. The interviewee saw Christianity as a weapon that is used by people to get to the people.

The interviewee accepted that traditional and faith healers receive bad representation. His idea was that there is nothing bad with the practice. He casted blame on journalists and Christianity. He blamed Christians who are in the business of castigating traditional healers yet they are the major clients of traditional healers. The interviewee was of the opinion that journalists and media owners have got a relationship with Christians. He said “Vemapanhau vane hukama nemakristu.” (Those who controlled the media are aligned to Christianity.) For him that relationship is influencing the way stories about traditional and faith healers are written. At the end of the day we see stories being aligned towards the interests of Christians. He went on to say that journalism is there to make money; consequently it is promoting the interests of those who service it. He also talked of poverty as another factor that is contributing to the demonisation of traditional healers in zimbabwean newspapers. He said that journalists are being bribed into writing stories that promote Christianity. At the end of the day the stories that they write about are doing nothing but misleading and confusing people. What is actually on the ground is that the very prophets who are being promoted in the media are buying powers from traditional healers. He was therefore of the view that Christian leaders are actually in the business of visiting traditional healers whom they castigate day in day out.

He however said that in as much as the media is misleading people, people are still consulting. He contended that as Africans traditional healers exist because they have the authority of God and of the government.
He insisted that as an organisation they reprimand those caught on the wrong side of law. He said that when traditional and faith healers register with them they are told not to rob and rape people. He said that cases of atrocious acts are few to none among traditional healers because they are guided by ancestors. Ancestors protect them from doing anything bad. He however said that they are people who are becoming traditional healers through studies, who can engage in such acts. On the whole he blames the faith healer for such acts. He went on to say their organisation is under the government such that all who cheat people are handed over to the government and it became a state case.

For him the practise of traditional healing is at high risk because of environmental degradation, piracying and the destruction of sacred places. He therefore recommended the documentation of traditional medicine.

5.2.19 Interviewee 19
The interviewee is the president of Zimbabwe Traditional Healers Association (ZINATHA). The interviewee said that the mission of his organisation is to unite all traditional practitioners and to add value to their work. He said that ZINATHA is an organisation which caters for the interests of faith healers from white garment churches and traditional healers.

He contended that traditional and faith healers are very relevant in present day Zimbabwe in the sense that they fill a very big gap in our day to day quest for answers and health solutions which modern medicine cannot tackle e.g. genital herpes. The interviewee was of the idea that there are diseases that modern doctors cannot treat which are treated by traditional healers. He contended that this form of therapy will never be outdated or old. His idea was that the world can modernise but traditional healing will always be the same. He asserted that 80% of Zimbabwe’s population depends on the services of traditional healers. The interviewee said that these practitioners are relevant because Africans are superstitious and their understanding of life is spiritually based. He went on to say that even in the case of an accident Africans would like to understand the cause.

He said that both traditional healers and faith healers are serviced by ZINATHA. This is because there is no difference between the two. For him they both derive the power from God but they have different way of accessing. He was of the idea that there is a lot of common ground between the two. He said firstly the word traditional refers to indigenous forms of healing as
opposed to Western forms. *Musikavanhu* (God) has always been recognised as the creator among Africans. He contended that the only different between the two is that Africans do not approach God directly. They have got the spirits/ancestors as intermediates. Consequently, most faith healers are comfortable to be associated with traditional healers. There have a referral system. He however pointed to the idea that some think otherwise because of lack of information.

The respondent said that the way these practitioners are written about in Zimbabwean newspapers is not very pleasing because normally it is all negative staff. He showed concern about the idea that some still even refer to traditional healers as ‘witchdoctors’ which is a colonial term. He showed concern about the damage that colonialism has caused to traditional healers. He said that the way these healers are presented is neo-colonial. For him colonialism has painted anything indigenous bad. With colonialism the mind of the African was conditioned by Eurocentrism to generally love and desire whiteness; to desire what the Europeans desire despite the friction that exists between the two races. The Africans’ beliefs were changed, they were taught to hate their religion because they were told it is heathen, they were taught the most evil thing, to hate themselves and being African. Africans assimilated some definitions of the oppressor that divorced them, raped, distorted and strangled the African humanity and has created what Fanon (1968) call ‘a third Europe’. Some of the falsehoods that they were forced to accept are prevalent in the way traditional healers are represented in the media today. So the way traditional healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers as according to the interviewee is a result of the fact that Africans are suffering from resentment.

The interviewee also blamed journalists for allowing their individual feelings and beliefs to intrude in the stories that they write. He said “We need more positive staff to be exposed.” Journalists must not put their personal opinions but report objectively. He suggested that the reports that we read about traditional healers are not objective but they are coloured by the views of individual journalists. The interviewee suggested that traditional and white garment faith healers receive the same treatment.

The interviewee made reference ‘white collar prophets’ whom he decline to comment on because he does not categorise them under faith healers. He said that this class of prophets does not want to be associated with traditional healers because they regard themselves as Christians. He
questioned their competence since he said the same people who visit these ‘white collar prophets’ during the day will visit traditional healers at night. He objected the idea that the majority of Zimbabweans are Christians. For him the majority of people are not Christians but Christianity is the most acceptable religion. He said that the very people who claim to be Christians are the ones who visit traditional and faith healers. This captures a scenario which was referred to by p’ Bitek (1986:89) who postulates that:

A careful scrutiny of the religious situation shows clearly that in their encounter with traditional religions, Christianity and Islam have made only an astonishing shallow penetration in converting the whole man of Africa, with all his historical/cultural roots, social dimensions, social consciousness and expectations.

The respondent showed that Christianity did not manage to be an adequate substitute for African religion, thus p’Bitek (1986) asks the question covet to what? The respondent sealed the idea by giving an example of people who seek help from him who have Christian WhatsApp profiles. He said that because of Christianity, traditional healers get busy at night.

Commenting on how traditional healers are treated by the society he says they are accepted. He said that he is a traditional healer and a member of the Anglican Church. He said that members of his church and even pastors come to him for herbs and he has been invited to different churches to talk to their youths about herbs. For him this is evidence to show that they are appreciated.

The respondent showed concern about the way the Chitungwiza blast was treated by the media. For him it was a Sandawana, but the media took advantage of the situation to preach against traditional healers.

He recommended that people should be schooled about the role of traditional healers. He advocated for programmes and positive literature about traditional and faith healers. For him the way newspapers write about traditional and faith healers has got an impact on the association of people with them. He supported the collaboration of the three Zimbabwean health systems.

5.2.20 Interviewee 20
Interviewee 20 is a religious leader. He is a Roman Catholic Priest and a lay apostolate in the church. He deals with issues that affect Catholics in their day to day lives in one of the Catholic dioceses of Zimbabwe.
The interviewee contended that Catholics do not recognise traditional healers. This is because of the fact that traditional healers are connected to ancestors. The church believes that ancestors are connected with too many spirits which are evil. He disputed the idea that Catholics appreciate ancestors saying that people confuse ancestral spirits and saints. He said that Catholics believe in saints and not ancestors and he defines saints as the spirit of people who have died and are believed to be holy. With regards to faith healers the interviewee said that they are appreciated in the Catholic Church. He believed that these are personnel who heal people using the spirit of God.

He was of the idea that faith healers are relevant in Zimbabwean societies because of the existence of spirits. He appreciated the idea that there are diseases in the African worldview which are caused by the spirits and such diseases are attended to by faith healers. He also acknowledged that the African belief in witchcraft is a reality and that it was there during Jesus’ time.

He said that in as much as the church believes in witchcraft and evil spirits, Catholics are not allowed to visit faith healers outside their church. This is because their power source is not clear. Consequently Catholics are only allowed to consult faith healers within their church. He argued that faith healing forms part of the Catholic doctrine. He went on to say that by virtue of being ordained all Catholic priests are faith healers. He purported that Catholics are following the example of Jesus who was the teacher, preacher and healer therefore all Catholic priests have the power to heal. He however lamented the idea that people are not seeing the power of priest. The interviewee was of the idea that the reason why they are not talked about is because they do not shout their powers.

The interviewee however observed that despite the church barring its members to visit faith and traditional healers, the majority of Catholics visit both traditional healers which are not recognised in the church and faith healers. He said that nicodemously they visit these people because of the fear of the unknown. He also observed that in cases of death they consult even if a person was hit by a car. He also said that people are still attached to their culture and culture for him is powerful. He contended that culture binds people and on the other hand Christianity is foreign to people. He contended that in everything that the African do culture comes first. For him culture is not bad as it is but what is bad is African Traditional Religion which has dirt
beliefs. He also, observed that poverty is also one of the leading factors in driving people to traditional and faith healers.

The interviewee said that amongst Catholics cases of people who visit traditional and faith healers are so much prevalent. He said that after visiting these people they come back to church from counselling and for confession. This suggested that whereas Catholics believe in Christ, they are still clutched by their culture and beliefs which force them to visit traditional healers despite the church barring them. This is in line with Mbiti (1969:2) who postulates that “Through modern change these traditional religions cannot remain intact, but they are by no means extinct. In times of crisis they often come to the surface or people revert to them in secret.” Such a scenario is prevalent among the Catholics as according to the interviewee. These people visit these practitioners despite the church preaching against traditional healers and teaching its followers that they are informed by evil spirits. This shows that Christianity has managed to demonise African religion but has failed to overthrow it.

On the representation of traditional and faith healers he said that the majority of newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers are negative and for him the stories are largely true. He expressed a lot of reservation particularly with regards to the services offered by those prophets who have started their own ministries. He questioned the idea that during their healing sessions, they do not heal locals rather people from faraway places are said to be healed. His idea was that their prophecies are stage-managed and that there is something sinister about their sources of power. He concluded that such faith healers are in business hence are just after making money. The interviewee was therefore of the idea that the bad stories that we read about traditional and faith healers are true though he appreciates that there are exaggerations which are done to make sales.

5.2.21 Interviewee 21
Interview 21 is a veteran journalist and a traditionalist.

The interviewee categorised healers into two types. He talked of the herbalist whom he said has the knowledge of points what points and herbs and in most cases this art was inherited. He said that traditional healing can be inherited and sometimes it has to do with spirit mediums and ancestors. However, there are some with mystical acquired knowledge coming from non-human entities like mermaids. He said that 99% of the people who were taken by mermaids come back
The interviewee saw the faith healer as a post-colonial phenomenon. The interviewee had no kind words for faith healing. He said that “It is done by people who have abandoned being mediums for their ancestors for one reason or another, usually seeking to be accommodated by a society that has become so Westernised to hurt their own indigenous institutions.” This suggests that today’s faith healer is a colonial investment which is there to perpetuate the colonial agenda of alienating Africans from what is theirs. He went on to say that our faith healer is a product of colonially induced self-hurt, societal negative attitude towards our culture which also is a product of colonialism. This has been noted by Malcolm X in M'Saila (1995:23) who postulates that:

... first you have to know that until 1959 Africa was dominated by European powers. And their complete control over Africa. They projected the image negatively Europe projected Africa in a negative light, jungles, savages, and cannibals. Naturally it became pessimistic to me and you, and I began to hate it. We didn’t want anyone to tell us anything about Africa much less to call us an African. And in hating it we ended up hating ourselves, without realising it, because you can’t hate the roots of the tree and not hate the tree.

This suggests that the interviewee saw the faith healer as similar to the traditional healer. He saw the faith healer as a product of the Westerner’s reprogramming project which was meant to socialise people into believing that their indigenous cultural formats, cultural knowledge are primitive and full of superstition. The interview said that the faith healer is nothing but a replacement of the traditional healer. This idea has been alluded to by Bourdillon (1976:169) who asserts that “the prophets and healers to some extent replace traditional diviners and healers, they practice divination, accept traditional explanations of the spiritual causes of misfortune and they deal with witches and witchcraft, all practices outside the domain of western medicine.” This suggests that the faith healer is just offering a replacement of a traditional healer in a society that shuns African Traditional Religion and embrace Christianity. He said that “if you want to kill a dog, first give it a bad name.” This suggests that by merely labelling African Religion as pagan the coloniser was successful in destroying the religions and all its institutions hence people are uncomfortable with being associated with traditional healers and prefer to be faith healers. The interviewee equated the practice by faith healing of which involves touching a person and suddenly knowing his/her problem with the one that was used by the spirit medium. He saw the faith healer as a spirit medium who is wearing a new jacket in order to fit in the social interpretation of what is wrong or right. Overall, he contended that these two practitioners are
influenced by the same God and there is always a spirit behind what they say. On the differences
he says that it is in the social engineering and he sees a faith healer as a product of colonial social
engineering. Consequently the religion is the same but it is the purpose, the interpretation, the
thrust or the trajectory of the religious missionarism that makes the two different.

The interviewee blamed the failing economy for the popularity of faith healers. He says that it is
poverty, suffering and desperation that are causing the continuous sprouting of faith healers. He
said that in critical times like that people tend to turn to God. He said that all of Prophet
Makandiwa’s people want to be like him. They want his money; his car, clothes and they would
do anything that Makandiwa instructs them, even things that are unimaginable like if Makandiwa
was going to sell his mucus people were going to buy. He said that the only reason why people
follow Makandiwa is because they are following miracles. This whole hysteria is a result of
political maladministration, inhumanity and economic abuse. The interviewee seems to be
blaming the government for the sprouting of faith healers. For him faith healers are taking
advantage of people’s desperation.

The interviewee was of the opinion that true prophets exist when he says that the spirit does not
care which jacket one is wearing. It remains true what remains true. On the representation of
traditional and faith healers he was of the view that they are not represented in the same manner
in Zimbabwean newspapers. He recognised that traditional healers are in most cases represented
negatively whereas faith healers are seen in positive light. He condemned media personnel for
the bad treatment that traditional healers receive. He postulated that:

    99.5% of the media personnel are hopeless colonial husks. They have no soul of their
own and no knowledge of themselves. They know very little about the African history
and African psyche and therefore themselves.

He contended that people are always bombarded day in day out with messages about Makandiwa
so that they end up identifying themselves with him. He also identified Christianity as the reason
behind the status accorded to faith healers when says that “Journalists want to be seen to be the
latest guy going to church every Sunday.” They therefore rubbish everything that is not what he
is. He lamented the idea that when a reporter writes a story, part of him is in the story. His
outlook, his intellectual processes and inclinations take a play and come out in the words that he
uses. He seems to agree with Mbiti (1969:232) who says “inevitably Christianity is closely
associated with the concept of “civilisation”… To be able to call oneself a church member, even though one’s association is extremely tenuous, confers a certain status…” Consequently, journalists are modest and would not want to be associated with traditional healers. At the end of the day, we have very bad and ugly representation of African mediums and African spirit mediums.

The interviewee also recognised that the owners of media houses have an impact on the stories that we read in newspapers. For the interviewee people who own media houses belong to certain religions. They decide what they want to be associated with in the social engineering of the country. It is he who pays the pipe that plays the tune metaphorical language, what does it mean. He contends that 95% of media houses are colonial shelves. They perpetuate colonial mentalities. He also blamed the government for not doing anything to restore traditional institutions. The interviewee also cited self-imaging as problematic and false. He said that people visit traditional healers at night and this is clear indication that they are not at liberty to associate with traditional healers.

The interviewee identified two types of faith healers. He talked of prophets from apostolic churches and white collar prophets. He said that in terms of representation faith healers from white garment churches are associated with scandals; that is they receive negative representative; no one writes about the miracles that they perform. He further noted that they are positively heard of when they are at Heroes’ Acre or when at the President’s rally. For him these faith healers have become some political crutches for Zimbabwe African National Unity Patriotic Front. They are used by politicians as crutches but they carry no value in themselves. This means that politicians are just using faith healers as aids towards their political endeavours. They have recognised that their inclinations towards faith healers will gain them support.

On the other hand white collar prophets receive positive representation. He said that ‘there are many scandals that have happened in these Prophet led churches. He said that the division of faith healers is a result of social mobility. He echoed the idea that these white collar prophets have got money hence they have got power to control the media. The interviewee concurred with Awan (2008) who surmises that media representations are neither objective nor democratic, as not all groups in society are equally represented. This suggests that the media has the power to
dictate which representation of traditional and faith healers is chosen and circulated in the public arena.

The interviewee was of the opinion that the stories about traditional and faith healers have got an impact on the recipients. He said that the stories move people further and further away from themselves to a point where they are like clay in a porter’s hand. This implies that the stories that people receive from the media are deliberately meant to create a certain people. According to the interviewee, since the representation is in favour of faith healers it means that it is meant to draw people away from themselves and to promote Christianity. Hall (1997) contends that although negative representations are circulated by contemporary media forms, they have been intrinsic in the development of contemporary Western culture. The interviewee therefore was of the view that Africans are still caught in the social engineering that promotes the imperialist forces of Europe and America.

He reiterated the idea that the media is supposed to educate, entertain and inform. But for him a person can only educate a people that he knows about. He believed that society is ignorant about itself. To this Ephraim (2003:3) says:

...historically black people have been conditioned to think themselves as quiet than they are: they have been taught deliberate falsehoods about themselves. They have been beaten, coerced, and cajoled into believing or into professing belief in the falsehoods, which have been exclusively negative. The teachings, lessons in black inferiority, have come from the Europeans with a single overriding motive, namely their own self aggrandisement.

He concluded that a brain washed person has no kind words for traditional Africa. The respondent was of the idea that today’s healer cannot be compared with the classical one. He observed that today’s healer has suffered in the hands of the colonialist and pseudo liberators. He has become commercialised and this has affected his work to a very large extent.

He saw the traditional and faith healer as relevant personnel. He quoted UN statistics which says that 80% of people from 3rd world countries rely on traditional healers and faith healers. He was of the idea that there are issues that Africans encounter in life that can only be attended by faith and traditional healers.

The interviewee did not blame the media for the negative representation of traditional and faith healers. He said that the media is merely writing what is already there. He concluded by saying
“The consumerist based social status symbols that we continue holding unto have an impact on our spiritual self-imaging.”

5.2.22 Interviewee 22
Interviewee 22 is an academic. He is a lecturer in the Department of African Languages and Culture at a Zimbabwean University.

In response to the question on the role of the traditional and faith healer he said, that depends on the perspective from which one is arguing. That is does one believe in them, or not. The roles can be both negative and positive. From the standpoint of those who believe in them, they play a positive spiritual role, i.e. providing therapeutic and mental healing, solving their problems of varied nature which includes diseases, social and economic problems, some of which cannot be solved by those without the spiritual dimension. They provide with the spiritual leadership which is necessary for the sustenance of societies. However, they can also manipulate their position to exploit the people economically as well as sexually. From a Marxist position, they can also be manipulated by the political leadership, just like any other forms of spirituality for the benefit of political regimes. This suggests that faith and traditional healers play similar roles what differs according to the respondent are their sources of power and inspiration, as well as the methods of operation.

On the reasons behind the popularity of traditional healers in Zimbabwe the interviewee had this to say: I do not think it is a phenomenon which is peculiar to Zimbabwe alone, you find this in many countries in Africa, and it could be more prevalent in other African countries like South Africa than in Zimbabwe. But due to the media coverage, increase in populations and people’s mobility, exposure to other spiritual faiths like the church these things appear to be on the increase. They also increase because of the increased socio-economic problem, many people are demanding them, and they have also seen a gap to fill for them to fatten their pockets. The interview believed that these practitioners are relevant in Zimbabwean societies today but goes on to say that the whole thing is so convoluted, there cannot be one absolute answer.

The interviewee said that the media is motivated to write stories about traditional and faith healers first and foremost for business reasons. He regarded the media as a profit making organisation and sees news as their products. He therefore said they target sensational news which can attract more readers. Generally, people are attracted by sensational issues, whether
correct or wrong. If they publish sensational stories like the one about healers, they are bound to sell more copies and generate revenue. More so, the more they attract more readers the more they can attract advertisers who are the other source of revenue.

The interviewee contended that faith healers receive more coverage as compared to traditional healers because faith healers are more modern, they are rooted in modern spirituality, i.e. Christianity. People find it easy going there than to traditional healers. Though traditional healers are there in numbers, people tend to go there clandestinely, because they know that they are disparaged and their business is not that open. The interviewee recognised that despite the prominence of Christianity traditional healers still have clients who visit them at night for fear of being judged. This suggests that Christianity has managed to demonise traditional healing but has failed to overthrow it thus p’Bitek (1986) says that the African of tradition who went to church did not reject his culture because there was no alternative. What emerges out of this observation is that there is no substitute for the traditional healer.

In terms of representation the interviewee observed that traditional and faith healers are in most cases demonised in Zimbabwean newspapers. He blamed such a scenario on colonialism which he says brought in its forms of spirituality, colonial education, negative representation of these healers in education, media, films etc. He concurs with Clark (1991) who says that the mass media, bible interpretation and religious training were used for controlling the minds of the world. He goes on to say that the images of Africa reflected in mass media, e.g. TV, radio, newspaper and religious literature projects African people rarely playing a heroic role. The respondent was of the view that the issue of negative depiction of traditional healers has its roots in colonialism whose agenda was to discredit everything African. Thus Clark (1991:325) says that “… everything that has been developed by the European mind was done to facilitate European control over the world and there are no exceptions.”

The interviewee recognised that colonialism and colonial education which treated everything cultural as barbaric, backward, superstitious etc as factors that affect media representation of traditional and faith healers. For him the owners of the media are basically foreign; they are western and American hence they champion American and western ideals. He noted that from a political economy perspective, the representations are influenced by the ownership, control and
financing patterns. Thus the representations are fashioned in such a way that they please the
owner, the funders and those in control.

On whether these practitioners are represented truthfully or not the respondent said some things
could be true, but just like some media content, the news can be manufactured to legitimise
certain notions. This implies that the respondent was of the view that the media can be used as an
instrument of ideological dissemination.

The interviewee appreciated that the stories that people read from the newspapers have got an
impact on a people’s definition of themselves and survival. He contended that the representation
of these practitioners confuses people, especially those who do not know how the media
organisations function, but for those who believe matters of faith are stubborn. People are not
moved by what people say because of faith.

The interviewee had reservations on the compatibility of traditional and faith healers with the
classical ones. He said that due to the socio-economic problems most of them are after money,
they are cheaters. Some mix faith healing and traditional healing. On record, those who started as
faith healers ended up traditional healers hence faith healing would be a decoy.

The interviewee argued that though the media is thought to be there to disseminate information
for development, education, informative that is utopian because the media are not philanthropic
institutions, they are in business. Furthermore, they are not culture neutral. They are also political
and ideological. Private players in the media fraternity are difficult to regulate. He said that the
press is there to promote the agenda of the owners who are in control because they are the
funders.

5.2.23 Interviewee 23
The interviewee is an academic. He is a lecturer in the department of Theology and Religious
Studies at a Zimbabwean university.

The interviewee was of the view that the traditional and faith healer have multi-functions that
include the social, religio-cultural, spiritual and political dimensions of the lives of people in the
community. They are prominent for healing, but it should be noted that healing is holistic in the
African worldview that informs the two offices; it is not confined to the physical dimension of
being but encompasses all facets of life.
The interviewee identified a number of similarities between the traditional and the faith healer. He indicated that the major point of contact is that their operations are undergirded by a common philosophy/worldview/cosmo-vision/cosmology. Bourdillon (1976:168) subscribes to this when he says:

The prophets and healers of new independent Christian churches to some extent replace traditional diviners and healers; they practice divination, accept traditional explanations of the spiritual causes of misfortune and they deal with witches and witchcraft, all practices outside the domain of Western medicine.

The tripartite worldview comprising the spiritual, the human and the natural worlds informs their operations. The unseen/immaterial world is not separated from the material world. Activities of the mundane world are directed by the spiritual. Secondly, they are obsessed with tangible solutions to problems (the placebo effect). For example, there are numerous ‘sacred’ substances prescribed by the two offices in delivering health such as nhombo (sacred stones), mbiya (clay pots), salt, wrist bands, portraits of founders of faith healing groups, anointing oil, anointing water, eggs, milk etc. On the side of traditional healers there are also lots of items that include some of the items mentioned above list such as water, milk, eggs, salt. The interviewee contended that the dividing line between traditional and faith healers is very small. There is a view that their sources of power are different as traditional healers’ powers are believed to derive from ancestral spirits while that of the faith healers is from ‘God’. This position is difficult to take since there has been a lot of scepticism regarding the source of the powers of faith healers. Besides, there are faith healers who honour ancestral spirits. There are cases where one individual occupies both offices and it is up to the client to make a choice between two when seeking help. Some, like Taringa (2013) have concluded that faith healing groups are African traditional religions’ fundamentalists who are band on repackaging ATRs to make them competitive on the oversubscribed spiritual market, and therefore make them relevant in contemporary times. He concluded by saying that the relationship between the two is complex.

The respondent observed that traditional and faith healers are numerous today because of a number of factors. He recognised that health in the African philosophy is not monolithic. If a people are facing economic challenges the solution is not often sought on the level of scrutinising the structural injustices with a view of mending them. Rather, the spiritual world is held responsible for all the woes of the people. Currently, Zimbabwe is in economic quagmire and the majority of people including those of average minds are aware of the source of the
problem but they always shy away from reality to explain it spiritually much to the benefit of politicians. The reason is when the African is hurt they do not look at the cause of the problem.

The interviewee was of the view that traditional/faith healers hold a special place in modern Zimbabwe’s health system. He contends that traditional and faith healers are more successful on handling issues of health that often disorient the psyche of their patients than the bio-medical health delivery systems. This is so because they deal with the problems holistically within the context of the institution of the family; they begin from the point of relations within the context of the family. The patient does not feel discriminated and stigmatised because their problem is not theirs but becomes a shared burden. Credit should be given to them for the home-based care concept employed in chronic ailment management. He pointed out that it should be remembered that faith healing proffers some status to bearers of that office and as such some sewed gender landscape is improving. This is so because women who have traditionally lacked a voice are reclaiming it through healing on either side of the line. A snap survey shows that female traditional/faith healers are in the majority. The traditional pharmacology also operates on the same level with ARVs in HIV and AIDS cases. So there is a need for the integration of the two systems to ensure abundant health to the Zimbabwean community. The interviewee concurred with Mwandayi (2011:254) who calls for collaboration traditional healers modern Western trained doctors. He says, “They should not be looked at as antagonists but people should improve the divinely-ordained collaborative nature that lie hidden between them.”

The respondent observed that newspapers are central in selling ideas whether good or bad. According to the interviewee if there is negative publicity, we need to look at the reason. For example, newspapers have a duty to point at anti-life activities and the promotion of a fulfilling life. He went on to give an example where he contended that, if a traditional healer or a faith healer claims to cure (remember AIDS for example, can be healed, but cannot be cured!) incurable health complications from a medical point of view, then they should be told that they are off side! The interviewee was of the idea that newspapers should fight on the side of a good cause. At the same time if there is something positive coming from healers, newspapers should again promote them.

On why there is more representation of faith healers as compared to that of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers, the interviewee said, genuine traditional healers do not go about
marketing their services publicly. Faith healers advertise their services in the media, on the street sign posts and even on digital communication technologies. The genuineness of most of them is therefore doubted as they are more likely to be driven by the lure of the green back than passion for serving the community.

On the factors that affect media representation of traditional and faith healers the interviewee identified the political dimension. He said that if the healer is aligned to a political party that is regarded as ‘incorrect’ there is bound to be negative publicity from state owned newspapers and a pampering from the private stables. He also talks of the ‘Khaki envelop’ (bribes) where he said some figures bribe newspaper reporters to say something positive about them. For example, the statistical information regarding membership of some newer Pentecostal grouping is worrisome. Sometimes the writer is subjective because they are either members of the grouping or they are admirers of the groups. Traditional healers are sometimes starved coverage because they are thought to be belonging to the world of yesteryears, and therefore old fashioned; no match for the ever transforming world. He was therefore of the view that faith healers receive more coverage as compared to traditional healers.

The interviewee argued that the effect of stories about traditional healers and faith healers on a people’s self-definition and survival is both dangerous and positive. If newspapers say something for the sole purpose of raising publicity of healers of their own choice that is dangerous because patients would be misled. The interviewee was of the view that newspapers are very powerful so they need to be professional to avoid promoting irrational health seeking behaviours. If they are balanced that is okay because they become sources of informed decisions.

The interviewee also noted that the role of the media is there to promote the agenda of the powerful. He regards the story writer as just an agent. On whether these practitioners are represented truthfully he said that, he says that there are semblances of balanced reporting as well as biased presentation. So in short there is a lot of ambivalence on faith and traditional healings.
5.2.24 Interviewee 24

Then interviewee is a faith healer. He is a prophet in Zviratidzo Zvavapositori Church and he has been practising for 36 years. He started the ministry in 1980.

The interviewee argued that it is not an easy go to become a prophet and a healer. He said that in his church one needs to go through a process before being declared a prophet. The interviewee suggested that people can be used by evil spirits hence church elders first discern whether the spirit behind prophesying is good or is of the devil. He said that a prophet is a person who is used by God to see deep things and to help the society. For him every prophet must indeed be a healer as well.

The respondent noted that the faith healer is very important in the lives of Zimbabweans today because they are in the business of treating spiritual diseases. He subscribed to the idea that among Africans disease and illness can be caused by the spirits. The respondent concurred with Chavundura (2012) who says that there are abnormal illnesses which are caused by spirits, alien spirits and witches. He went on to say that there is a relationship between people’s ideas concerning the cause of illness and the treatment sought. It is against this background that the respondent purports that spiritual illnesses are effectively treated by faith healers and they are completely inaccessible to modern doctors.

The interviewee acknowledged the role played by traditional healers in society despite the fact that he is a Christian. For him, there is no difference between the faith healer and a traditional healer. He contended that their approaches to the problems that are faced by people are the same. He went on to say that these practitioners were there during Jesus time. The interviewee was of the view that in as much as there are bad traditional healers there are also bad faith healers and bad modern medical doctors. This suggests that he is against discrediting traditional healers on the basis that they sometimes engage in evil deeds. His idea is that every profession has a bad and a good side. He sees a traditional healer as a doctor of illness just like the faith healer and the modern medical doctor whose primary role is to help people. The interviewee therefore agreed with Mwandayi (2011:254) who is of the idea that traditional healers “should not be looked at as antagonists but people should improve the divinely-ordained collaborative nature that lies hidden between them.” Unlike the majority of Christians the healer appreciates the importance of the traditional healer and consent that he works in the same manner as the faith healer.
Commenting on the attitude of the society towards the services of traditional healers, the interviewee said that the attitude has since changed. He says that their clients are now few as compared to the old days. He said that initially they were offering their services freely but now people are paying for the services. He saw this as a factor that has contributed to the decrease of their clients. The interviewee said “Vanhu vanorwara asi havana mari” (People are inflicted but they do not have money). He also alluded to ever-increasing number of prophets nowadays. The interviewee said that the rise of prophets like Magaya and Makandiwa has done so much damage to their work. Although the prophet seems to recognise the role of these prophets in life he argues that their approach is different. He said they engage in the casting away of the spirits which is different from the apostolic way of doing things. He also condemned these prophets for preaching against the work of White Garment Prophets. He said that such a gospel is also harmful to their work.

The prophets also identified colonialism as a key instrument in the degradation of his work as a faith healer. The interviewee said, “Vanhu vava kuda zvinhu zveChirungu” (people want European things). He believed that people think that anyone who is not able to speak in English is ignorant; hence people tend not to appreciate them because they regard them as old-fashioned and uncivilised. He said that the Makandiwas and the Magayas preach in English and they are appreciated by the educated and the young. His idea is that the Vapositori type of faith healer is losing it because they are regarded as uncivilised. This approach is well captured by Clark (1991:321) who says that Europe’s greatest achievement during the 15th and 16th century was not enslavement and the military conquest of the world. “The greatest achievement was the conquest of the minds of most of the people of the world.” The respondent contended that many African people are colonised to believe that anything that is not associated with English language is not civilised. He therefore lamented the idea that their being uneducated is weighing heavily on their profession.

The respondent averred that media representation of faith healers is bad and for him such representation has impacted negatively on their work. The interviewee held the view that some of the stories are actually true. This is because of the idea that there are faith healers who are genuinely used by God but they remove themselves from the truth for personal glory. At the end of the day they end up doing what is not compatible with what is expected of them. He also
contended that the stories might be about people who are not being used by the spirit of God but still masquerading as true faith healers. He however condemned the media for painting all faith healers with the same brush as if to say that there are no true and good faith healers out there. He lamented the idea that the media give a blind ear to the positive that is done by faith healers. The interviewee however did not realise that that the kind of stories that are published are ideologically motivated as recognised by Awan (2008) who says that the media selects information that the public receive and that selection is ideologically motivated. For the interviewee newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers have got an impact on people since he says that a lot of people are no longer consulting with them. He concurred with Wenden (2005) who argues that representation determine the way in which we think about particular objects, events, situations and as such function as a principle of action influencing actual social practice.

5.2.25 Interviewee 25
Interviewee 25 is a prophet in the Zionist Christian church (ZCC) supply name of church. The interviewee has 25 years in the profession and has been in the healing ministry since 1991.

The interviewee said that faith healing is a central concept in ZCC. He actually pointed to the idea that most of the followers joined the church because of the problems that they faced in life. This suggests that the motivation for people to join the church is to receive their healing. He said “Vanhu vazhinji vanopinda Zion vanenge vatambudzika. Vanhu vese vamunoona vachimhanya nemota vakauya vachitambudzika” (most of the people who are members of Zionist Church joined the church because of problems. All the people who are driving their cars joined the church because of problems.) He explained that faith healers from Zion service people from different denominations and they do not force people to join their church. The majority of the people will join the church after seeing the hand of God.

The respondent contended that the role of the faith healer is to prophecy and to heal people. He says that in doing these faith healers are guided by the Holy Spirit. He contended that in their church healing is done through the use the holy injection, water, papers, tanganda and coffee.

The informant contended that their work is synonymous to that of the modern medical doctors such that they have a referral system with these practitioners. He said that “Kana munhu akabatsirwa kuZion akaramba achirwara anokurudzirwa kuenda kuchipatara.” (If an illness
persists after someone got help from Zion he/she is referred to the hospital.) He went on to say that modern medical doctors also refer their patients to them. Whilst the church collaborates with modern medical doctors; it totally disapproves faith healers from the apostolic sect and from the “Man of God” type of churches. He contended he does not know anything about them because they do not recognise them. He went on to say that the only thing that he knows about them is that they also come to Zionist faith healers for healing and deliverance.

He contended that people have got a strong belief in faith healers. The healer said that he service at least five hundred people a day which is evidence of the importance of the faith healer in Zimbabwean societies today. The interviewee purported that their popularity lies in the idea that they are capable of treating diseases that medical doctors and traditional healers have failed to treat. He said “Vanhu vazhinji vanouya pano vanenge vakatobva kuzvipatara nekudzin’anga.” (Most of the people who come here would have gone to hospitals and to traditional healers) The interviewee contended that people run to them because they are used by God and they are guided by the understanding that there is no witchcraft which is greater than God. They believe that they are capable of treating any disease.

With regards to traditional healers he bluntly said that these are the agents of the devil. They belong to this world and we have been delivered from the world and will not go back there. He went on to say that traditional healers are used by demons and they also come to Zion to be helped by faith healers so that they come out of darkness. This suggests that the respondent regarded the source of the work of traditional healers which are largely ancestors as evil. He attacks the belief in ancestors which is one of the central African religions. The interviewee was arguing from a Eurocentric perspective where everything that is African is regarded as heathen. Fanon (1968) argues that white supremacy discounts how Africans see themselves and instead instructs them and the world to see themselves in European terms. Traditional healing which is an important part of African religion was demonised as well. European arrogance dismissed the African religion and viewed the African religion as pagan and heathen, their pride and views then separated the Africans from their energy source and their cosmos. Africans through perpetual indoctrination by the European have gone through a cultural and psychological crisis and have accepted to a large extent the European version of things. He went on to say that the way these traditional healers operate is the same as the way white garment faith healers operate.
The interviewee appreciated the idea that faith healers are represented in bad light in Zimbabwean newspapers. He said that he is not bothered by the way they are represented because the majority of these people are not used by God but by the devil. He contended that most of the people who are masquerading as faith healers are driven by the love of money. The interviewee was of the idea that Zionist faith healers are not affected by the representations since their members are not part of that. He said that what makes their healers exceptional is that they have one leader and this guarantees unity. The leader is the one who move around praying for water and apart from that Zionist faith healers are not allowed to prophesy at home or in private and that reduce chances atrocious activities.

5.2.26 Interviewee 26

The interviewee is a faith healer from one of the “Man of God” led churches. He said that he has been in the profession for the past seven years. Commenting on the role of the faith healers, he said that his major role is to heal people. For him, the faith healer is not limited to the treatment of spiritual diseases. He contended that God can heal any disease and even those declared by modern medical doctors as untreated. He noted that these practitioners are capable of treating terminal diseases which are beyond the understanding and capability of modern medical doctors. The interviewee was of the view that they can heal diseases such as cancer, Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), bleeding and blood pressure.

On the mushrooming of faith healers, he felt that there is no problem about it since modern medical doctors are also plenty. He looked at it as positive since he said that people are living in the end time, hence the Lord wants a great harvest. He said that faith healing is not limited to prophets, everyone who profess God as the father has got the power to pray for the sick. The interviewee supposed that faith healers are quite popular in society today because they heal people instantly, without any complications and side effects. As a faith healer he believes that all diseases are spiritual and they are manifestations of demonic attacks. This in a way suggests that the interviewee understands that disease and illness are causes by the spirits and witchcraft. He however differs from scholars like Mbiti (1969) and Bourdillon (1976) who say that there are diseases that are natural and of a fleeting nature. For the interviewee every disease is caused by the spirits.
On traditional healers the interview said that they are satanic and they are in bondage hence he prefers not talk about them at all. His ideas about traditional healers resemble those of white missionaries. The faith healer is therefore a victim of Christianity which has for a long time bolstered their ideas by dismissing African religion. He also regarded all faith healers from Apostle Churches as people who belong to cults. His idea is that too many religious are a strategy that is used by Satan to confuse people. The interviewee was therefore of the view that there is nothing like African religion. The interviewee revealed disrespect for any other religion other than Christianity and this demonstrates self-hate in its extreme case. The interviewee was operating from a Eurocentric perspective which disregards the existence of African Traditional Religion. He was operating like someone who has been displaced from his own centre and is now operating from the centre of others. The interviewee regarded Christianity as a universal religion such that he sees the recognition of other religions as a strategy that is used by Satan to turn away people from God. According to Ani (1994:149) “it is justifiable for missionaries to proselytise the Christian religion because in their view those whom they seek to convert have no religion.” The interviewee did not realise the importance of a people’s own religion and that Africans have a religion that is uniquely African as was captured by Lincoln (1974:3) in Karenga (1993:212) who declares that:

… Black religion represents in its essence then not imitation but the desire of Blacks to be self-conscious about the meaning of their Blackness and to search for spiritual fulfilment in terms of their understanding of themselves and their experience in history.

Unlike the interviewee who was of the idea that Christianity is a world religion, Karenga (1993:212) says that “Black religion like Black people begins in Africa and thus it is important to discuss its historical forms…” The interviewee was perpetuating an idea by early European writers who believe that Africans did not have a religion before their encounter with the European. The interviewee regarded Christianity as a universal religion. Clark (1991) made reference to this when he talks about the falsehoods that were created by Europeans which he says are reverberating up to today. He said that one of the concepts that were propagated is that the European concept of God is the only concept worth of religious attention. This suggested that colonialism has also raped the image of the African God in a bid to universalise its own religion, hence we see the respondent disregarding the multiplicity of religion. For him its either one is in light or in darkness and it is those who believe in Christ who are in light. It is important to note
that the interviewee was operating from a position of someone who is unconscious. He did not realise that the demonisation of the African religion by Europeans was done for self-aggrandisement. The interviewee did not see that religion for the European is related to ideology development. Ani (1994:162) says “there is a direct relationship between the European church and European imperialism... Christian ideology is an ideally fashioned weapon for the destruction of the self-image and the value system of African and other non-European peoples.”

The interviewee also talked about spiritual fatherhood which he says is a very important aspect in faith healing. For him it is done for mentoring purposes. He said that even in business mentoring is important as if to mean that a church operates like a business. In faith healing he purported that it is done for continuity and there is nothing bad in learning from our fathers. He gave an example of Elisha whom he said was mentored by Elijah.

On media representation of faith healers the interviewee said that the representation is bad. He condemned the media for brushing the prophetic ministry with the wrong brush. He said that there is a lot of negativity that is associated with the work of the faith healer. For him this is not because faith healing is that bad but the media has the agenda of pulling the church down. The interviewee was concerned with the language that is used in newspapers which he says is exploited for ‘othering’ the faith healer. Some of the stories are positive but the way they are written leaves a lot to be desired. He appreciated the importance of language in media which he says can be used to meet certain ends. He agreed with Wenden (2005) who says language whether textual or visual is perpetually and purposefully at work. He castigated the use of terms like “so-called man of God, self-proclaimed prophet” which for him are biased. He said that the stories that are written in newspapers about faith healers are not true and have no substance. He went on to say that the media’s role is to inform people about what is happening in society but the focus is now diluted.

The interviewee highlighted a number of factors which he believes affected the way faith healers are portrayed in Zimbabwean newspapers. He talked of the idea that those who write stories, write about things that they know nothing about. He said that most of the stories that are written are not supported by research, therefore they lack depth. He mentioned corruption which he accuses of playing havoc in the media fraternity. His idea is that media personnel are actually paid to write stories in favour of those who pay them and this affects the quality and authenticity
of the stories that are published in newspapers. He also blamed the reporters and media owners
whom he accuses of allowing their personal feelings and beliefs to invade in the stories that they
write and publish. He went on to say that there are a lot of dynamics at play in the media which
determine the shape of the stories that we read in newspapers. He however concluded that the
devil has entered the media.

The interviewee was of the idea that the stories do not have an impact on those who are born
again. He contended that these people have got the gift of the Holy Spirit who guides them in
understanding media material. He said that such people are able to discern the truthfulness of the
story with the help of the Holy Spirit. He however lamented the idea that non-Christians have a
challenge because they do not have a base to operate from. He said “Chaaona ndicho
chaanotenda” (They believe whatever they read from newspapers). The interviewee argued that
media houses are not owned by Christians and he advocated for Christians to own media houses.

5.2.27 Interviewee 27

Interviewee 17 is a religious leader in a Pentecostal church. He is a pastor and overseer in the
Apostolic Faith Mission church in Zimbabwe (AFM).
The interviewee was of the idea that faith healers are those people who lay hands on people in
the name of Jesus and people get healed. The interviewee was of the idea that not all people who
call upon the name of Jesus are genuine. He condemns the white garment faith healers, ‘Man of
God’ led churches faith healers whom he accuse of doing things that are difficult to understand.
The interviewee denounced the use of water, oil and bangles saying that faith healers should use
the name of God only and not things that are touchable. His idea is that faith does not reside in
those things but in people. The interviewee said that their church believes in faith healers and
faith healing but they are restricted to healing through prayer only. He goes on to say that they do
not allow their church members to seek healing services from outside the church particularly
because the world is evil. He also asserts that their members are not allowed to go to modern
hospitals, but not to traditional healers and faith healers from other churches. This is particularly
because if people are under pressure they would consult anyone without engaging in research to
assess the power behind healing.
The interviewee talked about the idea that the world is evil so that people might end up creating problems for themselves. He says “Tine vanhu vakapfeka makushe emakwai ari mapere. Tine vanhu vari kubuda muhun’anga vopfeka gemenzi kana suit vozviita maporofita.” (There are people who are hiding behind the name of God when engaging in evil deeds.) He goes on to say that Satanists are even hiding behind the name of Jesus. He is of the view that people are hiding behind Christianity to lure people and this is the reason why they encourage their followers to stick to their churches.

The interviewee was of the idea that the church does not appreciate traditional healers. For him the fact that traditional healers are possessed by ancestral spirits shows that they are used by evil spirits. He says that ancestral spirits are dead people working in living people and that is antithetical to Christianity. Last and Chavunduka (1986b) are of the view that colonial governments and Christian missionaries felt that traditional healers encouraged people to worship their ancestors instead of worshipping God and because of their association with the ancestors they were regarded as devil worshippers. The interviewee was reasoning from a Eurocentric perspective. He does not recognise that ancestors were bombarded by missionaries as a way of winning souls to Christianity and as a way of alienating people from their religion. For him there is just no communion between Christianity and traditional healers.

The respondent appreciated that there are people in their churches who visit faith healers who are outside the church and traditional healers clandestinely. He says that this happens because of pressure. People have got fear if they encounter problems. He however contends that Christians should not be controlled by fear. The interviewee was reluctant to recognise that these people are driven to traditional healers and faith healers outside the church for the reason that they find their own system inadequate. p’Bitek (1986:67) therefore says “In the whole process the African has to tell a lie that ‘he had left ‘black things’ and had become saved.” He goes on to say that Christianity could not form a philosophical foundation relevant for Africans to erect social institutions and it has never become a basis for social life anywhere. It is therefore a reality that despite Africans turning to Christianity, traditional healers and faith healers will never run short of clients.

The interviewee was also of the idea that faith healers are relevant because some people do not have money to consult modern medical doctors. This suggests that he sees the importance of a
faith healer from an economic perspective where people are just driven to these practitioners by poverty. This means that because of their economic standing they are left with no option but to visit faith healers who are cheaper and probably does not require money for their services. He says sometimes it is because there are people who believe that they should see the man of God before anything else when they encounter problems. He contends that in their church there are two groups of people. There are those who solely depend on the services of faith healers and those who alternate between faith healers and modern medical doctors. He says that originally AFM did not allow people to go to hospitals. With time and through research pastors observed that Luke was a physician, so there was a teaching that there is nothing wrong with visiting the hospital. Consequently there are people who have remained married to the original ideas. He also contends that modern medical doctors are not capable of treating spiritual diseases. He says in hospital they take temperatures and inject. He therefore says “zvemweya zvinoda kurwiswanawo nemweya.” (Problems that are caused by the spirit should be approached from a spiritual perspective.) He talks of natural disease that is treated by both faith and medical doctors. This implies that their understanding of diseases and illness is synonymous to the African understanding. Just like Africans they believe that diseases have a religious dimension.

On the representation of faith healers he says that the majority of the stories are negative but true. He talks of the true men of God who get lost on the way and they are tricksters who are just there to steal from people. This suggests that he believes that faith healers are sometimes involved in scandals; they get tempted and make mistakes. What is important is to understand how it happens and the causes of the incidents. He says that such incidents happen in AFM and such people are reprimanded and in some cases expelled.

The interviewee condemned members of the church for the bad representation of faith healers citing that they are the ones who run to the media once something unusual happens usually to settle their scores. The interview said “Ipapo mhosva hatipe vemapepa, imwe mhosva yacho ine vanhu vemachechi vasingagoni kugadzirisa zvakanganisika mumusha mavo pasina mutorwa.” (We do not blame the media for the representation but church members who are not able to solve their problems without involving an outsider). He also condemned the media for concentrating on sales at the expense of informing people. He said the media concentrate on scandals. The interviewee condemned the media for giving a deaf ear to the positive that the faith healer is
doing. He recognised that the role of the media is to entertain, inform and educate. However he recognises that the media is failing dismally to fulfil these roles. He also made reference to the idea that in a bid to increase their sales sometimes they end up shooting themselves, saying that if a paper continuously bombarded AFM, chances are that those who belong to AFM will end up not buying the paper. This suggests those who believe in faith healers are not influenced by what they read from the papers. For him people know the dynamics of the media such that they do not take everything that they read from the papers.

He also identified the idea that corruption is everywhere in Zimbabwe therefore there is a possibility that there are faith healers who pay the media to incline messages in their favour. The interviewee was however of the view that the media is important and the society cannot do without it despite its limitations.

For him the public is affected by what they read from newspaper. The portrayal of faith healers in newspapers may result in people discrediting Christianity. The interviewee said “Zvinosvibisa munhu wese, wese aonekwa akabata Bhaibheri anogona kutosvibiswa zvichinzi ndivo vaya vanotaurwa nemapepa ava.” (It affects badly on everyone who is seen with a Bible where people say these are people that we read from newspapers). He recommended the media to revisit their core business. They should sit down; do their homework; go back to their roots and redefine their role.

The interviewee also commented on the mushrooming of faith healers. He says that this sprouting of faith healers is necessitated by the idea that people are suffering and they easily use money to try and solve their problems. The interviewee was therefore of the view that those who turn to faith healers and those who seek the services of the faith healer should not be condemned because they are both suffering. He blamed the government for not providing people with employment. He said that when people are in crisis they can be tossed around.

Turning to faith healers who preach the gospel of prosperity, the pastor said that he does not have any problem with that. He said that it becomes a problem when it is preached every day. He said people do not go to church for prosperity. He said that people go to church to seek the kingdom of God and after attaining that, then they can prosper. He says that such a gospel has bred lazy people who just listen to the gospel and then start to claim for everything.
5.3 Findings from questionnaires
This section presents findings from questionnaires that were administered to students. Questionnaires were answered by students from the African Languages and Culture department, Theology and Religious Studies as well as from the Media and Society studies. The third set of questionnaires was answered by members of the public. The Student population was drawn from Midlands State University, Great Zimbabwe University and University of Zimbabwe. This was done to ensure a holistic understanding of the subject of media and religion. It was taken into cognisance that students come from different regions and this allows for the representation of the Zimbabwean population. Apart from that the student population was valid because these are the people who have expertise in the field of religion and the media. Members of the public constitute the recipients of newspapers articles and of the services that are provided by traditional and faith healers. Altogether questionnaires were administered to a total of 160 respondents. One questionnaire was administered to 70 to students in the Department of African Languages and Culture and Theology and Religious studies, to 40 students in Media and Society Studies and to 50 members of the public. The total response rate of all respondents is 89%.

Table 1: Target population and response rate for questionnaires

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Number administered</th>
<th>Number Returned</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Media and Society studies</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Lang/Religious Studies</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public members</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1 Presentation and analysis of data from questionnaires - Media and Society Studies students
Of the 40 questionnaires that were administered to Media and Society Studies students 32 questionnaires were returned. 20 questionnaires were administered to Midlands State University Students, 10 questionnaires to Great Zimbabwe University students and 10 questionnaires to University of Zimbabwe students. The response rate is shown on the table below.
Table 2: Response rate for questionnaires distributed to Media and Society Studies students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Questionnaires distributed</th>
<th>Returned</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Midlands State University</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Zimbabwe University</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Zimbabwe</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questionnaires were distributed to three universities in order to get a general understanding of those who have media knowledge with regards to the representation of traditional and faith healers. The idea that the researcher has in mind is that students that are found in the media departments of the three universities are representative of the Zimbabwean population since they come from different provinces. The students provided information that is media specific that is they gave information to do with the mechanism of the media. The information is of particular importance in understanding why traditional and faith healers are portrayed in certain ways in Zimbabwean newspapers. Of the 20 questionnaires that were distributed at MSU 18 were returned giving us a response rate of 90%. This was so because at MSU the researcher was helped by students who would make follow ups. This was unlike at GZU and UZ where questionnaires were given to lecturers who in turn distributed the questionnaires to student. Of the 10 questionnaires distributed to GZU students 8 were returned giving a total response rate of 80% and 6 out of 10 questionnaires distributed to UZ students were returned giving us a response rate of 60%. The total respond rate of all the distributed questionnaires was 80%.

Question 1

What is the role of the media?
Table 3: Media and Society Studies students’ views on the role of the media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad view</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The media is a mouthpiece and should service the society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The media is there to educate, entertain and inform 72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. It is a mirror of what happens in the society 9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The role of the media is to represent public interests and to report on the events taking place. 6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. It reflects society and help in its development while providing a sphere for them to express their views. 9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1.1 Presentation and analysis of data Media and Society Studies students views on the role of the media

All the respondents to the question on the role of the media were of the view that the media plays a very important role in society. All the 32 respondents agreed to the fact that the media is at the service of the society. A total of 23 people which are almost 72% were of the view that the media is there to fulfil three roles which are to entertain, inform and to educate. 9% of the respondents were of the view that the role of the media is solely to let people know about what is happening in society. These respondents saw the media as a mirror of what happens in society, thus its duty is to reflect the society. 6% of the respondents argued that the media is there to report on issues that affect the lives of its recipients and to report on what transpires in society hence the saw the media as a platform at which issues of public interest are represented. 9% of the respondents elaborated further and said that in reflecting the society the media provides a sphere for people to provide their views and should be an aid towards the development of the society. The views that were provided by respondents suggest that the media is a platform that is used to report the events that take place with an aim of educating entertaining and informing its recipients and in turn developing the society. It is important to note that 100% of the respondents’ viewed the media as a platform at which what happens in society is reported to the society thus people learn of what transpires in their societies through the media.
Question 2
How are traditional and faith healers represented in Zimbabwean newspapers?

Table 4: Media and Society Studies students’ responses on the representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad view</th>
<th>Actual Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional healers are portrayed in negative light. 84%</td>
<td>1. In most cases they are represented as liars as the stories published are those of some claiming to have cured AIDS. 2. They are presented as jokers and scammers. People who only use others for monetary gains. 3. They are not given first preference and are represented as bad people. 4. Zimbabwe is a Christian community as a result newspapers frame traditional healers as witches. 5. They are reflected as evil doers/people. 6. As people who are only good at supplying herbs and “muti” for illegal actions like theft. 7. They are represented as the othered. 8. As people who perpetuate devilish activities. 9. They are marginalised. 10. They are viewed as backward and uncivilised. 11. They are viewed as people who mislead people. 12. They are viewed as people who cause havoc and sources of misunderstanding in society. 13. They are viewed as liars and tricksters. 14. They are represented as minority groups since Christianity is largely contributed to the Zimbabwean nation. 15. They are represented in the media when they do scandalous things such as taking other people’s lives and they are regarded as people who lie to their patients. 16. They are stereotyped as wizards and suspiciously represented as practising Satanism. 17. I think justice is not being done to the representation of traditional healers. The stories of them are only if something bizarre happens. They are not given full platform to educate and let the nation know what they really are.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broader view 16%</th>
<th>Actual responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They receive mixed representation</td>
<td>1. In some papers they are vilified but most of them present as a cultural equivalent and an integral part of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the society.
2. Depends on the newspaper some newspapers such as *The Herald* give positive reports while some take a critical approach.
3. In the state controlled newspapers particularly *The Herald* traditional healers are not positively represented as Zimbabwe is believed to be a Christian nation. They are only mentioned when it suits the government.

5.3.1.2 Presentation and analysis of data on the representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers
Respondents came up with two ideas with regards to representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. Some were of the view that they are negatively represented and some suggested that they receive mixed representations which mean that they are sometimes represented positively and sometimes negatively. 84% of the respondents were of the view that traditional healers are in most cases represented in negative light. Respondents asserted that there is diabolic representation of the traditional healer in Zimbabwean newspapers. This suggests that the representation is Eurocentric in nature since the stories regard everything that is African as pagan. Ani (1994:568) blames European arrogance for the negative depiction when she says that white supremacy has led to “the systematic attempt to destroy the self image of the African and other majority people.” This shows that the negative depiction shows that newspapers are still perpetuating the European project of destroying the African traditional religion and dehumanising the African. Responses from respondents show that the way they are represented hinges on religious, social and economic factors. In supporting the idea that they are negatively represented some say that they are regarded as liars. One of the reasons for them to be labeled liars is because they claim to cure diseases like AIDS hence the media presents them as people who are after money. These practitioners are also presented as old-fashioned hence one of the respondents said that they are represented as uncivilised. Respondents also alluded that they are not Christians. They seem to be saying that since they are not Christians it means that they are bad people. The other idea raised with regards to this idea is that Zimbabwe is a Christian community as a result newspapers frame traditional healers as witches and that they are represented as minority groups since Christianity is a religion for the majority of Zimbabweans. From the responses it is clear that their representation is highly affected by neo-colonialism,
where we see Africans distancing themselves from what is theirs and connecting themselves to a foreign religion which is Christianity. The way traditional healers are portrayed in Zimbabwean newspapers is therefore a colonial product where the missionaries distorted the history of Africans in a bid to tame the African through systematic indoctrination and acculturation under the guise of Christian civilisation dislocating and branding African religion as uncivilised and barbaric. From this perspective one can conclude that the fact that these practitioners belong to African Traditional religion is reason enough for them to be painted black. This idea has been alluded to by Fanon (1968) who asserts that, white supremacy discounts how we see ourselves and instead instructs us and the world to see ourselves in their terms. The European arrogant thought dismissed the African religion and viewed the African religion as pagan and heathen, their pride and views then separated the Africans from their energy source and their cosmos. At the end of the day traditional healers are accorded peripheral representation in Zimbabwean newspapers.

