

LINGUISTIC AND DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF
HIV AND AIDS HEALTHCARE POLICY IN ZIMBABWE: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF
SELECTED PRINTED DISCOURSE IN SHONA AND ENGLISH