Respondents who subscribed to the idea that traditional healers are represented negatively also argued that they are represented as people who are always involved in scandalous activities. They are regarded as witches who can take away the lives of their clients; as people who cause havoc and misunderstandings in society; people who perpetuate devilish activities, tricksters and liars thus one respondent said “They are stereotyped as wizards and suspiciously represented as practising Satanism.” Negative representation is a product of white supremacy which is quite subtle. It is an attempt to destroy African traditional religion.

There are also people who subscribe to the idea that traditional healers receive mixed representation in Zimbabwean newspapers. 5 out of the 32 people who responded to questionnaires were of the view that in Zimbabwean newspapers traditional healers are sometimes represented positively and sometimes negatively. All the 5 respondents were of the view that the way they are represented depends with the paper concerned. This suggests that if ever there are stories that tell a good story about the African they are very few. This assertion shows that traditional healers are still functional and such responses are in line with Afrocentric ideas since they give value to what is African. The stories that tell a positive story celebrate African culture and they are Afrocentric in nature. Mazama (2001:388) is of the idea that “The
Afrocentric idea rests on the assertion of primacy of the African experience for African people. Its aim is to give us our African victorious consciousness back.”

### Table 5: Responses by Media and Society Studies students on the representation of faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broader view</th>
<th>56%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faith healers are practitioners who are contributing positively to the society.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Actual responses**

1. They are presented as mighty men of God who are vital in the society.

2. As people who work for the living God. Most of the people in Zimbabwe are Christians.

3. They are reported positively because most political members believe in faith healers.

4. Represented as the hope for the nation.

5. As people who hear from God and can solve problems especially the current economic problems in Zimbabwe.

6. It is all about funding. You cannot bite the hand that feeds you. Prophets such as Magaya and Makandiwa are mostly presented in a positive way because they do adverts with newspapers while mapositori are presented negatively.
1. **Actual responses**

   They are represented as people who are after money.

   They are questioned and represented with a hint of curiosity and disbelief in each and their step.

   They are lovers of earthly things like money, fame and fashion.

   They are treated as ‘the other’ only giving coverage to those who are willing to pay a price like PHD’s Magaya.

   They are after money and turned churches into businesses.

   As people who perform unusual miracles like “miracle baby”.

   They are presented as people are power hungry. People who are using the church as a way of making quick money.

2. **Broader view**

   Receive mixed representation 9%

   **Actual Responses**

   They are sometimes portrayed negatively and sometimes in positive light /criticised.

   They are the future, the predictors of the greater good but there are always questions on their end goals and the church being likened to business.

   They are presented as money seekers and miracle workers.

   Represented as the requisite messengers from God sent to save people. However some are portrayed as wolves hiding in sheep clothing.

---

**5.3.1.3 Presentation and analysis of data on the representation of faith healers**

The researcher recognises three broad views with regard to the representation of faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. Respondents were of the view that faith healers are represented as people who are contributing positively to the society and as people who are in the habit of robbing the society. Another school of thought that emerges out of the research findings is that
these people do not have the same kind of representation throughout but they are sometimes represented positively and sometimes negatively. On the whole, respondents have got different perceptions on how faith healers are represented.

The majority of the respondents were of the view that faith healers receive positive representation in Zimbabwean newspapers because they are Christians who hear from God. The positive depiction that faith healers receive is meant to rubberstamp the superiority of Christianity as a religion. This is quite sensible considering the rhetoric that Zimbabwe is a Christian nation. The purpose of the representation is to draw people to Christianity and it is a devise that is used to draw people further and further away from their religion. Europeans have always been determined to make their religion superior thus Ani (1994:511) echoes the views of Europeans when she says “Christianity is superior because it is universal but indigenous religions of the world are inferior.” This shows that the positive representation that faith healers receive in Zimbabwean newspapers is meant to promote Christianity and conversely discredit African Traditional religion. Shaw (2010) says that media representation shapes social reality. It plays an important role in informing the ways in which we understand social, cultural, and ethnic and racial differences. In a way, the media is being used as a platform to justify the superiority of faith healers over traditional healers, which is tantamount to promoting Christianity over African traditional religion.

Those who say that they are positively represented contend that they are represented as people who hear from God. However other responses seem to suggest that there are some other reasons that make them to be seen as people who are positively contributing to the society. One of the respondents was of the idea that they are reported positively because most political members believe in faith healers. This implies that the reason why they are represented positively is because of their association with the politically powerful. One other respondent brought in the idea of classes. This respondent was of the idea that prophets are of two classes. He talks about the Magayas and the Makandiwas as constituting one class of prophets and the AIC prophets as a different class of prophets which receive completely different representations. The respondent said:
It is all about funding. You cannot bite the hand that feeds you. Prophets such as Magaya and Makandiwa are mostly presented in a positive way because they do adverts with newspapers while *mapositori* are presented negatively.

This suggests that the way those prophets who have money and those that do not have the economic muscle are represented is completely different. The respondent described the situation from a capitalist dimension. He failed to recognise that the reason why white collar prophets receive prestigious representation as compared to white garment church prophets is mainly to degrade African traditional religion. Research has shown that this group of prophets is a compromise between Christianity and African traditional religion thus Bourdillon (1976:295) says:

The attraction of the gift of prophecy in these churches can be understood in terms of the parallels between prophets and traditional Shona spirit mediums. Some prophets borrow much from traditional rituals of spirit possession, speaking in the lilting voice typical of lion spirit mediums and uttering groans, sighs and other sounds associated with lion spirits.

In AIC worldviews and cultures of Africans are taken into account in their theology thus Aigbadumah (2011) is of the idea AIC draw largely from the ATR background where the dominant emphasis is on good health, well being and peace with oneself and environment. It takes into account the worldviews and cultures of Africans in their theology. This suggests that there is a very thin line between the prophets from white garment churches and the traditional healer and this explains why these faith healers are categorised under traditional healers in some instances. As a result we find them being given demonic representation contrary to their counterparts from Pentecostal churches who receive positive representation.

Another idea that was raised by respondents was that faith healers are negatively represented as people who have turned churches into businesses and as making the church a platform to make quick money, people who are after fame and fashion and other respondents questioned their miracles and one respondent singled out the story about the miracle baby. 10% of the respondents were of the view that faith healers receive mixed representation.
Table 6: A comparison of findings from Media and Society Studies students on the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Traditional healers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Faith healers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positively represented</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negatively represented</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed represented</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1.4 A comparative analysis of a representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers

A comparison of the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers shows that the majority of the respondents were of the view that traditional healers are represented negatively as compared to faith healers. A total percentage of 84 respondents were of the view that traditional healers are negatively represented as compared to 24% of respondents who were of the idea that faith healers are negatively represented. This suggests that the majority of respondents subscribed to the idea that faith healers are positively represented. Results from the research show that 62% of the respondents were of the view that faith healers are positively represented. This shows that most of the stories that are published about traditional healers tell bad stories about these practitioners, whereas the majority of stories about faith healers tell a positive story about these practitioners.

Question 3 (a)
Are media principles followed when newspaper articles are written?

3 (b)
Why?
Table 7: Findings on whether media principles are followed when newspaper articles are being written

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1.5 Presentation and analysis of findings on whether those who write newspaper stories follow media principles when writing newspaper articles

Key respondents were of the view that journalists are guided by some principles when coming up with newspaper articles. They identify credibility as one of the principles that should be considered when journalists write newspaper articles. This is when they are required to consult sources before finalising the story in order to concretise the discussions. The views of the people involved in the case should be considered rather than just writing about them without hearing their views. Respondents also said that accuracy is also important and it is when information is cross-checked to verify facts. There is also the issue of objectivity that is they should not take a particular side and should report in a truthful way.

From the table above 84% of the respondents were of the view that these principles are no longer taken into consideration. They suggest that this is because of the economic situation. One of the respondents had this to say “the media have gone commercialised. Stories which sell the paper are the ones that see the light of the day.” Respondents were of the idea that those in the media fraternity are in business hence like any other business their main aim is to make profits hence they make it a point that they come up with stories that sell hence sometimes sacrificing principles. Those who support the view that the media has become commercialised also recognised that principles are not followed also because the media houses are guided by the interests of advertisers. It is said that advertisers are a lifeline of media houses, and some of the practitioners put their advertisements in newspapers hence it becomes a challenge for journalists to be objective, because if they are to write negatively about their advertisers they will risk them pulling out. This explains why some faith healers always get positive portrayal in some newspapers.
Respondents also pointed to the idea that principles are difficult to follow because firstly journalists are humans and their personal feelings encroach in the stories that they write. One of the respondents had this to say; “Because people already have a negative view so they write what they believe and usually they don’t get the chance to get in-depth information.” Journalists tend to put their emotions and write their stories based on their beliefs thus one other respondent contended that; “In a Christian setup like Zimbabwe traditional healers have been linked to evil upholders because of their traditional practices.” Apart from that respondents recognised that the issue of traditional and faith healing is an issue of religion, they said that “In as much as journalists should be objective and ethical when it comes to issues of religion it is hard to overrule or compare what you believe in and what these healers do, you are bound to judge.” Mbiti (1969:1) says “religion is the strongest element in tradition background and it exerts probably the greatest influence upon the thinking and living of the people concerned.” Because of the influence of religion in a people’s understanding of the world, journalists as people with their own religious beliefs are bound to write in a way that does not go against their own beliefs. Consequently, it becomes usual for stories to be exaggerated and for some people to be mentioned only when they do what is good.

The editorial policy is also identified by respondents as a deterrent for journalists to follow the principles to the dot when writing newspaper stories. It is stipulated that the editorial policy plays a crucial role in determining the shape of the stories that are published in newspapers and each media house has got its own editorial policy. These policies are there to support the agendas of the newspapers. To this one of the respondents said: “There is the issue of framing of traditional and faith healers by news reporters influenced by the editorial policies of the organisations.” It is of importance to note that the editorial policy carries the interests of the owner; hence ownership and control have been identified as impediments to ethical journalism.

Those who find the paper have got an impact on the product of the paper. Talking about issues of ownership one respondent said that the fact that the media are either state controlled or private owned makes them legible to take either side. The respondent said that State media cannot report negatively about the government since its mandate is to support government policies. It follows that when it comes to the issue of traditional and faith healers they make it a point that they support the stance of the government.
Another issue that was raised is that the media is in business and is after making money. This has been alluded to by one respondent who noted that “Newspapers’ aim is to sell news thus make sure that the stories they publish sell to the extent that the principles are not followed.”

Ultimately, journalists tend to concentrate on what people want to hear. Consequently the coverage of traditional healers is being ‘othered’ as compared to that of faith healers because most people have turned to Christianity.

There is also the issue of the economic situation that the country is facing which breeds fertile ground for corruption. Respondents were of the view that journalists are bribed into writing badly about some people and writing positively about some.

Those respondents who were of the view that principles are followed when journalists are coming up with stories about traditional healers and faith healers seem to be confused because the reasons that they give to support their argument seem to be pointing to the view that journalistic principles are not followed. Some of the reasons that they give are that “The media tries to follow the principles but they are however influenced by ownership, control and many laws that inhibit media practitioners, and sometimes there is no balance but most stories in Zimbabwean newspapers are about prominent figures in society.” Looking closely at the reasons above one can conclude that it is difficult for journalists to follow principles. As a result ethical journalism becomes a myth in Zimbabwe. The idea that ethical journalism is impossible has got implications on the representation of traditional healers. It implies that what we read is much more than stories about traditional and faith healers. These stories are largely channelled in line with the interests and views of the journalists, media owners and those who finance the media which are largely Eurocentric.

**Question 4**

What is your opinion concerning the view that newspapers mirror the ideology of the author and the social institutions that produce them?
**Table 8: Findings on whether newspapers mirror the ideology of the author and the social institutions that produce them**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broader view</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers mirror the ideology of the author and the social institutions that produce them. <strong>91%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. They are guided by the editorial policy which serves the interests of the owner and the one who funds them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. They are influenced by owners and funders of the media organisations. At times the author gate keeps other information and gives that he/she sees important.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Reporters should work within the guidelines stipulated by the owners of the organisations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. They have to please those who own and control them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The media are engines for framing norms and values as well as mirror the elitist interest into reality or status quo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Journalists are part of the society therefore they will report in a way that safeguards and protect their own personal beliefs whilst downplaying those they do not relate to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The ideas of the dominant class are those which are published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The owners are the ones who determine what news is and what should be reported.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. He who pays the pipe dictates the tune. You cannot write anything negative about your advertisers or they will take their business elsewhere. It is like any other business which wants to make money.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.3.1.6 Presentation and analysis of findings on whether newspapers mirror the ideology of the author and the social institutions that provide them

91% of the respondents were of the view that newspapers mirror the ideology of the author and the social institution that produce them. In line with this respondents mentioned the editorial policy which they say is the baby of the owners. They pointed to the idea that journalists are guided by the editorial policies and are obliged to please those who fund the papers. Reporters work within the guidelines that are given by the owners of the organisations. They also suggested that the interests of those who fund media houses are of paramount importance. One of the
respondents therefore had this to say; “He who pays the pipe dictates the tune. You cannot write anything negative about your advertisers or they will take their business elsewhere.” It is like any other business which wants to make money. Questionnaire respondents were also of the view that it should not be overlooked that the stories that we read have got a lot to do with the personal feelings of those who produce them. This suggests that the personal feelings of journalists play a very big role in the shaping of newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers. Their beliefs determine what to write about and what not to. Only 9% of the respondents did not agree to the view. This suggests that stories about traditional and faith healers embody a lot other aspects apart from the work of traditional and faith healers perse.

**Question 5**

What are the factors that affect media representation of traditional and faith healers?

**Table 9: Findings on the factors that affect media representation of traditional and faith healers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad view</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Media representation of traditional and faith healers is affected by a lot of factors other than the stories themselves.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Actual responses**

1. Faith healers are prominent people hence they influence what comes out in newspapers.

2. Issues of ownership and control affect the way traditional and faith healers are represented.

3. The ruling class dictates what to write and what not to write.

4. Personal religious affiliation of the writer has an effect on the presentation of traditional and faith healers.

5. Socio-political backgrounds of the people affect the way people write about traditional and faith healers.

6. In Zimbabwe faith healers are generally respected therefore the media follows that traditional are negatively viewed by the general populace, the media just mirrors what prevails in society.

7. Some of the faith healers are advertisers and this result in them being reported in a positive manner.

8. The place and time in which the event occurred.
5.3.1.7 Presentation and analysis of data on the factors that affect media representation of traditional and faith healers

100% of the respondents agreed to the idea that there are a lot of other factors that affect the representation of traditional and faith healers. This suggests that the stories that people read from newspapers are a fusion of the ideas of the owners and the ideas of journalists themselves. Apart from that marketing strategies also affect the ideas that are in the stories as journalists always want to come up with stories that sell. Consequently the stories become versions of truth.

**Question 6(a)**

Do you think that newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers fulfil journalistic roles?

**Table 10: Findings on whether newspaper stories fulfil journalistic roles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 6(b)**

Support your answer.

**Table 11: Views by respondents on the reasons why they say yes or no on whether those who write stories about traditional and faith healers are fulfilling journalistic roles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. They are informing us of what the public say with regards to traditional and faith healers</td>
<td>1. They tend to gate keep other information as traditional healers are always negatively portrayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. They are informing and entertaining though there are challenges when it comes to educating.</td>
<td>2. There is less coverage of traditional healers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Covering the stories about traditional and faith healers is part of fulfilling journalistic roles, how these stories will be interpreted is entirely upon the reader.</td>
<td>3. Because when they report they are only concerned when these healers do bad things and when they do good they are not recognised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. They are informing people about what is happening.</td>
<td>4. There is a lot of lies and lack of honesty when reporting on issues to do with traditional healers. They do not give a balanced view.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. With Christianity being the most practised religion, the journalists tend to turn a blind eye on traditional healers and by so doing they forsake the mandate of educating and informing.
6. There is no popularity and accuracy when reporting about traditional healers.
7. When it comes to traditional healers they only concentrate on bizarre incidents.
8. They are concerned about business. They serve profit-making interests rather than informing, educating and entertaining.
9. They are misleading people by misrepresenting reality.
10. Because of the financial constraints which media organisations are facing even on individual capacity most of the side stories of traditional and faith healers are not true.
11. Issues of ownership and control make it impossible for the media to entertain, educate and inform.

5.3.1.8 Presentation and analysis of data on the reasons respondents choose yes or no on whether those who write stories about traditional and faith healers are fulfilling journalistic roles

It should be noted that of the 31% who say that journalistic roles are being fulfilled the majority are of the view that not all the three roles are fulfilled. Respondents were of the view that it is the entertainment role that is given precedents with the educating role being completely ignored. As far as informing role is concerned some respondents were of the view that newspaper articles about traditional and faith healers either misinform or partially inform people about issues to do with traditional and faith healers. Given the factors that shape the stories about traditional and faith healers it becomes difficult to fulfil all the journalistic roles.
Those who subscribe to the idea that journalists are not fulfilling journalistic roles are of the view that they are not telling the whole story about these practitioners, thus one respondent said, “They tend to gate keep other information as traditional healers are always negatively portrayed.” For him reporters tend to leave out some information to do with these practitioners. 90% of the respondents were of the view that justice is not exercised particularly with stories to do with traditional healers whom they say receive very little and bad coverage as compared to faith healers. A close analysis of the responses given by respondents suggested that it does not necessarily mean that traditional healers are not doing any good to the society but the journalists deliberately turn a blind eye to anything good that they do and choose to concentrate on the bad. This suggests that such representations is a means to an end because are meant to discredit African Traditional Religion and conversely to elevate Christianity. In line with such mentalities Stone in Macleod (1968:73) says “Africans are viewed as, innately immoral, even innately evil e.g. demons, cannibals, head hunters, savages, blood thirsty, merciless, sadistic, vicious, child killers, rapists, heathens, in league with the devil, criminal, devious, sly, sexually perverse, dishonest...” The image of a traditional healer in Zimbabwean newspapers is therefore a reflection of stereotypes and racial sentiments towards Africans. It is at the end of the day a continuous fight against traditional practices as expressed by Botha (1985) who urges fellow whites to fight against the Black devil. Ephraim (2003:54) has the same views when she states that, the intentions of the European were to rape Africa, to dehumanise Africans, to impoverish them materially and spiritually. Even as Africans gained their freedom from colonialism, their psychology suffered the traumatic effects of colonialism; the European arrogance programmed and installed a sense of self hatred in the African mind and this is reflected in the stories that are written about traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers.

**Question 7(a)**

Overally can you say that these practitioners are represented truthfully?
Table 12: Findings on whether traditional and faith healers are represented truthfully

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To some extent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1.9 Presentation and analysis of data on whether traditional and faith healers are represented truthfully

75% of the respondents were of the idea that traditional and faith healers are not represented in a truthfully manner, 6% say that they are truthfully represented whilst 19% of the respondents were of the view that they are sometimes represented truthfully and sometimes they are not truly represented truthfully. In a way what people read from newspapers is not everything about traditional and faith healers. Respondents were of the view that a lot is exaggerated and a lot is left out. Questionnaire respondents gave reasons to their answers as shown in the table below.

Question 7 (b)
Support your answer.

Table 13: Findings on the truthfulness of the representations that traditional and faith healers receive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not represented truthfully</td>
<td>1. Media organisations determine what content to produce and what not do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Objectivity is subject to objectivity in as far as issues to do with religion are concerned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The ideologies of the authors affect how those stores are written.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. The media turn to these practitioners when they have done wrong.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. They are given umbrella coverage. They are all presented as healers that are sexually abusive and only after people’s blood in turn of healing people.

6. Traditional healers are stereotyped as doers of evil things. Christianity has overtaken African Traditional Religion and most people have shunned Christianity.

7. This is because when you compare for instance two different newspapers and how they cover the same event/practitioners. The discourses differ revealing that there will be factors affecting the reportage of these practitioners.

8. One writes according to his/her own belief system and depending on what the owners of the newspapers view a particular belief.

9. Reporters only publish what they think will attract consumers.

10. Some stories about them are exaggerated, some are ignored.

11. There is a lot of framing by different media house. A particular media house can take a certain stand of the story which will be in line with their editorial policy.

12. Stories are affected by different editorial policies and ownership dynamics.

13. They write from a colonial mentality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Truthfully represented</th>
<th>-The media mirrors what happens in society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To some extent</td>
<td>i. The media usually tries to build on the information that they think the public wants to hear. At times stories are exaggerated and at times important stories are put less emphasis on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. In as much as some are true but there is always an element of lies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. The issues reported can really be encountered for with evidence but sometimes the editorial policy may not be in support of the reported people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
iv. Religion is a complex subject and due to the political economy of a certain newspaper you are forced to write from their point of thinking.

5.3.1.10 Presentation and analysis of findings on the truthfulness of the representations that traditional and faith healers receive

Those who are of the view that traditional and faith healers are not represented truthfully contend that media houses have got boundaries that are set prior to the writing of stories. When newspaper articles are written they should fit in those frames. Stories that come out in papers are controlled by a lot of other factors that are outside the stories themselves. At the end of the day they are exaggerated and distorted. As noted earlier most of the stories demonise the work of the traditional healer. One of the respondents lamented this when he says, “Traditional healers are stereotyped as doers of evil things. Christianity has overtaken African Traditional Religion and most people have shunned Christianity.” Respondents were of the view that most of the stories that we read lack objectivity and this is seen in how the stories can be presented in different newspapers. One of the respondents said, “This is because when you compare for instance two different newspapers and how they cover the same event /practitioners. The discourses differ revealing that there will be factors affecting the reportage of these practitioners.” This implies that media houses extend their agendas through the stories that they write. Ani (1994:2) therefore sees the need for Africans to decolonise themselves when she states that:

The liberation of our minds is well worth the struggle. To be truly liberated, African people must come to know the nature of the European thought and behaviour in order to understand the effect that Europe has had on our ability to think victoriously. We must be able to separate our thought from European thought so as to visualise a future that is not dominated by Europe… the future towards which Europe is leading us is genocidal.

The media was traditionally used as a platform by Europeans to sell their superiority. Europeans used the media to castigate and lampoon African religion. Ani vehemently postulates that, it was during this time that Euro-American controlled media began its career as one of the most
efficient weapons to ensure the exploitation of the African descent. This means that the European arrogance has taken the media as their new battlefield on which to fight their war of dehumanising and making fun out of the black people. To this Ani (1994) says Africans are viewed as uncivilised, pagans and agents of the devil. It is important to note that such a scenario has been perpetuated into independence Zimbabwe where Zimbabwean newspapers are perpetually being used as a platform to continuously alienate people from themselves.

Respondents who said that they are truthfully represented say that journalists do not fabricate stories but they write stories that reflect the society. These respondents seem to be arguing from a theoretical point of view where they just know that the role of the media is to reflect society without going deep into considering what is on the ground.

The reasons that support the view of those who say that traditional and faith healers are truthfully represented to a certain extent point back to the idea that traditional and faith healers are not represented truthfully in Zimbabwean newspapers.

5.3.2 Presentation of questionnaire data from members of the public
A total of 50 questionnaires were distributed to members of the public. Of the 50 distributed questionnaires 45 were returned. Questionnaires were distributed to members from all the provinces of the country in order to get a general view of people from different cultural groups. Members of the public provided information to do with how the society perceive traditional and faith healers and factors that affect the way they are represented. This class of respondents provided valid data in the sense that they are the people who associate with traditional and faith healers and they are the recipients of newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers.

Question 1
Age 18-30 30-45 45 years and above
Table 14: Response rate of questionnaires distributed to members of the public by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Response rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30 years</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-45 years</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45yrs and above</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows that questionnaires were distributed to respondents who are above the age of eighteen. This was done specifically for ethical reasons and for the reasons that these are the people who mostly use the services of traditional and faith healers. 42% of the respondents were between 18 to 30 years, 40% between 30 and 45 years and 18 percent are above the age of 45. The total response rate is 90%.

Question 2
What is your religious affiliation? Christianity  African Traditional Religion  Specify other

Table 15: Presentation of respondents profiles by religious affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data in the table above shows that the majority of the respondents were Christians giving us a total response rate of 98% Christians. None of the respondents belong to the African traditional religion and only one respondent is a Muslim constituting 2% response rate. The statistics is in line with the idea that the majority of Zimbabweans are Christians. Data on the religious
affiliation of respondents is of paramount importance in the sense that it is assumed that one’s religion has got an effect on how he or she perceives of traditional and faith healers. This is because traditional and faith healers are religious phenomena.

**Question 3(a)**

If faced with a medical problem who do you consult?

**Table 16: Findings on the health practitioners that respondents prefer**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practitioner</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medical doctor</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith healer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional healer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical doctor &amp; faith healer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical doctor &amp; T.H</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternate amongst the three</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**5.3.2.1 Presentation of data on Zimbabwe’s health system**

Research respondents concurred to the view that Zimbabwe has a 3 tier health system consisting of traditional healers, faith healers and medical doctors. Machinga (2011:2) says that Zimbabwe has a 3-tiered health system. They use the services of traditional healers, the prophets’ from churches of the spirit and Western style hospitals and clinics for health and healing.

53% of the respondents consult medical doctors when faced with a problem only 2% consult faith healers and none of the respondents visit traditional healers. 20% alternate between the Medical doctor and faith healer, 11% amongst the Medical doctor and the traditional healer whilst 11% alternate amongst the three.
Research findings suggest that people do not want to be associated with traditional healers due to the fact that they are Christians. They only visit a traditional healer maybe after medical doctors have failed to deal with their problems since where they use the services of traditional and faith healers they tend to alternate with modern doctors. This is in line with what Bourdillon (1976:167) who says:

The tensions and uncertainties of modern life readily provoke suspicions of invisible forces, especially of witchcraft and few Shona can resist going to a diviner when things are going badly. And n’anga provide for all a last resort to whom one can appeal when Western medicine has dismissed a case as hopeless or has simply failed to cure it or when a person is unable to survive financially, when a man cannot find work or in any of the intolerable situations that so readily arise in the towns.

This shows that because of the impositions of colonialism people do not readily associate with traditional healers, they only turn to these practitioners when problems seem to be beyond the capabilities of a modern medical doctor. In a way this reveals that colonialism and Christianity have failed to completely wipe away African Traditional Religion. It has remained at the back of the minds of Africans such that they turn to it when need arises. It follows that there is need of centering what is African, as explained by Asante (1998:8) who says “By regaining our own [African] platforms, standing on our own cultural spaces and believing that our own way of viewing the universe is just as valid as any, we will achieve the kind of transformation that we need to participate fully in a multicultural society.” However without this kind of centeredness, we bring almost nothing to the multicultural table but a darker version of whiteness.” The idea that people turn to traditional healers and faith healers when modern medical practitioners fail is evidence to show that European religion leaves a cultural vacuum when used by Africans.

It is of particular importance to note that all the respondents admitted that they use modern medical practitioners except for 4% who say that they solely depend on the services of faith healers. This shows the extent of the damage that was caused by colonialism through Christianity which forbids its followers to consult traditional healers. Mwandayi (2011) says that as a way of eradicating the traditional healer they erected mission and government hospitals as well as schools. The education imparted Western value and the medical council denied cognisance of traditional healers. Such a scenario has settled in the minds of Zimbabweans almost four decades after the attainment of independence from colonial rule.
4% of the people who do not consult modern medical doctors are Christians and these seem to rely solely on God for treatment. These respondents are likely to be members of the AIC that do not allow their members to use Western medicine. Mbiti (1969:225) says “Revelation and healing play important roles in independent churches. Some of them forbid their followers to use European medicines, teaching their members to depend entirely on God’s power through prayers and healing services.” Thus the majority of the choices that are made by people with regards to the medical assistance that they seek in times of crisis is largely determined by their religious affiliation.

**Question 3 (b)**

Give reasons to support your choice?

**Table 17: Findings on the reasons to support respondents’ choices of different health practitioners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faith healers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Broader View</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The services of a faith healer are cheap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actual responses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- They prophecy, as well as heal free of charge as compared to medical doctors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- If they charge medical fees, their charges are very little compared to medical and traditional doctors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- I am a Christian and our church does not allow us to visit the hospital or traditional healers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern doctors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Broad view</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are reliable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- They are professional and genuine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- They are trained, I wouldn’t want to take risk or take chances with my health and my life by visiting traditional healers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Medical doctors have a defined body of knowledge concerning modern health problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Faith healers and traditional healers have a history of cheating they are after money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- I have never been sure about the authenticity of other healers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Science is always precise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- A medical doctor will carry out a medical examination and do several tests for various illnesses and will recommend the right medicine for the disease. It is done scientifically and there is a limited assumption. Also it involves the use of machinery and testing in the laboratory. Normally results are authentic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Doctors specialise; they are trained to deal with any problems at a particular time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad View</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I choose to see a medical doctor because of socialisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- I just grew up knowing that if I feel sick I go to see a doctor and I don’t believe the other available sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The way I have been raised has influenced me to rely on doctors and I have a lot of doubts in the other two. From church we do not believe in prophetic healing and we believe that traditional healers are agents of the devil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternate among the three</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad view</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are spiritual and natural illness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Actual Responses**

There are problems which require Western medication and other disease that require spiritual solutions hence there is need to consult, prophets, traditional healers and medical doctors.

-Medical problems are different and who to consult depend on the nature of the problem. If it is spiritual will go for faith healers or traditional healers and it is natural I will go for a medical doctor.

-because some medical problems do not necessarily require medical doctors only, spiritual attacks and other problems associated with witchcraft require the services of traditional and faith healers.

**Modern Doctors and Traditional healers**

**Broad View**
There are serious and natural illnesses

**Actual Responses**
-I will first visit the modern medical doctor, if the problem persists.
-I will visit the traditional doctor because they have been tried and tested, fast and efficient in solving medical problems. Their methods of treatment are natural and do not have sides effect.
-If the ailment continue I will visit a traditional healer because their healing methods considers the cultural context of the patient.
-They heal the body and the soul.

**Medical doctors and faith healers**

**Broad View**
There are natural and spiritual diseases

**Actual responses**
-Doctors use modern medicine and faith healers treat spiritual problems.
-Spiritually faith healers assist and scientifically medical doctors assist with medication.
-First, point of help is a medical doctor is a second point of help in times when the problem is not visible to medical practitioners

**Broad View**
Religion affect one’s choice
**Actual Responses**

-I believe that God has the power to heal any disease and that the medicines given by doctors provide the chemical needs of our bodies with God given powers.

-I am a Christian and thus traditional healers are not part of the options that occupy me. I do not however consult the prophets because I have a medical problem, not a spiritual one. If however the problem seem to go beyond the scope of medicine and seem to have a spiritual basis, I then resort to faith healers or prophets that is after personal prayers shows facility.

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**5.3.2.2 Presentation and analysis of data on the reasons for the choices of different medical systems**

From the responses that were given by respondents there are different schools of thought that emerge in relation with what people consider when choosing medical practitioners in the face of problems. One of the reasons that were mentioned particularly by those who favour to visit faith healers is that of accessibility and affordability. It emerged that one of the reasons why people choose to visit faith healers is that they offer their services free of charge as compared to other practitioners who always do their duties for a charge.

Another school of thought is that religious affiliation has a bearing on people’s choices of medical practitioners that they consult when faced with a problem. There are respondents who believed that they are not supposed to visit traditional healers because they are Christians. Christians values are quite different from ATR values and traditional healers being a part of ATR should not be consulted by Christians thus one respondent who claims to consult medical doctors and faith healers said, “I am a Christian and thus traditional healers are not part of the opinions that occupy me.” One other respondent said, “I am a Christian and our church does not allow us to visit the hospital or traditional healers.” This idea seems to be coming from a member of the apostolic church whose doctrine does not allow members to go to hospitals for treatment. These ideas seem to have come from colonised minds, minds that have been taught to believe that anything African is evil. Such ideas are a testimony of the role of Christianity towards the degradation and dehumanisation of traditional healers. Chukwuokolo (2009:24) vehemently articulates that, “Africa has not remained the same again since the rape of its continent by the
West who pretended to be on a ‘civilising mission’. There was total distortion of all values of the African people to the advantage of the West.” Ephraim (2003:54) has the same view with Chukwuokolo (2009) who states that, “… European intentions were to rape Africa, to dehumanise the Africans, to impoverish them materially and spiritually.” Even as Africans gained their freedom from colonialism, their psychology suffered the traumatic effects of colonialism; the European arrogance programmed and installed a sense of self hatred in the African mind.

People also choose practitioners to consult on the basis of how they were raised. Socialisation is therefore an important determinant of who to consult for medical help. One of the respondents who depend solely on medical doctors was of the opinion that society teaches one what is right or wrong. The respondent was of the opinion that he/she was raised to believe that it is not right to consult traditional and faith healers thus he/she says, “The way I have been raised has influenced me to rely on doctors and I have a lot of doubts in the other two; from church we do not believe in prophetic healing and we believe that traditional healers are agents of the devil.” The respondent seems to be arguing from a position of someone who is not conscious about whom he/she is. This response suggests that the respondent is a Christian and as a Christian he/she has been taught not to consult prophets or traditional healers because they are devilish. Such socialisation seems to be a product of colonial indoctrination which elevates the Christian religion as the only world religion. This shows the mentality of someone who has been alienated from his history such that he/she does not even know himself or herself. Idowu (1973:82) says:

The influence of other cultures and religions has its part to play. As Africans come under the influence of other cultures or embrace new faiths, they either cut away completely from the old faith, in which case they gradually forget its traditions and consequently leave nothing of it for their descendants.

Thus we have people who consult modern medical doctors because of socialisation, suggesting that they have been alienated from their history. They are completely ignorant of the idea that Africa has a very long tradition of healing and their medicine was completely developed before the coming in of the European. It shows that colonialism was successful in colonising a people’s history. For people like this it supposes that there are no traces of medical history among Africans. Clarke (1999: 36) recognises the importance of history when he says:

… history is a clock that people use to tell their political and cultural time of day. It is also a compass that people use to locate themselves on the map of human geography.
History tells you where you have been and what you have been. It tells you what you are and where you are. Most importantly, it tells you where you still must be. My study of African people has taught me that the relationship of a people to their history is the same as the relationship of a mother and her child.

Clarke shows that history is central to a people’s definition. When people are alienated from their history they tend to operate from alien centres and that is evidence of a broken circle. However there are respondents who make use of modern medical doctors because they have been alienated from their history, as a result they operate from foreign centres. Asante (2007a:12) postulates that, “…one cannot divest himself of the past, and if a person seeks to divest himself of his own past or if past becomes distorted in his mind, then he will participate in the past of another.” He advocates for the agency and self consciousness of African people within the context of own history. Africans are perceived as passive and imitators by the Europeans but history tells us that Africans experienced various forms of domination in the hands of the Europeans be it economically, socially, culturally or politically. Thus Asante (2010) says Afrocentricity conveys the profound need of Africans to be relocated historically, economically, socially, politically, and philosophically.

From the findings it is also clear that the nature of the illness also has implications on the kind of medical assistance that one seeks. Respondents who visit faith healers and those who alternate amongst health practitioners were of the view that illnesses are of different nature. They agreed that there are circumstances when an illness persist and when an illness disappear once a modern medical doctor is consulted, thus they talk of spiritual and natural illnesses respectively. Bourdillon (1976) asserts that among the Shona there are natural illnesses which do not perturb the Shona since they are of fleeting nature and resolve themselves completely. He says that an illness that lingers, becomes serious and threatens life requires an explanation beyond natural causes. Such an illness is said to be caused by the spirits. It was asserted by respondents that spiritual illnesses are a stronghold of prophets and traditional healers whilst natural illnesses can be attended to by medical doctors. As such the traditional healer and the faith healer will always have a place in the lives of Africans, thus Mbiti (1969:165) contends that “Modern hospitals may deal with the physical side of diseases, but there is a religious dimension of suffering which they do not handle and for that purpose a great number of patients will resort to both hospitals and medicine men without a feeling of contradiction…” The fact that there is a religious side of
disease and illness among Africans has seen the survival of the traditional healer despite all the efforts that were put in place by the colonialist to eradicate it. At the end of the day Eurocentric views that purport that traditional healers are evil and demean their role should be challenged arrogantly. It is observed in the findings that traditional healers and faith healers are there for the same cause that is to treat spiritual diseases thus the choice of who to consult is determined by one’s religious affiliation.

The other motivation for the choice of modern medical doctors is that people think that they are trained and efficient. People who are of this view have taken the European perspective thus Njoh (2006:145) purports that “Despite their popularity traditional African healing practices and medicine continue to be subject of virulent attacks and criticism. They are derided for not employing ‘scientific methods.’” The whole purpose of the European was to control and one of the myths that they developed is that African medicine was not scientific. They overlooked that this was the kind of medicine that has served generations of Africans before they arrived. This has been mentioned by Njoh (2006:143) who alludes that “although traditional medicine often appear as no more than footnotes in Eurocentric historical accounts of Africa, Africans had developed sophisticated healing methods centuries before their encounter with Europeans.”

The fact that modern medical medicine is scientific is one of the ways that is used to universalise European religion, that is they wanted everything to be done their way, thus we see people viewing traditional healers as people who are dangerous as purported by one respondent who suggested that the reason why he visits modern medical doctors is that “They are trained, I wouldn’t want to take risk or take chances with my health and my life by visiting traditional healers.” By declaring Western medicine as scientific and reliable in a way respondents were thinking from a viewpoint of someone who has been pushed away from the centre who does not see that it is a way of invalidating traditional healing and traditional medicine. It is important to recognise that it is the Europeans who come up with the standards used in determining whether something is scientific or not. Fanon (1968) asserts that white supremacy discounts how we see ourselves and instead instructs us and the world to see ourselves in their terms. This way they sanitise everything that belongs to them and demonise everything that is African. For the European as observed by Mwandayi (2011: 230) “Europeans were coming from a background where everything medical had to pass through a test tube to prove its effectiveness.” For this
reason people were made to believe that the healing system that Africans have used for centuries is not sophisticated and therefore a threat to humanity. This is what Chinweizu (1987:xiii) calls miseducation, when he contends that “What Africans had been conditioned to accept as reality was, more often than not, a misrepresentation of reality, a mystifying, official misrepresentation of events and of the world by colonial and neo-colonial interests.” This means that the education that was given to Africans was not education for development, but was meant to pacify the African. The notion that European medicine is reliable and scientific is therefore a fallacy. Such a fallacy needs to be deconstructed because it is nothing but evidence of the fact that Europe is still actively controlling African thinking. Africa is still trapped by the snares of colonialists.

It is interesting though that the majority of respondents claimed to be Christians yet 100% of the respondents agreed that Zimbabwe has a 3-tiered health system. This actually suggests that it is from the Christian community that we get people who consult traditional healers. Since the statistics point to the idea that people are Christians we expected a sizeable number of respondents to consult faith healers.

Question 4
What are your opinions concerning the role of the traditional and faith healer?

Table 18: Findings on people’s opinions about traditional and faith healers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinions of respondents that use faith healers</th>
<th>Opinions of respondents who use the services of medical doctors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traditional healers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Faith healers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Assist in the deliverance of people in need of traditional healing assistance</td>
<td>-They help those in need of spiritual assistance on their medical ailments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opinions of respondents who use the services of medical doctors</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traditional healers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Faith healers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-It is good for it solve some problems which medical doctors cannot. However I am worried about their source of power.</td>
<td>-They have been associated with witchcraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-They might be helpful in some way but due to the existence of some false traditional healers, I tend not to trust them.</td>
<td>-I despise them because I am not sure about their source of power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-It is good but has been invaded by fake TH who engage in the work of advertising themselves as problem solvers yet they are</td>
<td>-They are just seeking money and making miracles to attract people like T.B Joshua and Makandiwa. They win people by doing miraculous things which do not endure forever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Most of them are business tricksters who mix traditional values and Christianity to perform miracles</td>
<td>-Most of them are business tricksters who mix traditional values and Christianity to perform miracles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
after money. It has since been highly abused since the emergency of multicultural societies in Africa. In other words modern life has turned it into a business venture in which profit is highly valued.

- From a Christian perspective, these mostly are associated with juju, witchcraft and the authenticity of their healing power is difficult to prove at times.

- I don’t believe in traditional healers because I am a Christian.

- May help with medication but sometimes mislead people when they divine.

- Although they also play an important role as far as health is concerned. Their role is minimal because of lack of education.

- Their dosages are not measured and as a result the medicine that they give end up toxic and harmful.

- They help a lot especially where medical cures are of no effect especially in cancer. Some traditional healers are capable of curing cancer.

- They are not expensive and they excel when it comes to spiritual healing.

- I don’t think they can help you without getting something that will trouble you in future, so I don’t think they give genuine help.

- I believe they either lie or are used by evil spirits.

- They do acts like killing people so; I think they are a danger to society.

so as to attract people.

- Most of these have proved to be opportunists, fake and fraudsters using all sorts of tricks to wood wink their unsuspecting followers through dubious deceptive methods hiding’ behind the Bible. Their wealth and lavish lifestyles proves this and they are often embroiled in controversy.

- They play an important role as for as spiritual healing is concerned. However this area has been infiltrated by a lot of bogus faith healers.

- This has caused a lot of confusion to the people. Besides that genuine faith healers are doing quite a lot in helping people.

- The faith healing is the most important.

- Everyone believes in a divine creator hence faith healing play a very important role in being the mouth piece of that divine creator.

- As a Christian I strongly believes that they are important.

- Most people prefer faith healers because many people are now Christians hence fourth in prophetic healing-faith healers have contributed much to our society.

- They offer spiritual healing

- Their role is very important in the society but instead of advocating for peace and leading people to Christ they specialise in telling people information that brings hatred in societies.
- They help and their role is to heal using natural herbs.
- They are good to those who believe in them. They represent our culture but very abusive.
- They have been associated with witchcraft.

| Opinions of respondents who alternate the 3 |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| **Traditional healers** | **Faith healers** |
| traditional healers in this modern world there is a rampant sprouting of false traditional healers which has led the role of the traditional healer to be of no value. Though they play a role in maintaining the beliefs of ART and some are genuinely helping people. | - Just like traditional healers there is the emerging of false prophets. Their role is to give spiritual guidance to the believers as well as to give answers to spiritual problems. - they are charging people for their services and a lot of abuse cases are now being reported about faith healers. |
| - The problem with traditional healers is that they are now doing it for a living and their work has been invaded with fake healers. | |

| Opinions of respondents who alternate traditional healers and medical doctors |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| **Traditional healers** | **Faith healers** |
| - Still able to pursue societal roles as before - We find out that there are some who are doing it to overcome their financial problems but some are real and they are spiritually doing their duties. Mostly I can say these people are doing a great job. From the ancient days they were there. | - Have grown largely in terms of followers since the majority of Zimbabweans are Christians. - these people emerged in the 21st century and they are a product of colonialism. - they are blindly leading the masses and they took the work of a traditional healer and put them in to Christian values in order to congregate people. All I can say is that they are the same as TH. |

| Opinions of respondents who alternate between prophets and doctors. |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| **Traditional healers** | **Faith healers** |
| - they are treated negatively by the young generation since they are dirt while the old generation view them as saviours. | - They are treated as celebrations by the young generation. - they link people to God |
-Use unorthodox means and most of them are fake.
-their role among Africans will never cease to be pivotal because they are the pioneers of healing in as much as history can reveal.
-I do not support TH because their source of power is evil and this is seen through taking part in revenging. They can make someone sick have accidents or even death which is not human.

-Some are helped but some are there to make money they come out extent and provide spiritual guidance, so as to help others to intercept matters in the spiritual realm.
-generally faith healers are not to be trusted because they have to be discerned first and for their source of which most of them are sourcing their powers from TH. However among them are few individuals which are true and can assist people.

5.3.2.3 Presentation and analysis of data on the respondents’ opinions concerning traditional and faith healers

Generally respondents who said that they solely depend on the services of medical doctors appreciate the work of traditional healers. This is evidence to show that these people may turn to traditional healers when crisis strike. This can be explained better in Chavunduka (1986a)’s words who argues that those Africans who consider themselves ‘Westernised’ and therefore ‘civilised’ tend to consult with Western medical practitioners during the day and with African traditional healers at night when people cannot see them. Respondents who claimed to exclusively use the services of medical doctors contend that traditional healers are doing a great job in society since they are able to heal diseases and ailments that medical doctors cannot. One of the respondents said “They help a lot especially where medical cures are of no effect especially in cancer.” Respondents were also of the view that traditional healers excel when it comes to spiritual diseases. This suggests that despite the fact that respondents said that they only visit medical doctors, they know and appreciate that there are some diseases that are caused by spirits. Idowu (1973:201) says that “European medicine without augmentation with the African traditional remedy appears to Africans by and large as inadequate.” This means that Africans cannot survive on the basis of modern medical medicine only particularly because disease and illness have got a religious dimension.

Respondents were however sceptical about the work of traditional healers arguing that the field has been invaded by fake healers whose aim is to earn a living through duping people of their
belongings. One respondent had this to say, “It has since been highly abused since the emergency of multicultural societies in Africa.” In other words modern life has turned it into a business venture in which profit is highly valued. Respondents observed that the problem that traditional healers have got is that they sometimes dupe people of their belongings and that they are after money. Due to this people tend not to trust traditional healers and this in turn affect the clientele for traditional healers. The problem is that they did not take into consideration that they are doing this because they are living in a capitalist society.

Another argument that was raised by respondents who claimed to use the services of the medical doctors is that traditional healers are favoured because they are affordable. Njoh (2006) observes this when he says that, modern medicine has gone a long way in eradicating some of the continent’s health problems. He however condemns, the cost of this medical service which he says is prohibitively too high. At the end of the day these respondents saw people seeking help from traditional healers because they do not have the means to access modern medical doctors.

However there are respondents from this group who believed that traditional healers are of no good to the society. They described these practitioners as evil old-fashioned and barbaric. One of the respondents who subscribed to this view said “I don’t think they can help you without getting something that will trouble you in future, so I don’t think they give genuine help. I believe they either lie or are used by evil spirits. They do acts like killing people, so I think they are a danger to society.” Other respondents who supported this view think that traditional healers are bad because they are Christians. These respondents were arguing from a colonial mentality. According to Chavhunduka (2001) the westernisation of the African continent resulted in many Africans becoming Christians not by choice but by force and most of the people became married to European ideas leaving their own culture. Zimbabweans were made to believe that it is backward and diabolic to practice their cultural ways of managing diseases from an African perspective. Christian thought and Western education are the strongest supportive mechanisms in influencing the development of the European image. These two have been used to preach against African traditional healing.

It follows that people who think that traditional healers are bad simply because they are Christians have been brainwashed by colonialists and it is evidence of the success of the colonial project whose aim was to dehumanise the African. Such thinking shows a people who are
thinking from other people’s centres and who are unconscious of who they are and who are living according to the dictates of the European. This has been captured by Ephraim (2003:3) who vehemently says:

…historically black people have been conditioned to think themselves as quiet than they are: they have been taught deliberate falsehoods about themselves. They have been beaten, coerced, and cajoled into believing or into professing belief in the falsehoods, which have been exclusively negative. There teachings, lessons in black inferiority, have come from the Europeans with a single overriding motive, namely their own self aggrandisement.

It should be taken into consideration that the labelling of the traditional healer by Europeans is by no means an innocent move but was done for a specific purpose that is to ensure the enhancement of the European. It is of importance to note that such falsehoods still have a place in the minds of Zimbabweans and they are controlling the way they approach life. Consequently people are shunning traditional healers in favour of modern medical healing for the simple reason than they doubt their source of power. What these people do not realise is that they are just fulfilling the aspirations of the white man which is simply to value themselves over others. They in a way objectify other races, and therefore define the centre and periphery of the universe. Europeans put themselves at the centre by simply presenting their health system as superior to traditional healers whom they projected as demonic. Such falsehoods that were created by Europeans are still haunting the African today. Their arrogant thought dismissed the African religion and viewed the African religion as pagan and heathen, their pride and views subsequently separated Africans from their energy source and their cosmos.

In relation to faith healers respondents believed that they have a role to play in society particularly when it comes to spiritual problems. However this group of people is condemned for their love of money. Some of the respondents had gone as far as suggesting that they are tapping from both the traditional world and the Christian world in order to fit well in the present society and as a strategy to lure clients. One of the respondents said “Most of them are business tricksters who mix traditional values and Christian values to perform miracles so as to attract people.” This suggests that faith healers have understood that their clients come from a background where disease is understood from a religious perspective, at the same time they have been converted to Christianity. Some respondents have bluntly suggested that they are traditional healers but they masquerade as faith healers because they know that people appreciate faith
healing more because they do not want to be associated with traditional healing since they have turned to Christianity. Consequently we see some respondents who are affiliated to Christianity embracing them as the mouthpiece of the Most High God.

Those respondents who alternate amongst the three medical systems did not see anything different between the traditional healers and faith healers. They believed that they both are specialists in spiritual ailments. However they seem to doubt both practitioners on the grounds that there are too many fake traditional and faith healers in the country.

Respondents who alternate traditional healers and medical doctors are mainly driven by the idea that traditional healers pursue their societal roles as in the old days and that they have been tried and tested. They castigated faith healers as products of colonialism who are taking the role of a traditional healer. They saw faith healers as traditional healers wearing a Christian jacket as a way of fitting well in a society that embraces Christianity.

For those who alternate between the faith healer and the medical doctor, a traditional healer is the agent of the devil and is capable of doing all sorts of bad things. On the other hand a faith healer is regarded as someone who is at the service of the society. This kind of mentality has been described clearly by Ani (1994:279) when she argues that; “European image of others is a composite of all things that represents lack of value.” It follows that people who have such thinking are instrumental in extending European aspirations which are largely to ride on an African.

With regards to respondent perception of the traditional and faith healer it seems that the majority were of the view that they have the same cause; they are all important and indispensable since they are there to combat spiritual problems. However all respondents, that is, those who use their services and those who do not use their services were sceptical about them. People are not sure about their sources of power and they question their work because they see these practitioners being out to make money. Respondents argued that there are so many abuse stories that have to do with traditional and faith healers. At the end of the day their work is clouded with suspicion. However respondents appreciated that true traditional healers and true faith healers are there and they are valuable to society.

Question 5(a)
From your opinion do you think that traditional and faith healers are relevant in present day societies.

**Table 19: Findings on whether traditional and faith healers are relevant in Zimbabwe today**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.2.4 Presentation and analysis of data on whether traditional and faith healers are relevant in Zimbabwe today

91% of the respondents were of the view that traditional and faith healers are of relevance in modern societies and 9% of the respondents were of the view that these practitioners are of no relevance in Zimbabwean societies. This demonstrates that traditional and faith healers are still functional in Zimbabwe today despite the fact that many have turned to Christianity and that traditional healers are continuously being bastardised. In line with this, Morekwa (2004:5) says “African Traditional Healing has been practised for many centuries before imperialism and colonisation and it is still proving to be the best and most popular method among African people today.” He also says that faith healers are also relevant because there is no disease that God cannot heal. This implies that this health system has managed to survive the demonisation that it has suffered from imperialism, colonisation and neo-colonisation.

**Question 5(b)**

Give evidence to support your answer.
Table 20: Findings on whether traditional and faith healers are relevant in Zimbabwe today

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perspective</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Traditional and faith healers are relevant in present day society. | **Broad view**
| | They are affordable
| | **Actual Responses**
| | - Some people cannot afford the consultation fee demand by modern health facilities.
| | **Broad view**
| | Spirits are real
| | **Specific responses**
| | - Africans have a spiritual side of life which is not accessible to modern doctors.
| | - Most of the problems affecting the new generation in our day to day societies are largely a result of what our ancestors have done during their lifetime which requires the services of traditional healers.
| | - Spirits are there and they affect people’s lives.
| | - We can never deny no matter how hard we try that some things are cast on stone in African society specifically spells and witchcraft. These are not medical conditions but rather can have medical manifestations. Casting these definitely needs someone in a spiritual realm.
| | **Broad view**
| | Traditional and faith healers have a cultural understanding of diseases and illness.
| | **Specific responses.**
| | - The traditional healers were there from the Ancient days and they work mostly in resemblance with the values of the people.
| | - They deal with some problems which affect society. Traditional healers also address some aspects within the beliefs of the local people and try to preserve the culture, customs and values of local people.
| | - They have treated diseases that medical doctors have failed.
| | **Specific Responses**
| | - The fact that they still have a following shows that they are relevant.
5.3.2.5 Presentation and analysis of reasons as to why respondents think that these practitioners are relevant or not

Respondents came up with four theories to support the view that traditional and faith healers are still important in modern Zimbabwe. One of the reasons is that they are cheaper relative to modern medical services. Respondents observed that people are facing economic challenges that they are not eligible for the services of modern medical doctors.

Apart from economic reasons respondents also observed religious reasons to support the fact that traditional faith healers are much relevant in modern day societies. They seem to appreciate that disease and illness have a religious dimension. Mbiti (1969:165) says that; “so long as people see sickness and misfortune as religious experiences the traditional medicine men will continue to exist and thrive.” Respondents were of the view that traditional and faith healers are thriving in this modern society because spirits are real and they affect the lives of people. Bourdillon (1976:150) alluded to this when he says that “the well being of the Shona depends on their relationship with spirit guardians who control their lives. Whenever there is unease concerning the spirits a diviner in touch with the spiritual powers is consulted in order to resolve it.”
Respondents were therefore of the view that where spirits are responsible for the ailments that is where traditional healers and faith healers come in. Such diseases and problems cannot be resolved by modern medical health practitioners thus one of the respondents said “We can never deny no matter how hard we try that some things are cast on stone in African society specifically spells and witchcraft. These are not medical conditions but rather can have medical manifestations. Casting these definitely needs someone in a spiritual realm.” This suggests that whenever an African has got a reason to believe that an illness is caused by the spirits or by witchcraft which is a belief that is common to all African communities they visit the traditional or the faith healer. It is also apparent that modernity has failed to eclipse the belief in the spirits and witchcraft among Africans. As such Bourdillon (1976:167) is of the opinion that “The tensions and uncertainties of modern life readily provoke suspicions of invisible forces, especially of witchcraft and few Shona can resist going to a diviner when things are going badly.” This suggests that Africans have been modernised but have clung to their understanding of the world. At the end of the day modernity has only managed to undermine but not overthrown the role of the traditional and faith healer.

Some respondents also said that traditional and faith healers are relevant for the reason that they have a cultural understanding of disease and illness. Respondents appreciated that traditional healers have the advantage that they were there from the Ancient days and they work mostly in resemblance with the values of the people. They also observed that they deal with some problems which affect society. Njoh (2006:143) says that “The methods and techniques of traditional healers are unique in many ways, but particularly because they are defined by African tradition custom and beliefs. In addition they are contextually relevant and adapted to the local environment.” Traditional and faith healers address problems within the beliefs of the local people and try to preserve the culture, customs and values of local people. Lastly respondents observed that traditional and faith healers are relevant to Zimbabwean societies today because of their success in treating diseases that medical doctors have failed to treat.

Respondents who were of the view that traditional and faith healers are not relevant today see all of them as cheats. They believed that they are doing whatever they are doing for their personal benefit. One of the respondents declared that “They have not brought any tangible and significant changes to the physical and spiritual well-being of society. Deception, controversy
and greed are their major characteristics.” The fact that respondents put all the traditional and faith healers under the same label shows a lack of consciousness to the history of the faith and traditional healers. These respondents seem to be giving a deaf ear to the fact that these traditional healers have been the only health care system which has served the health needs of Africans for generations before the coming of the European. They appear not to consider the factors that force people to cheat which are largely capitalistic. Apart from that Mbiti (1969:166) observes that “As in any profession, there are those who deliberately cheat their fellow men for the sake of gain and publicity. They are also involved in harmful practices in the course of the performing of their duties” This shows that cheating is not unique to traditional and faith healers but to all professions therefore it should not be taken as an excuse to invalidate all traditional and faith healers. Respondents did not recognise that there are traditional and faith healers who are faithful to their duties.

Among these respondents there were some who think that faith healers are relevant but traditional healers are not relevant. These respondents were coming from a background where they view traditional healers and their sources of power as evil, archaic and diabolic. This is evidence of someone arguing from a standpoint of someone whose mind is colonised. It is colonialism through Christianity and Western education which has declared African traditional religion as diabolic and uncivilised. Ani (1994:279) argues that, “European image of others is a composite of all things that represents lack of value.” In Zimbabwe Christian religion is more dominant and is a foreign religion to the very people to which it was imposed who are practicing it to date and appear to be progenitors of the religion. The respondent further argued that, it seems not known by many that the way Christianity finds its way to them was a calculated move for Europeans which was meant to effect their supremacy over Africans.

**Question 6**
Generally what can you say is the attitude of the general public towards traditional and faith healers?
Table 21: Findings on the attitude of people towards the services of traditional and faith healers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional healers</th>
<th>Faith Healers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- People have negative attitude because they view them as backward.</td>
<td>- Society is sharply divided as the followers tend to support them and do not tolerate any criticism (touch not the anointed) which can be described as sheep-like conformity to leadership” on the other hand the conservative members of society tend to question the authenticity of faith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- People are shunning them because of modernisation but they visit them for protection.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- They are labelled as witches and they are associated with evil spirits by Christians.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Most people have a positive attitude although they prefer not to show their feelings publicly.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- They are regarded with suspicion by others but many have faith in them.</td>
<td>- Healers often dismissing them as fake and their followers as zealots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- They are believed to be sources of problems.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- People are not 100% sure about them but they consult them.</td>
<td>- People are sceptic about them. They visit them but believe most of them are fake. People appreciate white collar prophets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- They are visited when scientific medicine fails.</td>
<td>- People who have accepted Christianity want to be associated with them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- There are problems that can only be solved by traditional healers.</td>
<td>- The public are moving away from TH so the drift is towards FH but because they are becoming too many and they are controversial at times people are losing trust again.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.2.6 Presentation and analysis of data on the attitude of people towards the services of traditional and faith healers

With regards to traditional healers it is clear that people are sharply divided. Some believe that these people are important in society though they are viewed with suspicion because of the fact that there are so many fake traditional healers whilst others outrightly dismiss them as agents of the devil. It is however important that the perceptions of people who regard traditional healers as evil are largely influenced by Christianity and by nature Christianity is against anything that is African. Wa Thiong’o (1972:32) purports that “thus acceptance of the Christian church meant the outright rejection of all the African customs. It meant rejection of those values and rituals that kept us together. It meant adopting what in effect was a debased middle-class mode of living behaviour.” This assertion shows that once one was converted to Christianity he or she was
supposed to cut all the ties with African Traditional Religion and traditional healing is one of the
central aspects of that religion.

It is also of paramount importance to consider that there are some even among Christians who
regard traditional healers positively. One respondent actually said “Most people have a positive
attitude although they prefer not show their feelings in public.” This seems to suggest that
people’s relationship with traditional healers is taken as a private affair and this is because of the
fact that traditional healing has been bastardised and dehumanised. People do not want to be
associated with them for fear of being judged with the society that embraces Christianity and this
has roots in colonialism which has been successful in the dehumanisation of the Africans.
Colonialism has taken Africans off their cultural footing and have existed primarily on the
periphery of Europe thus Asante (2010) postulates that Africa has for a long time lived at the
periphery of Europe and have been holding the margins of the European world, as a consequence
Africans knew very little about their classical heritage and nothing about their contributions to
world knowledge. There are also respondents who suggested that traditional healers are
indispensable. They are of the view that there are problems that scientific medicines have failed
to do away with for example Ngozi (avenging spirit). This has been observed by Bourdillon
(1976:167) who contends that “traditional healers are more successful than Western medicine in
treating many psychiatric cases or in calming patients with terminal diseases and some western
doctors occasionally send patients suffering from such disorders to traditional n’anga.” This
implies that people will always turn to them because of their success stories.

The majority of respondents appreciated faith healers as compared to traditional healers. This is
largely because faith healers are in the terrain of Christianity and most of our people have
accepted Christianity as their religion. Chavhunduka (2001) argues that the westernisation of the
African continent resulted in many Africans becoming Christians not by choice but by force, and
most of the people became married to European ideas leaving their own culture. Zimbabweans
were made to believe that it is backward and diabolical to practice their cultural ways of
managing diseases from an African perspective. In a way the European was creating a gap
between the European and the African where the European is rated as a better people than
Africans. Such a dichotomy is still in place thus people appreciate being associated with faith
healers as compared to traditional healers. This idea has been sealed by Fanon (1968:11) who
argues that, “Thus Europe has multiplied divisions and opposing groups, has fashioned classes and sometimes even racial prejudices…” The classification of human beings by Europeans into black and white, inferior and superior, objects and subjects has made other races to suffer, especially the black man to be subjugated. Consequently we see people being married to faith healers and shunning traditional healers because the two have been placed into distinctive classes one civilised and another barbaric respectively.

Whilst there are a few who take the “touch not the anointed” approach, most of the respondents were not sure about the authenticity of faith healers. Almost 100% of the respondents doubted the authenticity of faith healers. Respondents questioned their sources of power, they accuse them of being after money and fame, they are not comfortable with the idea that they seem to attack each other and they recognise that there are some apparent testimonies about cases of practitioners who dupe people of their belongings. Whilst this has been said about traditional healers it appears that respondents mostly question the work of the faith healer. One of the respondents said:

If they were as genuine as they claim they should at least heal a common blind man known in the first street. Most of their healing sessions are stage managed and have often been shrouded in controversy. While traditional healers who use herbs they can at times be genuine, the same cannot be said of faith healers. Most of these have been exposed in the media for their unscrupulous shenanigans and tricks played to unsuspecting followers.

This respondent therefore appreciates traditional healers as compared to faith healers and in terms of authenticity he rates traditional healers as better than faith healers.

**Question 7(a)**

Do you agree with the view that most of the stories about traditional and faith healers are blatantly anti-traditional healing and faith healing?
Table 22: Findings on whether respondents agree or disagree that most stories about traditional and faith healers are blatantly anti-traditional and faith healing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practitioner</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Healer</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith healer</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 7(b)**

If your answer is agree what is in the newspapers that reveal negative representation?

5.3.2.7 Presentation and analysis of data on the idea that most stories about traditional and faith healers are blatantly anti-traditional and faith healing

100 percent of the respondents said that traditional healers are covered in negative light and there are in most cases not covered at all. Respondents were of the view that there are more stories about faith healers as compared to stories about faith healers. 100% of the respondents agreed to the idea that faith healers are given more space as compared to faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. They argued that faith healers are given more space in Zimbabwean newspapers in comparison to traditional healers because the most practiced religion in Zimbabwe is Christianity. Respondents stated that the media is in business therefore they concentrate on faith healers because such stories are most likely to sell since it aligns with the interests of the people. It has also been noted that faith healing is the ‘in thing’ whereas traditional healers have always been there and that it appears that faith healers pay for the publications or coverage.

Respondents argued that where traditional healers are covered they are represented as evil people. In support of this respondents came up with the following responses.

- They are portrayed as messengers of the devil who are associated with any form of evil.
- They are portrayed as people who are harmful to humankind and they are regarded as facilitators of witchcraft.
- They are depicted as people who are after money, who trick people of their belongings.
- They are presented as cultists, witches and as rapists.
There is always some insinuation that whatever was done must not be accepted without questioning.

The responses show that these practitioners are a threat to human survival. This shows that Zimbabwean newspapers are in the business of perpetuating falsehoods that were masterminded by the Europeans in a bid to discredit African religion.

The media is operating as a neo-colonial organ which is used to further subjugate Africans and alienate them from themselves thus Clarke (1991:324) says if Africans are to free themselves, “It is necessary to take a serious look at everything that the African has been and is exposed to, the print media, the visual media, popular magazines, the anti-African propaganda that is a result of the misinterpretation of the Bible.” He goes on to say that the mass media is part of an attempt at controlling the minds of the world and the images of Africa reflected in mass media projects African people rarely playing a heroic role. Accordingly we see the images of traditional healers as a reflection of the colonial agenda which is largely to destroy African traditional religion. To this Ephraim (2003:3) says:

…historically black people have been conditioned to think themselves as quiet than they are: they have been taught deliberate falsehoods about themselves. They have been beaten, coerced, and cajoled into believing or into professing belief in- the falsehoods, which have been exclusively negative. The teachings, lessons in black inferiority, have come from the Europeans with a single overriding motive, namely their own self aggrandisement.

These falsehoods are still popular in Zimbabwean newspapers today where traditional healers who historically symbolise life are represented as a threat to humanity. Respondents were of the view that negative representation of traditional healers is a strategy that is used to promote Christianity and to suppress African Traditional Religion. From the representation there a gap between what we read about traditional healers and what they are doing in the lives of people. Findings on the attitudes of people have shown that they are appreciated as life savers particularly when it comes to unnatural illnesses but in terms of representation they are portrayed as people who lack sanity. The kind of representation that Africans receive is meant to make the African religion the “other”, to dehumanise the traditional healer and to cast him to the margins of society. This has been the project of the European since slave trade, through colonialism into independence. Through the images the world’s centre and periphery is defined and Blaut (1992) states that, Eurocentrism created and defined the world’s centre and its periphery. The
European’s Yurugu placed them at the centre of civilisation, aesthetic, and everything good; they then labelled themselves as ‘White’. The African continent and its descendents as well as their religion were marginalised, placed at the periphery of the human kind, labelled as savages, uncivilised, barbaric, heathens and the continent was described as the heart of darkness. Zimbabwean newspapers are continuously being used as platforms to continuously distort the image of Africa by presenting traditional healers as barbaric. It is noteworthy that traditional healers represent African values.

42% of respondents said that faith healers are negatively represented whilst 58% said that they are positively represented. This shows that in terms of representation faith healers unlike traditional healers receive mixed representation. This is evidence that there is contrasting images of the faith healer in Zimbabwean newspapers. There are stories in newspapers that celebrate the faith healer and there are stories that castigate these practitioners hence we see cases when they are portrayed as essential aspects of society and when they are portrayed as people who are not of any significance to society.

Respondents who said that these practitioners are negatively represented observed that in most cases faith healers are represented as cheats. Newspapers publish stories that portray these practitioners as fake and as people who are after bribing people of their belongings. They also recognised that some of the stories about these people show that they are after personal glory, thus one respondent said, “They are presented as people who regard themselves as gods. They are viewed as people who can give and take life.” This suggests that whatever these people are out to do is not authentic. They also recognised that some of the stories that are written about faith healers signify that their sources of power are questionable and that they belong to cults. Faith healers are also derided in Zimbabwean newspapers for fake and unusual miracles like raising the dead, as rapists and for stage managing their prophecies.

The respondents who proposed that faith healers are positively represented were of the view that newspapers present them as people who are contributing to the economy, as servants of God and as people who are helping people to fight their spiritual problems. The reason for contrasting images of the faith healer can be emanating from the view that they are a compromise between African Traditional religion and Christianity.
**Question 8(a)**

Is it accurate to say that reading newspapers has influenced your views about traditional and faith healers?

**Table 23: The effects of media representation on a people's perception of traditional and faith healers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Number of respondents</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 8 (b)**

Give evidence to support your answer.

**5.3.2.8 Presentation and analysis of data on the effects representation on a people's perception of traditional and faith healers**

57% of the respondents were of the view that the way traditional healers and faith healers are represented has got an impact on how they view them. Respondents said that they have learnt from newspapers that traditional and faith healers are not to be followed because they abuse people, they are witches, they do not practice what they preach, they are not genuine, hence should not be trusted. One of the respondents actually said:

> I have realised that most of these take advantage of desperate and unsuspecting followers to manipulate and trick them. These people are after money and most of the miracles do not portray the truth. Mostly they engage in stage managed prophecies and deception is at work.

The majority of the respondents who agreed to the idea that their perceptions were influenced by the stories that they read have learnt that traditional and faith healers are satanic. Very few people have developed positive attitudes by reading newspaper articles. This suggests that the media has a direct influence on the people. This has been alluded to by Clarke (1991:323) who argues that:

> The role of image and mind control in the African world goes beyond the visual. In many ways it tells the colonised what to wear, what to like, what to hate and what to consume. The colonialist creates a market by training the colonised mind to consume what the respective colonial country produces.

He goes on to say that, the mass media, bible interpretation and religious training are part of the attempt at controlling the minds of the world. This means that through newspapers people are fed
with messages that cause them to react without thinking. The media has got the power to control people’s sensibilities.

42% of the respondents were of the view that whatever has been written about traditional and faith healers in newspaper did not affect them at all. These people were of the view that they believe that the media has got an agenda to destroy what is African. They said that they believe that spirits are there and the services of the traditional and faith healer are needed to alleviate spirits. One respondent said “Growing up; had heard about traditional healers so I do not need newspapers to feed me with information. This suggests that people are not tabula rasas that are waiting to be filled with anything that they read from newspapers. They approach information from certain backgrounds which help them in decoding what they read from newspapers.

**Question 9(a)**
Do you think that traditional and faith healers are fairly and truthfully represented in Zimbabwean newspapers?

**Table 24: Findings on the truthfulness of media representation of traditional and faith healers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 9(b)**
Support your view
Table 25: Findings on the reasons given by respondents who say traditional and faith healers are truthfully represented and those who say they are not truthfully represented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Traditional and faith healers are truthfully represented in Zimbabwean Newspapers. | - Some stories have actually happened in the communities that we live in.  
- They are given the chances to express themselves though this may not be always the case with traditional healers.  
- Newspapers look at both the good and bad that they do.  
- Because rarely do we hear of these practitioners challenging newspapers stories. |
| Traditional and faith healers are not truthfully represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. | - Every paper is biased. Some manipulate popular names just to create headlines which market their newspapers.  
- Rarely do we get the respondents of those people in papers instead we just get the accusations which are not fair.  
- The views of reporters encroach in the stories. Messages depend on someone else’s affiliation, attitude and experience. Newspapers have a tendency of generalising information. When one practitioner misfires all the practitioners are given the same label.  
- Most stories are biased, exaggerated and distorted.  
- Newspapers mostly concentrate on the negative and have nothing to offer on the positive especially with regards to traditional healers.  
- They design their stories in such a way that they sale. Media exists to make sales, no one know when a story is true or not except these involved.  
- Because newspaper writers give their own view of which some may be negative or positive and therefore the representation is biased.  
- Newspapers only cover famous prophets.  
- Anyone who presents his/her story use personal experience to give a universal conclusion.  
- The dominant voice in Zimbabwean Newspapers is that of opinionated editors rather than that of the faith and traditional healer.  
- The articles published bear the interest of editors not of the people involved.  
- If one supports faith healers, obviously he/she will attack traditional healers. |
Reporters are not engaging in thorough researches before they publish stories.
Because they are diverting people to depend on medical doctors only.

5.3.2.9 Presentation and analysis of data on the truthfulness of media representation of traditional and faith healers

18% of the respondents were of the view that traditional and faith healers are truly and fairly represented whereas 82% of the respondents were of the idea that most of the stories about traditional and faith healers that we read in newspapers are not true.

Respondents who were of the view that faith healers and traditional healers are represented truthfully say that some stories have actually happened in the communities that we live. They said that some of the stories that happen will have actually happened and people would have witnessed that. They also said that the people involved are given the chance to express themselves though this may not be always the case with traditional healers. This suggests that faith healers are given a say on the stories that involve them which is not the case with traditional healers. The other reason why respondents think that these practitioners are represented truthfully is because they receive both positive and negative representation. This implies that if they were framed we were likely to get constant representations of them. Respondents also suggested that if these stories were false the practitioners were supposed to challenge the newspapers but rarely are these practitioners heard challenging newspaper stories. However respondents did not recognise that some practitioners do not challenge what is written not because they agree but because they do not have any means to do that.

Respondents who were of the view that traditional and faith healers are not represented truthfully recognised that most of the stories that are written about these practitioners particularly traditional healers are primarily negative. Rarely do we read stories that are positive about traditional healers. Respondents appreciated that traditional healers have got a good side which is not appreciated in newspapers. Morekwa (2004) says African Traditional Healing has been practised for many centuries before imperialism and colonisation and it is still proving to be the best and most popular method of healing among African people today. Reporters completely ignore the fact that traditional healers have served the health needs of generations before the
intrusion of Western medicine. The representation that people read about traditional and faith healers is therefore selective.

Respondents also appreciated that these practitioners sometimes engage in atrocious activities. They however condemn the fact that most of the stories do not indiscriminate between bad and good practitioners. Once one practitioner misfires everyone else is put under the same bracket. Reporters seem to overlook the fact that false prophets and traditional healers have always been there but this cannot be used as a way of completely invalidating these practitioners. Respondents also observed that media houses are in business and just like any other business their aim is to maximise profits, hence they do anything within their reach to make sales. One of the respondents said that sometimes they just use popular names to make headlines for their papers in order to appeal to people. Consequently newspapers are concentrating on popular prophets on the detriment of the less popular ones. Thus most stories that are read about faith healers are largely to do with the popular prophets and nothing about those that are marginalised. It is also noteworthy that we cannot separate the voices of the reporters from the stories that they write. Stories about traditional and faith healers are loaded with the feelings and opinions of the reporters and editors that produce them. As a result most of the stories that are read are loaded with the interests of those who produce them.

5.3.3 Presentation of findings from the questionnaire answered by African Languages and Culture students and Theology and Religious Studies students

This section presents questionnaire findings from students studying Theology and Religious studies and those undertaking African Languages and Culture. Respondents were drawn from Midlands State University, Great Zimbabwe University and University of Zimbabwe. Altogether sixty questionnaires were distributed, 30 at MSU, 20 at GZU and 20 at UZ. These respondents were chosen because they have hands on information on issues to do with religion, since religion is an important component of their degree programmes. As such it was assumed that this population has a special interest on newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers.
Table 26: Distribution of questionnaires by institution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Questionnaires distributed</th>
<th>Questionnaire returned</th>
<th>Response rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MSU</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GZU</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.Z</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the 70 questionnaires that were distributed 65 were returned giving us a total response rate of 93%. Questionnaires that were distributed to students’ yielded very rich data in the sense that these students came from different provinces hence are able to provide a holistic understanding of religion across Zimbabwe. Apart from that they also give expert knowledge since religion is a component of their degree programmes.

**Question 1**

What are the roles of traditional and faith healers?

Table 27: Findings on the role of the traditional healer and the faith healer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional healers</th>
<th>Faith healers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Heal people with spiritual problems and those that have been bewitched</td>
<td>- Heal people through faith in a supreme being or freeing the oppressed spiritually.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Assist people to deal with issues concerning tradition</td>
<td>- They prophecy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- They are mediators between the ancestral and the living world.</td>
<td>- They use prayers to heal the sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Heal people using supernatural powers.</td>
<td>- Their role is to heal people spiritually, physically and to provide prayers to those in need.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Heal physical, emotional and spiritual illnesses.</td>
<td>- Foretell the future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Perform rituals.</td>
<td>- Is a person who uses the word of God to deliver people from demonic attacks through prayer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.3.1 Presentation and analysis of findings on the role of the traditional healer and the faith healer

Commenting on the role of the faith and traditional healer 100% of the respondents were of the view that both traditional and faith healers have a special place in society. They all contended that their main role is to heal people from spiritual ailments. For respondents these two practitioners have got the same cause that is they are there to deal with the spiritual problems that people encounter in life. Respondents were however of the view that the two practitioners tap from different worlds. They contended that traditional healers are mediators between the ancestral and the living world whereas the faith healer is regarded as a person who uses the word of God to deliver people from demonic attacks through prayer. This suggests that traditional healers believe that there is communion between the dead and the living and the traditional healer is the link between the two worlds. According to Chavunduka (1978:12) “The Shona believes that deceased kinsmen continue to take interest in the affairs of their descendants. They have power to prevent evil and they also help the living in solving their daily problems.” He goes on to say that; “the ancestors reprimand their descendants through various means when they do wrong. They can do that through withdrawing their vital protection and permitting evil to harm them.” Under such circumstances the family spirits maybe consulted through a traditional healer, thus the idea that traditional healers mediate between the ancestors and the living world.

On the other hand faith healers deal directly with God thus Bourdillon (1976:303) says that, “Prophets base their therapy on the belief that the power of the Christian God can overcome all other powers, hence they rely solely on the power of the Holy Spirit for their cures.” It is also noteworthy to realise that respondents agreed that traditional and faith healers have the same understanding of disease and illness. They all believed in the holistic approach when treating diseases, as indicated by respondents who said that “They heal physical, emotional and spiritual illnesses.” Africans have a broad theory of illness. Mbiti (1969:164) says that, “Traditional healers deal with sickness from a psychological and physiological perspective that is they discover the cause of sickness, find out who the criminal is, diagnose the nature of the disease, apply the right treatment and supply a means of preventing the misfortune from occurring again.” Similarly the faith healer interprets sickness in terms of the patient’s world view and perception. Chitando (2013) says prophets address issues that emerge from the African world view. From research findings it is clear that the traditional healer and the faith healer share the
same understanding of what disease and illness is, and they also deal with sickness from the same perspective but they only differ in their procedures.

**Question 2(a)**
Do you think that traditional and faith healers are performing their roles in a just manner?

**Table 28: Findings on whether traditional and faith healers are performing their role in a just manner**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 2(b)**
Support your answer.

**Table 29: Findings on the reasons why some respondents say that they are performing their duties in a just manner and why some say that they are not**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>View</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Traditional and faith healers are not performing their duties in a just manner.** | **Broad view**
Traditional and faith healers are cheats |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Actual Responses</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. They deceive people to acquire what they desire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. In the contemporary situation they are after money. Instead of playing the role of healing and appeasing spirits they have turned their churches into businesses particularly prophets.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The majority of them are money mongers who swindle desperate people of their hard earned cash without delivering the required services.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broad View</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They are evil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actual Responses</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. They lie to people and abuse them sexually.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Traditional healers are using their powers to kill their enemies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broad View</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They are after fame.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Actual responses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faith healers seek personal glory. The glory has to go to God but they give glory to themselves.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Traditional and faith healers are doing their duties in a just manner</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Broad view</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Traditional and faith healers are helpful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Actual responses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Many people are being helped and many are consulting them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The genuine ones are doing good to the community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.3.2 Presentation and analysis of data on whether traditional and faith healers are performing their duties in a just manner

20% of the respondents were of the view that traditional and faith healers are performing their duties in a just manner whilst 80% were of the view that traditional and faith healers are not doing their jobs as expected of them. This suggests that the majority of these practitioners is no longer committed to their duties but is concerned about their own personal needs. However the fact that there are respondents who said that these respondents are still performing their duties in a just manner is evidence that true traditional and faith healers who are there to help people are still there.

From research findings respondents suggested three reasons as to why they think that traditional and faith healers are not doing their roles in a just manner. The major reason that was given by
respondents is that these practitioners are driven by the love of money. 100% of the 52 respondents who said that traditional and faith healers are not performing their duties in a just manner were of the view that the major reason why they cannot perform their duties as expected is the love for money. Respondents saw traditional and faith healers as people who deceive people to acquire what they desire. They also argued that faith healers have turned their churches into businesses therefore they strive to make profits just like any other business. Respondents postulated that the majority of them are money mongers who swindle desperate people of their hard earned cash without delivering the required services. Consequently, the major reasons to the sprouting of fake traditional healers and faith healers and to those prophets and traditional healers who do not perform their duties as they are expected are capitalistic in nature. It can therefore be concluded that respondents managed to realise that traditional and faith healers are not doing justice to their roles because of the love of money, hence they tend to blame them for the state of affairs. What the respondents did not recognise is the fact that these practitioners are operating in a capitalist society.

Respondents also recognised that traditional healers are evil. They said that they engage in evil activities like sexually abusing their clients. Traditional healers are also seen as people who are in the habit of killing their enemies whilst faith healers are also regarded as people who are after fame.

Respondents who were of the view that traditional and faith healers are doing their duties in a just manner were of the view that they are healing and helping people and people are actually consulting them.

**Question**

3(a) Do you think that traditional and faith healers are relevant in Zimbabwe today?

3(b) Support your answer.
### Table 30: Findings on why traditional healers and faith healers are relevant in modern day Zimbabwe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broad view</strong></th>
<th>They are affordable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actual responses</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Poverty - Modern doctors are paid for their services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Because Zimbabweans are poverty stricken, so due to economic hardships people see traditional and faith healers as their sources of rescue.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broad view</strong></th>
<th>They have success stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actual responses</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- They complement modern medical doctors. There are some ailments which cannot be cured in hospitals. Some ailments need traditional and faith healers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Traditional healers have helped the societies in treating disease that seem to be impossible at hospitals and faith healers are more appreciated because people have turned to Christianity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Due to the growth and spread of Christianity and Education most people make use of medical practitioners. Traditional and faith healers are turned to mostly when medical practitioners have failed to help them. The other scenario is when people alternate amongst the three.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broad view</strong></th>
<th>Traditional healers and faith healers have a large audience among Zimbabweans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actual responses</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Many people believe in them. They are consulted by people from all walks of life even those who are highly educated.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Traditional healers FT are still practising and people accept them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Traditional healers are still finding audience by Zimbabwean as the help people. Faith healers are greatly appreciated by Christians and have gained momentum in Zimbabwe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Broad View** | Disease and illnesses have a religious dimension |
Actual Responses
- Although people have turned to Christianity, African values, norms, and traditions have remained alive in the lives of Africans.
- People turn to religion for comfort and for the healing of their emotions and spiritual wounds.
- Traditionally, we cannot run away from our African way of doing things. At some point, a traditional healer is needed in an African society. On the other hand, because our people have been Christianised, the faith healer can be a replacement and because culture is dynamic, we need modern medical doctors who have a different way of doing things.
- Spirits are there, and spiritual problems are not treated by medical doctors.

5.3.3.3 Presentation and analysis of data on the relevance of traditional healers and faith healers in modern day Zimbabwe
It is clear that traditional and faith healers are indispensable in modern day Zimbabwe. 100% of the respondents were of the view that these practitioners are still relevant in Zimbabwe today. Research findings have shown that their importance lies in the idea that they have demonstrated competence in treating diseases that modern medical doctors have failed. Research findings illustrate that traditional healers have helped the societies in treating diseases that seem to be impossible at hospitals and faith healers are more appreciated because people have turned to Christianity. This shows that the major reason why traditional healers are relevant is because of their success stories. Bourdillon (1976:167) says that “Traditional healers are more successful than Western medicine in treating many psychiatric cases or in calming patients with terminal diseases and some Western doctors occasionally send patients suffering from such disorders to traditional n’anga.” At the end of the day, these traditional healers are indispensable in a modernised world because there are areas in which they surpass Western medicine. On the other hand, respondents also recognised that faith healers are relevant for the reason that they are more appreciated by the society because they are in the topography of Christianity which is a common religion in Zimbabwe. Consequently, we see traditional and faith healers complementing the efforts of modern medical doctors.

Respondents were of the view that most of our people are modernised. Consequently, they always seek for the services of modern medical doctors when they encounter problems particularly because they are Christians. Respondents viewed Christianity as a civilised religion
hence Kumwenda (2007) argues that anything that represents Christianity is portrayed as civilised and the African Traditional Religion is depicted as savagery. However, this does not rule out the idea that their conversion to Christianity and their being educated does not necessarily erase their being African as they always turn to traditional healers and faith healers in cases where modern medical doctors fail. Thus one respondent said “Due to the growth and spread of Christianity and education most people make use of modern medical practitioners. This situation has been made reference to by Magesa (1997:7) who argues that “Africans Christians operate with two thought systems. Much as they might want to deny it at times this, this dual thought system noted by scholars influences many Western—“educated” Africans who show their true African religious face particularly in times of crisis.” Traditional and faith healers are turned to mostly when medical practitioners have failed to help them. The other scenario is when people alternate amongst the three.” This idea has been alluded to by Chavunduka (1986a) who argues that those Africans who think about themselves as ‘Westernised’ and therefore ‘civilised’ tend to consult with Western medical practitioners during the day and with African traditional healers at night when people cannot see them. This shows that people are not comfortable with being associated with traditional and faith healers.

Respondents were also of the idea that faith healers and traditional healers are affordable. Most of the people of Zimbabwe are not capable to pay for the services of modern medical as a result they turn to faith healers and traditional healers whose services are much more affordable.

One other common view that was raised by respondents is that traditional and faith healers are important because disease and illness have a religious dimension. They proposed that all spiritual disease are a stronghold of traditional and faith healers and that they are completely incurable by modern medical doctors, thus society cannot do without the services of traditional and faith healers. Respondents were of the view that although people have turned to Christianity African values, norms and traditions have remained alive in the lives of Africans. This suggests that despite the fact that Christianity was antithetical to African traditional religion being Christian does not necessarily erase the Africanness of people. Therefore Mbiti in Magesa (1997:6) says that:

Acceptance of Christianity or Islam in Africa means that Africans come out of African religion but they don’t take off their traditional religiosity. They come as they are. They come as people whose worldview is shaped according to African religion.
Respondents were therefore of the view that traditional and faith healers are pertinent in modern societies since people turn to religion for comfort and for the healing of their emotions and spiritual wounds.

Research findings also show that the prevalence of these practitioners and the fact that people consult them is evidence to show that they are still relevant in Zimbabwean societies. Bourdillon (1976:160) says that “Nevertheless traditional healers are numerous even in the towns and cities where their numbers are increasing. And there is no shortage of clients’ rich and poor, illiterate and educated, Christian and pagan, who are ready to pay good money for the advice of n’anga.” Interestingly respondents observed that even those that claim to be highly educated still use their services. They went on to say that people from all walks of life use the services of traditional healers. This suggested that Christians, the civilised and all those who preach against them all use the services of traditional and faith healers.

**Question 4**
Generally what can you say is the attitude of the general public towards the services that are provided by traditional and faith healers?

**Table 31: Findings on the attitudes of people towards the services of traditional and faith healers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practitioners</th>
<th>Attitudes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional healers</td>
<td>-Some appreciate because they still believe that there are some problems which are connected to culture which need the expertise of traditional healers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-The fact that people seek their services from time to time shows that they believe in them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Because of colonisation and urbanisation and also western civilisation and education most people have negative attitudes towards traditional healers. They are now regarded as demons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-African Traditional followers accept these as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
last ing solutions to their problems; Christians generally take these people for granted and look down upon them as backward.

-Some people look down upon the traditional healer citing that they are doing evil healings, while others with disease such as cancer prefer to go to traditional healers for treatment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faith Healers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Those who are colonised by Christianity believe in them and their problems are better solved by faith healers than TH.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-due to Western civilisation and education most people now believe them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-these are welcomed and accepted in churches, particularly Pentecostals and as Satanists on churches like Adventists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-People are sceptical about their source of power, some believing that they use evil powers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-The public accept these people but nowadays people are confused due to some of their prophecies and miracles which are questionable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-people question the idea that some of them have got spiritual father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-some see them as true messengers of God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-most of these preach the gospel of prosperity which is good music to the ears of the poor and Zimbabweans are facing economic problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Because of colonialism people appreciate faith healers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.3.4 Presentation and analysis of findings on the attitudes of people towards the services of traditional and faith healers

The attitudes of people towards the services of traditional healers are in two forms. There are people who believe and appreciate traditional healers because they understand them to be capable of dealing with cultural problems and some diseases that they face in life. However, respondents also said that because of colonisation and urbanisation and also Western civilisation and education most people have negative attitudes towards traditional healers. They are now regarded as demons. Such an attitude is a product of the dehumanisation programme that was designed by Europeans against Africa. Chukwuokolo (2009:24) succinctly notes that, “Africa has not remained the same again since the rape of its continent by the West who pretended to be on a ‘civilising mission’.” There was total distortion of all values of the African people to the advantage of the West. One of the strongest supportive mechanisms which were used in the bastardisation of the African values and which has tremendous influence on the development of the European image on others has been Christian thought. Christianity was instrumental in the project of marginalising Africans, placing them at the periphery of the human kind, labelling them as savages, uncivilised, barbaric and heathens. Such description has haunted the African until today so that people still have negative attitudes towards the traditional healer because of the dichotomies that were created by the Whiteman where Christianity was given the prestige of being a civilised religion and African Traditional Religion a barbaric and evil religion.

Research findings show that faith healers are more appreciated as compared to traditional healers. Respondents recognised that they are appreciated because our society embraces Christianity. It is however important to note that respondents were aware that Christianity was used as colonial tool which was meant to alienate people from themselves. One of the respondents said “Because of colonialism people appreciate faith healers” and the other one says “Those who are colonised by Christianity believe in them and their problems are better solved by
faith healers than Traditional healers.” These responses show that respondents are quite aware of the true agenda of Christianity which is to dehumanise Africans. This has been echoed by Chinweizu (1978:76) who says, “Christian image is an ideally fashioned weapon of destruction of the self image and value system of Africans and other non-European peoples…”

It is also noted by respondents that faith healers are appreciated by the society because they preach the gospel of prosperity. Zimbabweans are suffering as such the gospel of prosperity is music to their ears. These prophets seem to be employing the tactic of meeting people at their places of need. This suggests that faith healers are taking advantage of the economic problems that people are facing in order to get to them. One of the respondents asserted that “Most of these preach the gospel of prosperity which is good music to the ears of the poor and Zimbabweans who are facing economic problems.” Accordingly people are flocking to them and they appreciate them because they endeavour to be rich.

Whilst these faith healers are largely accepted by the general populace, research findings show that people are sceptical about their services. Respondents mentioned that people are not comfortable with the fact that they have got spiritual fathers and they question their sources of power which they say are evil and their miracles which are in most cases unusual. It has also been noted that Christians are also divided, with those who are from Pentecostal churches appreciating them and those from churches like Adventist going to the extreme of labelling them Satanists.

**Question 5**

How are traditional and faith healers represented in Zimbabwean newspapers?

**Table 32: Findings on the representation of faith and traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practitioners</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Both positive and negative</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional healers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith Healers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.3.5 Presentation and analysis of data on the representation of faith and traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers

Respondents were of the view that traditional healers largely receive negative representation. 97% of the research respondents were of the view that newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers say negative things about the practitioners whilst 3% were of the view that traditional healers are covered in both positive and negative light in Zimbabwean newspapers.

On the representation of faith healers a sizeable number of respondents which constitutes 34% were of the view that they receive positive representation, 48% of the respondents said that they receive negative representation whilst 18% say that they are represented in both negative and positive light.

100% of the respondents agreed to the idea that faith healers get more coverage as compared to traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. Respondents cited the idea that nowadays people have since shunned traditional healers because the environment is favouring faith healers since most people are now Christians. Most people have turned to Christianity because the European has declared Christianity as a world religion. Christianity labels traditional healers as unholy and diabolic thus Ani (1994:162) argues that “Christianity ideology is an ideally fashioned weapon for the destruction of the self-image and value system of African and other non-European cultures.” Respondents also noted that people are now educated and civilised such that they do not want to be associated with primitive and old fashioned traditional healers. This has got a direct connection with the stories that newspapers publish, since newspapers carry messages that are highly expected by the society. It is also important to note that faith healing is the in-thing and that most of the reporters are youthful such that they either do not want to be associated with traditional healers or they have got very little knowledge about them. Christianity as a religion has shaped the ideology that is spread by the media. Ani (1994) declares that religion and ideology are integrated in the West and religion is a formal institution of European culture. It is of value to recognise that Christianity is a religion that is instrumental in spreading western sensibilities and ideals. It follows that the fact that faith healers who are in the terrain of Christianity get more coverage as compared to traditional healers who are in the terrain of ATR means that the media is spreading Christian ideology which is largely European oriented. Apart from the idea that people have been socialised to believe that Christianity is a world religion,
there is also the fact that media houses are in business. Faith healers according to one of the respondents have got money to pay for advertisements and advertising is one of the mostly used ways of generating revenue for media houses. This is unlike traditional healers. As a result faith healers are given space because they are at the centre of the survival of media houses. It has also been recognised that faith healers are in the business of advertising their services thus one respondent said:

Faith healers like any other people in business use various advertising strategies including the newspaper unlike the traditional healer. They therefore are well known as public figures and people want news about public figures rather than private traditional healers.

This suggests that traditional healers are not covered in the same manner as faith healers because they occupy the margins of society. This is captured by Marx (1845) in Torrence (2008:262) who recognises that those who are powerful shape the discourse of their time when he says:

For each new class which puts itself in the place of one ruling before it, is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aim, to represent its interest as the common interest of all the members of society, that is, expressed in ideal form: it has to give its ideas the form of universality, and represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones.

This means that respondents are of the view that those in the media are spreading the ideology of the faith healers since these healers have got economic power. Respondents also said that the nature of the job of faith healers also attracts the attention of journalists. They have big followings and they engage in unusual miracles. The media thrives on the unusual.

**Question 6**

What are the images of traditional and faith healers that are found in newspapers? E.g thieves

**Table 33: Findings on the images of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional healers</th>
<th>Faith healers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Traditional healers are presented as witches who cause misfortunes in people’s lives.</td>
<td>-They are represented as sexual abusers as well as thieves who rob people of their money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-The media only writes bad things about them.</td>
<td>-As helpers, people who free people from evil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-As old-fashioned and dirt</td>
<td>-It is only few individual faith healers who have been presented well. Most are presented as thieves living in luxury and squandering the money of their followers who dedicatedly offer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
clients particularly the *Tsikamutandas* big amounts.
- They preach the gospel of prosperity which promotes the church members to give all they had anticipating that God will bless them in return.
- They receive both bad and good publicity.
- Some are genuine and some are fake.
- They are hiding behind the name of Jesus to lure people
- They are represented as brainwashers.
- As people in business.
- They are presented as cultists

5.3.3.6 Presentation and analysis of data on the images of traditional and faith healers that are presented in Zimbabwean newspapers

Evidence from the table above shows that 100% of the images of traditional healers that we get from Zimbabwean newspapers talks bad about the traditional healer. There is no evidence whatsoever to support that there are times when traditional healers are portrayed in a positive manner. They are portrayed as thieves, trickster; old fashioned and dirty. This translates to the idea that Zimbabwean newspapers are anti-traditional healing. According to Achebe (2009:79):

> …although those sensational African novels which were so popular in the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century have trickled to a virtual stop, their centuries old obsession with lurid and degrading stereotyping of Africa has been bequeathed to the cinema, to journalism, humanitarianism and missionary work itself…

This shows that the European project of dehumanising the African has been taken over by the media. This entails that the media is perpetuating negative stereotypes about the African. The demonisation of the traditional healer is synonymous to the demonisation of ATR as a whole and consequently to the destruction of the African self image.

The majority of the images that respondents proposed are found in Zimbabwean newspapers about the faith healer tell a negative story about the practitioners. Respondents said that the practitioners are represented as cultists, rapists, adulterers, cheats, as fake people who are just hiding behind the name of Jesus to lure people. There is however evidence to support that these
practitioners sometimes get positive portrayal as evidenced by some respondents who said that faith healers are sometimes portrayed as people who are freeing people from evil.

Respondents were of the view that there are a number of reasons as to why traditional and faith healers receive bad publication. One of the commonly cited reasons is the issue of economic hardships that Zimbabweans are facing. Economic conditions in Zimbabwe have made people to try everything to get food on the table, hence traditional and faith healers find themselves being involved in atrocious activities and a lot of people are masquerading as traditional and faith healers in a bid to earn a living. At the end of the day most newspaper stories are telling the bad side of traditional and faith healers.

Respondents identified European supremacy as the major reason behind the negative depiction of traditional healers. Respondents were of the view that media houses concentrate on the bad side of traditional healers because their agenda is to completely destroy African Traditional religion and promote Christianity by presenting faith healers in positive light. Ani (1994:162) states that, “Christianity was meant to reorganise the culture of Africans, to make Africans subservient and mostly to destroy their identity as Africans...” In other words the demonisation and dehumanisation of the traditional healer is taken as a strategy of serving people from Satan. It is therefore important to note that the negative representation is a conscious decision by journalists whose agenda is to spread European values.

Respondents also observed that representation of these practitioners is also determined by the target population of the papers. They recognised that media houses are in business and any business project is profit oriented hence they take their recipients interests seriously, such that they design their stories in such a way that they appeal to their target. By nature controversy sales and this is the reason why we see much of negative portrayal of traditional and faith healers. Apart from this 97% of the respondents said that newspapers portray traditional healers in negative light as compared to faith healers because most people are Christians as such they view traditional healers as evil, hence there is need to write in line with the expectations of the people. Ani (1994:511) says that “Christianity is superior because it is universal but indigenous religions of the world are inferior.” Zimbabweans are “modernised’ and they associate Christianity with modernity; hence they are comfortable to be associated with faith healers.
Respondents also alluded that the individual beliefs of journalists also encroach in the stories that they write. If journalists do not believe in traditional healers they will definitely write negatively about them and positively about faith healers. It follows that the images about traditional and faith healers that are read in newspapers are more than just about these practitioners but are infiltrated by the individual feelings and perceptions of journalists.

**Question 8**
Comment on the authenticity of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwe.

### 5.3.3.7 Presentation and analysis of data on the authenticity of traditional and faith healers

100% of the respondents were of the view that nowadays it is difficult to trust a traditional or faith healer because the field is dominated by bogus traditional and faith healers. One respondent said “In Zimbabwe it is now questionable and leaves people with a lot of doubts. Most people are now approaching these traditional and faith healers at one’s risk.” This suggests that people are no longer sure about the services that these practitioners offer. Respondents asserted that the majority of healers nowadays are fake and this is necessitated by greed and the prevailing economic situation in the country which has bred people who can do anything for economic gains. They however agreed to the idea that those who are genuine are there.

**Question 9(a)**
Are these practitioners fairly and truthfully represented in Zimbabwean newspapers?

### 5.3.3.8 Presentation and analysis of data on whether traditional and faith healers are truthfully represented

91% of the respondents were of the view that traditional healers and faith healers are not represented truthfully in Zimbabwean newspapers whereas 9% said they are truthfully represented. This implies that the majority of the stories that we read about traditional and faith healers do not give a true picture of the practitioners. It can therefore be concluded that the media is playing the business of miseducating people. This is what has been referred to by Chinweizu (1987) when he talks of the colonised consciousness of the African which results from miseducation.
Question 9 (b)
Give reasons to support your answer.

Table 34: Findings on why respondents say that traditional and faith healers are truthfully represented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad View</th>
<th>Actual Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| They receive balanced representation | - Both traditional and faith healers receive negative and positive representation  
- The views of concerned practitioners are sought before they are published. |
| Broad View | Actual responses |
| - They engage in atrocious activities | - It is true that they rob innocent people their hard earned cash capitalising on their despite situations. |

5.3.3.9 Presentation and analysis of data as to why respondents say that they are truthfully represented
To support the view that traditional and faith healers are represented truthfully respondents recognised that they receive balanced representation. Respondents said that they receive both positive and negative representation and the views of the practitioners concerned are sought before stories are published. They also state that some of the stories that people read from newspapers about these practitioners are true. For them it is true that traditional and faith healers are in the habit of cheating and bribing people.
Table 35: Findings on the reasons why respondents say that traditional and faith healers are not truthfully represented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broad view</strong></th>
<th><strong>Actual Responses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| There is too much generalisation of information | - Newspapers tend to generalise without specifically consulting the traditional/faith healers. We do not often read their view.  
- Not all of these practitioners are fake and have evil intentions but most presentations present them as such, hence true and fake traditional & faith healers are given the same label.  
- Zimbabwean newspapers have failed to look deep into the workers of traditional and faith healers these days. They just follow the popular prophet and write about him or her leaving out other healers. Focus is on healers in the cities and not those in rural areas.  
- Most of their articles are mockery.  
- A few articles capture the good that they have done particularly traditional healers.  
- Newspapers poke funny on these practitioners. They are represented in a jocular manner. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broad view</strong></th>
<th><strong>Actual Responses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The beliefs of journalist shape the representation. | - Most of the reporters are young and they no longer believe in the African culture or African Traditional Religion.  
- The publishers decide what to write about and what not to write. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broad view</strong></th>
<th><strong>Actual Responses</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Media houses are after sales. | - Media concentrates on what captures the attention of its readers and not the truth  
-Sometimes newspapers fabricate their stories in order to make good sales. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broad View</strong></th>
<th><strong>Representation is biased</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
**Actual Responses**

- Publishing/Media houses have agendas to set hence stories are written in certain ways to support the agenda of papers.
- The media tends to publish good about faith healers and bad about the traditional healers.
- There is a lot of exaggeration.
- There is less representation of the traditional healer. Much focus is on the faith healer since they can buy media space.
- Representation is full of assumptions information is exaggerated.
- Information is sometimes biased with the intention of brainwashing people.
- Faith healers are represented positively because they have money and newspapers tend to benefit from them.

5.3.3.10 Presentation and analysis of data as to why respondents say that they are not truthfully represented

Respondents who are of the idea that traditional and faith healers are not represented truthfully came up with a number of views to support their position. Firstly they stated that the images of traditional and faith healers that are read in newspapers are generalisations. Respondents were of the view that the media is in the habit of concentrating on a few healers and then tend to generalise the findings to all the practitioners. One of the respondents actually said “Zimbabwean newspapers have failed to look deep into the works of traditional and faith healers these days. They just follow the popular prophet and write about him or her leaving out other healers. Focus is on healers in the cities and not those in rural areas.” The idea that is raised here is that the stories that we read do not tell us the whole stories about traditional healers, it is rather selected truth about these practitioners. It is unfair to judge all the practitioners based on the results found from practitioners who reside in towns. The practitioners live in different environments and such environments can influence their operations. Respondents also condemned the idea that most of the stories that are written particularly about traditional healers portray them as bad people as if all the practitioners are fake and have evil intentions. The media fails to recognise that traditional
and faith healers have a positive side which is rarely talked about or is completely ignored in newspapers. According to Morekwa (2004) these practitioners are functional and have a lot to offer to society. It follows that there is a gap between what is read in newspapers and what is on the ground. It means that those who write newspaper stories are operating from an uninformed standpoint.

Respondents also argued that the stories are written by people who have their feelings and who belong to particular religions. It follows that the beliefs and opinions of journalists encroach in the stories that they write. Journalists have the freedom to decide what to write about and what not to write about. Consequently, newspaper stories are diluted or sometimes exaggerated to suit the needs of the reporter and to shape the story towards the interests of the reporter. Respondents also expressed concern towards the idea that most of the reporters are young such that they think that they no longer believe in the African culture or African Traditional Religion. Under such circumstances they seem to be worried that the representation will be biased towards faith healers.

The other idea that was raised by respondents to support the view that the stories are not truthful is that media houses are in business as such their agenda is for their papers to sell. Resultantly, they concentrate on what captures the attention of their readers and not the truth. Respondents were of the idea that sometimes newspapers fabricate their stories in order to make good sales. What it means is that the needs and preferences of the target audience is considered in the process of coming up with stories. Sales are prioritised to truth; therefore stories are designed in a way that captures the attention of readers.

The fourth dimension that respondents came up with is that representation is biased. They were of the view that the stories are full of exaggerations and distortions and representation is biased towards faith healers and the agendas of publishing houses. Research has shown that media houses have agendas to set hence stories are written in certain ways to support the agenda of papers. Media houses have got stand points that they maintain through the stories that they publish and they do so through channelling the stories towards their interests. At the end of the day stories do not always come out exactly as they are.
Respondents also attacked the fact that the media is biased towards the faith healer. They were of the view that this is shown by the fact that faith healers are extensively covered. Apart from that they tend to receive good coverage as opposed to traditional healers who are in most cases receiving bad coverage.

Respondents also observed that representation is full of assumptions; information is exaggerated with the intention of brainwashing people. This means that the stories are not objective and they are written without engaging in research. Respondents were of the view that the way that these stories are embroidered is meant to influence the way people think and view the world and themselves.

**Question 10 (a)**
Do you think that the way traditional and faith healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers has an impact on the perception of people towards these medical practitioners?

**Table 36: Findings on impact of media representation of traditional and faith healers on people’s perceptions of these practitioners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 10(b)**
Support your answer

**5.3.3.11 Presentation and analysis of findings on the impact of media representation of traditional and faith healers on a people’s perception towards these practitioners**

88% of the respondents were of the view that the stories that we read from newspapers have got an impact on how we perceive these practitioners. This means that the majority of people support the idea that people are influenced by what they read from newspapers. This group of respondents believed that people are shaped by what they are exposed to. This suggests that people are fed with information that cause them to react without thinking and this is what some respondents have referred to as the power to ‘brainwash’ people. This means that media can be used to create a desired perception in people and can control people’s sensibilities. The idea that
people are affected is clear since people prefer to visit traditional and faith healers at night and naturally people are influenced by the views of others.

Only 12% of the respondents were however of the view that what they read from newspapers does not have an impact on what they think of traditional and faith healers. For these respondents people are guided by what they believe and not what they read. People are not empty vessels to be fed by information from newspapers. They read newspapers from different standpoints which help them to make meaning of what they read. They discern what is right or wrong guided by their beliefs. One respondent said “People are sure about the importance of traditional and faith healers such that they cannot be moved by what people read”. Wa Thiong’o (1993:9) loud and clearly alludes to the same, when he states that, “knowing oneself and one’s environment was the correct basis of absorbing the world that there could never be one centre from which to view the world, but that different people in the world had their own culture and environment as their centre.” This implies that people have experience with these practitioners; as such their experiences guide them to understand what they read.

The fact that people are still consulting with them is evidence to suggest that people are not controlled by what they read. People continue to use the services of traditional and faith healers irrespective of the bad that they read about them. Apart from this people face problems that need the attention of traditional and faith healers; hence they do what is best for them without taking hid to what they read in papers.

**Question 11**

As an individual what perceptions have you developed about traditional and faith healers after reading newspaper stories?
Table 37: Findings on the perceptions that individuals have developed about traditional and faith healers after reading newspaper stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>ACTUAL RESPONSES</th>
<th>281</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| As an individual what perceptions have you developed as a result of reading newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers. | - Most of the times traditional healers are covered in newspaper when they do bad things. As a result I have developed a negative attitude towards them.  
- I learnt that it is better to consult modern medical practitioners who are presented as upright and are presented place to seek assistance.  
- I realised that traditional and faith healers are fake and money mongers.  
- Traditional healers are worse as compared to faith healers.  
- People should engage in thorough research before visiting these practitioners  
- I observed that by consulting these medical practitioners, chances are high that one is likely to lose money for nothing and risk being sexually abused.  
- I have learnt that it is better to visit faith healers than traditional healers.  
- They are dangerous and are just looking for money.  
- I do not believe in faith healers because they perform fake miracles that do not last.  
- Traditional healers are evil people who should not be trusted.  
- Traditional healers are witches  
- I have learnt that the source of power for faith healers is highly questionable.  
- Realised that there are good and bad faith |
5.3.3.12 Presentation and analysis of data on the perceptions that individuals have developed about traditional and faith healers after reading newspaper stories

It is clear that the perceptions that people develop after reading newspaper articles about traditional and faith healers affect their choices of the medical assistance that they seek when they encounter problems. 100% of the respondents said that the ideas that people have developed takes people further and further away from the traditional healer and in turn from themselves. From the responses it looks like Zimbabwean newspapers are out to discredit the traditional healer. People have learnt that traditional healers are witches and that they are evil people who cannot be trusted. At the end of the day African Traditional Religion which has been a lifeline for Africans is regarded as a danger to their lives.

Newspapers have also influenced people to look at faith healers with suspicion. People have learnt that their sources of power are questionable; they are fake, after money and their miracles do not last. At the end of the day it all adds to the idea that if people are to consult them they should do that at their own risk. However some respondents have pointed to the idea that they have learnt that it is better to consult faith healers than traditional healers and best and safe to consult modern medical doctors. There are people who however point to the fact that they have learnt that there are both bad and good traditional and faith healers.

Respondents therefore concluded that people should not be guided by newspapers. They should base on what they consider right or wrong. They should be informed by their experiences when reading newspaper stories. It is important that people should not take whatever they read from newspapers without adequate interrogation. Respondents however were of the opinion that one needs to be careful when consulting traditional and faith healers because there are too many fake traditional and faith healers due to the economic situation in Zimbabwe.

Question 12 (a)
In your view are these representations empowering or disempowering?
Table 38: Findings on whether media representation of traditional and faith healers is empowering or disempowering

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practitioners</th>
<th>Empowering</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Disempowering</th>
<th>Perc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional healers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith healers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 12(b)
Give reasons for your answer.

5.3.3.13 Presentation and analysis of data on whether media representation of traditional and faith healers is empowering or disempowering

Only 3% of the respondents were of the idea that newspaper stories about traditional healers are empowering; 98% were of the view that the representations are disempowering. 46% said that stories about faith healers are empowering while 54% said that they are disempowering. This suggests that most of the stories that we read in newspapers are meant to discredit the work of the traditional healer and to discourage people from seeking their services. The stories are meant to justify white supremacy and are part of the perpetuation of what Ephraim (2003) has termed European self aggrandisement. The stories are a reflection of the continuation of colonialism. The stories about faith healers are balanced to a certain extent with some empowering the faith healer and some criticising the practice. This might be because of the idea that faith healers are a compromise between African Traditional Religion and Christianity. Therefore they are sort of on the line representing both religions.

5.4 Results from newspaper articles

The section presents and analyses data from newspaper stories and comments as well as tabloids. Data from The Herald, Kwayedza, NewsDay, Daily News, H-Metro and B-metro is presented and analysed in this section. Comments that are made by readers in NewsDay, Daily News and The Herald are also presented. The stories give information with regards to the representation of traditional healers and faith healers whereas the comments provide the opinion of the public on traditional healers and faith healers. The importance of the information that is derived from the comments that are made by readers in newspapers lies in the fact that they comment on their own
will. They are free to express themselves without fear. Where necessary, stories are taken from newspapers as they are and in some circumstances summaries of newspaper articles are given.

5.4.1 Presentation and analysis of data from *The Herald*

**Story 1**

**Magaya backs Makandiwa prophecy: September 29, 2014**

Prophetic Healing Deliverance Ministries leader, Prophet Walter Magaya, yesterday urged Zimbabweans to take heed of God’s Word delivered through Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa last week that they should be peaceful and shun mass protests. This followed a prophecy by the United Family International Church leader Prophet Makandiwa that mass protests would result in bloodshed.

The warning comes in the wake of calls by MDC-T leader Mr Morgan Tsvangirai and his surrogates in the civic society that people should engage in mass action after his party’s congress to be held next month.

Responding to a question asked by one of his followers, Dinay Chivero, during a question and answer session service in Harare yesterday, Prophet Magaya said when God speaks, the wise listen and it was up to Zimbabweans to keep their peace.

Chivero had sought clarity on Prophet Makandiwa’s prophecy and the possible consequences of street action.

“For you to be forewarned of what is coming zvoreva kuti (it means) it is up to you to stop the bloodshed or to support the bloodshed because when the Man of God is speaking *ari kuisa tambo mumaoko enyu kuti* (he is giving you an opportunity to) choose what you want,” he said.

“This is so because when God speaks, the wise listen. Pertaining to your question, it is up to us fellow Zimbabweans. The peace of this nation is in your hands. Do not be found in places which promote violence. It is not Christian.”

Prophet Magaya said all people made mistakes in life, but it was important to observe peace all the time.
“Pane mudzimai ainzi ange abatwa nemurume wemunhu muBhaibheri ndobva vanhu vatora matombo ekuti vamutake, ndobva Jesu aenda ipapo zvikanzi asina kumbotadza ngaatange kukanda dombo. Hanzi pakashaya akatanga. Ndoda kuedza kuburitsa point yekuti we can all make mistakes, but peace is in your hands. (In the Bible, Jesus spoke of the adulterous woman who was about to be stoned to death by people, but Jesus asked those who had not sinned to stone her. The point that I am making here is that everyone makes mistakes.)

Prophet Magaya urged people to pray for the nation and its leadership as espoused in the Bible.

“As a nation, we need to always pray for peace,” he said. “Zimbabwe is known for peace. We need to pray for our leadership all the time.

“That is why I say when you come here you should bring your flag. The flag resembles your country. There must be peace all the time wherever you are coming from . . .

“Pray for peace in Africa, there are always revolts, there are always fights coming from nowhere. Tinoda rugare in Africa (We want peace in Africa).”

As a Man of God, Prophet Magaya said, he had a mandate to pray for the country’s leaders.

He said he was surprised by some people who loathed Prophet Makandiwa’s prophecy and took his prophecy lightly.

Prophet Magaya said the fact that Prophet Makandiwa’s prophecy was said before or that it was known in some circles did not take away its authenticity.

“When I read that story I saw some funny comments with some saying to the Prophet ‘you are not a politician’ while some were saying his prophecy was not true,” he said.

“A prophecy remains a prophecy even if I say what you know. If one Man of God stands and says there is going to be bloodshed — that prophecy is being given to you to be forewarned.”

Last week Prophet Makandiwa said God revealed a prophecy to him on June 17 that demonstrations would trigger unrest and warned people against taking such action in the national interest.
He said Zimbabwe should not allow “a situation where we end up having peacekeepers here” and bloodshed on the streets.

5.4.1.1 Presentation and analysis of data on the story, “Magaya backs Makandiwa prophecy”
The story tells a positive story about faith healers. It represents Makandiwa and Magaya in positive light. The two are taking a positive role in society where they are advocating for peace which is paramount to the promotion of development. The two are being represented as peace makers. Prophet Magaya is represented in the story as a true patriot and this is demonstrated in the fact that he always asks people to bring the country’s flag as a sign of showing solidarity. He is also said to be in the habit of praying for the country’s leaders. This shows that the prophet is regarded as someone who has his country at heart hence playing a positive role in the country.

The story comes after Makandiwa had prophesied that people should not join the demonstration that was called for by MDC-T. Magaya comes in to support the prophecy. The support that is given by Magaya to Makandiwa’s prophecy is meant to make people desist from engaging in the mass action. It is a way of stamping the prophecy as true and calling upon people to take heed of the prophet’s words. It is however important to note that the story is published in the State controlled paper whose mandate is to promote the government of the day. The story on its own is protecting the interests of the ruling government since it is meant to stop people from demonstrating against the ruling government. This suggests that the prophets are receiving positive representation because the messages that the prophets are passing is politically correct. It is also important to note that such kinds of stories are found in papers that are state controlled but not those that are privately controlled. The story about the need not to join the demonstrations is covered in the state controlled papers and not in private-owned papers. This shows that the newspapers are ideological. They select the information that tells the stories in a certain way which is meant to extend their interests, thus we see some stories being overed in some papers but not in some. In this case, Magaya and Makandiwa, as prominent religious figures, are being used by the media to promote the interests of the ruling government. This demonstrates the idea that there is an intrinsic relationship between religion and ideology. This union is seen between Christianity and European imperialism. Ani (1994:120) recognises the importance of religion in the development of ideology when she says “The secularisation of European culture begins with
the institutionalisation of European religion. It begins with the church.” This supposes that the story is premised on recognising the importance of religion in ideology formation.

**Table 39: Comments from newspaper commentators on the story titled Magaya backs Makandiwa prophecy**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commentator</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syborg</td>
<td>Liars. No prophecy denied mass protest but they said shun violence. Godly Prophecy is not there to deny citizens their constitutional rights otherwise we end up not paying taxes to Ceasar and promote lawlessness. Furthermore Magaya is not prophecying but encouraging peace like all pastors do. However we are still waiting for 2nd and 3rd prophetic confirmations as encouraged by the Bible otherwise Makandiwas statement is seen by many as a manipulated personal misplaced political utterance.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hacha Ndizvo</td>
<td>What exactly is the use of a prophet? My take is that Prophets operate at a high level national level-and their primary responsibility is to guide rulers so that their rule leads to the economic and spiritual prosperity of their subjects. Prophets bring a key and consistent message from God - which message the prophets consistently propagate throughout the span of their ministry - the message is clear and unambiguous. More importantly - prophets DO NOT FORM CHURCHES - for very clear and obvious reasons. The most important reason is that once a so called prophet forms a church he/she automatically narrows God's message to the congregants of that Church - they become sectorial prophets serving the particular needs of the people who belong to their church. The prophets of old preached to all and sundry - they belonged to everyone - they did not form churches or create religious sects or identities - and they gave the message to all in equal measure. In contrast our modern day prophets are nothing more than charismatic pastors. Instead of delivering a God given national/world message they concentrate on</td>
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frivolous prophesies and cheap miracles which every average magician can conjure up. They do nothing to promote good leadership even as the nation is in dire need of it. Instead of operating at national level they curve out rich enclaves for themselves and concentrate of lavish lifestyles-accumulating personal wealth is their primary preoccupation leaving the generality of the people they purport to serve languishing in economic and spiritual poverty. Why should I become a member of UFIC or PHD for me to get salvation from a Prophet that God send on earth? Of particular disappointment is that there is no clear and apparent purposes why these prophets have been send to us. There are so many of then, each claiming to be a true man of God but they preach a multiplicity of messages with no clear indication of what God wants to communicate to us. The Prophets of old - in addition to the healing and other miracles - had one consistent message - that is to prepare the way for the coming of Jesus Christ - in itself an event of National and World importance - an event that has had everlasting influence on the World - an influence that has endured for centuries. The current prophets do not bear a message of such import. Rather they prefer to tell us our phone numbers, addresses, soccer results, who is going to dies tomorrow, who will win elections in 2018 on top of dubious miracles that no investigative journalist has been able to trace. And while they are at it they accumulate wealth, rape, commit adultery and tell false prophesies which they later on disown by giving lots of excuses. To add salt to injury when we criticise them they seek to strike fear into our hearts (T.B. Joshua has just threatened to strike all his critics dead) and also use that favourite and abused phrase "strike not the anointed one". They take us for fools and forget that a person who has been spiritually anointed by God can not commit any sin. Only those that are anointed but not spiritually are subject to sin - the likes of Kind David, Saul, and Moses etc. The spiritually anointed in the league of Jeremiah, Daniel, Isaiah and Jesus never committed any sin and neither was it possible for them to do so. My conclusion is that these so called prophets do not have any message from God for the world. They are not even prophets - they are just ordinary preachers - some of them extraordinarily gifted while some are downright mediocre. They will never be prophets - no prophets can be such bad communicators AND SINNERS.
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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<tr>
<td>moG</td>
<td>Read &quot;Parables &amp; Oracles of Zimbabwe's Legacy&quot; of 2013. It gives a similar prophecy! Makandiwa's prophecy is in fact confirmation!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimuti</td>
<td>Zanu pf propaganda now using 'so called ' men of God, if Pysc Mazivisa is Makandiwa's spokesperson what do we expect!!!!!!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAPU</td>
<td>Syborg a mad person you are .who are you to speak against man of GOD.When GOD speak, the wise listen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest Favour</td>
<td>Keep praying for the sick Man of God, Prophet Magaya. I heard people were 150000 at your church, some listening from across the river. Thank you for the bridge that you build and saved lives as I heard more that 120 people drowned over the years trying to cross along a slippery and dangerous pipe. Imagine, all the people getting healed and delivered. In the end Zimbabwe, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia will be the most deamon free countries ever because of your ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jethro Zuwarimwe</td>
<td>While I am not privy to Makandiwa's prophecy I think one will become a bit disturbed to hear that another prophet is confirming the other. Yes blood shed should be shunned and avoided at all cost but I believe we should not use God in vain. We as a country need to be very careful in the way how we use God's name. It is in such time of trials and tribulations that some people would want to sway the vision of the people and read the bible the same was happening during the time Israel was in harsh times. There were false prophets and true prophets too.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tendai</td>
<td>Our biggest challenge in the country is poor journalism. It would be interesting to really hear what this prophet said. I wouldn't be surprised that it could be a different version all together. Zimbabweans be careful and analyse what you read in these papers. OUr media in zimbabwe is very misleading.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rwatida Makuwe</td>
<td>It is folly when churches engage in politics or support politics. True christitians should be politically neutral (John 15:17-20), James 4:4, John 18:36, 37. You can also search another scripture where they wanted to make Jesus their political leader and he refused. I do not know where these prophecies get this issue of commenting on political issues from. True Christians should just observe laws of the government as long as they are not in conflict with God's Laws. Clearly what these two prophets have said is an indication of who they serve.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rwatida....</td>
<td>The same Bible you quote also says Jesus Christ will come back and set up a New Jerusalem...Politics is an extension of the church. Christians should pray for Christian political leaders to be raised from among us. If politics is left for non-christians the result is what we now see in some countries having gay/lesbian leaders. The non-christians leaders can decree that we are going to have a national <em>bira</em> because <em>nyika ndeyemudzinu</em>. The two prophets serve God. The people of Israel wanted a king against God's will and he gave them Saul. The people of Zimbabwe want a mass action against God's will and God knows what will come after...God bless!!!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kimberly hood</td>
<td>It is a mere false allegation to say that he said what he knows maybe God told him something why dont we just adhere to what was said, praying for peace. Prophet Magaya always urge countries to pray for peace, as a man of God its his mandate to do so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slivia</td>
<td>It is a good and noble idea to promote peace. We need to always pray for our country as what Prophet Magaya has said. Without peace we are nothing in Zimbabwe, let’s all unite and love one another for the betterment of our nation. Thank you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Therezia</td>
<td>When the prophet speaks the wise listens.....</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 29:9</td>
<td>Read whole chapter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chihombori</td>
<td>Henrietta Rushwaya belongs to PHD, a Zanu pf protégée, apart from that Chimutashu claimed high ranking people threatened him...now how does that leave Magaya, as a man of God or a man for the people, THE VERY MAN WHO WAS A SPIRITUAL FATHER TO WALTER MAGAYA DURING HIS BLCC DAYS, HAS NEVER SET FOOT AT PHD WHY??, they have Nigerian and Ghananian fathers how are they to know what suits biological sons of Zimbabwe???. I fail to understand why one would have asked such a question,</td>
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unless it was planted to ensure that the nation knows that these protests would be bloody, why would they be bloody if people demonstrate, unless it’s to instill fear. That’s why it’s called intelligence service. Let us be honest Zimbabwe does not have major prophets, if we did we would not face a future which is full of hokaspokas, Makandiwa prophesised that this country is going for a boom, then gave people handkerchiefs to wipe other peoples cars, where is the boom?? If he can see something with a time frame why are some of the prophesies not spot on (kariba dam will collapse) is it because they aint real, I wonder how many got the cars they wiped, Magaya has never prophesised anything of worth that has a bearing to this nation, he has money and with money yes you can built houses and bridges but that doesn't mean you have God...a national prophet will speak when others are quiet, will utter the truth when others lie. If they be prophets let them tell us who will lead Zimbabwe in 2018, they FAILED TO SEE /PROPHECY ABOUT CHIGWIZI FLOODS, funny bus/combi disasters chiporofita chacho chiripi, I WOULD ADVISE THESE MEN not to COMMENT IN THEIR OWN OPINIONS (OR THAT OF OTHERS) AND SAY GOD HAS SAID...DID GOD SAY FIGHT THE WHITE MAN AND RECLAIM YOUR NATION? IF SO WHO WAS THE PROPHET?

Tendai

Let God be the judge. Hatina kodzero to judge his prophets.

mapungubwe dundilabazwele

What Makandiwa said is just common sense. There was no new revelation on what Makandiwa said because all of us know that if people get into mass protest, the end result is bloodshed. It is common sense because similar mass protest caused the death of people in Cairo, Soweto, Malawi and etc. Next time, will you call it prophesy, if Makandiwa says, if Zimbabwean motorists over-speed while driving their cars they will cause accidents and cause death?
Eeh look guys when Jesus saw wrong being done in the temple, what did he do..? He whipped them. We have been forgiving for a long time the mistakes of others even losing our lives. It’s easy for Magaya & Makandiwa to say what he is saying he is not being affected by some of the ridiculous decisions. The bloodshed prophecy is not in line with scripture; remember that in the last days there is not going to be PEACE bible believing people… Im not supporting the MDC-T plans… Just correcting these pastors…

The spirit medium, Sekuru Kaguvi, was a more credible prophet than these businessmen.

Our biggest challenge in the country is poor journalism. It would be really interesting to really hear what this prophet said. I wouldn’t be surprised that it could be a different version altogether. Zimbabweana be careful and analyse what you read in these papers. Our media in Zimbabwe is very misleading.

5.4.1.2: Presentation and analysis of results from newspaper commentators on the story, titled Magaya backs Makandiwa prophecy
Respondents who commented on the story come up with a number of issues. There are some who commented Magaya for promoting peace. Commentators were of the idea that it is a noble prophetic duty to preach peace thus one of the commentators said, “It is a good and noble idea to promote peace. We need to always pray for our country as what Prophet Magaya has said. Without peace we are nothing in Zimbabwe, let’s all unite and love one another for the betterment of our nation. Thank you.” The prophet gained momentum amongst people for preaching peace thus there are people who regard the story as positive. These could be followers of Magaya or those Magaya is speaking on behalf of.

Commentators also applauded the prophet for commenting on national issues saying that it is the duty of a prophet to do that but they expressed reservations as they said that it is not the duty of
the prophets to deny citizens their constitutional rights. One of the commentators said “What exactly is the use of a prophet? My take is that prophets operate at a high level national level - and their primary responsibility is to guide rulers so that their rule leads to the economic and spiritual prosperity of their subjects.” Commentators were therefore of the idea that the prophets are being employed to preach ZANU PF propaganda. This idea has been alluded to by Daniel (2009:125) who says that:

Religion is pragmatic in every society. The function of religion in society is that religion forms the basis, the core or thread of all human activities. It is therefore not easy to delink religion from political, social and psychological life of a particular community.

This shows that religion and politics have a special relationship. Respondents saw the message as merely designed to grab a people’s right to demonstrate. Thus people see what Makandiwa says as common sense and not prophecy and that is expressed by one of the commentators who said “Next time, will you call it prophesy, if Makandiwa says, if Zimbabwean motorists over-speed while driving their cars they will cause accidents and cause death?” This is evidence to support that there is nothing new in that when people engage in mass action, bloodshed can result. It is, therefore, the mind of commentators that what these prophets say is their own opinions, hence commentators advocated for a situation where people should stop abusing the name of God. At the end of the day, it can be concluded that Makandiwa and Magaya are not acting as the mouthpiece of God but of ZANU PF. Ani (1994:162) posits that, “religion and ideology are integrated in the west and religion is a formal institution of European culture.” In this case the commentator recognises that Makandiwa and Magaya are just being used to preach the ideology of ZANU PF. They are using their offices to lure people into desisting from demonstrating against the ruling government. This is a move that is taken by people who understand the role of religion in a people’s life. After recognising that the majority of Zimbabweans are Christians they knew that they were likely to listen to the prophet. To this Mbiti (1969:225) says “African people are deeply religious. It is religion more than anything else which colours their understanding of the universe and their empirical participation in that making life a profoundly religious phenomenon.” It is against this background that some commentators were of the view that what is regarded as prophecy is not prophecy as such but propaganda which is peddled by people who understand the importance of religion in shaping people’s perceptions.
The majority of commentators dismissed the prophecy as shit. They question the idea that there are personalities who are working for the prophets who are in the media fraternity and who belong to ZANU PF. For the commentators, this makes the messages that people receive from the prophets questionable. One of the commentators by the name Chihombori said “Henrietta Rushwaya belongs to PHD, a Zanu pf protégée”, and the other commentator said “Zanu pf propaganda now using 'so called ' men of God, if Psyc Mazivisa is Makandiwa's spokesperson what do we expect!!!!” Commentators were worried about the fact that there are people who can influence what comes out in the media, yet they are part and parcel of Magaya and Makandiwa’s ministries. This implies that the messages that are in newspapers have got the interests of these people loaded in them thus Hall (1997) says that those in control of the media have control of the meaning that is depicted by the control of how images and information are being represented in the media. The idea that Makandiwa’s spokesperson is also ZANU PF political commentator entails that Makandiwa himself can be pro-ZANU PF and therefore we do not expect him to disburse messages that are anti-ZANU PF. At the end of the day the story and the message of the prophet is seen by many as a manipulated personal misplaced political utterance as has been observed by one of the commentators.

There are commentators who are outrightly against modern day prophets. They accused them of concentrating on light-hearted prophecies like telling people about their phone numbers, their house numbers and soccer results among other issues. They accused these prophets of being day light robbers who abuse people inorder to sway people from the truth and in the process they are in the business of accumulating wealth. These prophets are also condemned for having spiritual fathers whom the commentators said are all foreign and do not know what Zimbabweans really want. One of the respondents actually saw these prophets as adulterers, rapists and fake. The commentator seems to believe that prophets are there and they are very important in people’s lives. What he is against are modern day prophets whom he accused of concentrating on light hearted prophecies and dubious miracles. The commentator was of the idea that these prophets are in the whole driven by the love for money. However what the commentators did not realise is that the economic context in which these modern day prophets are operating is to a very great extent different from the old days.
There is a commentator who applauded the prophets for warning people citing that it is the duty of the prophet to comment on politics since politics is an extension of the church. This respondent was of the view that the church and politics enjoy an intrinsic relationship thus Arntsen (1997) in Zimunya and Gwara (2013:188) purports that the role of the missionaries in the colonisation of Zimbabwe was considerable in terms of cultural and political domination of the people. His idea was that “If politics is left for non-christians the result is what we now see in some countries having gay/lesbian leaders. The non-christians leaders can decree that we are going to have a national bira because nyika ndeyemudzimu. The two prophets serve God. The people of Israel wanted a king against God's will and he gave them Saul. The people of Zimbabwe want a mass action against God’s will and God knows what will come after...” This commentator was arguing from a perspective where he sees Magaya and Makandiwa as real man of God. What is interesting is that the commentator was arguing from a standpoint of someone who subscribes to Christianity as a religion thus he sees a situation where prophets should be given an upper hand in the running of the affairs of the state simply because they are Christians.

His idea was that if prophets are not given a platform that will result in non Christians running the affairs of the country and to him this has devastating consequences. The respondent was quite clear that he is against ATR. He therefore saw the Christian religion as “the religion” which should be given priority when it comes to the running of the country. The way the commentator talked about Christianity is captured by Karenga (1993) who observes that European interpretations have exhibited a need to make Christianity look superior and African religions primitive. He did not recognise that Christianity is a foreign religion that cannot meet the needs of Africans as purpoted by Karenga (1993:212) who asserts that “The essence of a people’s religion is rooted in its own social and historical experiences and in the truth and meaning that they extract from these and translate into an authentic spiritual expression which is specific to them.” This translates to the idea that it is only African Traditional religion that best explain Africa.

**Story 2**

Masvingo couple loses $50k to n’anga: January 25, 2016

A Masvingo businessman has taken a traditional healer to court for extortion after he was allegedly forced to surrender cash and property worth nearly $50 000 to get rid of a goblin that was haunting him.

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The traditional healer, Soshangane Nzumakase (32), of Runyararo West suburb in the city, allegedly forcefully demanded over $30 000 and a Mercedez Benz worth over $15 000 from Anesu Mamboininga of Rhodene suburb whose businessman husband Teedzerai Ndige was seriously ill because of an alleged goblin that was haunting him.

Nzumakase has since appeared before Masvingo provincial magistrate Mr Langton Ndokera facing extortion charges.

He is denying the charges arguing that he helped Mamboininga and Ndige after allegedly teaming up with three other Chipinge-based traditional leaders to kill a powerful goblin that was haunting Ndige. Nzumakase, who is represented by Mr Collins Maboke of Ruvengo and Maboke also argues that he lost some of his household property to fire after he tried to burn a big snake that Ndige kept at his house only to get the shock of his life after the snake started to torch his clothes back home.

Mr Ndokera remanded Nzumakase out of custody to February 15 for trial.

The prosecutor Mr Tavonga Musona told the court that sometime in 2012; Mamboininga approached Nzumakase for help after Ndige had developed mental illness which could not be treated by prophets, doctors and other traditional healers. Mamboininga allegedly went to Nzumakase’s house in Runyararo West were he found him dressed in traditional healing garb and started performing rituals before demanding payment to save Ndige from death.

Nzumakase then allegedly went to Mamboininga’s Rhodene suburb house where he also performed some rituals and said Ndige was going to die unless the spirit and goblin that was haunting him was tamed.

In a bid to save her husband’s life, Mamboininga went to Nzumakase’s house a few days later and asked for help whereupon she was told that Ndige was being haunted by a goblin that could only be killed with the help of powerful traditional healers in Chipinge.

They teamed up and went to the Tamandai area of Chipinge where rituals were performed but Ndige’s condition worsened. In January 2013, Nzumakase told Mamboininga that he had saved Ndige from death the previous month and demanded a bus as payment or the equivalent.

Mamboininga gave Nzumakase $6 600 and a Mercedez Benz worth $15 000.

Nzumakase allegedly continued to threaten Mamboininga that her husband was going to die and was paid $12 000 realised from sale of household property.

Early this month, Nzumakase allegedly lied to Mamboininga that he had found some human flesh in her Mercedez Benz and demanded the car’s registration book so that he could go and burn the goblin in Bulawayo. Mamboininga became suspicious and made a report to police leading to Nzumakase’s arrest along the Masvingo-Mbalabala Road.
5.4.1.3 Presentation and analysis of data on the story Masvingo couple loses $50k to n’anga

While the two stories on faith healers present the faith healers positively on the contrary the n’anga is deplorably cast as demonic and an outright trickster. In the story above the traditional healer is represented as a trickster who is gullible and who takes advantage of desperate citizens. The traditional healer who is well known for helping people who are afflicted by spiritual ailments is here cast as a failure. Traditional healers in African societies are well known for assisting people and they are popular in society because their charges are usually affordable to many. However, in this case the traditional healer is charging the client some exorbitant fees which is contrary to what a traditional healer is known for. Murove (2009:179) says that traditional healers use the pay-only-if-cured approach. He tells us that:

Traditional healers receive a fee contingent on the outcome with the greater part being due only if the patient is cured. The fact that healers have to heal to get paid induces them to provide high quality care and differentiates them from even the best modern health care providers. They sell their services in a way that makes sense to their patients.

Traditional healers by nature should have patients at heart. The environment in which they work from should be different from the environment from which medical doctors work. However, the above story is equating the traditional healer to modern medical doctors particularly in their payment method.

The traditional healer is portrayed in the story as a failure since he is said to have failed to get rid of the goblin and was also being haunted by a snake. The way the traditional healer is portrayed is evidence to show that these practitioners have failed hence people should desist from consulting them. The story looks more like a warning to people that they should be on guard of traditional healers since they cannot help them with anything except that they can loose their property without getting the help that they need. Morekwa (2004) says that traditional healers are key in the healing of diseases that emanate from the spiritual world. The story however is disputing this as it is written in such a way that the traditional healer who is supposed to be an expert in treating such a diseases is failing. Thus the traditional healer is said to have failed his own game. The story radiates with an agenda to demonise and downplay the traditional healer. While Eurocentric thinkers including historians misinformed the world to believe that African religion among other things were pagan, journalists tend to drink from the same source and
peddle lies. The journalist made reference to the fact that doctors and faith healers have actually failed to treat the disease and this supposes that the writer is placing the traditional healer, the faith healer and the doctor at the same level when it comes to spiritual matters. This is done to destroy the expertise of the traditional healer over the medical doctor. At the end of the day this translates to the idea that the traditional healer cannot treat what the medical doctor cannot. The way the traditional healer is represented in the story has been alluded to by Chivaura (1998) who says that the destruction of Africa’s institutions and human factor is still continuing. He observes that one of the agendas of Africa’s colonisers and detractors is therefore to ensure that Africans do not believe in the values and ideas of their own traditions and social institutions. He says that the process of colonisation eroded the integrity and personality of the African people. Chivaura (1998:93) says “It produces creatures which are at the mercy of the colonisers, creatures which have rejected themselves.” In this case the content that people read from newspapers is meant to distance people from traditional healers since they are labelled as cheats who are just after making money from desperate clients. Clarke (1991) observes that the mass media is part of an attempt at controlling the minds of world. The representation of the traditional healer in the story is not heroic, hence in terms of mind controlling the story teaches people that traditional healers are bad and are therefore not to be consulted. This is in line with Clarke (1991) who contends that the role of image and mind control in the African world goes beyond the visual. It tells people what to do. In a way the story dismisses religion as as a vital element in equipping people to make sense of difficult experiences.

Story 3
Magaya stampede claims 11: November 22, 2014

Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries leader Prophet Walter Magaya yesterday took the blame for the death of 11 people in a stampede which also left 54 others injured at his crusade in Kwekwe on Thursday night. He said it was clear that the church’s system failed, resulting in the deaths.

“This was our event and as a church we have to take the blame for the tragedy,” said Prophet Magaya.

“It is still too early to say what caused the stampede, but the fact that the stampede took place at the venue means that part of our system failed to function.”
The incident occurred soon after service at around 10pm on Thursday when police closed all but one exit point at Mbizo Stadium for a gathering estimated at around 30 000 congregants.

People then brought down part of the precast wall to get out, resulting in police officers blocking exit points allegedly firing teargas into the crowd.

The 11 people, who included three minors, died after they were trampled on by frightened congregants escaping the teargas.

When *The Herald* arrived at the scene, bodies of the deceased and the injured had been taken to Kwekwe District Hospital.

Most of the injured suffered broken legs and ribs and bruises all over their bodies, while some dislocated their joints.

Prophet Magaya had already left the stadium when the tragedy occurred and had to rush back on hearing news of the stampede.

“I am gutted,” he said. “I had already left the venue when I got news that there was commotion at the venue and moments later I was told of people seriously injured.

“Within minutes I was told that eight people had died and others were seriously injured. I rushed back to the venue and it was very sad, the saddest moment of my life,” he said.

“As of this morning (yesterday), I am made to understand that three more people died and that the dead include a pregnant woman and a child. I will be meeting with the authorities and all stakeholders before we can issue an official statement on the tragedy.”

Prophet Magaya visited the injured at Kwekwe District Hospital before visiting families of some of the deceased.

He offered to pay medical bills for the injured.

Officer Commanding Midlands province Senior Assistant Commissioner Shadreck Mubaiwa said four people died on the spot, while seven others died in hospital.

“Prophet Magaya finished preaching around 8.26pm and it was announced that the crusade had ended,” he said. “There was only one entry point at the stadium which resulted in people pressurising each other as they left the stadium,” he said.

“Because of the pressure some people fell down, which resulted in the stampede. The police officers who were there started to control the people so that they could rescue those who had fallen down.”

Snr Ass Comm Mubaiwa said police managed to rescue some of the people who were ferried to hospital and refuted claims that police fired teargas into the crowd.
But PHD head of security Mr Fanuel Kanyoka blamed the police for the stampede.

“They fired teargas into the crowd as if the people were violent,” he said. “When people started running away from the police that is when some fell to the ground.”

Speaking from their hospital beds, some of the injured said chaos started after police at the sole exit point fired teargas into the crowd.

Ms Sithembinkosi Dube, who had gone to the crusade to have her mentally ill husband healed, said people could not withstand the teargas.

“I was close to the entrance when one of the police officers instructed another officer to fire teargas into the crowd so that they would retreat,” she said.

“People then started pushing each other while scurrying for cover. Some started crying out for help as some fell to the ground as a result of the stampede. I fell on top of some people who were later confirmed dead.”

Another victim, Ms Sekai Mpofu, who had gone to the crusade with her family, said police were beating up people after they brought down the precast wall.

“People were pushed back into the crowd by police who also assaulted some of the congregants. They then fired teargas resulting in the stampede,” she said.

A decision was made to cancel the second day of the crusade last night, but people still thronged the stadium for the service.

The church had difficulties convincing them that the service had been cancelled and had to offer them free anointing oil at the gates to persuade them to leave.

5.4.1.4 Presentation and analysis of data on the story Magaya stampede claims

In terms of representation the story is representing the faith healer in positive light. The way the story is written is commenting Magaya for his humanness. The prophet is said to have accepted the blame for the death of the people despite the fact that the cause of the problem has not been ascertained. Apart from that he is also praised for offering to pay hospital bills and for visiting the injured in hospital as well as offering people with free anointing oil despite the fact that the service was cancelled. The way the story is written completely shows that the stampede was not in any way caused by the faith healer. The story is actually exonerating the faith healer from the blame. Firstly it is mentioned that there were a total of about 30 000 people. The number of people that is mentioned is too big that it guarantees management problems and it is a number
that is big enough to cause a stampede. The reporter also is quoting people who were part of the congregation whom he said blames the police for the incident. He talks of the PHD head of security who blames the police. He said “They fired teargas into the crowd as if the people were violent,” he said. “When people started running away from the police that is when some fell to the ground.”

Evidence that was gathered from some of the injured reveals that chaos started after police at the sole exit point fired teargas into the crowd. One of them said “I was close to the entrance when one of the police officers instructed another officer to fire teargas into the crowd so that they would retreat.” A victim who had gone with his family to the crusade also said “People were pushed back into the crowd by police who also assaulted some of the congregants. They then fired teargas resulting in the stampede.” All the evidence that was gathered from eye witnesses as expressed in the paper point to the view that the tragedy was caused by the police. It is important to note that none of the victims blames the prophet for the tragedy. This is a strategic move that is taken by the journalists for the argument to be in favour of Magaya and this can also be explained from a perspective where Magaya is media serving. The reporter is seen to be making a lot of strategic moves in a bid to exonerate Magaya from blame. Edwards (2003:64) is of the view that “representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. It implies the active work of selecting, and representing, of structuring and shaping, not merely the transmitting of already existing but the more active labor.” In this case Magaya is represented in a positive manner despite the fact that people have gone to his crusade to get help but they ended up dying. The reporters and editors chose the information that they wanted people to consume. Such a scenario is motivated by the idea that Magaya is a prophet who claims that he uses power that comes from God. A negative representation of Magaya was going to be tantamount to discrediting Christianity as a whole. It should be noted that as a European religion Christianity is regarded as civilised, hence the media is to a larger extent spreading Christian ideology. The media therefore is being used as a tool of inculcating European values through the promotion of Christianity. Ani (1994:149) talks about the importance of religion to the development of ideology in Europe. She says that “Christian ideology radically alters the concept that one is born in a religion and by so-doing fashioned a religious statement that was potentially elitist, “intellectual” as opposed to spiritual-emotional and at the same time universal-imperialistic.”
This suggests that European values are spread through the use of a European ideology. He goes on to say that Christianity is equal to civilisation and to be civilised is to be like a European. It follows that the positive portrayal of Magaya is not merely meant to promote Magaya but to promote the overall framework he is working in which is Christianity. To be anti Magaya is literally to be anti-Christianity and consequently to downplay the adoption of European values. Conversely it means encouraging people to have a relook at the African culture. This is implies that the way Magaya is represented in the story is not accidental but planned and consciously designed in a bid to protect Christian religion. What the media personnel did not recognise as put forward by Ani (1994:162) is that “Christian ideology is an ideally fashioned weapon for the destruction of the self image and value-system of African and other non-European people.” They do not realise that the portrayal that Magaya receives from the media goes far much beyond Magaya himself into promoting the Christian religion and consequently supporting European aggrandisement.

**Story 4**

**Magaya stampede claims 11: 22 November 2014**

*NewsDay* on 22 November 2014 also carries a story based on the same event with the headline “11 die at Magaya prayer meeting” and the results from *NewsDay* are going to be presented here. This incident attracted the attention of the media and it was published in a variety of papers. However, results from the two mentioned stories are presented here. The story also attracted the attention of the public. 79 people responded to the story in *The Herald*. The *NewsDay* did not give much detail as to the facts of the story but just mentioned that the tragedy was caused by a stampede when an estimated 30 000 crowd was vacating the venue.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commentator</th>
<th>Responses from <em>The Herald</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward Chair</td>
<td>This isn’t right all our people why do we focus on these pastors as if there is no God? These pastors many of them are day light scams and we bring ourselves so low to deal with them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D elembe</td>
<td>May their soul rest in peace and may the bereaved families find comfort in the Lord. This is the world of the devil came to steal, destroy and kill. We are with you in prayers Prophet be strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chadzunda</td>
<td>Since these are prophets that are told by ‘god’ things that will happen in the future how come ‘god’ neglected to hell him about an impending disaster? The followers open your eyes and stop thinking these guys will make your life improve. Only hard work, integrity work, combined by prayer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrificed</td>
<td>Like TB Joshua like Magaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santang</td>
<td>What I don’t understand is why the prophet did not prevent the death of eleven people. He should have advised security to take measures to prevent death. This should not happen in front of someone calling himself a prophet. Now is prepared to pay medical expenses for the injured. Why not healing them straight away.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mudhe fredreck  Our people perish because of lack of knowledge, their fellow friends died yesterday but today they are going back there. Last month TB Joshua’s building claimed the lives of every 100 people who TB to Magaya. These people are empowering their magic from the human blood. Keep on going there and you will come to believe me one day. *Humudzidzi makaita sei vana veAfrica*. Even you the relatives of the deceased and the victims you allowed Magaya “kuti dzochema nemi chii chacho. You blame the police for what reason *unovadii kuchurch unotya kuti mari yakandwa inotorwa nemavha*. It’s painful that where we think get help is where we die in huge numbers.

**Commentator responses from NewsDay**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commentator</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mbavha</td>
<td>False profits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrificed.</td>
<td>Like TB Joshua.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observer</td>
<td>The prophets of Baal will be exposed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodchildgonebad</td>
<td>So sad yet so true, a simple analysis may indicate desperation on the part of zimbabweans, yes some of the people are going to worship in the proper sense of the word but a very large part of the people are in search of solutions to a myriad of problems they are encountering on a daily basis be they financial, medical, social etc of the good prophet says he can solve .Of things were ok such happenings, I doubt would be happening. The following are the suspects in this case the prophet for promising false solutions to people’s problems council and the police for lousy policing and the biggest blame is reserved for the Zimbabwean government for promoting laws and policies that are anti-development of a sounds economy were being followed people wouldn’t be following these false prophets but would just go to qualified medical institution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>t5</strong></td>
<td>Bible warn us against false prophet and this is the result of going to them...death...losing money...false hope. If he was true why didn't he heal victim of disaster? Why go to hospital...Jesus healed and raised the dead. If he can't heal kids what more adults. Why didn't anointing water didn't help? We warn u don't follow these men practising occult. Church now had taken over business of <em>n'anga</em>...reason for going to these false prophet is the same as of <em>n'anga</em>...they even lie that u will delivered...now its yr death. Which verse said pple will get anointing oil for healing? Is it not <em>n'anga</em> who gives that? They don't heal its Placebo...medical condition were someone is given fake medicin to heal and he heals...to christians they say its miracle but in medical science it's normal. Why can't they cure Ebola or raise the dead God had no limit Jesus and Peter raised the dead. Why did he see it...God see all in bible it never happened for disaster to happen at place of worship without warning only occults fail. Stamped killing only occult kill worshipers not in true worship. its normal for many pple to congregate and they dont die in dozens ....it never happened here for pple to did worshiping only in nigeria...in bible it never happened Israelites congregate in millions but no death because God was in their midst...what more proof do u like that u are doing occult ...only <em>ku n'anga kunofiwa</em> in all history not church of Jesus...without raising dead ones..failing to raise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dhewaress</strong></td>
<td><em>Ko vanhu muchimboendepeko</em>, if Magaya is a tru prophet <em>akatadza here kuona kuti kwanga</em> the ending was not good. False prophets, chenjerai zimbabweans. Open yo eyes n c. Tru prophets can foresee danger and deal with it on tym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Titi</strong></td>
<td>For your own information, u dnt prophecy according to what u like but according to what God says</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>watch it now</strong></td>
<td>Magaya, Makandiwa, Angel, Passion etc are false prophets, they lie to people that they have been healed yet they will be looking for congregates hard earned money, they teach false hoods. Magaya must be held accountable for the death of 11 people in Kwekwe. He is a blatant liar. He</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
will see the wrath of God Jehovah.

**KEKEKE_BOOM**

Sorry to those who have lost their beloved ones, I hear a pregnant woman and 3 toddlers are among the dead. This is a sorry incident which should not have happened. Like I have said before the buck stops at Magaya’s door step, these guys call themselves prophets and they do not see disasters impending at their doorsteps. Their supporters then say GOD does not show you everything that is double standards. Why would GOD show everything else except anything to do with yourself? If the truth be told, if a gathering of people whatever the number is of GOD by GOD no one will ever be injured or killed. As long as it is of GOD nothing of that nature will ever happen no matter how you want to look at it. But I know most would want to differ but I will not shift from that position, CHRIST gathered them crowds Peter, Paul but nothing like that ever happened, so where is Magaya taking his power from which makes innocent people die? Which GOD is TB Joshua worshiping, now the bodies of the dead from his collapsed church have rotted beyond recognition and you say it is the will of GOD, you lie.

*Kuungana kwavanhu* 350 000 is not important but what they are gathered for is what is important, although we know that the figure of 350 000 is ridiculous in such a small space. *Kana Musoro Wegora kana mushonga unonzi chaungu* can make many people gather in a place but the result will show that it was not GOD’s will for them to be there, like the death of innocent people. People who come hoping to be healed and end up dying. I know many people love to quote the Bible here and there to support all sorts of tragedies but it does not cut you are just trying to please yourselves nenhema.

CHRIST said the world will perish because of the lack of the knowledge of GOD. *Endai ikoko munozara even kuita million muriko ikoko asi muchamuka* one day.

**Mbavha**

*Mbavha dzinodyiravanhu mari dzichinyepa kuti tiri ma prophets. Dai zvikambosungwa zvesezvima Tsitsi Izvi. TB Joshua, Makandiwa,*
| Babavosvutadota | To be honest I had never met anyone delivered because of going to Magaya…yes some had died going there not delivered, not forgetting false hope. Can events accidently happen and God fail to warn prophets? If it is hit and miss there is no need to say everything is possible with God…Job seekers may not get a job; the sick may not be heal becoz yr God is of hit and miss…so why do u advertise lies and testimonies ….without giving the other side. To true christians God protects them and no one will die among them in coarse of worship…to true christian ur God is not of hit and miss who fail to see disaster but can predict soccer; political issue or death of celebrities….I hope if the eleven were celebrities yr God was to predict. True God never fail us. All sums up the Mr Magaya is a false prophet becoz he fail to predict were it matters most God use pple were it matters most… God will never be more intrested to show death of 1 celebrity than of 160 or 11 worshiper unless if it is God of Baal. This is a sign that God isn’t in yr midst u Phd goers…if he was that will not happen ‘u will see difference between non worshipers and worshipers’ says the bible. |
| Aidah | Vanhu hamuna kwenyu. Icho chakazadza stadium haisi minana here? Kana Magaya arí fake prophet vanhu vaizadza stadium vachiitei? How many good deeds did Magaya do and you never bothered to notice or mention….the sick healed, HIV gone, n’anga dzichisarenda turuzi, mapenzi achiita right, marovha akiita seni achiwana mabasa in high profile companies, ngomwa dzichiti vana, tsikombi dzichiroorwa, vanogara mbridge vachiita kwavo vogara mumba chaidzo, nherera nemawidows being taken care of…the list is endless, hazviperi kunyora pano. Of course lives have been taken. Magaya wacho anga atoenda when it happened. Ko mapurisa akavharira vanhu munottii navo? Tendai Mwari mune muProfita chaiye. What happened was just unfortunate. May the departed souls rest in peace. May the bereved families be comforted. May God strengthen my prophet, W. Magaya. May God bless my beautiful country Zimbabwe. May God bless my President RG Mugabe who |
continues to support people in pursuit of deliverance. *Dzidzai kutenda vanhu vekwedu.* Thank you for reading.

| Truthbetold | Popularity does not mean *kuti uri waMwari*.....*ava vanhu venyu vanokuudzai zvamunoda kunzwa imi mofara, muchanyadziswa mese pazuva guru raMwari.* |
| Malvo | Like Father like Son; First it was TB Joshua (Spiritual Father) now its Magaya (Spiritual Son), how ironic? How can he have been the one to prophesy bloodshed if people of Zimbabwe embarked on street protests and fail to prophesy a tragedy of such magnitude in his own Church? Certainly the title ‘Prophet’ is being abused here. These fly by night prophet who rise out of nowhere without a testimony, beware do not be misled. MATTHEW 24:24 For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. |
| Farai | Touch not the anointed ones *zivai pekuperera hama* |

5.4.1.5 Presentation and analysis of data from newspaper comments on the story **Magaya stampede claims 11**

From the comments that were made by the public there are a number of schools of thought that can be derived. There are people who think that the tragedy was caused by the police who failed to control the crowd. This group was of the view that the crowd was too big that it was difficult for the police to control. Their view was that the death of people was caused by people who fired teargas. One of the respondents Aidah who strongly believed that the tragedy has nothing to do with Magaya said “…*Ko mapurisa akavharira vanhu munotii navo? ...*” (…what do you say about the police who closed people in…) This suggests that they understand that the tragedy was caused by the inefficiency of the police.

The majority of the commentators were of the view that Magaya is a false prophet who is in the business of stealing from people. The commentators were of the idea that if Magaya was a true prophet of God he was supposed to have predicted the tragedy before it happens. This group of
people exonerated police officers from blame. One of the respondents by the name KEREKE BOOM said that:

If the truth be told, if a gathering of people whatever the number is of GOD by GOD no one will ever be injured or killed. As long as it is of GOD nothing of that nature will ever happen no matter how you want to look at it.

These commentators blamed the prophet whom they see as fake. For them, God sees everything and if Magaya was a true prophet he was supposed to have been warned about the disaster before it happens. One commentator Babavosvutadota said “To true Christians God protects them and no one will die among them in coarse of worship…to true Christians ur God is not of hit and miss who fail to see disaster but can predict soccer; political issue or death of celebrities….I hope if the eleven were celebrities yr God was to predict.” They were therefore of the view that Magaya is not a true prophet of God and is just after fame. One of the respondents by the name Malvo said “Certainly the title ‘Prophet’ is being abused here. These fly by night prophet who rise out of nowhere without a testimony, beware do not be misled.” The respondents were therefore of the view that Magaya is inspired by some other powers but not by the spirit of God they suggest that he is using the title prophet just to lure desperate citizens. At the end of the day the commentators are warning people not to consult with prophets.

There are others who were of the view that these prophets are cultists who feed on the blood of their innocent followers. The people who subscribe to this were of the view that there is no difference between T. B. Joshua and Magaya. Their idea was that Magaya has taken; from his spiritual father T. B. Joshua whom they also accuse of killing his followers. One respondent Mudhe Fredrick blamed Zimbabweans for lacking knowledge. He said:

Our people perish because of lack of knowledge, their fellow friends died yesterday but today they are going back there. Last month TB Joshua’s building claimed the lives of every 100 people who is TB to Magaya. These people are empowering their magic from the human blood. …Its painful that where we think we get help is where we die in huge numbers.

The respondents contended that the death of people was not a natural incident but rather it was done for a purpose. For them Magaya has actually sacrificed people to fortify his ministry. These respondents advised a person to open their eyes and do what is right for themselves and their families which is to stay away from these prophets. The respondents who believed that Magaya is an occultist see no difference between Magaya and suchlike
prophets and a n’anga. By so insisting, the commentators seem to imply that n’angas are in the business of killing people. A commentator by the name T5 said:

We warn u don’t follow these men practicing occult. Church now had taken over business of n’anga…reason for going to these false prophet is the same as of n’anga….they even lie that u will be delivered..Now it’s yr death. Which verse said pple will get anointing oil for healing? Is it not n’anga who gives that? They dont heal its Placebo…medical condition where someone is given fake medicine to heal and he heals…to Christians they say its miracle but in medical science it’s normal. …in bible it never happened Israelites congregate in millions but no death because God was in their midst….what more proof do u like that u are doing occult …only kun’anga kunofiwa in all history not church of Jesus…without raising dead ones…failing to rise.

The respondent was determined to prove that faith healers are in the business of feeding on human blood goes on to suggest that they are no better than the n’anga. The respondent went on to attack the n’anga. He contended that “church now has taken the business of n’anga.” His idea is that the n’anga is in the business of killing people. The commentator distanced such a practice from Christianity and was quick to dismiss Magaya as a Christian because of the death that has happened. This shows that he subscribed to the idea that Christianity is superior as compared to African religion which is here being represented by a n’anga. The commentator associated Magaya with what happened with a n’anga despite the fact that Magaya labels himself a Christian. This is merely done to show that Christianity is holy as compared to African religion which is evil. This suggests that the respondent is being guided by Eurocentric views which do not see anything positive about the African. Okon (2013) recognises that Europeans despised everything about blacks and they actually see blackness as an incurable disease. He seems to be operating from a colonised mind where a n’anga is synonymous to evil simply because it is originally African. He did not recognise the centrality of the n’anga in delivering health services among Africans since the dawn of humanity.

There are respondents who blamed the economy for this. They were of the view that because of the fact that the economy is bad people are forced to visit these healers in search of solutions. One of the commentators said “So sad yet so true, a simple analysis may indicate desperation on the part of Zimbabweans, yes some of the people are going to worship in the proper sense of the word but a very large part of the people are in search of solutions to a myriad of problems they are encountering on a daily basis be they financial, medical, social etc of the good prophet says
he can solve. If things were ok such happenings, I doubt would be happening.” The respondent was therefore of the view that the prophet should be blamed for promising people things that he cannot give. He goes on to say that the Zimbabwean Government should also be blamed for promoting laws and policies that are anti-development. The respondent further said if the economy was sound people were not going to be following these false prophets but would just go to qualified medical institution. The respondent regarded modern medical institutions as the best health providers. He was therefore of the idea that if all things were equal people were going to be treated by these practitioners. His idea was that people are visiting prophets because they lack resources to consult modern medical practitioners. The respondent did not believe that disease and illness amongst Africans have a religious dimension. The commentator did not realise that modern medical health systems can never be adequate for the African without contextually grounded medical health providers. Mbiti (1969:165) asserts that, “modern hospitals may deal with the physical side of diseases, but there is a religious dimension of suffering which they do not handle…” This suggests that Africans cannot do without religious medical practitioners as suggested by the commentator. The faith healers and traditional healers will always be needed even when the country’s economy is stable.

There are however commentators who rallied behind the prophet suggesting that what happened was natural. One of the commentators who subscribe to this idea said, “For your own information, you don’t prophecy according to what u like but according to what God says.” This suggests that the prophet does not choose what he wants. He is just directed on what to say. He is rather of the idea that it is unfair to blame the prophet. Some also subscribed to the idea that the tragedy was all the work of the devil which was done to discredit the good that the prophet is doing for the people. One commentator said “This is the work of the devil who came to steal, destroy and kill. We are with you in prayers Prophet be strong.” There are also respondents who decided to take “the touch not the anointed of God approach.” This suggests that there are people who see Magaya as the true prophet of God.

From the comments, it is clear that the way people interpret what they read in newspapers about traditional and faith healers is determined by many factors including personal beliefs, background, experiences among others hence we have people who are quick to dismiss the prophet as fake and they are those who rally behind the prophet after reading the same story.
Story 5
Woman loses $32 000 trying to win back boyfriend: September 14, 2015

A Harare woman allegedly lost $32 000 to two Malawian traditional healers while trying to win back the affection of her boyfriend.

Chibagali Bagga Kalumbi (35) and Nasir Stizz Namampetiwa (34) appeared before Harare magistrate Mr Tendai Mahwe today charged with fraud.

Prosecutor Mrs Idah Maromo alleged that in January this year, Kalumbi and Namampetiwa placed an advert in a local newspaper in which they claimed they were traditionalists from Malawi capable of bringing back lost lovers, boosting business and healing complex ailments.

The complainant responded and contacted the pair’s accomplice, Joseph Kaunda, who is on the run.

Kaunda requested to meet the woman at Park Town shops in Waterfalls.

It is alleged that the woman and Kaunda proceeded to a house near the shopping centre where she was introduced to Kalumbi and Namampetiwa.

The woman said she wanted her boyfriend back following a separation.

The trio demanded $50 as consultation fees.

They advised the woman to return the following day after lying they wanted to first consult their ancestral spirits over night.

They allegedly demanded $1 200 and two goats which they needed to cast into a flowing river as part of winning the man’s love back.

They went to Manyame River along Harare-Mavingo road where she remained in the car while the trio went to the river to allegedly cast the money and goats into the river. After two weeks the trio demanded four beasts to complete the process.

The cattle, valued at $1 200, were to be burnt and the ashes thrown into the river. After realising that the complainant was easy prey, the trio allegedly lured her into a business to supply anointing oil to Prophet Walter Magaya.

The complainant allegedly gave $30 000 to the trio who claimed to have contributed the same amount. They then disappeared for two weeks. Their mobile phones were no longer available.

She accidentally spotted them this September, leading to their arrest. She lost $32 550 and nothing was recovered. The suspects were remanded in custody to tomorrow for bail application.
5.4.1.6 Presentation and analysis of data on the story “Woman loses $32 000 trying to win back boyfriend.”
In the story traditional healers are represented as people who should not be trusted. They are regarded as thieves who still from desperate and unsuspecting clients. It is also clear in the story that these practitioners who are after money. The traditional healers in question charge exorbitant charges to their clients which is contrary to what is expected of the African traditional healer whose major agenda was to help people. It is clear in the story that traditional healers are people who are just after their own personal gain. The story is written in such a way that people are advised not to visit such practitioners since they are fake. It is also mentioned that this incident happened after the victim has seen an advert about the traditional healers. This suggests that the office of the traditional healer is there for business. This extends that these people like any other business people are there to make money. The traditional healers in question are represented as people with no fixed aboad to fdemonstrate that they are tricksters. The story is largely anti-traditional healer and it teaches people that they should not consult these practitioners.

Table 41: Comments by newspaper commentators on the story, “Woman loses $32 000 trying to win back boyfriend.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commentator</th>
<th>Actual responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malcom X</td>
<td>This is very embarrassing for a nation that boasts of 91% level of literacy. You are being taken for a ride by your known prophets who tell you the only way to get blessed by God is to give them the little that you have. One church member lost a Bentley to one of these fake prophets and now traditional healers have joined the feeding frenzy. In fact I can’t blame ordinary citizens when high ranking government officials were taken for a ride by Rotina Mavhunga after being promised diesel that would gush out of a rock. Zimbabwe has a lot of fools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punungwe</td>
<td>No wonder she lost the boyfriend. He saw what a foolish woman she was.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Zvakaoma Shuwa

| The way to a husband’s heart is through the stomach. *Zvino rudo rwakuda n’anga futi?* Besides, how can you consult a *n’anga* in the first place, *Mwari wavashaya here?* It shows that you are an evil woman that’s why your so called boyfriend left you. *N’anga ndidzo madofo nemarovha akafoira hupenyu zvachose.* They are broken down vehicle. Wake up sister. Communicate to the Lord direct, if you do t faithfully, he will answer you. *N’anga of all things, hey, pakaipa.* *Watova muroyi iwe* because *shasha dzawava kutamba nadzo idzi kuroya chete.* |

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#### 5.4.1.7 Presentation and analysis of results on the comments made by newspaper commentators on the story, “Woman loses $32 000 trying to win back boyfriend.”

All of the comments that were made by respondents in response to the story suggest that it was a foolish idea for the woman to visit a traditional healer. By so insisting, both the traditional healer and those who consult them are regarded as backward and insane. There are some who took an apologetic stance saying that it was a desperate decision and that people actually do such things when they are in crisis. One of the commentators suggested that the whole act is embarrassing for a country that boast of 91% literacy. His idea is that now that people are civilised they are supposed not to be tricked by prophets and traditional healers. His idea is that such practitioners are not supposed to be consulted because they are all tricksters. The interviewee did not recognise that civilisation is a tool of colonialism. He contended that now that people are civilised they should be rationale when making decisions about who to consult when they encounter problems. For him, a civilised people are not supposed to consult the traditional healer or a *n’anga.* Ani (1994:186) regards the school as the most important instrument of missionaries in Africa which was meant to strip Africans of their culture so that they could become part of the technical order albeit at the lowest level. He says “Christianity is equal to civilisation and to be civilised is to be like a European.” This suggests that the respondent is embracing the European way of conceptualising the world by suggesting that people should turn against traditional healers simply because they are now literate. The interviewee did not realise that the traditional healer in this instance is representing African culture and religion and to turn people away from their roots is synonymous to refusing who we are.
The other respondent was of the view that traditional healers are complete failures hence they should not be looked up to. He saw a traditional healer as being synonymous to the devil. The commentator said:

… Besides, how can you consult a n’anga in the first place, Mwari wavashaya here? It shows that you are an evil woman that’s why your so called boyfriend left you. N’anga ndidzo madofo nemarovha akafira hupenyu zvachose. They are broken down vehicle. Wake up sister. Communicate to the Lord direct, if you do it faithfully, he will answer you. N’anga of all things, hey, pakaipa. Watova muroyi iwe because shasha dzawava kutamba nadzo idzi kuroya chete.

The respondent saw the traditional healer as a complete failure and loser. He expressed awe upon realising that there are people who are still consulting when he says “N’anga of all things, hey, pakaipa.” The respondent showed a lot of resentment. Ephraim (2003:40) says:

…The illness which has plagued black people which has caused them so much grief and pain in a white-dominated world is not racism as such, but resentment, a uniquely European pathology.

Ephraim regards the attitude by the respondent as an illness and it follows that such kind of attitude should be treated. The respondent did not realise that his reasoning is influenced by the fact that he is living in a world where European ideas are suffocating African ideas. The respondent was reasoning from a colonial standpoint where the traditional healer is regarded as the agent of the devil. He did not see that labelling the traditional healer as a witch was an ideally fashioned weapon by Christians to alienate people from their religion, thus p’Bitek (1986:89) says “Both Christianity and Islam employ all kinds of methods to reduce traditional religions to ashes and religious anachronisms.” This kind of a mentality seems to be coming from what Mazama (2007b:71) regards as the two betrayals of Africa. He contends that the betrayals were done to disinherit Africans and to dislocate Africans in the context of history. She says “Africa has been betrayed by missionaries and imams who have called our own priests and priestesses false and presenting us with non-Africans ones” Just like in missionary circles the respondent saw a n’anga as evil. The respondent was arguing from a position of someone who has been pushed away from the centre, someone who has been taught to hate her/himself.
5.4.2 Presentation and analysis of data from NewsDay

Story 6

Chitungwiza blast mystery deepens: 23 January 2013

MORE than 24 hours after the blast that rocked Zengeza 2, Chitungwiza, killing five people, police had still up to yesterday afternoon no idea what caused the explosion. The mysterious explosion occurred at a house in which a traditional healer was said to be performing unknown rituals.

At least three houses had their walls and roofs ripped off through while the bodies of some victims were mutilated with pieces of flesh flung as far away as 50 metres.

There were others though that were literally incinerated in a manner associated with high-voltage electric power or a powerful lightning bolt.

The explosion was so powerful it damaged up to 12 other houses in the neighbourhood.

Some property, including blankets and furniture, which was in the same room where some people were burnt beyond recognition, mysteriously escaped the fire as were some people who were within the yard.

Harare provincial police spokesperson Inspector Tadius Chibanda yesterday said police, other State security agents and forensic experts had not yet established the cause of the explosion.

Up till yesterday afternoon, bodies of the deceased people still lay where they were the previous day to allow for the investigations.

“We know there are a lot of assumptions as to what happened, but we need to be thorough so as to come up with what really happened. We have our experts on the ground, the army bomb disposal unit, (power utility) Zesa, homicide have all been there and we also had the pathologist attending the scene,” Chibanda said.

Police said among the dead were four adults, including the traditional healer identified as Speakmore Mandere, a businessman who had come to consult the healer, Clever Kamudzeya, and an unidentified seven-month-old child.

Unconfirmed reports said the businessman was based in South Africa and owned a fleet of buses.

Mandere’s aide Tawanda Maruma told NewsDay that he was outside the house stirring some stuff in a clay pot which Mandere used for casting out bad spirits when disaster struck.

“I do not really know what caused the explosion, but this guy used to be a prophet at the same time as being a traditional healer,” said Maruma.
The owner of the house, Oliver Dumba, said in an interview yesterday that the incident happened shortly after he had ordered Mandere to vacate the property after he learnt he was a traditional healer.

Mandere’s father, Swellemu Mandere, said his son’s death had pained him.

“As far as I know, my son was a prophet who helped a lot of people. What happened pains me a lot because he even helped me out of some problems,” said a distraught Mandere.

5.4.2.1 Presentation and analysis of data on the story chitungwiza blast mystery deepens

The story creates the impression that people have died at a traditional healer’s place. There are a number of issues that are emanating from the story one of which is that the man was both a traditional and a faith healer. This idea supports the fact that there is no dividing line between a traditional healer and the faith healer. The faith healer is regarded as a traditional healer who wears a Christian jacket in a society that embraces the Christian religion. From the story the traditional healer is being represented as a complex person who is both a traditional healer and a faith healer. This information on its own makes people to doubt the authenticity of the practitioner. The fact that the practitioner is referred to as both a faith healer and a traditional healer makes the man a cheat and makes people to question his authenticity. The healer’s aide says that he did not know what caused the explosion but said that what he knows is that this guy used to be a prophet at the same time as being a traditional healer. The father to the healer said that his son was a prophet. This information makes the identity of the man in terms of profession to be obscure.

The story does not provide information that relates to the cause of the incident. It mentions that experts were on the ground but have failed to ascertain the cause of the tragedy 24 hours after the incident. The information that is provided shows that the explosion might have been caused by an unknown ritual that the traditional healer was performing. Thus we read from the newspaper, “The mysterious explosion occurred at a house in which a traditional healer was said to be performing unknown rituals.” The information is presented in a didactic manner where a traditional healer’s place is regarded as a dangerous place where people can actually loose their lives. The story actually instills fear in people so that they see it dangerous to visit the traditional healers since they can put their lives at risk. The way the traditional healer is represented is in line with the missionary understanding of the practitioner. Chavunduka (1978:78) says “a
missionary conceives of a traditional doctor as a death dealing charlatan, a rogue and a deceiver preventing patients who would otherwise be treated effectively with scientific drugs and surgery from reaching mission hospitals.” The traditional healer in the story is being disempowered since he is being associated with bad things. The evilness of the traditional healer is also captured in a story by the owner of the house who purports that the incident took place at a time when he had ordered Mandere to vacate the property after he learnt he was a traditional healer. This information shows how traditional healers are viewed by the society. The owner of the house wanted the man to vacate the place simply because he was a traditional healer. Such a mentality emanates from a wrong understanding of what a traditional healer is. It entails that the owner of the house has a colonial understanding of a traditional healer. The argument in the story reveals a mentality of someone who is not conscious of the African history who has been misled into believing that the traditional healer is nothing but the agent of the devil. Shizha and Charema (2011:171) are of the view that “After the settlement of Europeans in Africa, the missionary influence, as well as repressive political ideologies of colonial administrators outlawed Africa medical practices by castigating them as “heathen”, “primitive”, “barbaric”, “uncivilised”, and ignorant knowledge.” This view is widely held by people until today thus we see the owner of the house telling the traditional healer to vacate his premises. The way the story is written shows that the writer is not taking the position of promoting the interests of Africans. Stewart (2004:ix) says that:

Those who would identify themselves with the interests of peoples of African descent have an ethical responsibility to refrain from disseminating dysfunctional messages and images.

Thus the story is not written from an African standpoint. It extends the European agenda of condemning traditional healing which is a part of the foundation of African religion. In the story the father of the traditional healer professes ignorance of his son being a traditional healer. The man says he knows him as a faith healer which might be also evidence of the damage that colonialism has done to traditional healing. Because of the mutilation and the distortions of African religion the father to the traditional healer prefers to call his son a prophet.
Table 42: Comments by newspaper commentators on the story Chitungwiza blast mystery deepends

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commentator</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hezvo</td>
<td><em>Inzwaka iwe hanzi</em> ‘I do not really know what caused the explosion, but this guy used to be a prophet at the same time as being a traditional healer’ Mandere’s father also said ‘As far as I know my son was a prophet who helped a lot of people. Food for thought to those sons and daughters of prophets, <em>isu regai tinamate mwari uyu mumweya nemuzvokwadi tisina chatinopomerwa kuzonzi ibvai vaiti vokusaterera mutemo ndaramba.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hezvo</td>
<td><em>Iwe Seka zvako kwakatonzi vachamuka maporofita enhema vachitoporofita in Jesus name zvakanzi tiyere mweya iyi kuti tione kana ichibva kuna mwari tinoera sei kuburikidza nemabasa avo hezvoka uri kurasika papi so zviri nani kugara ndasiyana navo pane kuzoudzwa kuti panechikwambo</em> remember the so called MPONDA muchinzwa hamugone kunzvi vina hezvoka urinzi tina so chibva kuna mwari tinoera sei kuburikidza nemabasa avo hezvoka uri kurasika papi so zviri nani kugara ndasiyana navo pane kuzoudzwa kuti panechikwambo remember the so called MPONDA muchinzwa hamugone kunzvi vina hezvoka urinzi tina so chibva kuna mwari tinoera sei kuburikidza nemabasa avo hezvoka uri kurasika papi so zviri nani kugara ndasiyana navo pane kuzoudzwa kuti panechikwambo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Papa</td>
<td><em>VekwaMakandiwa this is a wakeup call, wake and smell the coffee.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawananyasha</td>
<td><em>Hey ndiko kuti</em> the end of black magic one has to open eyes and see.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shapiro</td>
<td>Black magic doesn’t have collateral damage and is very precise. Why were</td>
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other houses in the area affected as well. There are cases when mheni sent for one person will select that specific person from amongst others. This young man was a fake somebody engaging in some illegal activities which he hid from his gullible clients using tricks involving explosives.

5.4.2.2 Presentation and analysis of results from commentators on the story ‘Chitungwiza blast mystery deepens’

From the responses it is clear that there are three schools of thought. There are those who were of the view that traditional healers are bad and irrelevant. This group believed that the damage was caused by a n’anga. They suggested that his medicine went wrong and caused the damage, hence they are warning people to stay away from traditional healers. The respondents did not observe what Mbiti (1969:166) recognised when he says that, “as in any profession traditional healers are also involved in harmful practices in the course of the performing of their duties.” The Chitungwiza incident is not taken by respondents as a professional accident but as evidence to show that traditional healers are used by demons. The commentators were worried about the fact that the traditional healer was once a prophet as a result they sound a warning siren to those who believe in prophets, thus one of the commentators said; “VekwaMakandiwa this is a wakeup call, wake and smell the coffee.” This sounds more of a warning to those who believe in prophets that the prophets are in the same business as the traditional healer hence are up to no good. The traditional healer is taken as a yardstick to measure the level of evilness. The commentators suggested that the Makandiwas may actually be traditional healers wearing the Christian jacket seeking relevance in a Christianised society, hence are evil just like traditional healers. For the respondents the traditional healer is used by demonic influences hence people should not be associated with them.

There are respondents who however were of the view that the explosion or the tragedy was not caused by the n’anga. These people suspected something else to have caused the explosion but not the n’anga. They said that their understanding of traditional healing and African religion cannot be explained with what has happened. One respondent who subscribes to this idea said:

Black magic does not have collateral damage and is very precise. Why were other houses in the area affected as well? There are cases when mheni sent for one person will select that specific person from amongst others. This young man was a fake somebody
engaging in some illegal activities which he hid from his gullible clients using tricks involving explosives.

The respondent was of the idea that traditional healing or black magic does not affect the innocent, hence the act cannot be said to have been caused by a traditional healer. The respondent argued like someone who is conscious of what a traditional healer is. This commentator seems to be accusing those who say that the tragedy was caused by the traditional healers as people who have been decentred and dismembered and therefore lack consciousness of who they are.

Some respondents did not see anything bad about visiting the traditional healer. One of the respondents recognised that visiting the traditional healer is part of our religion thus he says “Ndicho chivanhu chedu.” (This is our Africaness) The commentator recognised the importance of religion in a people’s life. He concurs with Mbiti (1969:2) who says:

A person cannot detach himself from the religion of his group for to do so is to be severed from his roots, his foundation, his context of security, his kinship and the entire group of those who make him aware of his own existence. To be without one of these corporate elements of life is to be out of the whole picture. Therefore to be without a religion amounts to a self excommunication from the entire life of society and the African life do not know how to exist without a religion.

The respondent recognised that religion is central to the survival of Africans. The respondent lamented the hypocrisy of people when he said, “Tinongoseka tichiti hatiende kun’anga asi tichinyengerana.” (We laugh saying that we do not visit traditional healers yet we are deceiving each other). His idea is that people do not visit traditional healers openly. They visit them clandestinely and then pretend that they do not visit them. To this Mbiti (1969:165) says “…although if they are Christians or ‘educated’ they might only go secretly to the medicine-man or follow his treatment.” The commentator surmised that the traditional healer still holds a very special place in the lives of the Africans. He however observed that Africans are living within the value system of Europeans hence they tend to distance themselves from what is African in order to be accepted by a society that has become Westernised. Consequently, people pretend not to have any connection with traditional healers and consult them clandestinely.
Traditional healers blast vapostori: June 13, 2015
Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers’ Association (Zinatha) yesterday laid into vapostori, making sensational claims that some of the white-garmented sect goers were their members.

This is the second attack on vapostori in a week after Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministries leader Walter Magaya claimed they used ungodly spirits as the source of their power. Traditional healers were responding to Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe president Johannes Ndanga’s utterances last week that Magaya was “worse than local traditional healers”. Ndanga’s remarks came after Magaya last Sunday launched a second unsolicited attack on the vapostori in his second book Marine Spirits Part 2.

He labelled practices by vapostori sects as ungodly and claimed they use marine spirits. He also said the vapostori were a “hub of sexual immorality”. But Ndanga fumed and said that Magaya used “sacrificial blood” to perform his miracles, derived his powers from marine spirits and was “worse than traditional healers”.

Zinatha director-general George Kandiero said some of the vapostori were members of Zinatha and utterances by Ndanga could fuel tension among faith healers.

“That statement is not good at all. We are all into medicine - medicine that is not Western. It is not a good statement at all. It promotes hate and friction among us,” Kandiero said.

“Zinatha is a registered organisation and for your own information, we have some vapostori who are members of Zinatha. We are under one umbrella and all fall under TMPC (Traditional Medicine Practitioners’ Council) that registers healers, vapostori and herbalists.”

Zinatha claimed that it had more than 45 000 registered members who included pastors and apostolic prophets.

Efforts to get a comment from Ndanga were fruitless as he was reported to be in Masvingo.

The war of words between PHD and vapostori was ignited after the launch of the book Marine Spirits Part 1 by Magaya in which he discouraged people from seeking assistance at apostolic shrines, alleging sect leaders were possessed with marine spirits.

In retaliation, Ndanga said he was aware that Magaya derived his powers from snakes.

5.4.2.3 Presentation and analysis of data on the story “Traditional healers’ blast vapostori”
The facts of the story point to the idea that all practitioners who are into religious healing are questionable. The title of the story, “Traditional healers’ blast vapostori”, speaks volumes about the work of a traditional healer. It connotes that it is bad to associate vapostori with traditional healers. The fact that traditional healers say that, vapostori are their members is taken as synonymous to blasting vapostori. It is said in the story ‘Zinatha director-general George Kandiero said some of the vapostori were members of Zinatha and utterances by Ndanga could fuel tension among faith healers.’ This alone is taken as a way of blasting vapostori. The
reporter regards the claims by ZINATHA president as sensational. The diction that is used here shows that the writer is against the fact that vapostori are members of ZINATHA. This is because ZINATHA is in most cases associated with traditional healers. The reporter believes that there is a dichotomy between those in traditional healing and healers from the vapostori sect. The reporter is suggesting that to be associated with traditional healers is synonymous to being castigated and finds such claims unfounded. This has roots in colonialism. According to p’Bitek (1986:89) “Both Christianity and Islam employ all kinds of methods to reduce traditional religions to ashes and historical anachronisms.” The debate in the story is around the idea that the sources of all spiritual healers are questionable. It should be noted that spiritual healers understand disease from an African perspective; hence the story disregards the African understanding of reality. Ndanga was responding to Magaya who had launched a second unsolicited attack on the vapostori in his second book Marine Spirits Part 2.

Whilst it looks like traditional healers are well known for being evil as captured in the story where it is written ‘But Ndanga fumed and said that Magaya used “sacrificial blood” to perform his miracles, derived his powers from marine spirits and was “worse than traditional healers’ this shows that Ndanga is of the view that traditional healers are evil, thus traditional healers are used as a yardstick to explain the evilness of Magaya. He is biased towards vapostori but he sees Magaya whom he accuses of using sacrificial blood to perform miracles as more evil than traditional healers. This shows that faith healers particularly those who are championing the gospel of prosperit are represented in the story as cultists. From the story it is clear that the source of Magaya’s power is questionable and ungodly. On the other hand the way traditional healers are talked about in relation to white garment faith healers and Magaya shows that they are well known for being evil. At the end of the day the story represents everyone in spiritual healing in negative light as if to discredit the whole idea that there is a religious dimension of illness. This is supposedly done to ourule the African understanding of disease and in a way to promote Western medicine. All the practitioners that are castigated in the paper are into no-western medicine. The story shows that there is havoc in societies which is rooted on different religious beliefs and methods of healing among Christian churches and and indigenous methods. What the reporter does not take into consideration is that Christianity comes as an engine to dominate Africans and force them to negate their cultures therefore people must unite to fight Western domination rather than taking their differences as a marker of chaos and disorder in
society. The representation of traditional healers and faith healers that we see in the story vividly expresses what Williams (1987:331) terms the confused outlook of the African people which he says:

… is a result of centuries of Caucasian acculturation, a quite natural process wherever one people come under economic, political and social domination of another people. The ideologies and value system of the oppressors quite unconsciously become those of the oppressed, even when the result is demonstratively against themselves.

Both the traditional and the faith healer are negatively portrayed which might be strides to make sure that everything that accommodates the African understanding of disease and African worldview is completely wiped away. It is important that whilst faith healers are European oriented, they embrace the African worldview which accommodates the idea that spirits are real and they have a grip on the welfare of people which is contrary to the European understanding of the world.

Table 43: Comments by newspaper commentators on the story “Magaya blasts vapositori.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMENTATOR</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
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| Rhekeni     | *Vese vekudzura, venguwo tsvuku, vembiya, nkaka, kana magedhi in’anga idzo.*  
*Hatiende kuchurch kunobatiswa vavengi kana kunosuka minyama asi kunoudzwa zvaJesu.* |
| Pastor      | That’s the reason why ACCZ was formed to take out vanamati from *n’anga.*  
It is the colonial governments that denied indigenous church status and forced them to be called Traditional Healers *VanaTsvakai nanaChisango kana tichikuudzai kiti ibvai kuTMPC munooma musoro* now how are you going to defend this claim *kuti muri n’anga.* |
| Cox         | This is war, pliz stop it we dont want to end up being an Islamic world where a church is the most feared and dangerous place to be. Stop it and continue with your various beliefs, the better for all of us. |
Shayne

Ndanga is childish, first of all medicine is a gift from God, no man or Prophet is allowed to say that people shouldn’t use or take medicine. Secondly your accusations that the man of God Prophet W. Magaya derives his power from a snake are hogwash if not a fools’ tale full of fury and signifying nothing. *Avo vanwe vaakubuda pachena ndakambotaura kuti paridzai renyu shoko mosiyana nemaPorofita aMwari.*

Johnso

Magaya has been saying it all along that these white garment churches are no good at all. Some even had the temerity to rubbish his allegations saying he is just trying to gain popularity by ridiculing the *mapostori.* Now that we have heard it from the *n’angas* themselves that they use traditional medicines and other unorthodox ways of healing its high time Ndanga comes in the open and say the truth to the nation. Prophet Magaya thank you for exposing the marine backed witch doctors, may the almighty continue to increase you in all areas.

Mambo#vacho

*Ndanzwa hurombo fani nevanhu vanotuka vasingaverengi bible. Zvisinei, asi Magaya akatumwa kunana madzibaba here kana kuti kuBhora. Mukatongoona kabook kanyorwa nekachirungu moti sika-sika nako kkkk ndaseka hangu. Anonyora nezvemaMarine spirits iye ndiye ari pabetter position yekuziva nekuti ane humboo nazvo uye ari mazviri (Muzivi wenzira yeparuware ndiye mufanbi wayo).*

Sidza

Carl Max once said that religion is the opium of mankind. I have come to see the truth from his words. Wake up Africa be sober. Think development, think research, become industrialists, organise yourselves, study yourselves others and the world. Uplift your standards. Go to China Japan, Singapore, Europe, USA and see how they made it. Don’t be FOOL ED BY THE SO CALLED MAN OF GOD, *N’ANGAS AND MAPOSTORI* WHO MAKE YOU DO AND BELIEVE STUPID THINGS. THEY ARE ALL THE SAME. THEY ARE ONLY WEARING DIFFERENT CLOTHES.

Non-believer

The whole issue with these modern miracle-performing prophets is a JOKE. I think the hard times most Zimbabweans are living in, makes it so appealing for a prophet who promises instant riches and blessings. Yesterday i watched Yadar TV and this guy was giving a testimony that he touched his TV at home.
and his injured neck was instantly healed. Ok maybe am a non believer but GUYS out there be cautious of these PROPHETS most of their theatrics are meant to attract huge crowds, translating to HUGE offerings enriching the prophets-Those guys who give those testimonies should surely not mislead people.

5.4.2.4 Presentation and analysis of newspaper comments on the story “Magaya blasts vapositori.”

The responses to the story point to a number of ideas with regards to the office of a traditional and faith healer. One idea that was raised by respondents is that there is no difference between the traditional healer and the faith healer. Commentators were of the view that what these practitioners are doing is the same the only difference is that one is Christian oriented and the other one is traditionally oriented. One of the respondents said; “Vese vekudzura, venguwo tsvuku, vembali, mkaka, kana magedhi in’anga idzo. Hatiende kuchurch kunobatiswa vavengi kana kunosuka minyama asi kunoudzwa zvaJesu. (All those who prophecy, of red cloth, clay pots, milk and gates are all traditional healers. We do not go to church for witchhunting or to be cleansed from misfortunes but to hear about God.) The respondent was of the idea that prophets are just like traditional healers and they are not Christians. In support of this the other respondent said “Don’t be FOOLED BY THE SO CALLED MAN OF GOD, N’ANGAS AND MAPOSITORI WHO MAKE YOU DO AND BELIEVE STUPID THINGS. THEY ARE ALL THE SAME. THEY ARE ONLY WEARING DIFFERENT CLOTHES.” This idea has been alluded to by Staugard (1985) who says that the Tswana faith healer is deeply rooted in indigenous culture and plays the same role as a local healer hence categorised under traditional healers. The respondents were agreeable that faith healers are fake simply because they are doing exactly what the n’anga is doing. The respondents went to the extent of using upper case as a way of emphasising that these practitioners are devilish.

Some respondents concurred with Magaya who believes that White garment churches are no good. They are castigated for the reason that their healing methods are like those used by traditional healers. One of the respondents said; “Now that we have heard it from the n’angas themselves that they use traditional medicines and other unorthodox ways of healing its high time Ndanga comes in the open and say the truth to the nation. Prophet Magaya thank you for
exposing the marine backed witch doctors, may the almighty continue to increase you in all areas.” The respondent went to the extent of calling them witchdoctors a colonial term that was used as a way of dehumanising and disempowering the traditional healer. The commentator does not realise that the term is limiting and cannot exhaustively explain all the roles of the white garment faith healer.

The other category of respondents is those who were against Magaya. These respondents questioned the source of Magaya’s knowledge about marine spirits, suggesting that he himself is the one who use marine spirits. Respondents also contended that all the Magaya type of prophets are fake. They are accused of turning the church into a business where they use various ways to lure people and to steal from people. They are accused of taking advantage of the suffering of people.

Some respondents advocated for a situation where Zimbabweans embrace that Zimbabwe is a multi-religious country. One of the respondents said; “This is war, pliz stop it we don’t want to end up being an Islamic world where a church is the most feared and dangerous place to be. Stop it and continue with your various beliefs, the better for all of us.” The respondent was of the view that people have got various beliefs and all the beliefs should be treated with respect. He cautioned people about what was observed by Clarke (1999:17) when he says:

> When you look at the world from a point of view willed to you by your oppressor, you quite forget that there is a whole lot of people with different concepts of God in different places of the world.

This suggests that those people who are castigating others are operating from the centre of the oppressor who instructs them that there is only one religion in the world. The other respondent said “Ndanga is childish, first of all medicine is a gift from God, no man or Prophet is allowed to say that people shouldn’t use or take medicine.” This respondent seems to be suggesting that whatever a person’s religion might be all medicine comes from God therefore no one has the power to tell people that they should not take medicine.

### 5.4.3 Results from *Daily News*

**Story 9**

*Mugabe succession: N'angas roped in: 10 September 2014*
HARARE - A group of Zanu PF bigwigs have reportedly roped in some “spirit mediums and traditional healers” to determine President Robert Mugabe’s successor, in a development that confirms how superstitious the Zimbabwean society is.

The development is a throwback to the diesel n’anga (traditional doctor) debacle.

In addition to the Daily News’ visit yesterday to a Christon Bank shrine-cum-homestead where preparations for a massive Saturday traditional gathering were underway, authoritative government sources yesterday said a youthful Cabinet minister- with the help of war veterans- had roped in at least four spirit mediums and traditional healers for the controversial ceremony.

Although party spokesperson Rugare Gumbo and war veterans’ leader Jabulani Sibanda declined to comment on the issue on the grounds that they were not aware of the planned meeting, the story has betrayed the panic and fear gripping Mugabe’s Zanu PF ahead of the December elective congress as factionalism worsens.

“I have not been briefed on that,” Gumbo told this paper yesterday.

On the other hand, Sibanda said: “I don’t know about that and this is my first time to hear about it.”

“Of late, I have been at the farm and so I am not aware of that event,” he added.

However, an undercover Daily News crew to the Mazowe valley shrine-cum-homestead witnessed a full throttle procession in motion led by one Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Mutota from Guruve.

According to aides, a Nyanga “svikiro” also known as Tangwena was going to attend the ceremony and function as well, and with their strict brief being to look into who is fit to replace Mugabe and possibly discount a woman leader.

The aides confirmed that they had begun brewing traditional beer and everything was on course for Saturday’s highly-anticipated ceremony.

“We have just bought some firewood and we are about to start brewing beer,” said the aide, speaking on condition of anonymity.

“As you can see, we are thatching more huts because we expect a lot of people to come.”

Another aide said war veterans drawn from across Zimbabwe had been invited to help prepare for the ceremony.

“We have war veterans from as far as Gwanda, some have came from Uzumba, they are 30 in all and they have been assisting us,” the aide said.

“On Saturday, we expect a lot of war veterans to come here for the ceremony.”
The message of no woman for leadership is being touted as coming from Zimbabwe’s ancestors, and will be accompanied by an ominous warning that any attempt to defy the directive would portend chaos in the country.

With Zimbabwe gripped by a succession duel reportedly pitting Vice President Joice Mujuru and Justice minister Emmerson Mnangagwa, this bizarre story and development has added an intriguing twist to the Zanu PF succession wars.

Although many believe that the two are frontrunners, there are many rank outsiders hoping for a bite of the cherry and who have also stepped up their clandestine campaigns to take over the top job.

With hundreds of villagers and war veterans expected for the indaba, sources said it could also be a well-knitted plot stage-managed for the Press.

“Some people are desperate for power. People from the ... faction have gone to n’angas and told them that they should say that the spirit mediums have shown them that a woman will never rule this country,” said another source.

“This prophecy will be made on Saturday during a traditional ceremony that will be carried out by the traditional healers. We struggled to find out where the n’angas had been housed but one of the faction’s guys told us unwittingly and we now know it is at Mazowe, in one of the n’anga’s homestead,” he added.

They further claimed the traditional healers and mediums were promised Toyota Land Cruisers, and cash-an issue the Daily News could not independently verify by the time of going to press.

“The healers have been promised a lot of money and cars and this is shocking to say the least,” said the source.

“They are being bribed to say (VP Joice) Mujuru will never rule Zimbabwe. This is desperate politics by desperate politicians.

“But it is the year of the congress and we know that some will be so desperate to outwit others. But to go to n’angas is quite frankly bizarre and ridiculous.”

The gathering comes hardly five years after Mugabe personally chaired meetings to discuss claims by a 35-year-old n’anga Rotina Mavhunga that she could produce pure diesel out of rocks, and his government met her demands for two head of cattle and three buffaloes after falling for her outlandish story.

At that time, the president personally revealed how his government was duped by the diesel n’anga and released Z$5 billion, a car and piece of land in return for diesel from Maningwa Hills — outside Chinhoyi.
The “spirit medium”, also known as Nomatter Tgarira, convinced Zimbabwe government officials that she had been possessed by ancestral spirits who were keen to aid the nation’s battle with the fuel shortages.

The development also comes as Mnangagwa has announced that the Zanu PF presidium will be determined by a secret ballot in a move widely seen as a ploy to scupper Mujuru’s bid to hang on to her post at the congress.

After 34 years of Mugabe’s unbridled rule, the prospect of a new president is becoming all the more real, and the usually concealed power struggles within Zanu PF have exploded out into the open.

5.4.3.1 Presentation and analysis of data from the story “Mugabe succession: n’angas roped in”

The story presents traditional healers in a negative manner. The reporter says that the development shows how superstitious Zimbabweans are. This shows that the idea that people consult traditional healers is not taken seriously. This has been alluded to by Chavunduka (2001) who argues that Christian missionaries tried to destroy the African religion but they failed and they viewed it as childish religion full of black magic, sorcery and witchcraft full of superstition. The story shows that the move to rope in traditional healers is silly since it regards it as a throwback to the diesel n’anga (traditional doctor) debacle. The diesel n’anga is a traditional healer that once duped government officials that she can produce diesel from a rock. By referring back to this, the reporter is in a way suggesting that it is unreasonable for the officials to consult a n’anga. To discredit the n’anga, the reporter also mentions to the idea that the n’angas have been bribed into professing that the spirit medium has shown them that the country can not be ruled by a female. It is said in the story that the traditional healers were promised Land Cruisers and cash. This is meant to show that whatever the traditional healers were going to say was stage managed and this therefore means that traditional healers are just after money.
Table 44: Comments by newspaper commentators on the story “Mugabe successions: N’anga roped in.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commentator</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musona</td>
<td>Very backward. ZANUPF has turned this once developing Third World country into one background giant Reserve. <em>N’angas</em> in this modern day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devil and his agents</td>
<td><em>Kutii n’anga ndokuti Satan.</em> The devil is in charge of the current government through his agents’ masquerading as elected public officers. This country needs redemption.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>A <em>svikiro</em> is not a <em>n’anga.</em> And what controversial about the gathering? Its people practicing their religion. When Christians, Buddhists Islamists and others gather you never call it “controversial gathering.” How many times are mosques and Stadium in Harare full of Moslems and Christians gatherings respectively, and nowhere have these been called controversial, but crossover crusade e.t.c Whether we believe it or not at least lets write correct facts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziziharinan</td>
<td>That stupid and barbaric outdated propaganda that only worked to wood wink the gullible war veterans during the war. Remember different ethnic groups in Zimbabwe with and outside ZANU consulted? What about the <em>Ndebele, Karanga, Venda</em> and others. That’s rubbish honestly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satan</td>
<td>Peasants in Gooso are suffering the same fate on chief Njelele area. <em>Tsikamutanda</em> has taken to raying cash and cattle by identifying people who are accused of witchcraft and charging them cash and cattle which is then shared with the headman. We have village leaders who are using 18th century tactics to settle scores using <em>n’anga.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There will be nothing fair to come out of this diabolic gathering.

Zimbabwe kana wakuda kurohwa neshamhu yaJehovah ita zvauri kuita izvi

The same bunch of fools who were duped into believing pure diesel could ooze out of a rock are at it again, the same bunch that tried to make us believe 2 million jobs would be created simply by voting for ZANU PF. It is again the same bunch that stole well deserved resting time of a 90 year old to travel thousands of miles east to the Orient in the belief that just his mere presence there would make the Chinese pump out 4 billion dollars. Heaven help us all.

All the more reason to pray to God to guide, strengthen and protect Mai Mujuru from these "draculas" at this point in time.

5.4.3.2 Presentation and analysis of data on newspaper comments on the story “Mugabe successions: N’anga roped in.”
Apart from the political messages the majority of comments except for one were against traditional healers. The respondents accused ZANU PF members of being old fashioned. They suggested that the traditional healer has no place in modern day societies. One of the respondents said that the world has modernised therefore there is no place for the traditional healer. The commentator says “N’angas in this modern day.” The other one says “…We have village leaders who are using 18th century tactics to settle scores using n’anga…” In light of these arguments Okome (2003:17) says … “traditional spirituality represents the old ways of things and is backward and barbaric; Christianity is the new way forward. It is the light.” This suggests that the commentators did not see a place for a traditional healer in this day. What they did not recognise is that the issue of viewing traditional healers as old-fashioned and barbaric is not new but has
got its origins in the introduction of Christianity. It follows that this is one of the falsehoods that were created by the European imperialist in a bid to create space for Christianity.

Respondents were also of the view that the traditional healer is devilish so that they see the act by ZANU PF members as something that is quite barbaric. One of the commentators said “Kuti n'anga ndokuti Satan.” (The traditional healer is the same as Satan). The devil is in charge of the current government through his agents’ masquerading as elected public officers. This country needs redemption.” The respondent did not see any difference between a n’anga and Satan. The respondent did not take into consideration that a n’anga is an important aspect of African religion and that religion was an important part in the colonisation of Africa. William (1987:56) says Africans were turned into Christians and in the process blacks were changed into Whiteman’s image. Williams goes on to say “Africans who were neither Muslims nor Christians were classed as pagans and therefore required to disavow their whole culture and to regard practically all institutions as backward or savage.” This psychological shackles is still handicapping people today consequently people are despising traditional healers and those who consult them. This shows that the respondent is a victim of the falsehoods that were created by the whites who have labelled everything African black and consequently is using the false definition of a traditional healer in his analysis. The falsehoods have been successful in alienating an African from himself. Clarke (1991:xi) laments the idea that Africans are no longer conscious of themselves. They are playing victims of the falsehoods that were created by the whites.

It is important to note that there is one respondent who understood that there are many religions of the world hence does not see any problem when people are consulting their traditional healers. The commentator unlike the majority, whose ideas are driven by the understanding that there is only one religion, recognised the multiplicity of religions. He saw the consultation of traditional healers as a religious act hence does not see anything wrong when people practise their religion. The respondent lamented the idea that people appreciate it when Christians, Buddhists, Islamists and others gather but when Africans gather for their religion it is regarded as something that is controversial. The respondent was of the view that religions are diverse hence there is no reason to regard other religions as elitist. This idea has been mentioned by Ani (1994) who condemns Christianity for altering the idea that religion is a birthright by fashioning
a religious statement that was elitist, intellectual as opposed to the spiritual-emotional and at the same time universal-imperialistic. The respondent disputed the universality of some religions and declares the African religion as a valid religion. The commentator was of the view that religion is a birthright and is against viewing some religions as elitist. He therefore advocated for a situation where African traditional religion is appreciated in the same manner as Christianity and Islamic. The respondent appreciated the consulting of a n’anga as a religious expression which no one should not be deprived of.

Story 10
Govt should intervene on HIV faith-healing-ZNNP+: 23 June 2016
HARARE - Zimbabwe National Network of People Living with HIV (ZNNP+) has called on government to intervene on faith-healing as it is likely to hinder progress made in response to HIV/Aids and may deter the country from achieving the 90-90-90 targets by 2020.

The concerns were raised at a National Stakeholders Dialogue on Faith-Healing and the National HIV Strategic Response held at a local hotel recently.

ZNNP+ executive director Dagobert Mureriwa said lives are being lost because of religious beliefs.

“We have lost lives and we will continue to lose some if government does not intervene on faith-healing, as more and more people continue to visit prophets and in the process stop taking their medication leading to deaths”.

“There is need for a strong message from government through the Health and Child Care ministry in relation to all issues around religion, especially on the church and HIV”. Mureriwa added.

Experts say faith-healing has had an adverse effect in the fight against HIV as it often runs contrary to national preventive, treatment and other care services commitments to end the disease by 2020.

Stories of people stopping and surrendering their anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) to faith healers are common amid a belief that HIV can be cured.

A study on the practice of faith-healing in Zimbabwe done by UNAids, and partners noted that people who were on treatment and then stopped taking their treatment because of advice from faith healers put their lives at risk.

Giving a testimony, Margaret Cement, a 38- year-old mother of four, who is living with HIV said she was once asked to stop taking ARVs as her faith could keep her strong.
“I became aware that I was HIV-positive when I lost my baby girl in 2003 and started taking ARVs. I continued to be an active member in my church. During this period, I felt very strong on my ARVs.

“A prophet in our church told me I had ‘the spirit of a goblin’ in me that others called HIV. I believed that since the same prophet had prophesised the death of my baby and I stopped taking my ARVs.

“Later on, I got very sick and decided to go to the clinic where my CD4 had dropped to 115 and I was ordered to take my ARVs which I am taking until this day. I still have my faith and I am living positively.”

ZNPNP+ national chairperson Sebastian Chinhaire said some people living with HIV are failing to live positively and turn to faith healers.

5.4.3.3 Presentation and analysis of data from the story “Govt should intervene on HIV faith-healing - ZNNP+”

The story paints a bad picture about faith healers. It attacks these healers for disrupting HIV/AIDS prevention strategies. The story is concerned about faith healers who advise HIV patients to stop taking HIV/ AIDS medication upon professing that these people are healed. The ZNNP director condemns religious beliefs for causing the death of people. He says “‘We have lost lives and we will continue to lose some if government does not intervene on faith-healing, as more and more people continue to visit prophets and in the process stop taking their medication leading to deaths”. The director is of the idea that people should desist from visiting faith healers since they are causing the death of people whom they advise to stop taking ARVs. He actually calls for government intervention to regulate the operations of these healers. The African belief in the spirits is attacked. He condemns the idea that people see HIV/AIDS as a spiritual disease where he says “‘A prophet in our church told me I had ‘the spirit of a goblin’ in me that others called HIV. I believed that since the same prophet had prophesised the death of my baby and I stopped taking my ARVs.”

Morekwa (2004) is of the idea that faith healers operate from a point of view where they believe that there is no illness that God can not heal. Consequently they believe that prophets can heal diseases like HIV/AIDS. The story disregards Chitando (2013) who sees the importance of African indigenous religions in the HIV/AIDS context. He says that Africans believe in spirits and the spirits have different qualities with some promoting and some against human wellbeing. Those that are against human well being are evil and HIV/AIDS is classified under the category of evil. According to Chitando (2013) evil can only be removed by
consulting traditional and other religious specialists of which faith healers are such. The writer purports that the belief that HIV/AIDS is a spiritual disease forces people to stop their medication which militates against achieving the 90-90-90 targets by 2020. It follows that the representation of faith healers is negative as they are accused in the paper of giving people ill advice which is against government policies. The story openly shows that HIV/AIDS is out of the capabilities of faith healers and therefore people should not be deceived by faith healers into abandoning their medication. The story is in favour of medical doctors. It promotes the European worldview over the African understanding of diseases and illness. At the end of the day one can conclude that the story is crafted in such a way that it perpetuates the colonial agenda that sees everything that is African as inadequate. The story ignores the African understanding of disease and illness which is talked about by Morekwa (2004) who argues that healing in Africa is holistic. It goes hand in hand with faiths or beliefs of people and it is understood as part of religion, culture and tradition. It follows that the story is taking Africans further and further away from themselves.

**Story 11**

**Faith healer draws bumper crowds source: 18 February 2016**

HARARE - A controversial pastor is attracting thousands of followers in Harare's working class suburb Glen View every week, with his critics accusing him of building a cult.

Self declared “Prophet T. Freddy”, though, disputes claims by his critics saying God is at work.

His miracle services are drawing unprecedented crowds.

Every Wednesday between 5 and 8:30 pm and Sunday from 10 am to 2 pm, thousands of local and foreign pilgrims are packed into a huge marquee opposite Glen View Clinic.

Many visit him seeking to solve riddles in their lives, seeking prayer for guidance, marriage counselling, financial blessing or pregnancy.

His critics, including prominent local pastors, won't deny that he heals people.

But they say he draws his power from indigenous African occultism -- not from the Holy Spirit.

"We run a prophetic ministry," he told the *Daily News* in an exclusive interview this week.

"God is working. We normally use spiritual spectacles."
The increasingly popular preacher, who has claimed to perform miracles, including recovering stolen goods and exposing cheating husbands, has anchored his ministry on so-called "spiritual spectacles."

Born to a poor family in 1983, he was schooled in Glen View, is wealthy, influential and highly revered for the office he holds and also a gospel musician. People come from around the country to his Goodness and Mercy Ministries in Glen View to seek healing and to witness prophecies.

The testimonies include stories about financial prosperity, inexplicable recoveries from illness and even a woman who recovered 12 stolen cattle.

"We pray for someone so that that person begins to see the spiritual realm, to see the past, the present and the future in the same manner that Prophet Elisha did in 2nd Kings Chapter 6 verse 17," he said.

Due to reports of miraculous signs and wonders that occur every week, thousands are patronising the church, saying they are coming to see a "message from God".

He has stirred controversy by his ability to expose cheating husbands, but denies he is a home wrecker.

"I am not a marriage wrecker but I build marriages, for the Bible says God hates divorce, but the truth can set you free," he told the Daily News.

Formed in 2005, his church is making waves only now, harvesting many charismatic Christians, who are now firm believers of Prophet T. Freddy. He denies his church was in hibernation over the past decade.

"It is God time. The time is now," he said. "People are being delivered from evil spirits, marine spirits."

Asked who his spiritual father is, he retorted curtly: "I don't have a spiritual father because God has not instructed me to have one."

Nicknamed 'Spiritual Spectacles Special' because of his "prophetic gift" and ability to pray for the sick, he runs the humanitarian arm of Goodness and Mercy Ministries, with projects catering to the needs of widows, the elderly, physically challenged, orphans and the destitute.

5.4.3.4 Presentation and analysis of data from the story 'Faith healer draws bumper crowds'

The story is one that represents the faith healer in negative light. Although the reporter mentions the good deeds that the prophet is doing the way the material is represented shows that the reporter is of the idea that the prophet is fake. The reporter applauds the faith healer in the story as he mentions that he has projects that are catering for the needs of widows, elderly, physically
challenged, orphans and destitutes and that he is instrumental in the healing of people. However, the reporter’s choice of words shows that the reporter is for the idea that the faith healer is not authentic. The faith healer is described as a controversial and self-declared prophet. These titles that are used to refer to the pastor show that the dependability of the prophet is doubted to a very large extent. The story also makes reference to the critics of the healer which it says do not doubt that the prophet is healing people but they question the source of his power. They are of the opinion that the prophet in question uses evil spirits to undertake his duties. They say the prophet is in occultism and is hiding behind the name of god in order to win clients. The way the story is written shows that the reporter is anti-faith healing since he admits that the faith healer is performing miracles but he goes on to exploit a language that defeats the whole purpose. The language that is used in the text is diminishing the faith healer and tends to label him as a fake practitioner who is being used by the devil. Wenden (2008) comments on the role of language in representation when he says that language whether textual or visual is perpetually and purposefully at work and representation depends on how language is deployed and operationalises and by whom. Thus in this story the reporter makes use of language as a way of supporting his argument. This is in line with Houtlosser and van Eemeren’s extended pragma-dialectic theory which recognises that arguers have more in mind when they engage in argumentation, that is, in as much as they may want to achieve reasonableness; they also want outcomes to be in their favour. To them arguers do not just argue for no reason, but to win the argument. In the story the reporter is being reasonable by accepting that people are actually being healed but uses language that diminish the faith healers in a bid to drive the argument in his favour. At the end of the day the impression that we get in the story is that the faith healer is performing miracles and healing people but the spirit that he is using is devilish hence people should be on guard of such people. In the end the faith healer receives a negative representation.

5.4.4 Results from Kwayedza
Story 12
‘Ndinogadzira mheni’...ndiyo pfuti yemunhu mutema: n’anga ...‘ikashaya mhosva inodzoka kumuridzi’: December 18, 2015

N’ANGA yekuChipinge iri kuyambira veruzhinji kuti vasangotumidzirana mheni dzekugadzira nemishonga, kunyanya panguva ino yekunaya kwemvura, nekuti kana mheni yacho ikatumirwa kumunhu asina mhosva, inodzoka ichisvikorova iye anenge aitumidzira kana musa pake. VaCharles Ndunge, avo vanozivikanwa nekuti Sekuru Ndunge, vekuSouth Downs,
vakabuda pachena kuti vane hunyanzvi hwekugadzira mheni vachishanda pamwe chete
nasahwira wavo anobva kuMatebeleland.

“Mheni dziriko ‘too much’. Dzinogadzirika, ibazooka chairo uye inogadzirika zvisina
dambudziko. Asi inotumirwa chete kumunhu wawakatadzirana naye nekuti kusina mhosva
inodzoka kuzorova iwe waituma.

“Inogadzirwa nemarasha emo to nemishonga. N’anga zhinji dzemunyika dzevatema muno
muAfrica dzinogadzira mheni sezvinoitwa kuno kuChipinge neManicaland yose,’’ vanodaro.

Vanoti mheni inoshandiswa kana vanhu vapesana sekutanga kunongoita hondo.
“Ndinoshanda naVaAleck Moyo (65), mumwe chiremba ari pano uyo anobva kuBulawayo.
Ndivo vakandidzidzisa mashonga wemheni uyo tinoshandisa taona kwenyaya yacho
nekunoda kutumidzirwa.’’

Sekuru Ndunge vanoti kune mheni yepasi neyemudenga idzo dzinosiyana magadzirirwo adzo.
“Takamboigadzira mheni iyi ndokushevedza vadzidzisira nemunwe nevamwe vabereki kuti vazoona.
VaMoyo vakaisa mavhunze muchikari ndokufamba nawo mheni ichibva yaputika ipapo vanhu
vakapunzikira pasi,’’ vanodaro Sekuru Ndunge.

VaMoyo vanotsinhira vachiti iyi inzira yekurudzidza masimba emishonga yechivanhu.
“Ini ndinobva kuTsholotsho ndinogadzira mheni zvisina dambudziko. Hausi utsinye uhu nekuti
mheni yekugadzira inorova chete kune mhosva, ukarohwa nechibhake unofanirwa kudzosera
kurudzidza kuti hausi mbwende,’’ vanodaro VaMoyo.

Vanoti mheni yaMwari yakasiyana marovero ayo neyekugadzira sezvo yekutumwa ichitevera
munhu kana kumunda kana kudoro chaiko.
“Mheni dzose, yaMwari neyekutumirwa, dzinosiyana mazai anofanirwa kuzobviswa nenyanzvi
dzechivanhu nekuti akarega kubviswa inoramba ichidzoka kuzorova,’’ vanodaro VaMoyo.

Imwe n’anga yekuSouth Africa, Mbuya Agnes Mabaso (51), avo vakange vashanyira Sekuru
Ndunge kumatare avo kuChipinge, vanotsigirawo kuti kune mheni dzekugadzira, kunyangwe ivo
vachiti havazvikwanise.

“Zvinaratidza kukosha kwesimba rechivhunhu nekutwa muchena akakhundutswa anobuda nepfuti
saka isu tinobuda nemheni nezvidhoma. Zvinhu zvinodadisa,’’ vanodaro.
Sekuru Ndunge vanotizve vane mishonga yekuworora mbavha kuti dzidzose zvadzinenge dzaba.

“Mbavha harisi dambudziko kwatiri nekuti munhu abirwa tikamugadzirira, zvinhu zvake
zvinodzoka,’’ vanodaro.
Vanoti anenge aba paanodzosa zvinhu izvi anofanirwa kuripa nemombe kumunhu waanenge
abira.
5.4.4.1 Presentation and analysis of data from ‘Ndinogadzira mheni’...ndiyo pfuti yemunhu mutema: n’anga ...‘ikashaya mhosva inodzoka kumuridzi’

This story is one of those which are concerned about the ills of African religion. The traditional healer who is the African medical practitioner is here represented as a witch. In the story one of the traditional healers accepts that lightning is there and is used by traditional healers to kill those people who would have arred against them. The traditional healer says “Mheni dziriko ‘too much’. Dzinogadzirika, ibazooka chairo uye inogadzirika zvisina dambudziko. Asi inotumirwa chete kumunhu wawakatadzirana naye nekuti kusina mhosva inodzoka kuzorova iwe waituma.” (Lightning is there. They can be made easily. But is only send to someone who has erred but it does not work on innocent people). The traditional healer says that lighting is easily made by traditional healers and is used to settle disputes. The healer however points to the idea that people should not just send lightning to innocent people because this can have adverse effects. He contends that if it is send to the wrong person it comes back to strike the one who sends it. The healer in the story sees lightning as synonymous to a war where he says that “Vanoti mheni inoshandiswa kana vanhu vapesana sekutanga kunongoita hondo.” This information is evident to show that traditional healing is bad because just like in war it results in the death of people thus the idea that traditional healers are murderers. Mr Moyo the traditional healer does not see anything bad with using lightning for revenge basing on the idea that it does not attack an innocent person. He actually says “Hausi utsinye uhu nekuti mheni yekugadzira inorova chete kune mhosva, ukarohwa nechihakera unofanirwa kudzosera kuratidza kuti hausi mbwende,” vanodaro VaMoyo.” For the healers striking someone with lighting is a way of showing someone that you are not a coward and to show the importance of the power of African religion. The way the information is presented shows that the traditional healers boast and are proud of this ability as if to say that killing is part of their job and is actually in their blood. It is interesting to note that it is captured in the story that the majority of traditional healers in Africa and in Zimbabwe have got the skills to make lightning.

The story tells a negative story about the traditional healers. It shows that these healers are involved in diabolical activities and that such activities are presented as if they are inherent in African religion. It is important to note that there are a number of stories that were published in Kwayedza which parades the diabolical activities of which n’angas are involved in. On 24 July the paper publishes a story where a traditional healer healer boasts about the idea that he fixes
thieves by killing them. Such stories fix the idea that traditional healers are evil. Whilst people believe that a traditional healer is a person who is there to help people deal with the problems that they face in life, the story portrays a traditional healer as a threat to human life. The otraditional healer is represented as a witch and a murderer in the story. This is in line with the colonialist’s understanding of what a traditional healer is. Chavunduka (2001) argued that Christian missionaries tried to destroy the African religion but they failed and they viewed it as childish religion full of black magic, socery and witchcraft full of superstition. The representation of the traditional healer in the story is diabolical and colonised and they represented the mind of someone who is clutched within the claws of the European. Following this Malcom X (1970:54) says:

We … recapture our heritage and identity if we are ever to liberate ourselves from the bonds of white supremacy. We must launch a cultural revolution to unbrainwash an entire people.

The way our heritage is represented in Zimbabwean newspapers is therefore colonised and there is need for the liberation of such discourse in order to have a clear and accurate understanding of what is African.

The sentiments that are echoed by the traditional healer show barbarism. They view lightning that is designed to kill people as an act of valour. The representation is colonial and hegemonic in nature representing the African culture as dehumanised. The kind of portrayal that the traditional healer receives in the story is meant to perpetuate colonial myths that were meant to discredit anything African in a bid to universalise European culture and religion. This has been alluded to by Botha (1985) in Ojara (2006:352) who justifies a continuous fight against traditional practices when he urges “fellow whites to fight against the black devil.” This suggests that the media is being exploited to fight against African traditional religion.

**Story 13**

*I ni ndinochipisa mbavha – n’anga: November 7, 2014*

MBUYA Efrida Meja vachiratidza mushonga unonzi “chimuti” uyo vanoti ndiwo musimboti webasa ravo. – Mifananidzo: Memory Mangombe

*PANE imwe n’anga yemuHarare iyo isingambotenderera kana yotaura mabasa ayo. Inoti kana pari pakushandisa mishonga yevanoba, hartisi dambudziko nekuti “mbavha ndinodzigadzira”.*
N’angya yekumufakose iyi yakaudza Kwayedza svondo raperu kuti ine mishonga “inoyanika” mbavha pachena nyakubirwa achitoiona zvose nemaparirwo akaitwa mhosva.

Mbuya Efriya Meja vanoti vane mamwe masimba anototyisa, sekuwwanisa kupfuudza munhu, asi havaashandise sezvo zvisingatenderwe nemitemo yesangano ravanoshanda vari vari paro, reZimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association (Zinatha).

“Zvimwe zvakadai sekutamba neropa pamwe nekupfuudza munhu simba racho ndinaro uye mishonga yacho ndinozigwa, yeikuwira munhu raki kana kudzosema chitema zvekuti mbavha kana muroyi anofa. Asi handishandise simba iri nekuti hazvitenderwi neveZinatha kunova ndiko kwandakanyoresa, saka handizviite,” vakadaro Mbuya Meja.

Vanoti vane simba rekutaura nezvidhoma pamwe nekuziita kuti zvidzokere kumuridzi wazvo nekuita kuti munhu ane mudzimu wakasungwa usvike.

Mbuya Meja, avo vanova chizvavura chekuZambia, vanoti vabeatsira vanhu vakawanda vachishandisa nzira yavanaofumura nayo mbavha.

Mbuya Meja, avo vanoveze mukuru wesezvangu reZimbabwe National Traditional Dancers Association, vanoti vane mishonga yakaikira sewekuti munhu akwanise kuona munhu akamubira uye maitiko azvinenge zvakaikira, mifananidzo ichitobuda pamadziro emba anoita segirai.

“Pano handiite zvedambe, ndinongoshandisa reza, mvura yemurwizi nefodya,” vakadaro Mbuya Meja.

Vanoti kana munhu achinge anobatsirwa dambudziko rakaita sekubirwa, vanomunwisa mushonga apo anozouona “pagirai” ravo munhu anenge akamubira nezvo nezvire zvakanika.

Ravanoti girazi iri madziro akapedzwa tumabhokisi tushanu neruvara rwuchena apo munhu anonzviri anotarira pasi nezvire achida obva atanga kuona zvire emuva zvichiderana nemudzidziko raanenge afambira. Vanoti vanosvikirwa nemudzimu wenguza asi nokuda kwekuti unotaura chiChewa chakadzama, vanhu vavanogaririsa navo havanzvi chirudzi ichi izvo zvinoita kusvika pamwe vusvika nemudzimu nguva zhinji.

“Mudzimu wangu wenjuzu ndiwo unogezesa varwere, tinopinda mumadziva makuru apo ndinonopihwa mishonga nenjuzu pasi pemvura. Tinoita izvi paane vanenge vachimba nekuridza ngoma sezviya zvinoita pabira uye vanwo vungu masvikuva vanogona kupindawo pasi pemvura kuti vadzikamise njuzu kudzidzo varwe,” vakadaro Mbuya Meja.

Mbuya ava vanotizve vanobvakachirwa nevanhu vanoita zvechifambiri avo vanenge vachitsvaga mishonga yekukweva varume.

“Ndinovabatsira uye vanoramba vachidzoka nekuti mishonga yacho inovashandira.”
Pakubatsira vanwe vanhu pane zvinenge zvichivanetsa vanoti dzimwe nguva vanongopa munhu “chimuti” icho anonobatidza ave kumba kwake zvinoita kuti matambudziko aanenge ari kusangana nawo aperse.

“Ndinongopa munhu chimuti ndomuti anobatidza ari kumba kwase asi anofanira kutanga asuma midzimu yake otaira zveze zaari kuda. Hutsi hwegwenzi iroro ndihwo hunotsvaga pane dambudziko hwogadzirisa.”

Vanoti pakushanda kwavo havadeure ropa remunhu sezvo izvi zvisingatenderwe.

Mbuya Meja vanoti vanochera mishonga yavo kunzvimbo dzakadai seLake Chivero, Chinhoyi Caves nekuSamabi.

Sekutaura kwavo, Mbuya Meja vanoti vanobatsira vanwe vane zvinzvimbo muHurumende, vanoshanda kuchipurisa nemuchu to nemamwe machiremba vanotsvaga simba, anova mashoko asina kuwanikwa humboo hwawo nevatori venhau. Vanotizve pane mamwe mapurisa anoenda kwavari vachinobatsirwa kutsvaga vapari vemhosva.

5.4.4.2 Presentation and analysis of data on “Ini ndinochipisa mbavha – N’anga”

The images of the traditional healer that are portrayed in this story are horrible. Whilst the title of the story shows that these practitioners are helpful in exposing thieves the gist of the story immediately shifts to focus on the diabolical activities of traditional healers. The opening statement of the story is loaded. The reporter opens the story as he says “PANE imwe n’anga yemuHarare iyo isingambotenderera kana yotaura mabasa ayo.” (There is a certain Harare traditional healer who does not bit about the bush when talking about its works.) The statement shows that the reporter is referring to deeds that are more than just what the healer does when helping people to identify thieves. The statement itself shows that there is more to the story than just the issue of exposing thieves. Houtlosser and van Eemeren (2002) recognised that when engaging in an argument arguers have more in mind, that is, in as much as they may want to achieve reasonableness; they also want outcomes to be in their favour. To them arguers do not just argue for no reason, but to win the argument. A close analysis of the story shows that the reporter is engaging in an argument where he wants to show the evilness of traditional healers. In order to achieve that he follows the rules of an argument where he tries to be reasonable, thus he echoes the idea that traditional healers are capable of helping people apprehend thieves. However he does not end there thus he goes on to show some of the deeds that are done by traditional healers in a bid to show his own line of argumentment which is largely to demonise the
traditional healer. At the end of the day the traditional healer in the story is represented not only as a person who is helpful to society but as a witch as shown in the story when the traditional healer says “Mbuya Efrida Meja vanoti vane mamwe masimba anototyisa, sekukwanisa kupfuudza munhu” this idea is revisited in the story where it is said “Zvimwe zvakadai sekutamba neropa pamwe nekupfuudza munhu simba racho ndinaro uye mishonga yacho ndinoiziva, yekuitisa munhu raki kana kudzosera chitema zvekuti mbavha kana muroyi anofa.” This might have been done to emphasise the idea that traditional healers are perpetuators of evil. The statements above show that traditional healers are witches who are capable of killing people. The reporter also says that the traditional healer actually have powers owhich are terrifying. Traditional healing is taken as profession where human life is not respected and is at stake always. The portrayal of this African practitioner is made reference to by Achebe (1988:18) asserts that:

… the West must derive from Africa once it rids its mind of old prejudices and began to look at Africa not through a haze of distortions and cheap mystification but quite simply as a continent of people-not angles…

The story shows the obsession of the traditional healer with what is human and this strips the traditional healer of any human signs. This kind of reporting instils fear in people and may actually deter people from visiting traditional healers. The kind of representation is typical of the European presentation of the cultural other. It is a representation that justifies stereotypes of the traditional healer and disempowers and plays havoc on the role of the traditional healer. The story also indirectly attacks the power source of the traditional healer. The traditional healer says that her power lies in the stick and that she has the spirit of mermaids. The traditional healer also talks about her popularity with recognised people in society but the idea is disregarded as the reporter goes on to say that they failed to get evidence to support the idea. At the end of the day the good that the traditional healer is purported to be doing is largely camouflaged by the bad that she is doing. The only good thing that the traditional healer is said to be doing to the society is that she helps people to apprehend thieves amongst the ideas that he is killer, witch, who is able to talk to ghosts and who help prostitutes to lure man activities which are largely anti-social. It is clear from the story that much focus is put on the bad that the traditional healer is capable of doing at the expense of the good which is concealed. This suggests that the reporter wants people to align with a certain understanding of what a traditional healer is thus Awan (2008) is of the
idea that representation does not just reflect reality, but it forms that reality in the social environment by shaping perceptions and understanding in the audience. This suggests that the European project of dehumanising the African did not end but it is still perpetuated through various avenues of which the media is just one.

**Story 14**

‘*Ngwarirai maporofita enhema*: April 10, 2015 ·

HAMENO zvenyu kune avo vanoteerera maporofita enhema muchiti baba vati baba vati.

Mashoko aya akataurwa negurukota rinoona nezvехutano munyika yeSouth Africa, VaAaron Motsoaledi, maziva apera.

VaMotsoaledi vakati vanhu vazhinji vari kufa mushure mekunge vateerera manyepo kubva kumasangano evitendero.


VaMotsoaledi vakati vanoshimiswa kuona munhu achitora kamari kake kashoma achinopa muporofita kana munhu waanoti baba anoti anokwanisa kuita kuyi iye ahwinhe mari yakawanda mumutambo welottery asi iye ari tsuro zvake.

“Ungatende kuti munhu asina kana chinhu angaite kuti iwe uiite mari? Iye haana naizvozvo adii kuita kuyi iye ahwinhe mari iyi ashandure upenyu hwake kubva munhano pane kuda kubatsira mutorwa.

‘Ndiko kubirwa munhu akasvinura uku. Adii kutora makomborero acho iye abuda muna taisireva?” vakadaro.

VaMotsoaledi vakati chinoshamisa ndechekuti maporofita aya huporofita hwacho vakazvipa vega.

VaMotsoaledi vakati chinovashungurudza ndechekuti mbavha idzodzi dzinotopiwa mukana wekutaura panhepfenyuro, paterevhizheni uye mumapepanhau.

“Chinondigumbura ndechekuti mbavha idzodzi dzinotopiwa mukana mumaterevhizheni, mumawairesi nemumapepanhau ekuti vataure manyepo iwawo. Handife ndakateerera nhema idzodzi.”

Vakati vari kuongorora Broadcasting Act vazogara pasi neAdvertising Standards Authority kuti vapedze dambuziko iri.


“‘Vanhu vanoita izvi vakazimiririra pachavo,” national co-ordinator wesangano iri Phephsile Maseko akazivisa.

Munyika ino yeZimbabwe dambuziko irori ratekeshera uye chiremba mukuru kuHarare Central Hospital, Dr Tapiwanashe Bwakura,

vakazivisa nguva yadaria nezvedambuziko idzva revanhu vanonwa mishonga yeupenyu hwese.

Vachitaura pamusangano wekuzivisa zvakabuda kubva kuAIDS Conference kuSydney, Australia vakati varwere vawanda muchipatara chavo ndevaye vanga vapona asi vatanga kurwara zvakaipisika nekuda kwekuti vakarega mishonga mushure mekunzi nemaporofita nekutenda kwako unoona.

“Varwere vazhinji vari muHarare Hospital nhasi uno vanhu vanga vari pamishonga vachiita zvakanaka asi nekuda kwekuti kuchechi vakanzi nevakuru vavo nekutenda kwako unopona

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vakarega kunwa mishonga. Vanhu ava unoona ruwoko rwakazara zvibhengoro zvinoti ‘ndiri mwana wemuporofita’.

Vamwe ndevanotosvika pakuja nekuti vanozouya kuchipatara vava pamutepa tepa,” vakdaro.

Sedunhu reSouthern Africa tisu tine dambudziko guru rekuremerwa neutchiona hweHIV. Zvino mbavha dzaona mukana dzotsvaka mari dzichiti dzinorapa denda iri, yuwi dambudziko chairo!

Ukanzwa munhu ati rega mushonga nekuti wapona iye asi chiremba tiza usateerera manyepo akadaro.

5.4.4.3 Presentation and analysis of data from the story ‘Ngwarirai maporofita enhema’

The above story is negative about faith healers. The diction that is used in the story shows that the story is attacking modern day prophets who are accused of robbing innocent citizens. The reporter used words like baba vati, baba vati, which is a title that is usually used when people are addressing these modern day prophets. There is also evidence that the story is attacking modern day prophets where the writer says “Vanhu ava unoona ruwoko rwakazara zvibhengoro zvinoti ‘ndiri mwana wemuporofita.” (You see these people wearing bangles written ‘I am the prophet’s child’) It is these modern day prophets who are in the habit of using wrist bands in the treating their clients.

The title that is used for the story which reads “‘Ngwarirai maporofita enhema’” is used connotatively. It is used in an informative manner where people are being educated to stay away from prophets. It is the idea that is in the story that people should desist from following these prophets because they are in most cases fake. The prophets are condemned for the idea that they are self proclaimed. They say that people should not be deceived by people who just wake up one day and tell people that they are now prophets. The South African health minister finds this dubious. He questions the way these prophets come to be and this makes him to be sure that the prophets are actually fake. He is advising people not to listen to these prophets.

The paper represents faith healers as fake as captured in the story where it is said “Maporofita ari kunyepera vanhu zvikuru...” This suggests that the prophets are in the business of lying to people. The story shows that whatever these prophets are doing is not true. They are also viewed
as thieves who are stilling from their unsuspecting clients thus it is said in the paper “Ndiko kubirwa munhu akasvinura uku”

The faith healer who is supposed to be a life saver is presented in the paper as a threat to human survival. However the story shows that people should not consult them because they are causing more harm than good to the welfare of the people.

The reporter also goes on to say that the problem of these faith healers is not confined to South Africa alone but also in Zimbabwe where these prophets are deceiving people on HIV/AIDS treatment to leave treatment saying that they have been healed. He is of the view that most of the patients at Harare hospital havestopped taking their treatment after they have been advised by prophets. This shows that these prophets are not successful in what they are doing.

Overall, the story portrays faith healers as tricksters, as thieves and dubious who are just taking the advantage of desperate people to achieve their own specific goals. What is interesting in the story is the idea that the reporter clearly shows his stance. He advocates for a situation where Zimbabweans should solely depend on modern doctors when he says “Ukanzwa munhu ati rega mushonga nekuti wapona iye asiri chiremba tiza usateerera manyepo akadaro.” (If you hear a person who is not a doctor saying that you should stop taking your medication you should stay away from him/her, do not listen to lies) This shows that the story discredits all the indigenous health care facilities that are available in Zimbabwe. This mentality is in line with Ephraim (2003:54) who states that, “… European intentions were to rape Africa, to dehumanise the Africans and to impoverish them materially and spiritually.” Even after Africans gained their freedom from colonialism, their psychology suffered the traumatic effects of colonialism. The European arrogance programmed and installed a sense of self hatredness in the African mind. Thus we see the press playing the role of peripherising and discrediting African healing forms.

Story 15

Maporofita enyoka tinoaziva: October 3, 2014
NDAKAMBOZVIONA zvekuti maporofita anosvika panzvimbo oita ruzha nemasaramusi achiudza vanhu kuti vzanga zvichivanetsa zvapera. Asi kana maporofita aye aenda, zvinhu zviye zvotanga kutonyanyisa.

Kunyepa kuye kana muchiudzwa nemaporofita kuti tiri kuda kuenda kugomo rakati kunorasa nyoka, kana kunoita munamato. Dai zvaidaro kuti minamato inongoitwa pane dzimwe nzvimbo
chete sezvaifungwa nemukadzi musamaria akanga ati kuna Jesu, “Madzibaba edu ainamatira mugomo iro, asi imi munoti muJerusaremu ndimo mekunamatira,” dai Jesu asina kumuudza kuti vanonamata Mwari vanofanira kumunamata mumweya nemuzyikwadi.

Nyaya iripo ndeyekuti “hatirwe nenyama neropa.” Izvi z vemaporofita anobata nyoka tave kuzyiziva. Inga wani bepanhau reKwayedza riri kugara richingosumura maporofita anobatwa aine nyoka. Hatingafarire kuti pamba paMbuya Munemo pakabatwa nyoka, iyo iri nyoka yakauya nevaridzi vayo. Vanhu pepuka!

Iwo maporofita iwaya akambobva kupiko? Havasi vanhu here vakangoti vaverenga Kwayedza vachibva vaona kuti paita mukana wekufamba mazita nekuita mari nedambudziko rechembere iyi?

Chavakabatsira nacho chii kunze kwekuvibisa zita raMwari ravakashandisa? Chavakarambira kudzoka pavakashevedzwa chii? Ko chavakapirwa mari nagogo ava chii, ivo vamboti havabhadharise?

Jesu nekuda kwekutifira kwaakaita, akaita kuti tigashirwe naMwari, tive vatsvene uye vasina mhosva kuna Mwari.

Kana kutenda kwako munhu kukave muropa raJesu, havasi vaporofita vanobata nyoka vanoita kuti zvako zviite.

Handizive kuti sei tichifunga kuti nhamo dzedu dzinopedzwa nemaporofita nendimi dzavo, nenyoka dzavo dzavanobata.


Saka ndakambonyora ndichito gogo ngavasiyane nezvenjuzu nezvakawanda vagamuchire Jesu semuponesi wavo.


Asi dai pane akatsanguririsa gogo ava nezvesimba riri muropa raJesu, vaisvika pakuziva kuti munhu unokwana kurwvira usina kutya. Chokwidi chiripo ndechekuti kuve nemhosva kwedo kwakabviswa neropa raJesu.

Mwari vakaita kuti zvive nyore kuti vanhu tivawane, uye kuti zvisave nyore kuti tirasikirwe nerudo rwavo. Fumurai hunhubu hwemaporofita anoti kana chitsoti chavo chaonekwa votanga kungohumana vachii kuti vanhu vafunge kuti Jesu haana simba. Ndiko kuti chii ikoko kana

5.4.4.4 Presentation and analysis of data from the story, “Maporofita enyoka tinoaziva.”

The story above attacks faith healers. It completely discredits the faith healer as a liar. In a bid to do this the writer makes use of a series of rhetoric questions as a way of showing that whatever the prophets have done was fake. The story writer says:

“Iwo maporofita iwaya akambobva kupiko? Havasi vanhu here vakangoti vaverenga Kwayedza vachibva vaona kuti paita mukana wekufambisa mazita nekuita mari nedambudziko rechembere iyi?

Chavakabatsira nacho chii kunze kwekuswibisa zita raMwari ravakahandiswa? Chavakarambira kudzoka pavakashevedzwa chii? Ko chavakapirwa mari nagogo ava chii, ivo vamboti havabhadharise?”
(Where did these prophets came from? Are they not people who after reading Kwayedza recognised that there was a chance to be fame and to make money by exploit the old woman’s plight. What help did they apart from demonising the name of God which they used? Why did they refuse to come back after being invited? Why were they given money by the old woman when they had said their services were for free?)

The questions that are asked in the story show that what the prophets did was not authentic. They question the origins of the prophets and show that these prophets just read about the story and saw it as an opportunity for fame and for making money. This shows that these faith healers are taken as people who take advantage of desperate people. The writer is of the idea that these faith healers are devilish and are out to demonise God’s name.

The reporter stresses the idea that faith healers are well known for staging their prophecies where he says, “Izvi zvemaporofita anobata nyoka tave kuzviziva.” He suggests that it is now common knowledge that faith healers are fake and that whatever they do is not authentic. The writer also
identifies the role of the media in exposing prophets when he says “Inga wani bepanhau reKwayedza riri kugara richingofumura maporofita anobatwa aine nyoka.” The reporter is here suggesting that the press is taking the leading role in preaching against faith healers. It is clear from the way the story is written that the reporter is preaching the Christian ideology, since he is preaching to the people. He advocates for a situation where people should turn to God whom he regards as the source of life. He goes to the extent of comparing modern day prophets to old day prophets and shows that the two are not compatible at all. He says “Maporofita muBhaibheri anotaura shoko raMwari kuvanhu. Zvino isu maporofita edu ave ekunyepera nekutysisidzira vanhu. Kushandirwa hakupedze dambudziko nekupa munhu rugare. Kuhaidhara maporofita hakupedze nhano dzagogo vekutumbudzwa nezyidhoma. Kuita ruzha nemashiripiti kwakaitwa nemaporofita hakusi kupa gogo kufurwa nemhepo.” (Biblical prophets preach the word of God.today’s prophets are lying and scaring people. Consulting does not put problems to an end and does not give peace. Paying prophets does not end the old woman’s problems with ghosts. The magic that was done by the prophets does not give the old woman peace.)

This shows that consulting prophets is actually useless. He discredits the role of the faith healer in dealing with spiritual ailments when he says that they cannot solve the woman’s problem with ghosts. The story rings a warning sirene to people that they should not consult faith healers at all costs. It is said in the story “Vanhu pepukai!” (Work up people). This is a wake up call for people to be on guard for faith healers.

**Story 16**

**Maporofita akakonzeresa:** March 27, 2015

*MUMWE* murume anonzi akada kudzika mukadzi wake demo mushure mekunge audzwa nemaporofita kuti mudzimai uyu ipfambi uye ane utachiona hweHIV. Portia Zvarevashe akamhan’arira murume wake, Garikai Mandikoshera, kudare reHarare Civil Court achiti anogara achimupopotera pamwe nekumutyisidzira achiti anoda kumuuraya.

“Changamire, ndinokumbirawo kuchengetedzwa kubva kuna baba ava sezvo vari kundivimbisa kundiuraya. Vakamboda kunditema nedemo mushure mekunge vaudzwa nemaporofita kuti ini ndinoita zvechifambi kana ndichinge ndaenda kunoshava kuJubheki (South Africa).

Maporofita aya akataura kuti ini ndine chirwere cheHIV nekudaro ndakange ndisisafanirwe kugara naye,” akadaro Zvarevashe.

Achipawo divi rake, Mandikoshera akati akange audzwa nemaporofita ekuchechi kwake kuti mukadzi wake anoita zvegumbo mumba gumbo panze.

“Ini ndinoenda kukereke yepositori nekudaro ndakaudzwa kuti mudzimai uyu ari kuita chipfambi zvekare ave nechirwere ndokubva ndataura naye mune zvakanaka. Sezvo kwatinogara kusina magetsi, ndakatora demo ndichida hangu kutsemura huni iye ndokubva atiza, zvichida akafunga kuti ndaida kumutema asi kwete nekuti nyaya ti kwandiri yakanga yatopera.


5.4.4.5 Presentation and analysis of data from the story, “Maporofita akakonzeresa”
In this story prophets are represented as home wreckers. They are people who are portrayed as against the development of society by perpetuating misunderstandings in the society. The prophet who is supposed to safeguard the interests of the society is in the story seen as a person who is causing havoc in society. They are also portrayed as liers since the faith healer told the couple that the wife had HIV/AIDS which was proved to be wrong when the couple visited the hospital. In support of the idea that the faith healer is regarded as a liar the man in question says “Ini ndinoenda kukereke yepositori nekudaro ndakaudzwa kuti mudzimai uyu ari kuita chipfambi zvekare ave nechirwere ndokubva ndataura naye mune zvakanaka.” The man appreciates that he has been lied to by faith healer. The story again takes a didactic approach where it advises people not to consult faith healers as evidenced by the man who says that, “asi mudzimai ndomuda handichateedzeri zvemaporofita aya anga andiputsira imba,” akadaro Mandikoshera.” The man says that he will not give hid to what prophets say again. This statement is meant to advise people not to attend to faith healers since they are in the habit of lying to people. It is of importance to note that there is so much controversy around the idea that these faith healers are in the habit of giving people ill advise with regards to HIV/AIDS issues and the story is in a way sealing the idea by showing and advising people that these practitioners engage in things that they have no competence in.
5.4.5 Results from *Umthunywa*

*Story 17*

**Ukhakhayi lowesifazane emzini wenyanga: Dec 3, 2015**

DURBAN — Ikhandu lowesifazane owaduka eminyakeni emibili eyedlule litholwe ethuneni elingashoni kwaMfekayi Reserve, eMtubatuba.

Ugebhezi lwalo wesifazane owaduka ngonyaka wango-2013 lutholwe ngoMsombuluko ebusuku.

Amaphoyisa asola ukuthi wabulawela umuthi.

Ngokusho kukaCaptain Jabulani Mdletshe, okhulumela amaphoyisa aKwaMsane, uVenqe Tholakele Nsibande, 24, waduka ngoMeyi ngonyaka wango-2013 ephuma emsebenzini kwaMfekayi.

Kwavulwa idokodo lomuntu odukile kodwa uNsibane wangatholakala.

Ngaphambi kokutholakala kogebhezi ngoMsombuluko, osebenzela inyanga kwaMfekayi uthe wayizwa inyanga ixabana nomkayo kanti kusolwa ukuthi umkayo wayesongela inyanga ngokubikela amaphoyisa ngokuthi yabolala intombazane. (Before the discovery of the skull on Monday, a n’anga’s worker said he had overheard the TH arguing with his wife who swore to report him to the police in connection with a young woman’s murder.)

Lesi sisebenzi sabe sesenza uphenyo ngemuva kwalokho sabikela amaphoyisa.

UNsibande wabulawela esigangeni washumpulwa ikhanda elahamba nenyanga.

Njengamanje kuboshwe osolwa ngokubandakanyeka esigamekweni sokubulawa kukaNsibande owagqitshwa ethuneni elingashoni

Inyanga isagcwele amathafa, kubika iZululand Observer

5.4.5.1 Presentation and analysis of data from the story “*Ukhakhayi lowesifazane emzini wenyanga*”

The story is concerned about traditional healers who use the skulls of people in their healing exercise. Traditional healers are presented in the story as people who use skulls of the dead for rituals thus they use evil powers in their healing business. The traditional healer is regarded as a danger to human life. It is reported in the story that a skull was found in the cemetery and it is believed that the person was killed for rituals. This shows that traditional healers use human blood in their rituals. This entails that their powers are derived from evil sources. It is also mentioned in the story that the traditional healer was in the business of killing young girls. The information in the story shows that whilst traditional healers claim to preserve human life their
profession is protected with human blood. This means that in terms of representation these practitioners are regarded as murderers. The story is one kind of those that perpetuate the racial stereotypes of Africans. The story is didactic and it teaches people that they should not visit traditional healers because they can end up losing their lives. It is important that the kind of representation that the traditional healer suffers is not peculiar to the media but can be traced back to colonialism. This is captured by Chavunduka (1978:78) who contends that “missionaries conceived of a traditional doctor as a death-dealing charlatan, a rogue and a deceiver preventing patients who would otherwise be treated effectively with scientific drugs and surgery from reaching mission hospital.” This suggests that the media has got the same mission as the colonialist with regards to the office of the traditional healer. In other words the media is an extension of the colonialist and is just like the colonialist playing a leading role in the dehumanisation of the traditional healer.

Story 18

_Inyanga yothando: Jul 22, 2016_

_Ungasaphindi ukhathazeke emoyeni ikhona inyangenkulu uRrang Mogale elakho ukuletha ukuthula empilweni yakho._

_U_Rarang osuka esigabeni seDitatju eSenwabarwana esabelweni seLimpombo uyisikhwicamfundo esilesicoco se-Environmental Education._

_Uthe noma efundile kodwa uhelezi esazi ukuthi ulobizo. “Ngangingafuni ukukwamukela lokhu kwaze kwafika isikhathi sokuthi ngagula kakhulu eminyakeni emine edludeyo._

_Kwehlula odokotela abanengi. Kwahle kwabasobala kimi ukuthi kwasekulithuba lami lokuthi ngenze lokhu okufunwa ngabaphansi._

_Emaphutsheni ami ngangiboniswa eyinye indawo eseZimbabwe lapho okwakumele ngiyethwasa khona.”_

_Esevela thwasa waqhubeka ngomsebenzi wakhe wobubalisi kodwa eselapha emini._

_“Kwasuka kwangisinda kakhulu ukwenza imisebenzi le emibili sikhathi sinye okwenza ngehluleka ukuyenza ngobunono obuphezulu.”_

_Wacabanga ukuthi akhethe ukutshiya ububalisi enze lokho okufunwa ngabaphansi._

_“Ngangikwazi ukuthi ngilomsebenzi omkhulu wokusiza lokwelapha abantu,” kutsho uRarang._

_Ugcizelele ukuthi ulamandla okuthi kube lokuthula phakathi kwalabo abehlekunayo._

_“Sonke siyazi ukuthi akulula ukusebenza lomuntu olenhliziyo edabukilelo ngoba kulako ukuchitheka igazi kulabo abake bathandana.”_

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“Mina ngiyelapha abantu ukuthi kungabi khona ukuchitheka kwegazi noma inzondo kulabo abehlukeneyo.”

“Ngisebenzisa impondo zenkomo ukuxotsha isithandwa sakhe esihluphayo.” — Ubulembu

5.4.5.2 Presentation and analysis of data from the story “Inyanga yothando”

The above story tells a positive story about the traditional healer. Unlike the majority of stories in Zimbabwean newspapers which view traditional healers as old fashioned and barbaric the story presents a traditional healer as a practitioner who has got a role to play in modern day Zimbabwean societies. The story recognises that traditional healing is not a profession that is reserved for failures. It is mentioned in the story that the traditional healer is educated and is a teacher by profession and has a calling which is also positive about the story. This is compatible with the African understanding of traditional healers where it is believed that traditional healers do not ordain themselves but are called to help people. In the story it is revealed that the traditional healer in question became ill for four years and that is when she realised that she has a calling of helping people and that is when she quitted her job. It is also noted from the story that traditional healers have areas of specialisation and the traditional healer in question specialises in love issues. This has been alluded to by Diop (1991) who argued that Africans have contributed to world civilisation. He argues that medicine was already developed before the introduction of Western civilisation and recognises that there were general and specialists in diseases. The way the traditional healer is represented shows a desire by Africans to show that African traditional religion is neither an extension nor an appendage of the Western religion. It is a religion that is unique in itself and is geared towards expressing an African way of life.

The traditional healer in the story shows that traditional healers are there to help people. She can bring peace between divorcees so that they move on without broken hearts or bloodshed. She can also turn away a bothersome lover using cow horns. Ani (1997) argues that Africans have the wisdom of African traditional medicine and their knowledge of the properties and healing powers of herbs and roots is extensive. Ani is of the idea that this African knowledge must not strip away. Whilst the story is positive it is important to note that it tells a story about a South African and not Zimbabwean traditional healer.

KULENYANGA yakuWadi 8 eShale eMzingwane osekuzawakale ukuba igcina udiwo olulegazi labantwana ababhubhayo ngenhluso yokulisebenzisa ukubulala abantu kanye lokufaka ulunyoka, uMthunywa uyakwesha lokhu lamhlane.

UJacob Ndlovu oleminyaka yokuzalwa engu-112 ohlala eShale njalo engusobhuku wakule indawo uhlahluwe ngeviki ephelileyo watholakala elodiwo olulegazi alisebenzisa ukubulala abantu abamcaphulayo.

Kuzwakale ukuba uMnu Ndlovu oyinyanga kulesisigaba owaziwa ngokuthi nguNyangayami ubengathikazi ukubulala lo omkhubileyo ngoba ubethi angazonda aqonde edweni lwakhe ayeqeledana lalowomuntu.

UJacob Ndlovu oleminyaka yokuzalwa engu-112 ohlala eShale njalo engusobhuku wakule indawo uhlahluwe ngeviki ephelileyo watholakala elodiwo olulegazi alisebenzisa ukubulala abantu abamcaphulayo.

Kuzwakale ukuba uMnu Ndlovu oyinyanga kulesisigaba owaziwa ngokuthi nguNyangayami ubengathikazi ukubulala lo omkhubileyo ngoba ubethi angazonda aqonde edweni lwakhe ayeqeledana lalowomuntu.

UMthunywa ufike esigabeni lesi ngolwesibili kuyonale iviki waxosisana lomunye umfakazi othande ukwaziwa ngokuthi nguMaMoyo nje kuphela waveza ukuthi uNyangayami lanxa elandula ukuthi ubelodiwo alisebenzisa ukuganga kodwa wakhe phakathi mhlala ukuthi uMthunywa uyakwesha lokhu lamhlane.

“Ukulu mina ngazizwela ngezami indlebe mhlalandile ngumphfofethi kwathiwa ayethatha ukuthi ukwangile ukuba wakhe aseqede ngalo abantu abanye.”

“Wahamba wayaluthatha wabuya eluthwele ngesaka, phakathi lwulegazi njalo kusukelana mhlalokho kaselaphi ngoba kaselamandla,” kulantisa uNkszn Moyo.

Intatheli ibuye yaxhumana lesinye isakhamuzi uQedamandla Dube yena othe uNyangayami kwathiwa ulodiwo olulegazi.

“UNdlovu (Nyangayami) ubeyinyanga eyesatshwayo esigabeni njalo ubengabhoodwa kodwa ngatsha amathe sokuthiwa uyabulala abantu njalo ugcina legazi labantwana abancane abafayo ukuze aziqinise.

“Lokhu engakubonayo, ngiyesaba, lokhu ngingakukholwa njalo ngibona angathi liphupho ngoba uNdlovu wathutsha eluphethe udiwo lwakhe olulegazi ayelisebenzisa ukubulala abantu,” kutsho uMnu Dube.

Iphephandaba likazulu lizwe ukuthi igazi leli yilo njalo ebelenqi kufanele ukuthi ukubalulela uMthunywa uNkulunkulu Dube obike ukuba ukuthi watholakala elodii uMVuyela Dube yena olukali usi ukuthi uMthunywa ukuze yale ukuthi waphata ukuthi wayelela.

“Kulihlazo ukuthi umuntu umdala njalo engakubonayo, ngiyesaba, lokhu ngingakukholwa njalo ngibona angathi liphupho ngoba uNdlovu wathutsha eluphethe udiwo lwakhe olulegazi ayelisebenzisa ukubulala abantu,” kutsho uMnu Dube.

Intatheli ikhulumisane loMnu Ndlovu lo okucatshange elubalulela ukuba udiwo lolu ngolwakhe yena ophike wemba phansi ukuthi umuntu umdala.

“Mina kumphurofethi lo angikayikika olwami unyawo alukalugxobi kodwa ngiyamuzwa ngendumela khona ngizayafika ngiyebona izimanga lezi okuthiwa uyazenza lumfana.
“Kanti uthi otholakale elodiwo olulegazi labantwana ngubani? Umphurofethi lo angimsoli yisikhathi sakhe laye usaphiwe. Mina bengiyinyanga kodwa khathe kangsiselaphi,” kutsho uMnu Ndlovu

5.4.5.3 Presentation and analysis of data from the story “Hiya inyanga yolunyoka: Igcina udiwo olulegazi labafayo”

Traditional healers may purport to give life yet they also take people’s lives. In the story Mr Ndlovu was a well-known traditional healer in his area where he is also headman until his wickedness was brought to light by a prophet who instructed him to bring his vessel of evil in which he kept blood from dead children. It is believed that this blood gave him supernatural powers. This means that traditional healers are seen as people who get their powers from evil sources. It is important to note that Africans value life and a traditional healer is seen as a person who preserves life. Contrary to this the story shows that the traditional healer is killing people. The traditional healer in question would use this blood to kill people who would have wronged him and also as punishment to unfaithful partners. It is said in the story, “Kuzwakale ukuba uMnu Ndlovu oyinyanga kulesisigaba owaziwa ngokuthi nguNyangayami ubengathikazi ukubulala lo omkhubileyo ngoba ubethi angazonda aqonde ediweni lwakhe ayeqedelana lalowomuntu.” (It has been revealed that Mr Ndlovu a traditional healer popularly known as Nyangayami would not think twice of killing his enemies.) This shows that the traditional healer is regarded as barbaric since they do not see the evilness of killing people. After the vessel was confiscated by the prophet, Mr Ndlovu lost his powers and is no longer a traditional healer. The traditional healer and the faith healer are juxtaposed in the story. The faith healer is represented positively in the story as he is portrayed as a figure that brings sanity in society. It is mentioned that the traditional healer’s evil deeds were exposed by a faith healer who confiscated the blood which result in the traditional healer losing his power. The image of the traditional healer in the story is a reflection of stereotypes and racial sentiments towards, Africans. Contrary to this Christianity as represented by the faith healer is represented as a civilised and advanced religion. This is expressed by Ray (1976:3) who purports that, “as such Africa readily became the symbol of the European world expressed in upside-down fashion, a primitive version of Europe onto which a variety of European fantasies and fears were projected.” In the story Christianity triumphs over African Traditional Religion since the faith healer managed to put the traditional healer’s diabolical activities to an end. The story is perpetuating the white project that sees everything African as bad and everything that is European as good, thus Ani (1994) asserts that
the self image of western ideals is whiteness and others is blackness and dirt. This shows that the way the traditional healer is represented shows the way the European sees the cultural other. In terms of representation the two practitioners receive contrasting images.

In the story Christianity as represented by the faith healer is regarded as a holy religion and African traditional religion as represented by the traditional healer as an evil religion. This is a cultural aggression that is facilitated by Europeans through Christianity in the pretext of saving souls. The faith healer is presented as a person who is saving people from the traditional healer. The traditional healer is regarded as a danger to people’s lives and in contrast the faith healer is presented as a savior. It is important to note that these stereotypes are a part of the European colonisation project and as a way of justifying what Ani (1994) refers to as cultural and psychological rape. The project is meant to destroy the traditional healer who is a reservoir of ATR.

**Story 20**

*Inyanga ibulala ubhejane ukuze ithabise amadlozi ayo: May 28, 2015*

KULENDODA ehlala eSinamusanga eBinga okubikwa ibulele ubhejane yamhlinza ngenhloso yokusebenzisa isikhumba sakhe ukuthabisa amadlozi ayo.

Umtshutshisi wecali leli uMnumzana Bruce Maphosa ubikele inkundla ukuba umsolwa uLeonard Mutale oleminyaka yokuzalwa engu-40 wathiya ubhejane lo ngocingo waze wambulala.

Kuzwakale ukuba mhlaka-18 kuyonale inyanga umsolwa waqonda emfuleni obizwa ngokuthi nguMafikili laapha afika khona wathiya inyamazana le wayibamba. Eseyibambile kubikwa umsolwa wahlina inyamazana le qede laapha wathwala inyama yonke wayisa emzini wakhe.

Kubikwa umsolwa wathengisela izakhamizi leyo nyama okwabangela ukuba ezinye izakhamizi wazithela ukuba inyama leyo ngeyenkomo. Izakhamizi lezo kubikwa zaqalisa ukumbuzisisa ukuba wayeyithethe ngaphi leyo nkomo njengoba wayetshaya inja ngokhanda.

Ezinye izakhamizi kubikwa zabika udaba emapholiseni okwabangela ukuba umsolwa abotshwe. Ebuzwa ngamapholisa umsolwa kubikwa wazama ukucatsha ngomunwe wathi ubulele inyamazana le ukuze athabise amadlozi akhe ngoba ayemlaye ukuba agqoke isikhumba saleyo nyamazana ukuze abe yinyanga eqinileyo.

Ekuthonisweni kwecala leli ngumantsi uMnumzana Stephen Ndlovu umsolwa ulivumile icala lakhe wathi wabulala inyamazana le ngoba efuna inyama.

5.4.5.4 Presentation and analysis of data from the story “Inyanga ibulala ubhejane ukuze ithabise amadlozi ayo”
The story is about people who pretend to be traditional healers so that they can take advantage of situations. A man kills a rhinoceros under the pretext of pleasing ancestors only to confess later after being arrested that he had been pushed by hunger to do so. It is said in the story “Ebuzwa ngamapholisa umsolwa kubikwa wazama ukucatsha ngomunwe wathi ubulele inyamazana le ukuze athabise amadlozi akhe ngoba ayemlaye ukuba agqoke isikhumba saleyo nyamazana ukuze abe yinyanga eqinileyo.” (When asked by the police he lied that he wanted to appease his ancestors so that he will become a powerful traditional healer.) The headline is misleading. From what is in the story it is clear that the man is not even a n’anga. The man was seen selling meat and he claims that it was beef. He later confirmed that he had poached because of poverty. The man said, “Ekuthonisweni kwecala leli ngumantsi uMmnumzana Stephen Ndlovu umsolwa ulivumile icala lakhe wathi wabulala inyamazana le ngoba efuna inyama. “Nkosi indlala ingithwalise amagabha avuzayo. Njengoba ubona ukuba lezulu kalinanga kuhle lonyaka bengizama ukuziphilisa” (At trial, Stephen Ndlovu told the magistrate that he killed the animal because he wanted the meat for relish since he was starving due to drought.) However the title suggests that it was a n’anga who killed the rhinoceros. The way the title is phrased shows gross misrepresentation of facts. There is no relationship between what is in the story and the title. The man in the story is just a poacher who claimed to be an inyanga in order to defend his criminal act. The title of the story therefore suggests that there should be a hidden agenda that the story writer is trying to sell to the readers. The title is meant to demonise the office of the traditional healer because it is largely anti-traditional healing. This is characteristic of the Western representation of the cultural other. The cultural other is the European construct that is meant to achieve the expansion of European rule. Ani (1994:402) posits that “the cultural other is a conceptual construct that will become the norm in identifying others. The concept of cultural other further enables the continued existence of the extremely negative image of others that is dialectically necessary part of the European self image.” The European conception of the cultural other provides a platform that enables the oversimplification and subjective interpretation of things that are African. This perpetuates the European supremacy over other races. The discourse
is anti-African and it finds resonance in Williams (1987:25) who asserts that “The brilliant scholar, then, is one who can readily quote authorities and remember well his bibliographical sources. So we have a generation of black scholars who continue to amaze students by mouthing the doctrines and viewpoints of their white teachers-like so many robots without minds of their own.” The way the story shows that the person who wrote the story is operating from an alien centre thus he sees everything that is African as bad. This means that the character of scholars is also prevalent in the media where reporters seem to be regurgitating the European’s view. This is what has been referred to by Clarke (1999:17) when he talks about the colonisation of Africa by Europeans. He says, “When you look at the world from a point of view willed to you by your oppressor you quiet forget that there is a whole lot of people with different concepts of God in different places in this place.” The title of the story is Eurocentric in nature and is doing the duty of forwarding European stereotypes about things that are African.

**Story 21**

*Umphurofethi udlwengula umntwana womfowabo: May 14, 2015*

*KULOMPHUROFETHI* weJambazi otshiye abantu bengelamathe ngemva kokuthi ulaywe ‘ngumoya ongcwele’ ukuthi agezise umntanomnewabo oleminyaka engu-18 andubana amdlwengule.

Inkundla izwe ukuthi umsolwa waphinda wagcizelela ukuthi nxa engasakwenzanga lokhu lowomoya uzambulala.
Kubikwa uTshuma wathatha ilembu lakhe wamvala amehlo engakamdlwenguli.

Umtshutshisi kulelicalale ubikele inkundla ukuthi umsolwa eqeda kumhlukuluza wamtshela ukuthi umnyama lowo usuphumile.

Ithumba leli kubikwa libhoboke ngenyanga kaZibandlela lapho ijaha likamsolwa elala khona umthwalo lisithi usulesikhathi eside okuyikho okwenza umamangala wabikela udadewabo andubana bayebikela amapholisa.

Umsolwa ebuzwa ngecala leli uthe kazange adlwengule umamangala kodwa bavumelana njengoba babethandana.

UMantshi uMark Dzira uthe embuza ukuthi kungani wathi athathe amanzi ayehlamba eguswini, ngakho wampendula wathi kwakuyindela yokuvala abazali bakhe ukuthi bengaboni.

Kusenjalo kube nzima ukuthi inkundla isole umsolwa ngecalale lokudlwengula ngoba umamangala waphuza ukubikela amapholisa ngokuhlukuzwa kwakhe.

Umtshutshisi kulelicalale bekungu Tawanda Sigauke.

5.4.5.5 Presentation and analysis of data from “Umphurofethi udlwengula umntwana womfowabo”
The story is anti-faith healing. It presents the faith healer in bad light. The faith healer is presented as a rapist and a liar. They are regarded as people who use their offices to abuse their clients. The prophet in question raped his niece after lying to her that he was instructed by the Holy Spirit to rape her. This shows someone who does not have any regard for his culture since it is taboo for a person to have sexual relations with a relative. This shows that traditional healers are not helping people as they are supposed to do; instead they are using their offices to harm their unsuspecting clients. The faith healer is here represented as a liar since he was lying that it was the Holy Spirit that instructed him to engage in this evil act. This shows that these people are evil as well. They also use their offices to scare people of the unknown. It is said in the story that the faith healer told the niece in question that something bad was going to happen to him. This shows that these practitioners are tricksters. He scares the person in order to lure her into doing anything that he asks her. This means that the faith healer is nothing but a bunch of evil. This story makes people to turn away from the faith healer since from the story one can recognise that faith healers brings more harm than good in people’s lives. The story clearly shows that the faith healer is the agent of the devil. The representation of the faith healer is meant to make people
blind about things African. Chivaura (1998) is of the idea that one of the agendas of Africa’s colonisers and detractors is to ensure that Africans do not believe in the values and ideals of their own traditions and social institutions. Though faith healers are in the realm of Christianity it is African in the sense that they address issues that emerge from the African worldview.

5.4.6 Results from Tabloids

5.4.6.1 Presentation and analysis of results from H-Metro
The H-Metro Tuesday 8 January 2013 published a story titled Hosiah Chipanga on ‘Miracle Money.’ (Appendix I) The story attacks Prophet Eubert Angel. The title itself shows that the miracle money is just a scam since it is put in quotation which shows that it is questionable. The fact that the phrase miracle money is put in quotes shows that even the reporter does not believe in what the Prophet is saying. Hosiah Chipanga is of the opinion that if it is real that people are receiving money in their bank accounts, then he thinks that we are living in the last days where the devil is deceiving many and leading them astray. The Prophet is of the idea that miracles are there but they should be in line with the word of God. For him, the word of God teaches people to work hard and questions the idea that people are just receiving money without working for it. He says that this shows that this should be discerned as a work of the devil. Hosiah Chipanga is of the idea that people should be on guard since performing miracles is not synonymous to holiness. He said ‘Moses changed a stick into a snake in the desert and sorcerers did the same so, there is nothing holier in these Prophets by doing such miracles for it does not save us from the wrath of God.’ This strongly suggests that the prophet is of the opinion that Prophet Angel is being used by the devil to do such miracles. Such representation is important in drawing people away from faith healers since the story is taking a didactic approach where people are taught that miracles are not only from God but can be crafted from the dark world. This suggests that prophets should not be trusted because they are using the powers from the dark world.

On Tuesday 21 February 2013 H-Metro published a story titled “Prophet Passion performs ‘abortion miracle.’” (Appendix J) In the story the phrase ‘Abortion Miracle’ is again in quotation which might point to a questionable authenticity of the miracle. The story begins, ‘AN UNPRECEDENTED move’ in capital letters. This is done to show that the move was quite unusual. The use of capital letters calls for the attention of the reader to realise that what has
happened is quite unusual. This in a way tells a very big story about the prophet in question. It can suggest that what the Prophet is doing is not something that can be believed just like that. Whilst the prophecy is received by believers as the work of God, the portrayal of the prophet is to a larger extent negative because he is associated with taking away life which is not considered as good among Africans. Such kind of act is just considered as the work of the devil by Africans.

_H-Metro_ Thursday 21 February 2013 publishes a story titled,’ “Another Prophet challenges Pastors for public demo” (Appendix K) and on Wednesday 6 February it publishes a story titled, “Makandiwa challenges pastors for miracle contests.”(Appendix Q) Both stories represent Prophets as people who are after fame. In the story, Makandiwa is calling upon men of God to come for a public demonstration to show people who doubt his miracles that he performs them real. He is calling upon his contest after learning that people think that the miracles that he was performing were stage managed. He contends that it is better for people to come and see that what he is doing is true. In the other story a 26 year Prophet is also calling Pastors in his area for a public demonstration of power harder to show them what God has vested in him. Both stories show that the Prophets are using their offices to be famous.

It is questionable for prophets to call upon for competition to show what they are capable of doing. Prophets are supposed to help people as people instruct them but from the way they are represented it looks like Prophets are now concerned about being recognised by people. Makandiwa says in the story, “We now believe in demonstrating what you know. What I would love is a situation where we can meet and then lets show each other what we can do, that way it’s better because people think it’s rehearsed or maybe it’s something that people are just talking about it.” On the other hand Prophet Erasmus Joseph calls for a contest after realising that the other Pastors were labelling him a false Prophet.

On Friday 4 January 2013 _H-Metro_ published a story “Pastors speak on Angel’s ‘miracle money’.” (Appendix L) The story revolves around Pastors’ opinions concerning ‘Miracle Money’. The Pastors are skeptical about the miracle money citing that it is not in line with the word of God. The Pastors are also concerned about the fact that the miracles should also be performed to expand the Kingdom of God but in the case of these Prophets they seem to be done for show off.
It is also noted by Pastors that people should not bother themselves about Angel because he is just a scam. They believe that the miracles that he performs are not real but they are stage managed. They completely dismiss the issue of miracle money as shit and something that is completely impossible. One of these Pastors actually says, “Those are pure gimmicks, divination and counter facts (mashura/mapipi) of the truth.” This implies that the Pastors are reducing these Prophets into more magicians. Consequently, Prophets are viewed by people who are taking advantage of people who are taking advantage of people who are seriously seeking God to expand their own territories. One of the Pastors is of the opinion that not all miracles are from God. He contends that there are miracles from God, Satanists and Magicians. He laments the idea that Zimbabweans are quick to believe every miracle. His idea is that miracles should not disrupt societal structures. The Pastor says, “Creating money that has duplicating serial number is going against societal structures and is criminal or adding a serial number on money.” This suggests that the pastor believes that Angel’s miracle money is devilish. He also that every miracle should have a source but in this case no one knows the source of money except the prophet himself. The pastor condemns the secrecy of the source of the money and therefore concludes,’ Because of the secrecy that is on the miracle money, I will suspect that they are using occult powers to perform these miracles or it’s just purely fraudulent.’

On the same day *H-Metro* also published a story which tells a positive story about faith healers. The story is titled, “Support for Prophet Angel’s, ‘Miracle Money.” (Appendix M) The article shows that the miracle money is real and miracles have been there since Jesus’ time. To seal this idea one of the people said, “What is more difficult to believe the virgin birth or miracle money.” There are those who believe that people are ordained to do different things by God and therefore advised everyone to concentrate on what God has called him for. It is quite interesting that these contrasting images of the prophet are found in the same paper and on the same day. This shows that modern day prophets receive both positive and negative representations in *H-Metro*.

### 5.4.6.2 Presentation and analysis of results from *B-Metro*

The *B-Metro* of 8-14 February 2013 publishes a story “Miracle baby …! Woman gives birth three days after intercourse.” (Appendix N) The title of the story Miracle baby …! shows that the reporter does not believe in the miracle. The use of exclamation shows that this whole miracle baby story is a shocker. The way the prophet himself is described questions his
authenticity. He is described as a controversial and flamboyant preacher. These qualities are not expected of a healer. The whole incident of the miracle baby is said to have left the whole nation dumb founded and the development is regarded as spine chilling. The way the story is written particularly in terms of language use shows that people doubt the authenticity. van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002:140) quoted Gicero (1942) echo the importance of presentational devices when they observe ‘an unbreakable unity between expression and content-verbum and res. It is also mentioned in the story that it is not even certain who performed the miracle which makes the whole story a scam. It is captured in the story that the incident was said to have taken place at Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa’s church but the baby’s mother said it was performed at Prophet Angel’s church, a sister church of Makandiwa’s UFI. This information clearly shows that information pertaining to the miracle is not clear. This information might have been used to cast a cloud of doubt on people with regards to the faith healers in question. There is evidence to show that the way the journalist selects information shows that he has got a lot of reservations with regards to the work of the prophet. To this Awan (2008) says the media selects information that the public receive and that selection is ideologically motivated. This means that the way information is selected is meant to denigrate the faith healer as suggested by the writer’s choice of words and information. He quotes a Methodist church former Bulawayo youth leader who contends that:

Where on earth have you heard that? Even Jesus himself, son of God who performed so many miracles and was born of a virgin had to endure nine full months in his mother’s womb. What kind of miracle is that, where a woman gets pregnant and gives birth within three days? There is no God who is responsible for such a miracle.’

The information above shows that the miracle is dubious. The commentator is of the idea that, if something of that sort ever happened, it means that it is not God who is behind that. This information in a way discredits the prophets as people who are not hearing from God but as people who are using some other spirits to perform their miracles. The way the journalists gate-keeps information shows that he is of the idea that the prophets should not be followed because what they are doing cannot be fathomed.

On 18-24 January 2013 B-Metro also published the story with the title, “Churches taking advantage of desperate people.” (Appendix O) The story captures the idea that faith healers were mushrooming everywhere and comments on the miracles that they are performing which he says are questionable by the general public and even from within pastoral circles. The article in
the whole tells a negative story about a faith healer. He regards the claim by Prophet Uerbert Angel that he could pray for money to come out of an ATM machine when his account had no money as sensational and unbelievable.

The reporter also regards Makandiwa’s prophetic messages that Zimbabweans will see gold nuggets raining on them as controversial, such that it has captured the attention of every newspaper in the land. To show that the prophecies are hard to believe it is mentioned that the prophecies will only be believed when they pass.

It is mentioned in the story that prophets with legions of followers have always been there but were not, as maverick as, the new crop probably because their emphasis was on infidelity, sickness and witchcraft as the major messages. On the contrary the writer shows concern on the idea that modern day prophets are concerned about instant riches. It is clearly noted that the message that they are preaching is making them popular. The idea that is raised in the paper is that for one to survive he/she needs to appeal to the congregation even if it means employing dirty tactics. For the modern day prophets the gospel of prosperity is used as a marketing strategy which is meant to lure people and from the way the article is written it is suggested that such a gospel is one of the dirty tactics that is used by the prophets. The story is hinting that the traditional role of the faith healer is to heal and to fight witchcraft but now the prophets are concentrating on making people rich which raise an alarm with regards to their authenticity. The message that is in the story is to a large extent showing that the prophets of today are no longer focussing on issues that glorifies God but are more concerned about their own fame. This message connotatively attacks the idea that the modern day prophet is self-centered; he is concerned about his own personal gains. The message that is given in the story is, we cannot choose what people should believe especially in a country with freedom of religion but people should be careful when indulging because in some cases women and men have been taken advantage of because of desperation. Contrary to Eurocentric perspectives the writer recognises the multiplicity of religions but is of the idea that people should always be on guard because they are living in desperate times. According to Chitando (2013) says religion play an important part in equipping adherents to make sense of extremely difficulty experiences. The story is therefore used to suggest that where there is religion people can easily get deceived. He is therefore of the
idea that people have got the freedom of religion but from the way the story is written it is quite clear that it is meant to warn people against modern day faith healers.

The *B-Metro* also published a story, “*Bulawayo’s own elegant Prophet … cursed women vomit egg, dog poop.*” (Appendix P) The story begins, ’Bulawayo has produced its own version of ELEGANT prophets. This statement shows the mockery attitude that the reporter is taking. His idea is that there are version of prophets on its own is evidence to show that prophecy is no longer taken seriously. It is also important to note that the word ELEGANT is written in caps to capture the attention of the reader towards the idea that the Prophet is after personal riches.

The story captures the healing session where people were vomiting eggs, dog excretion, blood and various other things. It is of importance to ascertain that the journalist concentrates on the dubious and ends the story as he casts doubt on the authenticity of the faith healer. He says “It is yet to be ascertained whether Prophet Ndlovu is here to redeem the suffering in a stylish way as his Harare counterparts do or is just passing like the Mathias and Mildreds of this world.” This concluding statement shows that it is difficult to tell whether the faith healer is true or is a cheat.

### 5.5 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed and analysed research findings. It established that the faith healer and traditional healer are positively contributing to the welfare of the society. Research findings have recognised that these practitioners are playing a functional role in society particularly with regards to spiritual issues. It has been recognised that in Africa disease and illness have a religious dimension which needs religious intervention for their treatment. Thus the modern medical doctors are not skilled to treat diseases with religious roots. Religious intervention is provided by traditional and faith healers thus these practitioners are still surviving in a society that is said to be modernised and Christianised. The findings show that these practitioners are indispensable in Zimbabwe today. The research also acknowledges the popularity of faith healers as compared to traditional healers and has established that this is probably because most of the people have become Christianised as a result they find it comfortable to be associated with faith healers. Findings from the research have also shown that faith healers are categorised into two that is those from the apostolic sect and those who are referred to as “The man of God” type of faith healers. It has been recognised that the later type of prophets are more appreciated than the former on the grounds that the former are inclined with ATR. On the other hand it was
established that traditional healers are shunned and visited in private because they are antithetical to Christianity which is the popular religion among Zimbabweans. The research however revealed that efforts to wipe away African religion and traditional healing perse were only successful on a theoretical level, but in practice people have continued to use the services of these practitioners though in most cases clandestinely. Findings have shown that traditional healers have survived colonisation, westernisation and modernisation thus they still hold a special place in the lives of Zimbabweans. In terms of representation research findings have exposed that traditional healers are largely represented negatively as opposed to faith healers who receive mixed representation. Through research it has been observed that the faith healers that receive positive coverage are “the man of God” type whereas those faith healers from apostolic sect receive the same treatment as traditional healers. It has also been recognised that faith healers are widely covered and traditional healers receive minimal to nil coverage. This suggests that there is no correspondence between what is in newspapers and what is practically on the ground. It is observed that the representation that traditional and faith healers receive in Zimbabwean newspapers is determined by a lot of factors. Some of the factors that shape the representation of these practitioners are the media policies, personal feelings of reporters and media economy and the Zimbabwean economic situation and large. These factors together determine the behaviour of journalists and editors when producing newspaper articles and they are instrumental in selecting what is written about in Zimbabwean newspapers. The encroachment of these factors and the contribution that they make in shaping newspaper stories has got implications on media roles. They largely contribute in the failure of the media to fulfil its three basic roles which are to inform, educate and entertain. Accordingly, the stories that we read about traditional and faith healers cannot adequately capture what exactly is the traditional and faith healer. It can therefore be concluded that the media is selective and ideological. Findings from the research also established that in as much as the media has the power to influence the perceptions of people when it comes to issues to do with religion people do not just approach the stories naked. They are helped by a lot of factors to decode the messages, one of which is their experiences. Consequently, many people continuously consult traditional and faith healers despite demonisation that they are exposed to in Zimbabwe.
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction
The previous chapter presented and analysed data that was gathered from the field. This chapter discusses the data that was presented and analysed in chapter 5. Findings are discussed from an Afrocentric and Discourse analysis point of view. The findings are discussed in a manner that observes the research objectives of the study. The chapter focuses on the outcomes of the research in relation to what traditional and faith healers are, the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers and in relation to the factors that affect media representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers.

6.2 An overview of Faith and Traditional Healers
Research findings have shown that there is no difference between the traditional and the so-called faith healer. The two are fundamentally the same. One of the respondents who is an academic said:

Because of Christianity people are shunning the traditional healer and they transport as it were the duties they would expect from the traditional healer to the faith healer. They are sort of substituting the traditional healer with the faith healer. Almost every key aspect that has been taken care of by the traditional healer somehow has been taken care of by the faith healer.

The respondent was of the view that the faith healer is replacing the traditional healer. In other words he sees the faith healer as a traditional healer who is evolving

Key informants were of the view that the role of these practitioners is to help people overcome the problems that they face in life. This makes them one in the sense that they are there to achieve one goal. The major reason behind the idea that these two are the same is that they have the same understanding of disease and illness. Traditional and faith healers both believe that disease and illness have got a religious dimension. They believe that diseases are caused by the spirits; as a result they should be treated from a spiritual dimension. According to Taringa (2013:203):

AIC prophets are Shona traditional religious fundamentalists championing what is perceived to be one of the fundamentals of Shona faith namely (1) that the causes of illness are the behaviour of the individual, other human beings and evil supernatural
powers and (ii) that the role of the diviner-healer is to locate the source of misfortune and to identify the failure which needs to be rectified.

This suggests that both the traditional healer and the faith healer have the same understanding of disease and illness. Mbiti (1969:165) is of the view that “In African villages, disease and misfortunes are religious experiences and it requires a religious approach to deal with them.” It is important to note that traditional and faith healers are experts in treating this type of disease.

Africans believe that diseases are of two types, the natural which are of a fleeting nature and can be attended to by a modern doctor and unnatural or serious illness which need the attention of a faith healer and a traditional healer. According to Bourdillon (1976) serious illness is caused by the spirits perhaps angered spirits or by witchcraft or sorcery. This shows that the African theory of illness is broad and it includes African theology. Africans are a spiritual people. They believe that spirits can punish the living members of society by inflicting them with illness when offended. When diseases are believed to have caused the illness traditional healers are consulted. Generally traditional healers deal with sickness from a psychological and physiological perspective as propounded by Mbiti (1969:164) who says that, “they discover the cause of the sickness, find out who the criminal is, diagnose the nature of disease, apply the right treatment and supply a means of preventing the misfortune from occurring again.” The faith healer approaches problems from the same perspective thus Aigbadumah (2011) says that AIC took into account the worldviews and cultures of Africans in their theology and liturgy. This implies that the prophets that provide healing in these churches approach disease from an African perspective. They address issues that emerge from the African worldview. This means that faith healers approach disease and problems in the same manner as traditional healers. This has been echoed by Morekwa (2004) who reiterates the idea that Christians understand health as a state of complete mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of diseases or infirmity.

Key informants also recognised that traditional and faith healers particularly those from the apostolic churches operate in the same manner which might be evidence that the practitioners are tapping from the same source. One of the interviewees who is a religious expert was of the view that the operations of the traditional healer and that of the faith healer are undergirded by the same philosophy that is they have got the same worldview and they both use tangible solutions. Shoko and Chiwara (2013:225) made reference to the similarity of the methods of healing that
are used by a faith healer and traditional healers. They say that “the use of elements in a miraculous manner is prevalent in the healing miracles. They say that Makandiwa uses oil and in one service he made use of a tin of yoghurt which resembles the methods and elements that are used by the N'anga.

In view of the similarities respondents viewed today’s faith healer as a replacement of the traditional healer which is necessitated by the environment which favours Christian. It is recognised that faith healers are Christian oriented and they consequently appeal to a larger population who have become Christians. On the other hand, the traditional healer is aligned to African Traditional Religion which has been pushed to the periphery by Christianity. Consequently one respondent bluntly says that: “Faith healing is a colonial phenomenon. It is done by people who have abandoned their ancestors seeking to be accommodated by a westernised society.” This suggests that a faith healer is nothing more than a replacement of the traditional healer.

It is important to note that academics and other respondents from the general populace all agree that there is a very thin line between a faith healer and a traditional healer. Commentators who responded to a story titled Traditional healers blast Vapostori said:

Don’t be fooled by the so called man of God n’angas and Mapositori who make you do and believe stupid things. They are all the same. They are only wearing different clothes.

Another commentator to the story also said “Vese vekudzura, venguwo tsvuku, vembiya, mukaka, kana magedhi n’anga... These respondents suggested that people are blinded into believing that there is a difference between the traditional healer and the faith healer. The commentators were suggesting that these practitioners are the same, the only difference being in the approaches that they are taking, thus the respondent says that they are only wearing different clothes.

It is important to note that research findings have shown that there are two groups of faith healers which are those from the white garment apostolic churches and those who are “the man of God type.” The way these faith healers are received by the society is different. Whilst research respondents strongly believe that faith healers from white-garment churches are nothing but a replacement of the traditional healer, people have a lot of scepticism with regards to the ‘man of God’ type of faith healers. These faith healers seem to be appreciated by the Christian community and this might be because of the fact that they try by all means to dissociate
themselves from African religion and they are modern as can be evidenced by the lavish lives that they live.

It is also important to appreciate that the two groups of faith healers do not appreciate each other. The charismatic prophets do not appreciate white garment prophets. One of the interviewees who is a “white collar” prophet said that all faith healers from Apostolic churches are people who belong to cults. This perception is also shared by Magaya (2014) who argued that faith healers from white garment churches use powers from the marine world. One other faith healer from Zviratidzo Apostolic Church recognised the work that is done by modern day prophets but he says that their approach is different from theirs.

From another angle white collar prophets were condemned by academics and members of the public who question their sources of power. They were condemned for having spiritual fathers thus one of the interviewees commented “why is it that they have spiritual fathers?” People suspect that these people are tapping from the other world. It is however interesting to note that the idea that these people have spiritual fathers is taken as evidence to show that they are nothing but traditional healers in other contexts. Shoko and Chiwara (2013:221) did a comparative analysis of the traditional n’anga and Prophet Makandiwa and recognise that the concept of having spiritual fathers is a feature that is found in both contexts. They say that some traditional healers were mentored by their biological fathers, but others even travelled long distances to look for other spiritual mentors who are not even related to them.

White collar prophets are also thought of as people who are in business. This is evidenced by the lavish lives that they experience. One respondent who is an academic argued that faith healers are taking advantage of the desperation of people especially those whom he referred to as the “man of God” type of prophets. She said that these prophets promise people heaven on earth and instant riches in an economy that is not performing. She doubted the authenticity of such prophets as she said that for the past three years they have been promising people an economic boom which was never be. For her, their agenda is to make money. Consequently, they are regarded as crooks who are just using religion to make their ends meet. Nyandoro (2013) in Mateveke, Mukenge and Chivandikwa (2013:267) is of the view that “the authenticity of contemporary prophets in Africa has been questioned and some critics indicate that prophetic ministries are a façade and are meant to make their leaders rich.” The respondent went on to
associate them with ‘marauding hustlers’ who have used the shield of God to politely rob the poor of the little they have. Whilst respondents agreed that these practitioners are the same they observe that faith healers claim to hear from God directly whereas traditional healers do not approach God directly, they have ancestors and spirits as intermediaries.

Research findings have also shown that traditional and faith healers are indispensable and relevant in present day Zimbabwe. The ZINIPA president is of the view that 80% of Zimbabweans depend on the services of the traditional and faith healers. It is interesting to recognise that Christians appreciate the fact that traditional and faith healers are relevant in society today. 98% of the public members who answered questionnaires professed that they are Christians. None of the respondents had claimed to belong to African Traditional Religion. However, when asked about the relevance of traditional and faith healers, 91% said that they are relevant. Religious leaders who were interviewed also profess that despite the churches barring their congregants from visiting traditional healers and faith healers they all the same visit them. The Catholic priest said that, “Catholics nicodemously visit traditional healers because of the fear of the unknown.” He also observed that they also consult when death strikes. This is in line with Chitando (2013:x) who argues that “religion does play an important part in equipping adherents to make sense of extremely difficulty experiences. It does this by explaining why people find themselves in dire experiences.” Religious leaders who were interviewed confirmed that their followers always turn to religion when they encounter problems in life. This explains a scenario that was recognised by Idowu (1973:206):

It is well known that in strictly personal matters relating to the passages of life and the crisis of life, African Traditional Religion is regarded as the final succour by most Africans. In matters concerning providence, healing, and general well being, therefore most Africans still look up to their own religion as the way.

This implies that traditional healers will always survive. The persistence of the traditional and faith healer is attributed to the fact that they have success stories. They are revered for being able to treat disease that the modern medical doctors have failed to cure. Njoh (2006:157) argues that, “Despite the efforts of early Christian missionaries, traditional healers remain extremely popular in Africa. The reason being that traditional healers, are more successful in treating some ailments as compared to their Western trained counterparts.” 91% of the members of the public were of the view that traditional and faith healers are relevant in present day Zimbabwe citing that their Western counterparts can treat the physical part of the body but do not have access to the
spiritual side of disease. Results from interviews also indicate that respondents appreciated that traditional and faith healers are still relevant in Zimbabwe. One of the interviews said that: “Chivanhu chinorapwa nechivanhu” (diseases that emanate from the African worldview should be treated the African way) to show that the traditional and faith healer are indispensable in Zimbabwean societies. This idea has been alluded to by Morekwa (2004) who says that healing in Africa is holistic; it goes hand in hand with faiths or beliefs of people. It is understood as part of religion, culture and tradition.

Findings also show that the faith and traditional healer are also consulted by those who denounce them. Christians have a record of denouncing traditional and faith healers but evidence from religious leaders show that they still consult. A catholic priest says that for Africans culture is important and powerful therefore people interpret phenomena from a cultural perception. To this p'Bitek (1986:89) says that the missionaries were not successful in converting the African from his religion. He says:

Both Christianity and Islam employ all kinds of methods to reduce traditional religions to ashes and historical anachronism. A careful scrutiny of the religious situation shows clearly that in their encounter with traditional religious Christianity and Islam have made mainly an astonishingly shallow penetration in converting the whole man of Africa with all his historical/cultural roots, social dimensions self-consciousness and expectations.

It follows that the traditional healer survives because Africans are a deeply religious people and because Christianity has failed to offer a relevant and adequate substitute for African traditional Religion. People have turned to Christianity but have taken their African religiosity with them; they preach against them and visit them as well. Traditional healers are also preferred because they have been tried and tested. Their medicines are appreciated because they do not have side effects, thus Njoh (2006) purports that they have withstood several centuries of testing and retesting. If it was not because of merit, it would not have lasted through the burdens of time and prejudice against it. The peculiarities of these practitioners make people not to react blindly to the stories that they read from newspapers. From the research it has been ascertained that people continue to use the services of these practitioners despite the demonisation that traditional and faith healers face in Zimbabwean newspapers.

6.3 Religion, Media and ideology
Research findings have shown that there is an intrinsic relationship among religion, media and ideology such that it is difficult to discuss one out of the context of the other. Religion and
ideology enjoy an intrinsic relationship. Religion is key to the development of an ideology because, it is key to a people’s definition. Mbiti (1969:2) talks about the centrality of religion to the African when he expresses that it is religion that guides and informs an African in every endeavour. He says:

Wherever the African, there is his religion, he carries it to the fields where he is sowing seeds or harvesting a new crop; he takes it with him to the beer party, or to attend a funeral ceremony, and if he is educated, he takes religion with him to the examination room at school or in the university, if he is a politician he takes it to the house of parliament.

Mbiti goes on to say that religion accompanies the individual from long before his birth to long after his physical death. This shows that an African does not know how to survive without religion. Religion is central to the lives of people particularly Africans such that their understanding of the world is largely clouded by their understanding of religion. Resultantly, the ideas that are developed through religion are easily appreciated by people.

Ani (1994:152) recognises that religion is integrally related to the development of ideology in the West. She notes that:

The church has taken a leading role in cultural aggression because of all the facets of European expansion; it has easiest access to non-European peoples and greatest potential for their ideological destruction. European imperialist tendencies may be easily grafted into Christian ideology.

Ani recognises that religion has been used in the development of a colonial ideology by the imperialist. At the same time religion was used to destroy African ideologies. She recognises that the church has been very influential in the spread of imperialism. The church was used by imperialists to spread European ideas. This was because the European has recognised that the African was connected to his religion. Europeans therefore recognised that the only way that he was going to win Africans was to destroy their religion which was the reservoir of their beliefs. They understand that once they destroyed their religion and replace it with the European religion it indirectly meant destroying their ideology and replace it with European ideologies. This supposes that the Christian religion carries the ideology of the coloniser. The European religion has been used to justify European ideology. The idea that religion and ideology are inseparable is also captured by Mbiti (1969:231) who says that, “There is no Roman priest and a European—both are the same.” This implies that the European coloniser and the missionary were geared towards the same goal which was to colonise and control. Whilst the colonial master was busy
stealing material possessions from the African the missionary was busy playing havoc on the African by pressing the European image on the African through spreading the ideology of the coloniser. This is alluded to by Rodney (1972:278) who declares that, “The purpose behind colonial ideologies wrought by colonial administrators and missionaries was to legitimate an alien domination of Africans.” The above quotation shows that the colonial ideologies were put in place by the missionaries.

The media is a platform where ideology is expressed and disseminated. This finds resonance in Hall (1981:11) who declares that, “the media is a principal form of ideological dissemination which produces representations of the social world via images and portrayals. This manufactures a network of understanding that informs us how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work.” The media is key to the spread of an ideology. It is a platform that reaches a lot of people and people are influenced by what they read from the media. Research findings from questionnaires show that the media is instrumental in informing people in their society but does not do this in a just manner. This suggests that the media plays the role of selling ideology. Miller (2002:259) says that:

So what is the role of the media in the reproduction of class power? The media do have a role in promoting dominant ideologies and in spreading them variably amongst sections of the population. The media can on occasion help to convince elements of the public of states of affairs and evaluations of them which are thoroughly ideological, even where this is not in their own interests. But the media also have a direct role which is arguably as important for the reproduction of inequality as ideological power over the masses.

Miller extends the idea that the media has the power to reach people of various classes with information and he purports that the information that is disseminated by the media is largely ideological. The society depends on the media in their quest to understand what transpires in the world. Malcom X (1963) in Griffith (2013:115) appreciates the power of the media when he says “The media is the most powerful entity on earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and to make the guilty innocent, and that’s power because they control the minds of the masses.” From the research it has been established that Zimbabwean newspapers are in the business of downplaying traditional and faith healers which translate to the idea that it is selling the European ideology which is carried in Christianity. One of the interviewee respondents who is a Chronicle reporter said “The media concentrates on what it wants people to believe in hence it is ideological in nature.” Respondents agreed on the idea that the media is ideological in
nature. This means that it is not independent thus one of the respondents has this to say “The media can never be independent, it can be independent from the government but someone may influence the media particularly the owner.” This suggests that the media is always playing the duty of selling someone else’s ideas. Respondents have agreed that the media is there to sell the ideology of the powerful and of the owner. This idea is echoed by Marx and Angels (1947:64) who argue that:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas.

This supports the idea that the media is there to disseminate and spread the ideas of those who are in power. In relation to the issue of traditional healers and faith healers it has been established that the media is selling the ideas of the European and of the coloniser. The traditional healer who is at the helm of the African traditional religion is castigated in Zimbabwean newspapers. This is done to promote European medicine and to promote the Christian ideology. To this Clarke (1991:342) says that “the mass media, bible interpretation and religious training are part of an attempt to control the minds of the people. He goes on to say that “the images of Africa reflected in mass media, for example TV, radio, newspaper and religious literature projects African people rarely playing a heroic role.” Zimbabwean newspapers is one such platform that is used to project Africa in an object position since they are largely anti-traditional healing.

Whilst there are many religions that are practiced particularly in Zimbabwe, there are also many ideologies that are embraced but the media has the mandate to spread the dominant ideology. These ideas show that there are ideologies that are dominated in the media. From the research it is clear that African traditional religion is still alive in the minds of Africans. Despite colonialism and the mystifications of African religion, traditional healing has remained alive. Respondents appreciate the importance of traditional healers in society and they have gone to the extent of appreciating the idea that these practitioners are indispensable. 91% of the public members who answered questionnaires say that traditional and faith healers are still relevant in modern day societies. Whilst they appreciate that these practitioners are important in society, only a minority are using their services. 0% of respondents contends that when they encounter they seek the
services of the traditional healer and 20% make use of the services of the faith healer. This shows that there is a gap in the responses that are given by research respondents which shows that the people are operating from a position of objects in their own history. This shows a people who have some kind of forces that are controlling their minds, thus Clarke (1991:323) says that:

The role of image and mind control in the African world goes beyond the visual. In many ways it tells the colonised what to wear, what to like, what to hate and what to consume. The colonials create a market by training the colonised mind to consume what the respective colonial country produces.

What the respondents professed is not what they do. They accepted the importance of traditional and faith healers in their lives but at the same time are not using the services. Media images about traditional healers are bad because the society is dominated by Christians. This presupposes that Christianity as a religion is there to dictate the ideology that the society holds. Interviews with media personnel have shown that the media is there to spread a reality that is already there in society and does not manufacture reality. 98% of the respondents claimed to be Christians; therefore and ultimately the media is spreading Christian ideology through stories about traditional and faith healers. The idea that very few people if any are still subscribing to African traditional religion is instrumental in understanding the reasons as to why very few stories in newspapers celebrate and project traditional healers in good light.

6.4 Representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers
In terms of representation the media is stereotypical. Most of the stories that are covered in Zimbabwean newspapers are about modern day prophets. Respondents were of the view that this is because they have got economic power and that they are aligned to Christian which is a common religion in Zimbabwe as indicated by the research findings which show that 98% of the public members who answered questionnaires were Christians. Most of the stories are written in a way that makes people align with faith healers. Houtlosser and van Eemeren (2002) recognised that in argumentation arguers have more in mind, that is, in as much as they may want to achieve reasonableness; they also want outcomes to be in their favour. To them arguers do not just argue for no reason, but to win the argument. The idea that most of the stories are in favour of faith healers is crucial in aligning people with Christianity. Conclusively the representation of the modern day faith healer is both positive and negative.
Members of the public who responded to questionnaires have mixed perceptions about modern day faith healers. Those who said that these people are playing a good role in society believe that they are being used by the Holy Spirit. This means that the major reason why these practitioners are accepted is because they are associated with the Christian religion. Newspaper commentators also have mixed perceptions about these prophets. Some preferred to take the ‘touch not the anointed ones’ approach. This is probably because people are afraid of these healers because of the fact that they have got powers which they can supposedly use against those who speak badly about them. This means that those who write stories about faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers are writing from a biased perspective.

Those who are against these modern day prophets accused them of being after fame and business. They regarded these prophets as people who are taking advantage of desperate citizens. Those who subscribed to this view have an understanding of the role of religion in critical times. Chitando (2013) says that religion plays an important part in equipping adherents to make sense of extremely difficult experience and that it makes sense of a crisis and suggest strategies to both survive and overcome the crisis. Zimbabweans are living in a critical period which is characterised by a dysfunctional economy. The modern day prophet is giving people solace by preaching the gospel of prosperity where people are being promised instant riches. Nyandoro (2013) says that the authenticity of contemporary prophets in Africa has been questioned and some critics indicate that prophetic ministries are a facade and are meant to make their leaders rich.

These healers are also getting mileage by being Christians. 98% of the research respondents who answered questionnaires designed for members of the public claimed to be affiliated to the Christian religion. This is in line with national statistics which shows that the majority of African populations have turned to Christianity. Bourdillon (1990:265) says, “Christianity is the most conspicuous world religion in Africa south of the Sahara.” People therefore find it usual to visit modern day faith healers because they are in the terrain of Christianity which is largely regarded as a civilising religion.

It is, however, important to note that although modern day prophets are appreciated by the majority of the people and receive some positive representation in Zimbabwean newspapers, they are also exposed to negative representation. Whilst they receive positive representation
those who comment on their stories are sceptical about their work. People question the idea that they have got spiritual fathers and they largely associate them with cultism. Shoko and Chiwara (2013) are of the view that the fact that they have spiritual fathers is a feature that gives evidence that faith healers are the same as traditional healers. This idea is stressed by one of the interviewees who purports that the faith healer is a traditional healer who is just wearing a Christian jacket in order to find relevance in a society that is Christianised. Findings of the study have shown that the kind of treatment that the ‘man of God’ type of prophets receives in Zimbabwean newspapers is different from the way faith healers from the white garment churches are treated.

Faith healers from the white garment churches are represented in negative light. They are condemned as people who derive their powers from the other world. This is probably because of their connection with traditional healers and because these faith healers approach disease and illness from an African perspective. The president of ZINIPA said that there is no difference between traditional healers and prophets from white garment churches. For him, the two are taping from the same source but they use different healing methods. He said that their approach to disease and illness is the same. Aigbadumah, (2011) declares that among African indigenous churches healing and quest for power to overcome life’s adversities is a major concern. They draw largely from African traditional religion background where the dominant emphasis is on good health, wellbeing and peace with oneself and environment. The demonisation of faith healers from white garment churches can therefore be explained from the idea that they are African oriented which means that they spread the ideology of the African. Media representation of these faith healers is synonymous to that of traditional healers.

Traditional healers just like faith healers from white garment churches are represented in negative light. Contrary to the traditional view that traditional healers were there to preserve life, the representation that they receive is such that they are a threat to human survival. The representation that they receive ignores the heroic deeds that traditional healers have done. This suggests that the representation that traditional healers receive is colonised and is perpetuating the interests of the coloniser. This scenario has been made reference to by Williams (1987:57) when he talked about the idea that the European has destroyed the African heritage. He says “These psychological shackles still handicap the rebirth of modern African states and blacks
everywhere.” The media is used as a platform that perpetuates the spread of European ideology. By demonising the traditional healer the media is indirectly teaching people that Christianity is a good religion and that African Traditional Religion should not be followed.

The way these practitioners are represented is meant to create dichotomies between traditional and faith healers and consequently between African Traditional Religion and Christianity. The representation that the traditional healer receives in Zimbabwean newspapers is a reflection of the European’s image of other religions. This clearly shows that the way of Heru as theme which contends that the Afrocentric writer must emphasise that culture is core is not satisfied in the stories that are written about traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. Culture is not recognised as the core of African people and also the confidence of African people is destroyed by the media. The kind of representation that the traditional healer receives is typical of the cultural other by the West. It is a representation that justifies European stereotypes about Africa. The traditional healer is dehumanised which is contrary to the Afrocentric principle which sees the role of the humanisation of the African as primary. The way traditional healing is represented is evident of the damage that the colonialist has done to the African. The African peoples’ mind has been severely destroyed and crippled to the extent that they were forced to admit and play host to the domination. The Africans were duped to welcome the domination and this is evidenced by the way they represent that which is theirs in Zimbabwean newspapers. In other words the ghost of colonialism is seen in newspaper stories about traditional healers which are largely negative. The kind of discourse that is in Zimbabwean newspapers is forwarding the European agenda of distancing Africans from themselves. It is therefore pertinent for those who write newspapers to explain matters from the viewpoint of Africans.

6.4.1 Representation of Traditional and faith healers in The Herald

The images of the traditional healer in The Herald are largely diabolical. Traditional healers are represented as a trickster that is as people who are stealing from their unsuspecting clients. They are portrayed as people who claim to do things that they cannot do for example killing of goblins. This is exemplified in a story that was published on 25 January 2016 titled Masvingo Couple Loses $50k to N’anga. The traditional healer is allegedly accused of extorting cash and property worth $50 000 but was not able to alleviate the problem. It is mentioned in the story that the patient got more serious after the traditional healers have performed their rituals. This
demonstrates that traditional healers are viewed as people who claim to do things that they cannot do. The fact that the traditional healer was demanding exorbitant amounts from the patient is in itself evidence to show that traditional healers are after money and not the welfare of people. The way the traditional healer is portrayed is typical of a trickster who is after people’s possessions. The traditional healer in the story was continuously demanding money yet the patient was becoming worse and worse every day. This is contrary to the African understanding where traditional healers are only paid when the patients gets better. This has been recognised by Murove (2009:179) who asserts that “traditional healers receive a fee contingent on the outcome with the greater part being due only if the person is cured.” The kind of representation that is given to the traditional healer is largely shaped by capitalism.

The traditional healer is regarded as a liar. The story goes on to mention that the Masvingo healer teamed up with other three Chipinge traditional healers to kill the goblin. Chipinge is well known as an area with very powerful traditional healers, however all the traditional healers seem to have failed to do away with the goblin. This is a way of discrediting traditional healers as relevant practitioners in Zimbabwean societies. The way the story is written shows that the writer is informed by Eurocentrism. Shohat and Stam (1994) declare that Eurocentrism turns to ignore the fact that the world in the twenty first epoch is characterised with Polycentrism, that there is existence of more than one culture in a particular given geographical space, and that the world is now characterised with multiculturalism. It sees Europe as the unique source of meaning and as the world’s centre of gravity. The topic in itself suggests that the traditional healer is not useful but can be bribers. The traditional healer is here represented as a failure. Such a mentality can also be drawn from respondents’ views. One commentator said, “N’anga ndidzo madofo nemarovha akafoira hupenyu zvachose. They are broken down vehicle.” (The traditional healer are total failure who have completely failed in life.) The way the traditional healer is captured in The Herald shows a mentality of an African that has been dehumanised not to see anything that is good about what is African. It shows that people are using European lens to view the African world. This is so because it is Europe that first taught the African to despise himself and such a mentality is still lingering as expressed in the representation of traditional healers in The Herald.

The idea that traditional healers are tricksters is also captured in the story on 14 September 2015 with the title Woman Loses $32 000 trying to win back boyfriend. The story recognises that
traditional healers are advertising their services as it is alleged in the story that the woman consulted the traditional healers after seeing an advert. This gives the office of the traditional healer a business character. Consequently traditional healers are being represented as people who are in business. As people who are in business their agenda is to make money and not to help people. The representation of traditional healers in *The Herald* is diabolical. The representation is typical of the Westerner’s representation of the cultural other. Ephraim (2003) made reference to this. She recognised that the intentions of the European were to rape Africa, to dehumanise the Africans, and to make them poor both materially and spiritually. The images of traditional healer are disempowering and they draw people further and further away from traditional healers and in turn from themselves.

With regards to faith healers *The Herald* is somehow positive. They are regarded as patriots who have their country at heart. In one story that was published in *The Herald* titled “Magaya Backs Makandiwa Prophecy analysed on 5.4.11” it is clear that both Magaya and Makandiwa are good people who have the affairs of the country at heart. They are all advocating for peace since they were against a demonstration that was organised by MDC-T. However the kind of representation that faith healers as represented by Magaya and Makandiwa should be questioned. This is in line with the idea that religion and politics have an intrinsic relationship. One of the interviewee purported that “…in Gramscian’ terms cultural domination paves way for political domination and religion is one of the political institutions that can be used to negotiate hegemony.” This may suggests that these faith healers are receiving positive representation in *The Herald* because their prophecies have proved to be politically correct.

These modern day prophets are also regarded as civil in *The Herald*. This is demonstrated in the story **Magaya stampede claims 11**. Whilst 11 people lost their lives the way the story is written shows Magaya showing remorse for what has happened. This suggests that Magaya is captured in the story as someone who is civilised. The facts that are given in the story are exonerating Magaya from the tragedy. It is said that the death of people was caused by the police who have failed to mann the congregation and have opened teargas and it was said that Magaya has actually cancelled the service but had the courtesy to give people anointing water for free. Eye witnesses who were interviewed also exonerated Magaya from blame. Most of the ideas that were expressed in the story support the idea that the death of people were caused by the police.
The kind of representation that the prophet gets shows that there might be invisible forces in operation considering that people have died at his crusade. It is also of importance to recognise that The Herald covers stories about modern day prophets at the detriment of many other faith healers. It is of particular importance to recognise that these modern faith healers are close to capital. Research findings from media experts have shown that that newspaper stories do not only represent the truth. They identified that there are a lot of factors that are at play when newspaper articles are written. The fact that the faith healer receives positive representation when something tragic has happened at his crusade explains what an ordinary eye cannot see. It is also of importance to note that faith healers are in the realm of Christianity hence The Herald can be explained as a paper that is spreading Christian ideology.

6.4.2 Representation of Traditional and Faith Healers in NewsDay.
In the NewsDay the traditional healer receives peripheral representation. The traditional healer is written about when he does things that are bad. Traditional healers are represented in NewsDay as dangerous people. In the story “Chitungwiza blast Mystery deepens” the traditional healer’s place is taken as a dangerous place where people can lose their life. Contrary to the idea that these practitioners have a role to preserve life they are portrayed as people who can hurt the same life that they are purported to preserve. The traditional healer is also represented as a complex person. Some say that they know him as a faith healer (prophet) and some as a traditional healer. This question the authenticity of the traditional healers and in turn presents him them as dubious characters. The story shows that the rituals that are performed by a traditional healer are dangerous since the story suggests that the explosion was caused by an unknown ritual. It is said in the story that “the mysterious explosion occurred at a house in which a traditional healer was said to be performing unknown rituals”. The NewsDay also perceive the traditional healer as an evil person. The evilness of the traditional healer is captured in the story when the owner of the house says that the incident took place at a time when he had ordered Mandere to vacate the property after he learnt that he was a traditional healer. This shows that people do not want to be associated with traditional healers

In a story titled Traditional Healers Blast Vapositori published on June 13, 2015 the traditional healer is also blasted and demonised. The fact that traditional healers said that members of white garment sectors were their members is taken as an insult. This suggests that it is naturally known
that traditional healers are bad and no one is comfortable being associated with them. This idea is however disputed by Chinweizu (1987: xi) who argues that the consciousness of the African was colonised and miseducated. Chinweizu says:

What Africans have been conditioned to accept as reality was, more often than not, a misrepresentation of reality, a mystifying official misrepresentation of reality, a mystifying, official misrepresentation of events and of the world by colonial and neo-colonial interests.

Chinweizu is of the idea that the fact that traditional healers are bad is not natural but it was an enterprise designed by the coloniser to achieve world control.

In the story Ndanga is said to have said that Magaya used sacrificial blood to perform his miracles, derive his powers from marine spirits and was worse than traditional healers. This suggests that just like Magaya, traditional healers are regarded as people who are involved in atrocious activities.

The NewsDay has mixed representation about faith healers. It represents faith healers from the apostolic sect as people who use evil powers in their healing expeditions. In a story published on June 13, 2015, titled Traditional healers blast Vapositori, the paper says that white garmented sect goers were members of ZINATHA. This is taken as an insult as the topic suggests. These practitioners were regarded as worse than traditional healers. The Apostolic sect faith Healers are regarded as unholy that is as people who use marine spirits. Their source of power is regarded as evil. In the same story Magaya who is a modern day prophet is also presented as a cultist that is as someone who derives his power from sacrificial blood. However with regards to the Kwekwe incident, the NewsDay did not give much detail but said that the death was caused by the stampede. This shows that the paper is in this case representing the faith healer positively.

6.4.3 Representation of Traditional and Faith Healers in Daily News

Stories about traditional healers are rarely covered in Daily News. One story that the research managed to get has to do with politicians. The story tells a negative story about traditional healers. The stories consider the consultation of traditional healers by ZANU PF bigwigs to determine President Robert Mugabe’s successor as evidence to show that Zimbabweans are superstitious. This shows that belief in traditional healers is regarded as superstitious and barbaric. From this one can tell that the reporter or those who write for Daily News are reporting for Christians. The idea supports Chavhunduka’s (2001:3) observation when he contends that,
“Christian missionaries tried to destroy the African religion but they failed and they viewed it as childish religion full of black magic, sorcery and witchcraft full of superstition.” The fact that the story is said to be a throwback to the diesel n’anga suggests that traditional healers are fake as government officials were once tricked into believing that there was diesel that was oozing from a rock in Chinhoyi. They are also represented as people who are after wealth. The story suggests that traditional healers can do anything for money. It is allegedly said in the story that they have been promised a lot of money and cars as bribes for them to profess that Mujuru will never rule Zimbabwe. This in a way suggests that traditional healers are nothing but mere people who are after personal gain.

In the Daily News, faith healers are represented in bad light. They are represented as liars who are impeding government’s initiatives to prevent AIDS. They are presented as liars who lie to people who end up stop taking their ARVs which has caused the death of many people. They are represented as people who are infringing the medical doctor from the good work that he is doing.

The Daily News also view faith healers as people who are in occultism as demonstrated in the story titled “Faith Healer Draws Bumper Crowds.” The faith healer is accused of using evil powers as it is mentioned that he draws his power from indigenous African occultism not from the Holy Spirit. This again shows that these practitioners are accused of misleading people. The title of the story also shows that the prophet is considered as someone who is in the business of accumulating wealth. The fact that it is mentioned in the story that his clients are the working class speaks volumes about the agenda of the faith healer. The way indigenous healing systems are written is quiet contrary to Abarry (1990:123)’s proposition when he states that, “the primary objective of Afrocentricity is to liberate the research and study of African peoples from the hegemony of Eurocentric scholarship...” The way indigenous practitioners are represented promotes Eurocentrism and downplays Africans as authors in their own history.

6.4.4 Representation of Traditional and Faith Healers in Kwayedza
In Kwayedza the representation of the traditional healer is othered. Whilst the mandate of the paper is to cover social issues and to promote the cultural traditions, the rich cultural history and heritage of Africa is ignored. The representation is compatible with research findings from members of the public. 100% of the members of the public who answered questionnaires were of the view that traditional healers are negatively represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. Whilst
the stories acknowledge that traditional healers are still functional in Zimbabwean communities. The evil deeds that they are said to be involved in as captured in the stories outweigh the good that they do. These practitioners are represented as murderers. They are said to be people who possess items that are dangerous and harmful to life. This is evidence that European ideas still have a hold on a people’s perception of the world. Chukwuokolo (2010) laments the idea that Eurocentric ideas are still prevalent in Africa today. In a story titled ‘Ndinogadzira mheni…” Ndiyo Pfuti yemunhu mutema. N’anga ….Ikashaya mhosva inodzoka kumuridza which was published on 8 December 2015 the traditional healer is boasting about the fact that he is capable of making lightning which he regards as a weapon to deal with those who would have aired against him. He says that it is used to those who erred against them. This in itself shows that the traditional healer is barbaric. The traditional healer is written about in a way that shows that he takes the killing of people as an act of valour. The lightning is likened to a gun. The traditional healer says that “Zvinoratidza kukosha kwesimba rechivanhu nekuti muchena akavhundutswa anobuda nepfuti saka isu tinobuda nemheni nezvidhoma.” (It shows the importance of the power of African culture because if the Whiteman is scared he comes out with a gun so we come out with lightning and ghosts.) This suggests that traditional medicine is associated with dangerous items. The traditional healers are regarded as people who are anti-life. In the story the good deeds by traditional healers are completely ignored as if to show that these practitioners should not be trusted since what they are good at is to do bad things. In the same story the traditional healer is regarded as someone who possesses dangerous medicine which they use to deal with thieves. The story writer presents the diabolical activities that are done by traditional healers as their primary role. This is a way of showing that traditional healers and the religion that embodies them should be done away with. Whilst an interview with one media personell revealed that Kwayedza is a paper that recognises the existence and functionality of the African traditional religion. The ideas that were raised by the respondent with regards to their representation show someone who is operating from an ignorant position. The respondent said that the evil deeds that are written about traditional healers are part and parcel of the job of the traditional healer and most people request contact details for these practitioners. For the respondent witchcraft is celebrated in African religion. This shows that the work that is done by the newspaper has its roots in colonialism and it is evidence to show that colonialism is still abounding in Zimbabwe today. With reference to the kind of treatment that traditional healers are exposed to Chavunduka
(1978:78) says that “missionaries conceived of a traditional healer as a death-dealing charlatan, a rogue and a deceiver…” This shows that the belief that traditional healers are anti-life is authored by colonialism and is still playing havoc in the minds of Zimbabweans today as seen in the way they represent their healer in newspapers. Consequently Kwayedza is perpetuating the colonial agenda.

In another story, Ini ndinohipisa Mhavha-N’unga: November 7, 2014, a traditional healer is represented as a person with evil powers which she uses to kill people. They are also blamed of helping people who are in prostitution. This suggests that they are in the business of perpetuating evil. They are represented as witches. They are also represented as people who have dubious power sources. In the story the traditional healer says that her power lies in the stick. The way the traditional healer is represented is worrisome. The stories about traditional healers in Kwayedza are evidence of a dehumanised people. It is a kind of representation that shows a colonised mentality, a mentality that argues from the centre of others. Thus the paper is supporting the western enterprise which is mainly to make an African his own enemy. The discourse in Kwayedza disregards the importance of history in interpreting African phenomenon. The newspaper does not take into consideration that a people’s past is central to their definition; it shows people who exactly they are. Clarke (1999:14) recognises the idea that the act of stripping people from their history was necessary for the colonisation of Africa. He says:

It became a necessity to remove you from history in order to convince you, at least in part, that you are supposed to be oppressed; to remove from your eyesight every image of endearment, everything that endears you to yourself, so you can feel that, at least in part, God, too has frowned on you, and deserted you, put you outside the basis of humanity.

The stories about traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers completely disregard the fact that traditional healers have served the health needs of countless generations before the introduction of Western medicine. The fact that most of the stories do not make reference to a clean traditional healer might be triggered by some invisible hand. As recognised through interviews those who sponsor newspapers have a way of aligning media content with their own personal beliefs. The way traditional healers are represented in Kwayedza can be described as a reflection of the ideas of those who are in control of the media. By and large those who write stories about traditional healers in Kwayedza appear to be writing for Europeans. Their ideas show that they are completely speaking against African healing methods. It is therefore
important for Africans to decolonise themselves from the colonial remnants that are manifesting in media discourse. To this Ephraim (2003:60) vehemently articulates that:

The burden and responsibility of being Black in this Eurocentrically conceived world, consist in part, in unlearning the lessons of black inferiority, in attaining self-knowledge by way of coming to terms with the true history of Africa and Africans and in teaching this history to the non-black world, which has to a large extent been infected by the illusion of a universal European paradigm.

Ephraim calls for self-consciousness as a strategy that helps people to repossess their greatness. Africans are being called upon to operate from a point self-knowing. The decolonisation of the African can never be successful unless they decide to change themselves first.

On faith healers *Kwayedza* is also negative. The paper attacks faith healers as fake and as money mongers. These ideas are prevalent in research findings from the field. In a story published on April 10, 2015 the reporter is lamenting the idea that faith healers are stealing from their unsuspecting clients. It is said in the story “Ndiko kubirwa munhu akasvinura uku. Adii kutora makomborero acho iye abuda muna taisireva”. (This is being stolen from in daylight. why didn’t he take the blessings himself and come out of problems). Most of the titles that are used in the stories about faith healers in *Kwayedza* are negative about the faith healer. Some of the headings are “Ngwarirai Maporofita Enhema” (Beware of false Prophets), *Maporofita Enyoka Tinoaziva* (We know snake prophets), *Maporofita Akonzeresa* (Prophets are trouble causers). All the stories about faith healers presented on 5.4.3.6 are warning people to be on guard against fake faith healers. In one of the stories it is clear that these prophets are regarded as liars as the reporter is saying that people should trust in God. This suggests that the fact that faith healers say that they are being used by God is all fake. It is said in the story” Handizivi kuti sei tichifunga kuti nhamo dzedu dzinopedzwa nemaporofita nendimi dzavo, nenyoka dzavanobata sei. (I don’t know why we think that our problems are solved by prophets and their tongues and the snakes that they catch) The reporter does not see anything good coming out of prophets and sees them as crooks who plant things on people that they purport to help.

Prophets are also regarded as people who are causing problems in society because they are lying to people. They are lying that they can cure AIDS and they end up putting people in danger and they also lie that they can diagnose AIDS which has caused havoc in families. The discourse disregards faith healers in the mitigation against HIV/AIDS.
6.4.5 Representation of Traditional and faith healers in *Umthunywa*.

In *Umthunywa* there is mixed representation of both traditional and faith healers. Both practitioners are exposed to positive and negative representation. However negative representation of the practitioners overshadows positive representations. Traditional healers in *Umthunywa* are represented as murderers who use human blood for the rituals as evidenced by a story with the title “*Ukhakhayi owesifazane enzini wenyanga.*” Traditional healers are represented as people who derive power from evil sources. They use human skulls for rituals.

In another story “*Hiya inyanga yolunyoka: Igcina udiwo olulegazi lababayo,*” the traditional healer is again represented as a murderer. They are taken as people who take away the lives that they purport to preserve. The traditional healer is also regarded in *Umthunywa* as a personality who derive his powers from human blood. It is mentioned that once the vessel in which he kept his blood was confiscated his powers vanished. The paper communicates that people should not be blinded by the deeds of traditional healers since those deeds can be hiding the evil behind the work of the practitioners. The way the traditional healer is represented shows that *Umthunywa* is in the business of setting the agenda of the colonialist. Traditional healers are also seen as people who are using the authority of their offices to justify their bad activities eg poaching thus the story “*Inyanga ibulala ubhejane ukuze ithabise amadlzi ayo.*” This means that traditional healers are regarded as crooks who use their offices to achieve their own personal ends.

Though stories that focus on the good of traditional healers are very few, *Umthunywa* recognises the traditional healer as a functional practitioner in modern day societies. The paper recognises traditional healers as civilised people as in the story *Inyanga Yothando* where the traditional healer is regarded as a qualified teacher. It is also recognised in the story that traditional healers have areas of speciality. It is important to note that whilst the story is in *Umthunywa* the traditional healer in question is a South African from Durban.

The faith healer in *Umthunywa* also receives negative representation. They are regarded as rapists and fake. In the story *Umphurofethi Udlwengulo umntwana wanfowabo,* is represented as a rapist who use his office to abuse his cousin. The faith healer is represented as an uncultured person who engages in a sexual relationship with a relative. In the story *Hiya Inyanga Yolunyoka: Igcina Udiwo Olulegazi Labafayo* is juxtaposed with a traditional healer. The faith
healer is represented in a sane way as he is represented as someone who exposes the bad that was being masterminded by a traditional healer.

6.4.6 Representation of faith healers in Tabloids
The tabloids seem to concentrate on the elegant faith healers. In terms of representation they cover modern day prophets which they write about in a mockery way. The tabloids are concerned about the dubious ways of healing that are used by these prophets and the unusual miracles that they perform. They represent the prophets as people who are engaging in fake miracles which do not last. One interviewee who is an academic argued that “faith healers are gaining publicity because what they are doing by nature attracts the attention of the media. They engage in activities that are not common. He made reference to the issue of ‘Miracle money’ and ‘miracle baby’.” The media is obsessed by new phenomenon. In one of the stories published in *H-Metro* on 8 January 2013” titled *Hosiah Chipanga on “Miracle Money”*, the word miracle money is in quotations which show that the miracle is questionable. Hosiah Chipanga attacks the miracle as something that is not in line with the word of God. In another story there is a prophet who performs an abortion miracle. This suggests that the miracle is not something good since it involves taking someone’s life. It follows that in terms of representation Tabloids see modern day prophets as people who perform fake and dubious miracles which do not last.

Tabloids also attack faith healers as people who are after fame. On 21 February *H-Metro* publishes a story titled “Another prophet challenges Pastors for public demo.” This comes after another story was published on 6 February 2013 with the heading “Makandiwa challenges pastors for miracle contests.” This shows that these prophets are people who are after self-glorification. They want to be recognised by the society and not God hence they seem to be obsessed by competition. At the end of the day they are represented as people who are in business. As far as tabloids are concerned, the majority of times they are poking fun on faith healers since they concentrate on dubious things that they engage in. It concurs with Eurocentric views that show that African religion was taken as a childish religion. The kind of representation that the faith healer which is somehow funny backs Hegel (1952) who wedge an attack on the African religion as a childhood religion. What this implies is that the religion was not serious. The way faith healers are written about show some lack of seriousness on the part of those who write for the tabloids. To this Ani (1997) says that as Africans we must take our cultural forms
more seriously and learn to reject alien interpretations of their significance and build on our strengths that most often lie on our uniqueness and people must enjoy togetherness than separation.

6.5 Factors affecting media representation of traditional and faith healers.
Research has shown that media stories about traditional healers and faith healers are not limited to the acts of these practitioners perse. There are a lot of actors and factors in media production that shape the stories. This is supported by research findings from questionnaires which established that traditional and faith healers are not truthfully represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. 75% of the respondents from the Media and society studies, 82% from members of the public and 91% of those studying African languages and Culture and Theology and religious Studies were of the view that traditional and faith healers are not truthfully represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. Basically the representation is said to be biased and stereotypical and this is because of the fact that there are so many players in news production.

Research findings have to a very large extent shown that traditional healers are presented negatively in Zimbabwean newspapers. All the stories from Kwayedza demonise the traditional healer. Very few stories that are in Zimbabwean newspapers tell a positive story about these practitioners. The traditional and faith healers are represented as symbols of evil, master minds of evil and a threat to Christianity. From the interviews it has been noted that the same practitioners who are demonised in Zimbabwean newspapers are the pillar of the survival of Africans. It has been observed by key informants that these practitioners are indispensable citing reasons that they are capable of treating ailments that medical doctors have failed and that they have passed the test of time. The fact that these practitioners that are regarded as symbols of African tradition religion are indispensable is made reference to by p’Bitek (1986) who asserts that people who were converted to Christianity did not reject their culture because there was no alternative. This suggests that Christianity could not offer an adequate alternative for the traditional healer. Consequently the traditional healer and faith healer have survived the torture that they have been submitted to by the media. This shows that there is a gap between media representation and what is on the ground. The representation that these practitioners receive is colonised. It shows that people have been pushed away from their centre and are now operating from the centre of others. To this Asante (2010) acknowledges that Africa has for a long time lived at the periphery of Europe and has been holding the margins of the European world. The
fact that Africans are at the mercy of Europeans make them come up with stories that are largely anti-traditional healing and anti-faith healing. In short media representation is affected by colonialism, the political economy of the media house, capitalism and by the beliefs and religious orientations of individual journalists among others.

6.5.1 Colonialism and Media Representation of traditional and faith healers
Findings from research have shown that media stories about traditional and faith healers are written from a colonial mentality. Chivaura (1998:93) condemns colonialism for the damage that it has caused to the African. He says “the process of colonialism eroded the integrity and personality of the African people. It produced creatures which are at the mercy of the colonisers, creatures which have rejected themselves. The media is a site for perpetuating the colonial agenda. This means that the stories are written in a way that spread the values of the colonialist and in such a way that they extend colonialism. The way traditional and faith healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers is to a very large extent affected by colonialism. This has been captured by one interviewee who is a lecturer in the department of Media and Society Studies who recognised that the running of the media is still clutch in the colonial system. He said that “after independence as contended by post-colonial theorists there was mere substitution of the Rs by the Zs from Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation to Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation.” This suggests that it is only the terminology that was revised at Independence but the running of the media has remained the same. The media is perpetually being used as a platform to spread the European worldview. This scenario is correctly captured by Wa Thingo (1993:65) who declares that, “The age of independence had produced a new class and a new ownership that often was not very different from the old one: Black Skins White Masks? White skins Black Masks.” This clearly demonstrates that the age of Independence did not free the African mind and the fact that the minds of the Africans are still in bondage is seen in the way that they write about themselves in Zimbabwean newspapers. The way the stories are written shows a people who are far away from themselves which is something that was deposited in the minds of Africans through colonialism. This shows that the way traditional healing and faith healing is treated in Zimbabwean newspapers is very much coloured by colonialism. Since the acquiring of freedom of the black people in Africa and in the Diaspora physically, the media has been used to maintain dichotomies that existed prior to the liberation of Africans, it has been used to maintain the status quo, hence this calls for a total emancipation of the mind and spirit of
the black people in the continent and in Diaspora. Clark (1991:324) recognises the idea that the media is being used as a neo-colonial instrument when he says “to be able to arrest its impact on the African mind, it is necessary to take a serious look at everything that the African has been and is exposed to the print media, the visual media, popular magazines, the Anti-African propaganda that is a result of the bible.” Clarke identifies the media as a platform that is used to continue the distortion of the African. This suggests that the operations of the media in Africa are not prudent but are meant to keep the African at the margins of European thought.

It is important to note that before the encroachment of colonialism traditional healing was the only health care system upon which Africans have depended on for centuries. Europeans started to expand themselves as they were looking for labour to work in their plantations, this expansion led to the genesis of colonialism in Africa. Europeans also noted the riches within Africa for they had run out of their own resources and this led to the scramble and division of African nations and they used their various ideologies to dominate the African people. Malcolm X as quoted by T’shaka (1983:91) states that “… until 1959 Africa was dominated by European powers and had complete control over Africa.” Total control means that the Europeans were controlling everything about the African. This means that the coming of the European resulted in a complete turnover of the African lives. Europe was dominating Africans in all aspects of life, politically, socially, economically and culturally. Africans were reduced into objects to be controlled by the European. It is colonialism which has reduced Africans to objects in their own history. This state of affairs is captured Mazama (2001:387-388) when she says:

We thus find ourselves relegated to the periphery, the margin of the European experience, to use Molefi Asante’s terms-spectators of a show that defines us from without…we do not exist in our own terms but on borrowed European ones. We are dislocated, and having lost sight of ourselves in the midst of European decadence and madness it becomes increasingly difficult for us to orient our lives in a positive and constructive manner.

Mazama contends that the situation in which the African finds herself in is not original but something that was willed on them by the European coloniser. Before the Europeans established themselves in Africa around the fifteenth century, and before they started to enslave black people, the blacks lived harmoniously and appreciated and celebrated their existential philosophy, their colour, aesthetic, and life at large. Then, the traditional healer was a respected figure who was central to the survival of the African. This harmony and history was destroyed
and distorted by the European. Ani (1994) describes the act as the most brutal and destructive act ever to be perpetuated by one racial group upon another racial group. The black people in Africa and in Diaspora were mutilated and annihilated to the extent that they were robbed of their beliefs, self definition and humanity by Europeans and the order of the day was replaced with cowardice, docility and self denial. Chukwuokolo (2009:24) clearly states that, “Africa has not remained the same again since the rape of its continent by the West who pretended to be on a ‘civilising mission’.” There was total distortion of all values of the African people to the advantage of the West.” Ephraim (2003:54) agrees with Chukwuokolo that it was the European’s intentions to rape Africa, to dehumanise the Africans, to impoverish them both materially and spiritually. European colonisation is described as an act which was solely designed to destruct the African from within. Colonisation was not only meant to alienate the African from his material possessions but from himself, thus Kawu-Bala (2006) argues that Europe’s successful colonisation of the land paves way for the colonisation of African knowledge, minds. Africa’s religion, ideas, customs and land were plundered and destroyed. He goes on to say that the greatest damage that Africa has suffered in the hands of colonialism was the destruction of the African psyche and that the impact of colonialism is still felt today. This shows that the European also robbed the African of his mind, thus his consciousness and history were robbed. By this the coloniser successfully created a people who are at their own mercy, a people that they would tell what to do and do without questioning, a people that are distant from themselves and a people who love what is European. At the end of the day what the European was bent to do was to dehumanise the African. The media is one of the platforms that the European uses to achieve the goals of his project. Ani (1994) argues that, it was during colonialism that Euro-American controlled media began its long career as one of the most effective weapons to ensure the exploitation of the African descent.

The attainment of political independence did not translate into freedom. The psychology of Africans suffered the traumatic effects of colonialism; the European arrogance programmed and installed a sense of self hatredness in the African mind. Clarke (1991:325) talks about neo-colonialism when he says that, at the heart of the African intellectual crisis is “…what was lost during slavery and colonisation and what is still being lost under neo-colonialism, which is another form of slavery and colonialism.” This shows that the intellectual trauma that was initiated by colonialism is still rife. There is need for Africans to liberate themselves from the
mental chains that their minds have been tied with and they need to wash their minds off the shit that was deposited in their minds by the European. To this Ani (1997) that Africans must take their cultural forms seriously and learn to reject foreign interpretations of their significance and build on their strengths that most often lay on their uniqueness and people must enjoy togetherness.

The media retained its colonial role in independent Zimbabwe. It is not liberated. It is one of the platforms that are being successfully used to perpetuate the objectification of the African. Ani (1997) recognises that the media began its role of controlling the minds of the people in the colonial period. The media was then used as an effective weapon of ensuring the exploitation of Africans. It is important to note that the media is still performing its long life career. One of the respondents recognises this when he noted that, after independence as contended by post-colonial theorists there was mere substitution of the Rs by the Zs from Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation to Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. This shows that what changes in the media after the attainment of Independence are just the mere names. Zimbabwean media inherited the colonial policies that were used in the running of the media. This state of affairs is captured by Wa Thingo (1993:65) who laments the idea that, “The age of independence had produced a new class and a new ownership that often was not very different from the old one: Black Skins White Masks? White skins Black Masks.” This shows that the media is still perpetuating the agenda of the European.

This scenario explains the reason why traditional and faith healers are receiving unfavourable representation in Zimbabwean newspapers. The desire of the Europeans to rule and control the world did not end with colonialism. The Europeans crafted a new way to manipulate and subjugate the blacks and a new way to glorify their humanity and this agenda is being perpetuated through the media which is helping the European to keep the African in the periphery. Colonialism was supported in its dehumanisation project by colonial education, Christianity, legislation and the establishment of mission hospitals in its project of demonising traditional healing systems.

6.5.1.1 Christianity and the representation of traditional and faith healers
Before the coming of the European, religion was central to the survival of Africans. This is depicted in Mbiti (1969) who contends that Africans are notoriously religious. It is this belief
that makes the traditional healer a strong force in the lives of Africans until today. The traditional healer was one practitioner who was central to the African Traditional Religion. The traditional healer was regarded as a pillar of life and he was one of the most cherished religious leaders amongst Africans. The traditional healer was a symbol of order and peace in society. He was not a symbol of barbarism as reflected in Zimbabwean newspapers today. Colonialism through Christianity has turned to this glorious past and tried to destroy it. Fanon (1968:110) says that:

Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content. By a kind perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical today.

In Zimbabwean newspapers traditional healers are largely seen as agents of the devil. The discourse about traditional healers largely disregards the traditional healer’s glorious past. Davidson (2010) notes that for Afrocentrists there should be always a powerful imperative from historical and social sources to revise the collective text of African people. This shows that discourse about traditional and faith healers should be informed by their history.

Colonialism brought with it a new religion in the form of Christianity and Christianity has caused more havoc than any good to the African Traditional Religion. To this Abdullahi (2011) says that the arrival of Europeans made a significant turning point in the history of this age-long tradition and culture. The white men brought in Christianity and Western medicine which were both meant to eradicate the African traditional religion and the traditional healer. Chavunduka (2001) recognises this when he refutes the possibility of genuine dialogue between African religion and practitioners of other religions in Zimbabwe. He recognises that Christianity has over the years tried to destroy African religion. Missionaries recognised that they needed to destroy their religious belief system so that they could easily plant their religion. As has been alluded to before religion is very instrumental in the development of ideology, Christianity brought with it a new ideology which was to a large extent contradictory to the ideology of the African traditional religion. This suggests that Christianity was an extension of colonialism. This is clearly articulated by Rodney (1972:278) who says:

The church’s role was primarily to preserve the social relations of colonialism. The Christian church stressed humility, docility and acceptance. Ever since the days of slavery the West Indies, the church had been brought in on condition that it should not excite the African slaves with the doctrine of equality before God.
The European therefore came with one goal, namely, that of controlling. To this Clarke (1999:34) says that, “There is no place where the Europeans ever shared power with anyone. Europeans came out with one mission in mind-to control.” Resultantly Christianity is a religion that was used by the European to garner control of the African. To this Zimunya and Gwara (2013:188) say that missionaries aimed at reconstructing the African world in the name of God and European civilisation, but in the process facilitating the colonisation of Zimbabwe. Missionaries were consistent and persistent in denigrating and castigating African cultural and religious beliefs/practices as pagan, demonic and evil.

The European presented Christianity as a superior and universal religion, thus he portrays the African traditional religion as devil worshipping. One of the interviewees who is a faith healer from the charismatic churches said that “there is only one religion, and the talk about the multiplicity of religions is done to confuse people.” This kind of mentality is clear evidence to show that the European’s project of alienating people from themselves was successful. This shows that Africans have accepted the European’s version that Christianity is a world religion. The dangerous deposits that were planted in the African mind are still controlling Africans up to today, thus the respondent confidently says that there is one religion. Clarke (1991) argues that the fact that there is only one religion as one of the concepts that were propagated by Europeans which reverberate up to today. He says that one such falsehood was “that the European concept of God is the only concept worthy of serious religious attention. He goes on to say that “in most of the world where the Europeans expanded especially in Africa, they deprived the people of the right to call on God in a language of their creation and to look at through their own imagination.” The ideas, by the respondent, show that he has been alienated from his religion. Clarke (1999:17) disputes this idea when he says:

When you look at the world from a point of view willed to you by your oppressor, you quite forget that there is a whole lot of people with different concepts of God in different places in this world.

For Clarke (1999) the perception of the respondent is evidence of someone who is operating from the viewpoint of the oppressor. The sentiments expressed by the respondent show a person who has been displaced from his position and someone who is not conscious of his history. Clarke (1999:36) says:
History is a clock that people use to tell their political and cultural time of the day. It is also a compass that people use to locate themselves on the map of human geography. History tells you where you have been and what you have been. It tells you what you are and where you are. Most importantly history tells where you still must go, and what you still must be.

The above sentiment shows that without knowledge of one’s history a people becomes dysfunctional. The argument by the respondent shows someone who does not understand that Africans have a religion before the coming of the European which was the basis of their understanding of the world. He is someone who takes the Christian religion as something that was developed by the African, and does not realise that it is a religion that is foreign. This is testimony of someone whose history has been concealed from him/her.

That same perspective where Christianity is taken as a universal religion is also seen in newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers where the practitioners who represent African traditional religion are presented as agents of the devil. This kind of scenario authenticates the falsehoods that were developed by Europeans which purports that it is the European who brought religion to the African race. The presentation of the Christian religion disregards what Karenga (1993:212) declares when he states that:

> The essence of a people’s religion is rooted in its own social and historical experiences and in the truth and meaning that they extract from these and translate into an authentic spiritual expression specifically to them.

Karenga disputes the idea that Christianity is a world religion. His idea is that each society has got its own religion which is informed by their desire to be self-conscious thus he goes on to say that “Black religion like black people begin in Africa and thus it is important to discuss its historical form before turning to its current form.” (Karenga, 1993:212).

The European presented Christianity as a hegemonic religion, thus they were set to undermine African traditional religion. This is in line with the idea that Western images of others are associated with supremecism which is marked by derogatory images of Africans. The images of Africa that were preached by Christianity were such that the European religion represented by Christianity is superior to African Traditional Religion. It is therefore clear that the media is perpetuating the colonial agenda which was geared towards the dehumanisation of the African.
The missionary made Christianity a moral giant and saw the African religion as inferior and senseless. They thought Christianity was there to wipe away heathenism hence it was imposed on people. The European used the church as an instrument of detaching Africans from their religion and philosophy. To this Njoh (2006) says that Christian missions and their agents including catechists, priests, pastors, missionaries and schools were more effective than the colonial governments in destroying healing systems. He goes on to say that African religions, were antithetical to Christian religion. Kent (2004) says that it is important to recognise that colonialism and Christianity has the same agenda. They were all geared towards controlling the minds of the people as recognised by Karenga (1993) who notes that, society nor the world is a finished white product, hence people must refuse the European allegations of African religion and accept and value each people’s culture allowing them to speak their special truth.

The Christian ideology is a weapon that was successfully used by the coloniser to tame the African. According to Ani (1994:149) “Christian ideology radically altered the concept that one’s religion is a birth right and by so doing fashioned a religious statement that was potentially elitist, “intellectual” as opposed to “spiritual emotional and at the same time universal-imperialistic.” Christianity declares that one is not born in a religion but they have to make a choice. It declared African traditional Religion as barbaric and set out to convert people to Christianity.

Research findings have shown that 98% of the respondents are Christians, 0% belong to the African Traditional religion and 2% Muslims. This is all because the colonist has been able to propagate in favour of Christianity. In Zimbabwe Christian religion is more dominant and is a foreign religion to the very people to which it was imposed who are practicing it to date and appear to be progenitors of the religion. Research findings have shown that it seems not known by many that the way Christianity find its way to them was big business for Europeans. Ani (1994) highlights the idea that Christianity is a core Mechanism of the European Asili for the achievement of European world domination. She reckons that for the European Christianity is equals civilisation and to be civilised was to be like a European. This implies that Christianity was not a prudent religion as it purports. Its agenda was to destroy everything African. To this Ani (1994:163) says that “Christian ideology is an ideally fashioned weapon for the destruction of the self-image and value system of African and other non-European peoples.” The Christian
ideology has been successful in its project of objectifying Africans. It has been the European mens-rea and premeditation to disempower Africans psychologically, culturally, politically, economically and socially. Ephraim (2003) explains the situation well, when he eludes that, Black people have been taken as diminutive, insignificant creatures and as three fifths of persons.

The representation of traditional healers and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers is peripheral. The representation takes the stance of Christianity towards African Traditional Religion. The way these practitioners are represented is contrary to what Gwekwerere (2010:110) observes when he says:

Afrocentricity challenges the defining principles of the European supremacist domination of African people and other majority peoples of the world. It seeks the liberation of information, images, concepts, definitions and symbols from the hegemonic control which keeps African and other majority peoples psychologically shackled.

The majority of people are of the view that traditional healers are indispensable in society but all the same, they are not free to consult them. This shows that the people are held in bondage by Christianity such that those who choose to visit these practitioners would do that clandestinely. Research has shown that people appreciate that traditional healers are necessary in society; however their representation in Zimbabwean newspapers is diabolical. Their heroic deeds are rarely mentioned in Zimbabwean newspapers which show that those who write newspapers are concealing the history of Africans where these practitioners were revered. Contrary to the idea that these practitioners were there to preserve life, they are portrayed as a threat to human progress and survival. This is captured in Falola (2007) in Nyanchoga (2014:59):

…the Negro’s mind has been brought under the control of his oppressor. The problem of the Negro down therefore is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking, you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his proper place and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit.

This is seen in the dissonance about a people’s understanding of the African traditional healers and the way people associate with them. Key informants appreciated that the traditional healer is important but they all profess to be Christians and do not want to be associated with the traditional healer because Christianity has been successful in subjugating the African traditional religion. The behaviour is necessitated by the idea that the European has controlled the mind of the African.
The depiction of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers is colonised. The media through Zimbabwean newspapers is spearheading and perpetuating European agenda which seeks to bury African historical facts as observed by Mbiti (1969:257) who declares that:

Islam and Christianity are missionary oriented: they are winning converts from those who are outside their allegiance. They expand by pushing traditional religions on the defensive expecting them to keep silence, listen to their sermons, copy their examples, yield, give up, disappear and be forgotten. Both Christianity and Islam employ all kinds of methods to reduce traditional religions to ashes and anachronism.

Christianity has declared that the source of power that is used by traditional healers is evil such that those who use the services of the traditional healer are regarded as devil worshippers. Research has recognised that the power of traditional healers is in ancestral spirits. Christians dissociate themselves from traditional healers because of their dependence on ancestral spirits. One interviewee who is a Catholic priest said, “Catholics do not recognise traditional healers. This is because of the fact that traditional healers are connected to ancestors. The church believes that ancestors are connected with too many spirits which are evil.” The same sentiments are echoed by members of the public who think that traditional healers are not relevant in present day Zimbabwe. They say, “No for traditional healers. As a Christian one works through faith and faith healers. The source of power for traditional healers is evil. This is a modern world and traditional healers are archaic and diabolic.” Research informants were of the view that traditional healers are bad because their sources of power are evil. The way traditional healers are viewed by research respondents correspond with how they are viewed in Christian circles. Respondents condemned the fact that they are guided by ancestral spirits which they say are evil. Eken (1975:97) argues that “Missionaries openly told Africans that ancestor-worship was bad and they should cut themselves loose from their “evil past and embrace the present in the new symbolism of Christianity and Western culture.” Respondents observed that they do not use the services of traditional healers because they are evil. By simply attacking the ancestors the missionary was successful in destroying the office of the traditional healer who works under the guidance of ancestral spirits. The fact that research respondents said that they are not comfortable using the services of the traditional healer shows that Christianity is still performing the role of alienating the African from his religion. As a result when traditional healers are covered in Zimbabwean newspapers, they are represented in negative light. This is done to align people to Christianity which is regarded as a holy religion. It is therefore necessary for people to
recognise that Europeans fashioned Christianity in such a way that it imparts European values. This is captured in Ani (1994:2) who calls for total emancipation of the Africans. The scholar elucidates that:

The liberation of our minds is well worth the struggle. To be truly liberated, African people must come to know the nature of the European thought and behaviour in order to understand the effect that Europe has had on our ability to think victoriously. We must be able to separate our thought from European thought so as to visualise a future that is not dominated by Europe…. the future towards which Europe is leading us is genocidal.

This suggests that Africans should detach themselves from European thought in order to understand the operations of their own healers. Once they are under the grip of the European they will always envy what is European and continue despising what is theirs.

6.5.1.2 Colonial education and media representation of traditional and faith healers
Apart from Christianity the colonialist also used education as a tool to alienate Africans from their roots. The education was meant to design a docile African who was divorced from himself. The kind of education that was given to the African is condemned by Chavunduka (1978) who recognises that the schools through teaching and books were also used to discourage the use of traditional medicine. This shows that everything that the European has devised was first of all done to extent its rule. Ani (1994) also condemns the education system for alienating Africans from who they are. She says that the education was meant to make the African European. It was justified on the pretext that it was bringing civilisation to the African race and in the process it was deleting Africans completely as people who have contributed towards the civilisation of the world. This is captured by Ephraim (2003:47) who contends that:

From the beginning then, the Europeans have sought to attribute the genesis of civilisation and culture to the less dark and mysterious, the less peculiar looking and hence less dubiously related species of mankind, the people of Asia with the supposition that even those must have a tincture of European influence.

All this was done to misdirect the African’s admiral gaze towards things that are European. At the end of the day Africans were turned into Europeans in everything except in skin colour. This shows that the Education that the African received was not meant for the development of the Africa but to spread European values, hence was irrelevant to a very large extent. Clarke (1991) postulates that another concept that the European created and is still alive today is that the European invader and conqueror is a civiliser. For Clarke conquerors are never benevolent. In all
cases they spread their own way of life at the expense of the conquered people. Resultantly through European Education the African was taught to hate himself and to love what is European. This shows that the resentment that the African has developed towards himself which Ephraim (2003:40) calls an illness which has plagued black people, which has caused them so much grief and pain in a white-dominated world is not racism as such but a uniquely European pathology’ is not natural but it is something that was planted by Europeans in the minds of the Africans through education. The education that the African received from the European was meant to dehumanise and make the African his own enemy.

The education that was given to the African is known in academic circles as a miseducation because it was not meant to develop but to destroy. The destructive role of the Education system is also made reference to by Ani (1994:186) who stipulates that:

The school was the most important instrument of missionary work in Africa. It was key to the process that would strip Africans of their culture so that they could become part of the technical order albeit at the lowest level. The school always takes African children away from their elders and caused them to be ashamed of the very things that could have been a source of political strength and resistance to colonial rule.

Ani recognises that the role of the church and the school were not antagonistic but complementary. These institutions were used by the colonialist to achieve one goal which is to control. Both the school and the church were used as ideological apparatus which were meant to eradicate the Africaness that was in people and replace it with European values. It therefore means that the two were meant to destroy the African religion and replace it with European religion. The kind of Education that the African received is referred to by Chinweizu (1987) as miseducation. His idea is that the education was meant to miseducate and colonise the African. He goes on to say that the education was full of gaps and that it sought to withhold the memory of a true African past and which encourages the African to glorify all things European. Chinweizu (1987:xii) disregards European Education when he says:

It was a mis-education which, under the mystique of “modernising” me into some “civilised” condition had worked to infect me with an intellectual meningitis that would twist my cultural spine, and rivet my admiring gaze upon Europe and the West.

This shows that Education was spearheading colonialism. It was a kind of colonialism that targeted the mind and was designed to play havoc on a people’s self-consciousness. Through education people lost their self-consciousness for Afrocentrists reliance on self conscious
action is primary. Ultimately, Africans aspired to be like Europeans whom they regarded to be modernised and civilised. Through education they were conditioned and indoctrinated to believe that their religion and their traditional healers are backward and barbaric. This mentality is still hovering over the minds of the people up to today. One of the respondents to the questionnaires that were designed for members of the public said, because of colonisation and urbanisation and also western civilisation and education most people have negative attitudes towards traditional healers. They are now regarded as demons. Another respondent who commented on the story in *The Herald* of 14 September 2015 titled ‘Woman Loses $32 000 Trying to Win Back Boyfriend’ said:

> This is very embarrassing for a nation that boasts of 91% level of literacy. You are being taken for a ride by your known prophets who tell you the only way to get blessed by God is to give them the little that you have. One church member lost a Bentley to one of these fake prophets and now traditional healers have joined the feeding frenzy. In fact I can’t blame ordinary citizens when high ranking government officials were taken for a ride by Rotina Mavhunga after being promised diesel that would gush out of a rock. Zimbabwe has a lot of fools.

The above responses suggest that education is still a tool that is used to alienate people from their roots. Responses from questionnaires and newspaper commentators reveal that education makes people to be alien to their own cultures. The responses suggest that the fact that one is educated should make people shun traditional and faith healers and that it develops negative attitudes towards these practitioners. The newspaper commentator said that this is very embarrassing for a nation that boasts of 91% level of literacy, as if to say that the consultation of traditional and faith healers should be a thing of a past for nations that have educated people. Wa Thiong’o (1986:3) discredits colonial education as:

> The process that annihilates people’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and makes them want to distance themselves from the wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that is furthest removed from themselves.

It is important to note that traditional healing is one of the important and surviving aspects of the African past. Zimbabwean newspapers portray traditional healers in a negative way which supports the ideology that was spread by Western education. It is important to note that the attitudes that people developed after reading stories about traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers are to a large extent similar to the ideas that people developed after
receiving European education. Most of the time traditional healers are covered in newspapers when they do bad things. Some of the ideas that members of the public say they have developed after reading newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers are that:

- It is better to consult modern medical practitioners who are presented as upright and are presented place to seek assistance.

- Traditional and faith healers are fake and money mongers.

- Traditional healers are worse as compared to faith healers.

- People should engage in thorough research before visiting these practitioners.

- By consulting these medical practitioners, chances are high that one is likely to lose money for nothing and risk being sexually abused.

- I have learnt that it is better to visit faith healers than traditional healers.

- They are dangerous and are just looking for money.

- I do not believe in faith healers because they perform fake miracles that do not last.

- Traditional healers are evil people who should not be trusted.

- Traditional healers are witches.

- I have learnt that the source of power for faith healers is highly questionable.

- Realised that there are good and bad faith healers and traditional healers.

The responses above point to the idea that the stories that people are exposed to in Zimbabwean newspapers about traditional and faith healers tell bad stories about these practitioners. In other words the stories that are written concentrate on the bad side of traditional and faith healers. The bulk of what people learnt through reading newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers point to the idea that these practitioners are bad and should not be consulted. This shows that the colonial ghost is still tormenting Africans. The behaviour of an African that is reflected in Zimbabwean newspapers is very much clouded by colonialism.

The education that the African received was meant to turn him into a European and was just meant to inculcate European ideologies in Africans and to distance the African from his history. Afrocentrists recognises the importance of history in the endeavour of an African to reclaim the subject position. Chinweizu (1987:565) says “But history leaves them no alternative but to press
on till Western hegemony is destroyed.” This supposes that any discourse that intends to restore Africans to the subject position should consider the African past because it is the African past that the European has distorted through education in a bid to distance the African from himself. Colonialism was not content with looting African material resources, but in destroying cultures and values and replace them with colonial ones. In short education has played the role of disconnecting the African from what is African. Gwekwerere (2010:118) therefore sees the role of Afrocentricity as that of “re-membering the dis-membered, re-connecting the disconnected, re-orienting the dis-oriented and emancipating the enslaved.” Discourse about traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers is colonised and it therefore needs to be decolonised. Zimbabweans have been dis-membered by education such that they see what belongs to them as old fashioned. The traditional healer and the faith healer are seen as practitioners that are not civilised and this is also seen in the way that they presented in Zimbabwean newspapers. Chinweizu (1987:xviii) asserts that:

In our efforts to wash from our consciousness the harmful pollutants deposited there by our colonial miseducation, we are apt to act like the child who rubs his belly endlessly with soap and water...Clearly we need something like a communal mental bath, one in which we shall scrub the crab off one another’s backs, and especially from those corners which our own hands cannot thoroughly scour.

Africans need to relocate themselves from where they are being placed by the Europeans. They should move from the margins to the centre and fight to demystify the European thought so that the Africans are not perceived with lenses that are hazed with lies that consider them as uncivilised. Their relocation will make them realise that traditional healers and faith healers are important aspects of African civilisation and help those in the media fraternity to write positively about their own culture.

6.5.1.3 The creation of mission hospitals and media representation of traditional and faith healers
The creation of mission hospitals by the colonialist also had negative effects on the role of traditional healers. Before the advent of colonialism African traditional healing was the only health care system upon which Africans have depended for centuries. The coming of the European with biomedicine has resulted in the undermining of this health system. It was then that African traditional healing methods were derided as unscientific. Chavunduka (1978:78) says that Christianity and western education have propagandised for a long time in favour of
scientific medicine. In their endeavour they did not recognise that the health system that they were deriding had served many generations before the introduction of European medicine. Njoh (2006:143) disputes the European view that traditional medicine is not scientific. He says:

Traditional medicine predated the introduction of Western or so-called modern medicine in Africa. Although often appearing as no more than footnotes in Eurocentric historical accounts of Africa, Africans had developed sophisticated healing methods and techniques centuries before the arrival of Europeans on the continent.

The idea that African medicine was always scientific in the African sense is also made reference to by Diop (1991) who says that the origins of science are traceable to Africa. Contrary to this the Europeans see their medicine as superior to that of Africans simply because they view theirs as scientific and African as unscientific. This emanates from the European understanding of disease and illness which holds the germ theory over the spiritual theory. Mwandayi (2011) says that Europeans believe that everything should pass through a test tube. In line with this Abdullahi (2011:116) says:

The introduction of Western medicine and culture gave rise to cultural ideological clash which had hitherto created an unequal power relation that practically undermined and stigmatised the traditional health care system in Africa because of the over-riding power of the Western medicine.

Western medicine was presented as superior. It is important to note that such kind of mentalities is still controlling the minds of Africans. Respondents displayed their trust for modern medicine when they were asked to support their choices of medical practitioners in times of illness. Some of the reasons that people observed were:

- They are professional and genuine

- They are trained, I wouldn’t want to take risk or take chances with my health and my life by visiting traditional healers.

- science is always precise.

- A medical doctor will carry out a medical examination and do several tests for various illnesses and will recommend the right medicine for the disease. It is done scientifically and there is a limited assumption. Also it involves the use of machinery and testing in the laboratory. Normally results are authentic.
Responses that were given by respondents who answered questionnaires that were designed for members of the public show the dichotomies that were created between Western and indigenous healing systems through the introduction of Western medicine. These dichotomies are still guiding people up to today in their medical services choices. The respondents were of the view that western medicine is authentic and scientific as compared to traditional medicine.

The coloniser did not take into consideration that their perception of disease was not the same as that of Africans. For the Europeans disease and illness are a scientific phenomenon but for the African it is regarded as a religious experience. It follows that Africans would treat their diseases from a religious dimension. Mbìti (1969:165) is of the opinion that “In African villages’ disease and misfortunes are religious experiences and requires a religious approach to deal with them.” The European approach is quite in contrary with this. They expected the African to operate in the centre that they have designed for them. It is therefore important for Africans to recognise that Western medicine is foreign and cannot answer the multifaceted questions that Africans have with regards to disease and illness. To this Fanon (1968:311) says “We must shake off the heavy darkness in which we were plunged, and leave it behind. The new day which is already at hand must find us firm prudent and resolute.” This calls for the agency of the African people to struggle to free themselves from all forms of domination and bring a change to the domination. Fanon goes on to say “Let us decide not to imitate Europe, let us combine our muscles and brains in a new direction, let us try to create the whole man…. Comrades, have we not other work to do than to create a third Europe.” It is therefore of paramount importance for Africans to start recognising their own indigenous healing system from a centred position. It is high time Africans should stop using European lens to view what is African. They should be subjects in the project of their self-definition.

6.5.1.4 Colonial legislation and media representation of traditional and faith healers
Colonial legislation also played a key role in demonstrating the evilness of the traditional healer and in making him dysfunctional. The witchcraft suppression act was put in place to destroy the work of the traditional healer. Colonialists discredit the belief in witchcraft as mere superstition. Chavunduka (2001) says that traditional healing was reduced to dealing with witches. The colonialists did not take into consideration that there are a lot of medicine that do not have
anything to do with witchcraft. Idowu (1973:175) postulates that to Africans of every category witchcraft is an urgent reality. It is of importance to note that this belief is still considered to be true by Africans. Research results have shown that there is a strong belief among Zimbabweans that spirits exists and that they can cause discomfort in people’s lives.

The traditional healer was also banned on the premise that they have connections with ancestral spirits. As such they were accused of encouraging people to worship the ancestors instead of God. This was an effort by the Europeans to impose their conception of the world on people. To cut the African ties with their ancestors, Chavunduka (2001:3) says that “it was decided with the help of colonial administrators that African shrines or places of worship were to be destroyed, their spirit mediums or religious leaders were to be ignored and where possible they were to be stopped from organising and conducting their religious services.” By merely cutting the African ties with their ancestors, the colonialist was in a way destroying the role of the traditional healer because the ancestor was the source of power for the traditional healer. Thus research respondents label n’angas as people who use evil powers in their healing expeditions. This shows the perpetuation of the colonial mentality in independent Zimbabwe. This mentality is also prevalent in newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers. One of the commentators who respond to a newspaper story titled “Woman loses $32 000 trying to win back boyfriend” said “N’anga of all things, hey, pakaipa. Watova muroyi iwe because shasha dzawava kutamba nadzo idzi kuroya chete.” (A traditional healer of all things: you are now a witch because these people that you are associationg with are witches.) Another commentator who respond to a story in the Daily News titled “Mugabe Succession: N’angas Roped” said “Kuti n’anga ndokuti Satan.” (A traditional healer is a witch) It should also be noted that all the Kwayedza stories in this study present traditional healers as agents of the devil. Their work is not contributing to the development of society. This kind of scenario seems to have roots in the colonial legislation which has discredited the work of the traditional healer as the work of the devil simply because their powers come from the ancestors.

6.5.2 Capitalism, traditional Healing, faith healing and the media
Respondents appreciated that the country is infested with false prophets and traditional healers. They attributed the emergence of false traditional healers and faith healers to capitalism. The concept of traditional healing and faith healing has been short changed by capitalism. In the
ancient days traditional healing was not profit-oriented but was meant to serve the society. The idea that traditional healing was not profit oriented is captured by Murove (2009) who says that traditional healers have always been paid for their services. He however commends that the way they were paid was in the interests of the client where they received a fee contingent on the outcome with the greater part being paid only if the patient is cured. Murove (2009) purports that this is in contrast with modern medical providers whose patients pay a fixed fee for all the services delivered, whether or not they are cured. Research has shown that traditional healing and faith healing have been turned into business where the majority ventures into to earn a living. One of the respondents, Interview 2 who is an academic argued that the sprouting of faith healers has been triggered by the need to make money. He said:

As long as our world is defined by money, we will see more of these people. People see that faith things are paying these days. Faith healing is therefore a form of business and people are doing whatever they can in order to get rich.

This idea is also echoed by another respondent who commended on the NewsDay story Magaya Blasts Vapositori. The respondent said:

The whole issue with these modern miracle-performing prophets is a JOKE. I think the hard times most Zimbabweans are living in, makes it so appealing for a prophet who promises instant riches and blessings. Yesterday i watched Yadare TV and this guy was giving a testimony that he touched his TV at home and his injured neck was instantly healed. Ok maybe am a nesbeliever but GUYS out there be cautious of these PROPHETS most of their theatrics are meant to attract huge crowds, translating to HUGE offerings enriching the prophets-Those guys who give those testimonies should surely not mislead people.

The respondents see later day faith healers as people who use religion to their own advantage. Religion is used as a way of getting into people’s pockets. For the respondents these people are not driven by the need to help people but by the need to make money. These faith healers are accused of wearing the Christian jacket to lure people whom they know have been Christianised. They are abusing a people’s religion to exploit people who are desperate because of the economic conditions which are characterised by abject poverty and unemployment.

In line with this one of the traditional healers who were interviewed was of the opinion that the negative representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers is true. Her idea is that these people are fake healers who masquerade as true traditional healers. The respondent said, what is written in newspapers is the truth, but it is not something that is done by the Zimbabwean
traditional healers proper. She said that, those are the deeds of people who are in the business of making money. Another respondent who is a faith healer in *Zviratidzo Zvavapositori* says they are running short of clients because people do not have money to pay for their services. This implies that the faith healer is driven by the need to make a living as compared to that of helping people. Because of this so many people have ventured into traditional and faith healing in order to make money. The problem is that reporters do not separate people who masquerade as traditional healers from true traditional healers.

This implies that stories about traditional healers who are in business and those who are there to help people are not discriminated. One of the respondents said that both false traditional and faith healers are painted with the same brush. At the end of the day the traditional healer who was at the centre of the lives of Africans is reduced to a threat of the same life that he is supposed to preserve. Consequently the healer is pushed to the periphery of humanity in the media. This can be explained by the idea that most of these practitioners are not genuine but are just people who are in business. It is worrisome to recognise that those who write newspaper stories about traditional healers just treat them as people who are bad without looking into the environment in which they are operating.

Respondents who were interviewed are of the opinion that it is this class of traditional and faith healers that the reporters focus on simply because newspapers trade on scandals. It has been established in the research that scandals sell. Soroka (2012:514) talks about media gate keeping and observed that in the process “the resulting news content is skewed towards stories that are, for instance more sensational and/or unusual and or conflictual…” This derives from the idea that the media operates as a business whose aim is to make profit. As a result they concentrate on stories that sale, hence the idea that stories about traditional and faith healers are preferred because they are human interest stories which sell fast.

In connection with the idea that scandals sale one of the respondents who is an academic and lecturer in the department of Theology and Religious Studies says that scandals make news. The respondent said, faith healers are gaining publicity because what they are doing by nature attracts the attention of the media. They engage in activities that are not common. He made reference to the issue of ‘Miracle money’, ‘miracle baby’ and say that the media is obsessed by new phenomenon. He further said “I don’t see them interested by the removal of chitsinga (bad
medicine that is meant to harm people) because that is not new and that is what is expected of a traditional healer.

Consequently the way the media operates is also affected by capitalism. It is therefore important to note that in the media the traditional healer and faith healer are to a very large extent shaped by capitalism. The stories about these practitioners concentrate on situations on which these practitioners go out of the norm. This gives way to a scenario where the traditional healer and the faith healer are demonised most of the times in Zimbabwean newspapers. Those who write these stories are not aware of the damaging effects of these stories to the African psyche. Whilst they will be selling news they will be at the same time trading with the most important African heritage. This approach is condemned by African thinkers who as represented by Ani (1997) are of the view that African cultural forms should be taken seriously.

6.5.3 The political economy and media representation

The political economy is cited by respondents as one of the major determinants of what comes out in newspapers. The content of newspapers is determined by the economic and political landscape of the media house. There has been a consensus among respondents that the political economy factor shapes the news. In support of this interviewee 3 said that the political economy of the media affects representation. He said that the media can never be independent. It can be independent from the government but someone may influence the media. This suggests that newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers are loaded with ideas of certain individuals. This idea is captured in interview when the interviewee said:

The political economy of the media is a crucial determinant of what journalists choose to write about. The media can never be independent; it can be independent from the government. The government might not have business in the business of the media but someone may influence the content.

Those in powerful positions were identified as political-economy factors that affect media representation. Respondents recognised that the media is in the business of selling the agenda of the powerful. It is the ideas that are generated by the powerful which are covered in the media. Responses that were given by students from the media and society studies purported that “the media are engines for framing norms and values as well as mirrors that reflect the elitist interest into reality or status quo. They also recognised that the media publicises the ideas of the dominant class.
Interviewee 4 was of the idea that the prophets who are championing the gospel of prosperity get favourable treatment in Zimbabwean newspapers simply because they have the economic muscles. They have got capital which forces media representation to be titled in their favour, they have money to pay for advertising and to bribe journalists. This idea finds resonance in Marx 1845 in Elster (1986: 302) who says that:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas that is the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production so that the ideas of those who lack the means of production are subject to it.

This explains the reason why charismatic prophets who are spearheading the gospel of prosperity are widely covered and in positive light. Contrary to this the traditional healer and the faith healer from the white garment churches are portrayed negatively because they do not have the capital to pay for positive representation. For this reason the stories that are read in newspapers are not necessarily true but they are manufactured in order to fit in the ideology of those who control and sponsor the media.

The idea that the stories that are published in Zimbabwean newspapers are not truthful is strongly supported by all research respondents. This implies that the media is ideological in nature. It is not there to reflect society but to sell the ideas of certain individuals. The fact that the stories are not truthful is evident to the idea that there can be an invisible hand in the production of news. However those who write newspaper do not recognise that those whom they present positively because they have the economic muscles are perpetuating colonial ideologies and are playing a role in cultural imperialism. This means that the, media should be liberated. The Africans need to relocate themselves from where they are being placed by the Europeans and the Americans. Demystification of the European thought needs to be done so that the Africans are not perceived with lenses that are hazed with lies that consider them as evil.

Respondents also identified advertising as an aspect that affects the stories that are published in Zimbabwean newspapers. One of the interviewees who is a media personnel said that “Newspapers are sustained by advertisements and it is not possible to write negatively about the people who advertise.” Respondents were of the view that advertising has the power to influence content. Another interviewee contented that:
The media in this age has been short circuited by the reality on the ground. Africa media system always faces viability challenges hence they are mostly after money. They are operating in a dual market where on one side there are audiences who want news and on the other end are advertisers. Advertisers want to access the audience and they do so via the media. They pay for space and make the media viable. The audience wants news; advertisers dictate content and their interests reign. Advertisers’ revenue is referred to as the later day licensing authority in newspapers. It influences what eventually comes out in newspapers.

The respondent was of the idea that newspaper stories are more than just stories. The stories are determined by the interests of the advertisers who are central to the survival of media houses. As indicated earlier charismatic faith healers advertise their services in some papers thereby giving revenue to the papers, in return they are given favourable representation. Ncube (2013:786) recognises the importance of advertising in the media. He contends that advertising revenue is generally regarded as the lifeblood of the mass media since it largely contributes to the financial fortunes of both commercial and so called media houses.” This suggests that the media survives on advertising revenue and this makes it a servant of the interests of these advertisers in terms of the content that they disseminate. This is summarised in the research by a statement that was echoed by respondents in the media fraternity which says that “he who pays the pipe dictates the tune.” The research shows that the advertisers have control over what eventually is published in the newspapers because they have the life of the papers in their hands. Ncube (2013) is of the view that in disseminating information the media makes it a point that they do not bite the hand that feeds them. He says that there are allegations that to ensure media loyalty advertisers withdraw their advertisements or threaten to do so, especially when they want topics they feel might tarnish their image and reputation not to be published. Thus the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers is not neutral. It is determined by a lot of factors apart from the conduct of these practitioners.

There is a consensus amongst respondents that the newspapers are there to spread the agenda of the owners, which is largely stipulated in the editorial policy. One respondent who is a media and society student says reporters are guided by the editorial policy which serves the interests of the owner. This means that those who own the media houses can also influence what comes out. Interview 3 is of the view that if the paper is owned by the government it is mandated to serve the interests of the government and to promote government policies, hence we find stories that are not of government interest being down played. This explains why sometimes we get
contrasting images of the same healer in state and private controlled media. Magaya and Makandiwa received positive representation in the state controlled papers after they spoke against a strike by an opposition party a story which was never published in the private media. Reporters should work within the guidelines stipulated by the owners of the organisations which are enshrined in editorial policies. It is important to note that the media is largely ideological and it is there to spread the ideology of the owner.

The other factor that affects media content that has been observed by research respondents is chequebook journalism. This is said to be caused by the failing economy. One of the respondents purported that journalists are some of the people who are not handsomely rewarded. As such they engage in corruption. It is said that people pay bribes to these practitioners in order to receive positive representation. One interviewee who is a journalist blamed chequebook journalism as a hindrance to ethical journalism. He said that the economy is bad and journalists are paid to portray certain individuals in positive light. The interviewee singled out Magaya as one of the people who pay journalists for positive coverage. He said that this is the reason why the stories about the Kwekwe incident where 11 people died at his crusade were written in an apologetic manner.

Conclusively the political economy has a great impact on the nature and content of the stories that are published in Zimbabwean newspapers. Whilst the media is guided by the political economy, it should be recognised that the stories that they publish particularly those that have to do with traditional and faith healers have a bearing on a people’s culture. To this Gray (2001:97) says that it is certain to emphasise culture. He further says that:

An insightful Afrocentric thinker might posit that African people’s traditional greatness will be actualised in contemporary times when they unify and utilise their collective economic power.

In other words those who write newspaper stories about traditional healers and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers should focus on positive stories that restore traditional and faith healers to a state of greatness.
6.5.4 Personal Beliefs and religious orientation of Journalists.

It has been observed in the research that it is difficult for journalists to separate their personal beliefs from the stories that they write. Respondents observed that journalists are first of all social beings and they have got priorities. 91% of the Media and society studies students who responded to questionnaires were of the idea that newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers mirror the ideology of the author. All the interviewees who are in the media fraternity concurred that journalistic interests are a factor that affects media representation. It is observed that the socialisation of individual journalists affect how they represent traditional and faith healers.

The interviewees actually blamed journalistic preferences as responsible for the bad representation that traditional healers receive from Zimbabwean newspapers. It is recognised that most people have been socialised to believe that Christianity is a superior religion. As such the majority of journalists do not want to associate with traditional healers who are regarded as primitive and barbaric. One of the interviewees who is a veteran journalist and a cultural activist said that:

99.5% of the media personnel are hopeless colonial husks. They have no soul of their own and no knowledge of themselves. They know very little about the African history and African psyche and therefore themselves.

Consequently when they write stories they seem to paint traditional healers black and faith healers white. As filters of media content, journalists have got the prerogative to choose what to, and what not to write about. In the process they are biased towards information that extends their views. It follows that in looking for stories they can engage in a lot of self-censorship where they discard any information that is contrary to what they believe in and choose information that aligns with their religious affiliation. Reporters are the first gatekeeper in the production of media stories.

6.6 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the findings of the study. It was recognised that the traditional and faith healer are still a relevant part of the Zimbabwean society. This is mainly because they can treat diseases that emanate from the spiritual world. It has also been observed that there is no difference between the traditional and faith healer. The two practitioners approach disease and
illness from an African perspective, thus they regard disease as a religious experience. It was however been recognised that there are two types of faith healers which are those from the white garment churches and modern day prophets who are championing the gospel of prosperity. In terms of representation it was established that faith healers from the white garment sects and traditional healers receive the same treatment in Zimbabwean newspapers. They receive bad representation and are largely portrayed as agents of the devil. On the other hand white collar prophets receive both positive and negative representation. This is because they are regarded as Christian oriented. Negative representation is triggered by the fact that their sources of power are questioned and are also derided for their love of lavish lives. Generally the representation of traditional healers and faith healers is described in the media as stereotypical. The political economy, colonisation, individual beliefs have been cited as factors that affect media representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers. Capitalism has also been mentioned as an aspect that has short-circuited the operations of the traditional and faith healer and also affected the running of the media.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction
The previous chapter was the discussion of the research findings that were presented and analysed in chapter 5. This chapter is a concluding chapter. It provides a summary of the research findings and arguments that were raised in the research. The last part of the chapter suggests some recommendations. The major argument pursued in the study is that stories about traditional healers are biased and stereotypical. The stories castigate and demonise traditional healers as practitioners that are not functional in modern day societies.

7.2 Research findings
The study established that stories that are written about traditional healers, in particular, carry an ideology that is in sync with the ideology of Eurocentrism. The study establishes that Eurocentrism dominates in the twenty-first century; the negative depiction of the traditional healer upholds and sustains the dichotomies that exist between the Africans and the Europeans. The general disapproval of African culture has a long history. The study recognises that the traditional healer is a medical practitioner who existed well before the introduction of biomedicine. The practitioners have served the health needs of countless generations before the coming of the European. It is recognised in the study that the reputation of the traditional healer has suffered in the hands of the colonialist who has presented his methods as unscientific and diabolic. This has seen the traditional healer being moved from the centre to the periphery. The disapproval of African Traditional Religion is apparent in the stories that have been analysed in this research. Stories and key respondents reveal that the long history of denigrating traditional healers (which is a symbol of African culture) finds expression in the stories that are published in Zimbabwean newspapers.

The study further established that the representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers is not balanced. It presents a situation where journalists are obsessed with creating negative images of traditional healers. The practitioners are represented as cheats, as master minders of evil, witches, murderers, liars, practitioners whose power sources are evil, capitalists,
architects of disharmony in society and as threats to the lives that they purport to be preserving. The tendency to view traditional healers as proponents of evil is a result of people who view African thought as inferior. The negative depiction of African traditional religion finds its fountainhead in European colonisation of the mind which has sought to dehumanise Africans and impoverish them culturally. After the demonisation and impoverishment African traditional institutions did not remain the same. Since colonialism, Africans were compelled to perceive the world with lenses being provided by the Europeans and the Americans directly or indirectly. Africans have been conditioned to love, to praise and worship European supremacy. They were taught to hate themselves as Africans and to hate the continent. They were coached to imitate the white man in terms of how they perceive the world. This finds expression in the blatant and sustained negative depiction of traditional healers. The intense interest in negative representation of traditional healers is meant to perpetuate falsehoods and stereotypes that undergirded colonialism in its various manifestations. The negative representation of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers is therefore evidence of the colonial hangover. The media is in the business of misrepresenting traditional healers by telling only a part of the story of the traditional healers. It ignores the heroic deeds; the long history of life-affirmation that characterises these practitioners. This shallow understanding of the traditional healer does not consider the contribution of Eurocentrism and all it stands for to the flawed characterisation of the traditional healer.

The study further established that despite the fact that traditional healers are demonised in Zimbabwean newspapers traditional practitioners are still functional in modern day Zimbabwe. It establishes that people visit traditional healers clandestinely. This shows that the representation of the traditional healer is a reflection of a broader societal framework which views Christianity as a superior religion. The study argues that people are misled to the extent that Christianity is viewed as a universal religion. They have embraced the European understanding of religion which tends to classify religions and present Christianity as a universal religion. This implies that media representation of a traditional and faith healer is informed by the ideological configurations of the society. This is however problematic in the sense that a people’s religion is tied to their way of life. To this effect the study recognises that Africans operate with two thought system. They are regulated by both Christianity and African Traditional Religion. This is because Christianity is foreign to them and it carries with it foreign values.
It has been recognised that faith healers are of two types which are the modern day prophets and those from the white garment churches. The study has established that those faith healers from white garment churches receive the kind of representation which is exactly the same as that given to traditional healers. The study also demonstrated that there is no difference between faith healers from white garment churches and traditional healers. Faith healers are seen as traditional healers that are wearing the Christian jacket. The advent of the faith healer is thought to have been necessitated by the idea that people have turned to Christianity hence the faith healer is a traditional healer wearing a Christian jacket in order to be accepted by a society that has become Christianised. Despite the fact that faith healers are aligned to Christianity faith healers from white garment churches receive demonised representation. They are not widely covered as traditional healers and they also receive bad representation. These faith healers are accused of using ungodly spirits; as rapists and tricksters. They are othered and have been separated from their counterparts. In instances where they are covered it is usually in bad light and this is evidence of the media constructing a particular way of looking at the world. These prophets belong to the AICs which are denominations planted, propagated, motivated and funded by Africans for the purpose of proclaiming the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the context and worldview of Africa and Africans. The idea that they receive bad representation can be explained by the idea that these white-garment churches are guided by a theology that embraces African values. Their alignment with African traditional religion makes them an object of scorn in Zimbabwean newspapers. They are not “modernised” as respondents purport but are African oriented just like traditional healers. This implies that giving them positive representation might imply that African traditional religion is good. The bad representation that they receive is meant to discredit what is African. The image of these faith healers is therefore meant to promote European supremacy. It is a justification for the continued but unwarranted fight against African Traditional practices. This implies that in terms of the representation of what is African and what represents Africa the media has a definitive role.

It has been noted that modern day faith healers receive wide coverage and are exposed to both positive and negative representation. These prophets are positively and widely covered probably because they are Western oriented. They are regarded as functional healers in society. Their representation is in contrast with that of the white garment faith healer and the traditional healer. Positive representation of the faith healer is meant to symbolise that Christianity is a superior
religion as compared to African Traditional religion. It shows that hegemony is subtle. Christianity as represented by the faith healer is considered as hegemonic as compared to African Traditional Religion. The celebration of Christianity over African Traditional Religion as indicated by the positive images that modern faith healers receive reveal Western hegemony and arrogance. Christianity triumphs over ATR and this shows that the Zimbabwean newspaper is spreading European values that are embodied in Christianity. The way health practitioners are represented shows that the media is not liberated. It is still campaigning for European values and ideals which is disempowering to African multitudes who are continually moved off their own terms.

The study also establishes that the negative that is written about these faith healers is not related to their religion but to the lifestyles of the faith healers themselves. This means that the representation is not attacking the religion that informs these practitioners but blame is laid simply and squarely on capitalism. They are derided as people who are after money and fame. The voices that speak against their work are overshadowed by those that speak in favour of the work of these faith healers. Media representation of traditional and faith healers is in the whole biased towards faith healers. These practitioners are tied to Christianity which is given status as compared to other religions. This approach to religious issues is problematic because it tends to disregard other religions. The approach does not take into consideration that a people’s religion and beliefs are interconnected. Consequently the relegation of African traditional religion in favour of Christianity has bred a people who are confused. People have turned to Christianity and they have a belief in faith healers but they view life from an African perspective hence they live in two worlds where they are guided by two thought systems.

The study also established that the representation that traditional healers and faith healers receive in Zimbabwean newspapers is not only a reflection of the practitioners but is coupled by a lot other factors like the political economy, colonisation which regulates the content. Consequently the published stories are more than just about the practitioners. They are not merely stories but “the stories.” One of the factors that shape media representation of traditional and faith healing is colonialism. The study suggests that the media has inherited colonial media policies which were geared towards destroying the African psyche. This means that the media is being used as an arena to maintain the racial gaps that were created by the colonialist, where the European
takes the position of a big brother to the African. The views of the respondents with regards to the stories also show a people who are still in the claws of colonialism. They do not want to be associated with traditional healing merely because they are educated and christianised. This scenario is characteristic of the goals of colonialism which were to dehumanise and detach the African from reality. Those who write newspaper articles have also turned to Christianity thus the newspaper is championing Christian ideology. The study establishes that Eurocentrism dominates in the 21st century. Through the media European values and falsehoods and myths are being perpetuated. The content of the media with regards to what is African is playing the colonial role of displacing the African from the centre. Media stories about traditional and faith healers are providing people with colonial lens to view that world. The stories are in a way protecting the colonial legacy hence media representation of traditional and faith healers is therefore a project to destroy the traditional healer who is the custodian of African traditional religion.

The study also observed that the political economy of the media houses is a factor that affects media representation of traditional and faith healers. It is argued that the representation is meant to sell the interests of certain societal individuals. It has been noted that those in powerful positions have the power to tilt newspaper stories in their favour. The owners of the media houses, the journalists and those who sponsor the newspapers have been identified as having a hand in shaping newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers.

This kind of situation can be used to explain the reason why modern day faith healers get positive representation and are widely covered in Zimbabwean newspapers. These practitioners have got money to pay for media space and to bribe journalists. On the other hand traditional and faith healers from apostolic sects get negative representation because they do not have economic power. Due to the fact that media representation of traditional healers and faith healers is shaped by a lot of factors one can never get a picture of what the traditional healer is by merely reading the newspapers. The stories are coloured by the ideas of those who are in control of the media. There is need to read the stories in line with the production factors that affect the development of the stories. In other words the representations are only a selection of the truth. The stories are engines that give life to the ideologies of various players in the media fraternity. In other words the representation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers represents to a
large extend the ideas of the people who are in control of the media. It can therefore be said that the media is highly politicised.

The study therefore concludes that the traditional healer receives stereotypical representation. It is recognised that Zimbabwean newspapers tell a single story about a traditional healer. Zimbabwean newspapers are perpetuating Eurocentrism through stories about traditional healers. The fact that Zimbabwean newspapers are obsessed with viewing traditional healers as proponents of the devil is evidence of the fact that Eurocentrism is still pervasive in Africa today. All newspapers draw a picture that these practitioners should not be consulted due to their diabolic activities. In summation the images of traditional and faith healers that are in Zimbabwean newspapers are not a true reflection of the work of these practitioners. These images are shaped by colonialism, neo-colonialism and capitalism. The images are meant to perpetuate colonial rule and to spread Western hegemony and arrogance.

The study also concludes that Media representation of traditional healers and faith healers is colonised. It is meant to perpetuate European stereotypes about Africa. The media is a platform at which colonialism is perpetuated. The images of the traditional healer that are in Zimbabwean newspaper are not empowering, rather they are disempowering. The newspapers are arguing against the traditional and faith healer and it is typical of the European description of the cultural other. It therefore means that cultural hegemony is behind negative depiction.

**7.3 Recommendations for future research**

1. It is recommended that further research can consider looking at the representation and treatment of African traditional religion in other disciplines for example in politics or in education.

2. It has been recognised that religion is becoming capitalistic in nature. The sprouting of faith healers in Zimbabwe has been explained from a business perspective where they are just doing faith healing to make money. It is therefore pertinent for further studies to be carried on the trends in African Traditional religion with particular focus on the interface between capitalism and religion.
3. The study also recognised that representation of traditional and faith healers is regulated by a number of factors. It is therefore pertinent for further research to be carried on the factors that shape media representation of traditional and faith healers.

4. There is also need for further studies to be carried on the interconnectedness of religion and ideology formation.

7.4 Recommendations for future Practice
1. Given that there is a gap between media representation of traditional and faith healers and what these practitioners are doing in life there is need for journalists to engage in thorough research when writing stories. Traditional and faith healers are regarded as practitioners who are indispensable in society, but in terms of representation they are considered as diabolical and irrelevant. It has been recognised that in Zimbabwean newspapers traditional healers are understood outside the context of history and the prevailing situation. They are attacked outside the context of political, economic and the social conditions in which they live which shape the system that propels them to act in the way they do. It is therefore prudent for journalists to engage in investigative journalism so that they come up with stories that are compatible with what is happening in society and what these practitioners are contributing. It is of great importance for the media to revisit its traditional role of informing, educating and entertaining.

2. Those who are in the media fraternity should also make it their priority that they come up with discourse that is pro-African. They should recognise that the media is a platform for cultural exchange and representation. They should first and foremost recognise that they are Africans themselves hence have the prerogative of promoting what is African. They therefore should desist from promoting European supremacy and report for Africans.

3. It has also been noted that one of the major reasons as to why traditional and faith healers are negatively represented in Zimbabwean newspapers is because they are not legitimised as official health practitioners. The government lacks the will to promote the status of these practitioners. It is therefore recommended that the government should find ways on how indigenous medicine can be integrated in modern healing system. This can have an impact on the attitudes of people towards these practitioners.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A

DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Date: 22 January 2015

Dear Mr T Gijima,

Decision: Ethics Approval

Ref #: 2015_AFLRERC_015
Name of applicant: Tevedzerai Gijima
Student #: 55367844

Name: Tevedzerai Gijima

Supervisor: Prof D E Mutasa

Proposal: Representation of Traditional and Faith Healers in selected Zimbabwean newspapers.

Qualification: M.A.

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Department of African Languages Research Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research. Final approval is granted for 2013-2016.

For full approval: The resubmitted documentation was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Department of African Languages Research Ethics Review Committee on 22 January 2015.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

1) The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.

2) Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Department of African Languages Ethics Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.

3) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable
national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.

Note:
The reference number 2015_AFLRERC_015 should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication [e.g. Webmail, E-mail messages, letters] with the intended research participants, as well as with the Department of African Languages RERC.

Kind regards,

Signature

Prof CD Ntuli (Chairperson)
012 429 8273

Signature

Prof RMN Moeketsi (Executive dean)
012 429 6825
Appendix B

Questionnaire for Media Students

1. What is the role of the media in society?

2. How are traditional and faith healers represented in Zimbabwean newspapers?

   Traditional healers

   Faith healers

3. (a) Are media principles followed when newspaper articles are written? Yes □ No □
   (b) Why

4. What is your concerning the view that newspapers mirror the ideology of the author and the social institutions that produce them?

5. What are the factors that affect media representation of traditional and faith healers?
6. (a) Do you think that newspaper stories about traditional and faith healers fulfil journalistic roles? Yes □ No □

(b) Support your answer

7. (a) Overall can you say that these practitioners are represented truthfully? Yes □ No □

(b) Support your answer
Appendix C

Questionnaire for members of the public

1. Age  18-30 years □  30-45 years □  45 years and above □

2. What is your religious affiliation?  Christianity □  African Traditional religion □  Specify other □

3(a) If faced with a medical problem who do you consult?

A medical doctor □  Faith healer/prophet □  Traditional healer □  Alternate amongst the three □

(b) Give reasons to support your choice.

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4. What are your opinions concerning the role of the;

Traditional healer

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Faith healer

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5 (a) From your opinion do you think that traditional and faith healers are relevant in present day societies.   Yes □  No □

(b) Give evidence to support your answer.
6. Generally what can you say is the attitude of the general public towards traditional and faith healers?

7(a) Do you agree with the view that most of the stories about traditional and faith healers are blatantly anti-traditional healing and faith healing? Agree □      Disagree □

(b) If your answer is agree what is in the newspapers that reveal negative representation?

8. Is it accurate to say that reading newspapers has influenced your views about traditional and faith healers? Yes □           No □

(b) Give evidence to support your answer.

9(a) Do you think that traditional and faith healers are fairly and truthfully represented in Zimbabwean newspapers? Yes □           No □

(b) Support your view
Appendix D

Questionnaire for Theology and Religious Studies and African Languages and Culture Students.

1. What are the roles of:

Traditional healers

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Faith healers

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2 (a) Do you think they are performing their roles in a just manner? Yes □ No □

(b) Support your answer
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3 (a) Do you think that traditional and faith healers are relevant in present day Zimbabwean societies? Yes □ No □

(b) Support your answer
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4. Generally what can you say is the attitude of the general public towards the services that are provided by:

Traditional healers
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Faith healers
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5. How are these practitioners represented in Zimbabwean newspapers?

**Traditional healers**

Positively □    Negatively □    Both negatively and positively □

**Faith healer**

Positively □    Negatively □    Both negatively and positively □

6. What are the images of traditional and faith healers that are found in newspapers? e.g. thieves
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7. What do you think are the factors that affect the way they are represented?
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451
8. Comment on the authenticity of traditional and faith healers

9 (a) Are these practitioners fairly and truthfully represented in Zimbabwean newspapers?

Yes □   No □

(b) Give reasons to support your answer

10(a) Do you think that the way traditional and faith healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers has an impact on the perception of people towards these medical practitioners?

Yes □   No □

(b) Support your answer

11. As an individual what perceptions have you developed about traditional and faith healers after reading newspaper stories?
12 (a) In your view are these representations empowering or disempowering?
Empowering □  Disempowering □
(b) Give reasons for your answer

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Appendix E

Interview guide for reporters and editors.

What are the reasons for the popularity of stories about traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwean newspapers today?

What are the news values that guide selection of story ideas regarding traditional and faith healers?

What are the political economy dynamics that influence the stories that you publish.

What are the competitive advantages that you consider when writing stories about traditional and faith healers?

What are the difficulties that you encounter to fulfil journalistic roles of informing, educating, and entertaining?

How reflexive are you regarding your personality and the stories that you write?

What is the agenda that you are setting/building when you are writing a story in a certain way?
Appendix F

Interview guide for traditional and faith healers.

For how long have you been in this profession?

Can you explain what you understand to be the role of the traditional/faith healer?

From your own point of view what is the attitude of the wider community towards the services that you provide?

Do you consider traditional and faith healing as relevant health systems in the modern world?

Newspapers usually contain horror stories about traditional healers/faith healers. What is your opinion regarding this.

How does such representation affect your work and you as an individual?

Can you say that Zimbabwean newspapers are reflective of what you understand to be the traditional/faith healers?

What do you think are the reasons behind the negative representation of traditional/faith healers in newspapers?

Comment on the operation of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwe today. Do you think that they are doing justice to their work?
Appendix G

Interview guide for Academics

What do you take as the role of religion in the lives of Zimbabweans?

What do you think is the common ground and the area of divergent about the way traditional and faith healers operate?

What do you think are the reasons behind the popularity of traditional/faith healers?

Do you think that traditional/faith healers have a role to play in modern Zimbabwe’s health system?

Comment on the representation of Faith/ traditional healers?

Why is it that there is more representation of faith healers as compared to that of traditional healers in Zimbabwean newspapers?

What do you think are the factors that affect the representation of traditional and faith healers?

Can you say that these practitioners are represented truthfully in Zimbabwean newspapers?

What is the effect of stories about traditional healers and faith healers on a people’s religion?

What do you think are the motivations behind some of the actions of these medical practitioners as they are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers?

From your experience what do you consider to be the role of the media and do you think it is doing this in a just manner when looking at stories that they disseminate about traditional and faith healers.
Appendix H

Interview guide for traditional and faith healers organisations

What can you say is the role of traditional and faith healers in Zimbabwe?

Are these practitioners of any relevance to modern day societies, Why?

Looking at how these practitioners operate can you safely say that they are performing the duties that they are expected of?

Do you have any code of conduct that guide how traditional/faith healers should operate?

Comment on how traditional and faith healers are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers

From the way they are represented can you say that they are operating in expected manner?

What are the reasons behind the way traditional healers and faith healers operate and behind the way they are represented?
Appendix I
Appendix J
ANOTHER PROPHET
CHALLENGES PASTORS
FOR PUBLIC DEMO

By Audrean Blinis

A 28-YEAR-OLD prophet who started his church five months ago in Highbfield threw a challenge to pastors in Highbfield for a public demonstration of miracles, signs and wonders.

Prophet Enosiva Joseph, founder of Word For Ever, has thrown a challenge for pastors in Highbfield to come for a public demonstration of power.

The youthful prophet said his call came after he discovered that some pastors in Highbfield were labelling him a false prophet.

“My church has become a topic in many churches in Highbfield because of how God is using me.

“Most pastors in our area who are aware of the miracle signs and wonders that I have been performing have labelled me a false prophet.

“They don’t see a pastor of my age in a mighty way like he is doing with me.

“So I am calling for all Men of God to come and witness the power of God that is upon my life.

“They can also do what God has called them to do and I can also show them what God has enabled me to do.

“It is only a matter that one day Irishman

God may be minded and not discarding each other,” he said.

Prophet Enosiva said that he discovered his prophetic calling when he received a prophetic word from Prophet Uebert Angel.

“I received a word of prophecy last year from Prophet Uebert Angel, he told me that God called me to be a prophet and many other Men of God have confirmed my prophetic calling,” he said.

Prophet Enosiva claims to have the ability of prophesying peoples 3D images and results for football matches and to heal people from various diseases.
PASTORS SPEAK ON ANGELS 'MIRACLE MONEY'

Apostle Patrick Zimba
Dr Goodwill Shava
Pastor Brian Macdonald
Pastor Vukani Dhludhla
Free Press

By Matthew Hare

"Moral guidance is not automatic; it requires prayer and seeking God's will. I believe prayer is the key to understanding spiritual matters. When we pray, we open ourselves to the presence of angels who can guide us and protect us. Angels are messengers of God and they play a significant role in our lives."

Apostle Patrick Zimba

Dr Goodwill Shava

"I have always been grateful for the guidance and protection of angels in my life. Angels are not only messengers of God, but also warriors who fight against evil. They are always with us, watching over us, and protecting us. Whenever we are in danger, angels are there to protect us."

Pastor Brian Macdonald

"I have experienced angels in my life, but it was not until I started praying and seeking their guidance that I realized their presence. Angels are not just spiritual beings, but also powerful agents of God who work to accomplish His will on earth."

Pastor Vukani Dhludhla

"Angels are messengers of God who bring spiritual guidance and protection. They work to ensure that we stay on the right path and avoid dangerous situations. Whenever we invite angels into our lives, we open ourselves to their protection and guidance."

"Angels are not just messengers of God, but also powerful agents of justice. They work to ensure that we stay on the right path and avoid dangerous situations. Whenever we invite angels into our lives, we open ourselves to their protection and guidance."

"Angels are not just messengers of God, but also powerful agents of justice. They work to ensure that we stay on the right path and avoid dangerous situations. Whenever we invite angels into our lives, we open ourselves to their protection and guidance."

"Angels are not just messengers of God, but also powerful agents of justice. They work to ensure that we stay on the right path and avoid dangerous situations. Whenever we invite angels into our lives, we open ourselves to their protection and guidance."
Appendix M
The woman who recently made headlines of being the first to have sex, fall pregnant and give birth within a space of only three days was interviewed live on radio on Monday morning.

The woman, Mrs Moffat (first name withheld to protect the identity of the baby in question), was interviewed live on Radio Zimbabwe by a popular and celebrated radio talk show host Tilda Moyo.

Mr and Mrs Moffat confirmed the miracle during the radio programme as the woman narrated what really took place. Sharing her testimony, Mrs Moffat said she had normal menstrual periods which ended on 15 November 2012. She revealed that on 16 November the couple got intimate, just like on any other day. On 18 November 2012 when the couple went to Spirit Embassy Church, founded by controversial and flamboyant preacher, Prophet Uebert Angel, who, during the service, prayed for female congregants who had pregnancies with complications, the woman said Prophet Angel declared that there would be a miracle pregnancy and deliverance within a space of hours, days and weeks and that is when Mrs Moffat began experiencing some signs of labour pains on her back and on her belly.

“When I started having these pains I was rushed to doctors in town who prescribed me some medication to buy at a local pharmacy. On our way to Chitungwiza, where we stay, my husband and I jumped into a kombi. That is when my condition further deteriorated and my belly miraculously ballooned. It instantly grew to the size of a pregnant woman and both of us got surprised,” she said.

The mother of the miracle baby said they urged the kombi driver to increase speed and rush them to Chitungwiza Hospital. “After narrating my signs and symptoms to a nurse at the hospital, she instructed me to go straight to the labour room. This shocked both my husband and I. I later gave birth to a miracle bouncing baby boy whom we named Emmanuel,” she revealed.

Tilda asked if the couple had planned to have another baby and the woman had this to say: “We had not planned to have another baby because we already had two children. However, I think the prophet’s faith is the one that brought this miracle,” she said.

The miracle baby incident left the entire nation dumbfounded after MyZimbabwe wrote on Facebook about the spine-chilling development. However, initially the incident was said to have taken place at Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa’s church, but Mrs Moffat said it was at Prophet Angel’s church, a “sister church” of Makandiwa’s UFI.

“Where on earth have you heard that? Even Jesus himself, son of God who performed so many miracles and was born of a virgin, had to endure nine full months in His mother’s womb. What kind of a miracle is that, where a woman gets pregnant and gives birth within three days? There is no God who is responsible for such a miracle,” said Tapiwa Muzurru, a Methodist Church’s former Bulawayo youth leader. — MyZimbabwe
Appendix O

Churches taking advantage of desperate people

FOR the greater part of last year and these infant days into 2013 there has been increasing talk about Prophets and Pastors making miracles and prophetic judgments.

Just like in any normal society these cannot go unquestioned. Even from within pastoral circles there are some that have come out condemning what their colleagues claimed they can do.

There was a sensational claim by Prophet Uebert Angel that he could pray for money to come out of an ATM machine when his account had no money. So unbelievable was his claim that even Finance Minister Tendai Biti challenged Angel to make miracle money available for the Government’s purse.

This week Reserve Bank Governor Dr Gideon Gono weighed in with his line of thought about the “prophetic money.”

Dr Gono through the Press advised the public not to take the spiritual money and even advised Uebert Angel that he would land Zimbabwe in trouble with international law.

But Dr Gono did not doubt or question the existence of the “miracle money” but he questioned the science behind it in relation to economics.

Of late the prophetic crusade’s attention is on Prophet Angel and his friend Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa.

Makandiwa’s latest claim to controversy is a prophetic message he made that Zimbabweans will see gold nuggets raining on them. This captured the attention of every newspaper in the land because people need to know the truth.

Just like their (Makandiwa and Angel and other Pentecostal prophets) spiritual fathers who are usually from West Africa their word will be judged if it comes to pass.

The basic element of a prophetic message being true and thereby identifying a false or true prophet is that it has to come true.

For now people are eagerly waiting to see the prophesied gold rush and they are even keen on seeing prophetic money in the bank accounts and other ways it is said to manifest.

Before the Makandiwas of this world there have been prophets with legions of followers but they were never as maverick as the new crop, probably because of the message they carried. Most emphasised on infidelity, sickness and witchcraft as the major messages but the new crop are all about making “you rich” and because being rich is not an easy thing when the prophets have a shortcut solution they clearly become instant hits.

Bulawayo had Prophet Thabiso Ngwenya from Pumula South. He is still around although now at a smaller scale because Pentecostalism has taken over. When he was at the top of his game with the “bombing” method where he would use bottles filled with water to do his job copycats followed and Pentecostal pastors spoke ill of him.

All this was for the attention of the masses — to survive one has to appeal to the congregation even if it means employing dirty tactics.

This week B-Metro carries a story about a 24-year-old man who has burst on the scene as the newest addition to the prophetic world.

Prophet Sisonke Ndluro of Living God Ministries from Sidinda in Bulawayo has started performing miracles for all who care to see. It is reported. In one instance he prayed for a woman who was understood to be barren and she vomited an egg — the egg is said to have been the reason why she could not conceive.

We cannot choose what people should believe in especially in a country with freedom of religion but people should be careful when indulging because in some cases women and men have been taken advantage of because of desperation.
Appendix P

Bulawayo’s own elegant prophet

... cursed women vomit egg, dog’s poop

SIMISO MILEY

BULAWAYO has produced its own version of ELEGANT prophets. This is young Prophet Siumbo Ndluvu of Living God Ministries from Sizinda.

On Monday, the 24-year-old Man of God held a cleansing service at Sizinda Vocational Training Centre.

During the cleansing service, which began at 8am some women vomited eggs which they were allegedly fed on and caused them to be barren.

And the sermon starts. HALLELUYAH AMEN!

The Prophet is not different from the crop of his league that preach about deliverance from bondage, not leaving out the gospel of prosperity.

He tells the congregation of how great the Lord is and how his power is going to manifest in today’s session by healing all who believe in the Lord. He invites those who need healing to move forward and one woman emerges from the congregation to the stage.

Hallelujah!

"Dear sister, you ate an egg. The yolk in that egg was targeted at you and the white was targeted at your partner. Little did you know that was how your womb was tied. In the name of Jesus, I cast away the omen and you are now a free woman," Prophet Ndluvu decreed.

When the crowd was still listening in amasement, the woman started vomiting in full glare of the congregation. An egg came out from her mouth. It fell onto the bucket before breaking to expose the yolk and the white part of the egg.

"Glory to Jesus. She is now a free woman!"

Another woman threw out finger-size balls of faeces and the prophet described them as dog excretion. The dirt thrown by the woman, the man of God claimed were the cause of her ill health.

As the sermon goes on, more women move forward to have a date with the man of God in anticipation of being healed. They all vomit various things and mostly visible blood.

SCRIPTS FROM THE BIBLE ARE READ.

Halleluyah AMEN. The sermon ends.

It is yet to be ascertained whether Prophet Ndluvu is here to redeem the suffering in a stylish way as his Harare counterparts do or is just passing like the Mathias and Mbabuds of this world.
Appendix Q

Makandiwa Challenges Pastors for a Miracle Contest

By Adetunji Akinwande

UNITED Family International Church founder Prophet Makandiwa has challenged other men of God to prove their miracles in a contest.

Makandiwa made his challenge yesterday at a press conference held at the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.

This followed a meeting between Religious Governor of Gokwe North, Prophet Makandiwa and Prophet Veronica Angel of Spirit Fanny, over Miracle Money.

In his statement of challenging other Pastors, Prophet Makandiwa said the only way to prove to other Pastors that his miracles are from God was for him to have a contest.

"When you say that you have miracles, we need to see the miracles. If you are claiming to have miracles, we need to see the miracles you have. If you are claiming to have miracles, we need to see the miracles you have. If you are claiming to have miracles, we need to see the miracles you have. If you are claiming to have miracles, we need to see the miracles you have. If you are claiming to have miracles, we need to see the miracles you have. If you are claiming to have miracles, we need to see the miracles you have. If you are claiming to have miracles, we need to see the miracles you have. If you are claiming to have miracles, we need to see the miracles you have. If you are claiming to have miracles, we need to see the miracles you have.

"We are not going to sit down and explain to them because explaining will not change anything. Let's show each other what we carry, we allow the showing that we carry to be noticed if there is a case which is difficult we bring it on board in front of cameras."

"We are open to meet as men of God, less sit downs and let us see whether these things are real we are available and we are flashers when we are here let see whether the miracles are genuine."

"Let us open it up to a meeting, trying to explain to him how a miracle happens and in this case him being a Man of God lets already there, he is already a Father, he is already a prophet, now trying to convince him that a miracle is possible... who put this there is the first place?"

"So we might try to do that but what we would discourage people is to just sit and allow us to do what we are capacitated to do and prove how the name of Jesus can perform wonders and miracles more than just exploiting because we are here in the world of intellectuals people they converse, people know how to defend their beliefs but we have gone past that level.

"We saw in demonstrating what you know. What should we ask is a situation where we can meet and then let see each one of you to demonstrate in a way that is better because people think it is rehearsed or maybe its something that people is just talking about," said Makandiwa.

Prophet Angel threw his weight behind Makandiwa.

"Like what prophet Makandiwa has said, to the extent everything is impure. In a tribe everyone is a teacher, to someone who is dodgy they think everyone is dodgy..."

"It would be even more conclusive if someone would come and say I don't really understand than to deny something that is taking place."

"It is an insult because to them no happening."

"You can come and see it, we can be in your church and you will see it."

"But to try and deny a miracle that you see, that's religious miracle, that is a crime."

"The problem that one is supposed to have is when we are God or are we of the Devil not to question whether the miracles are real because they are real..." he said.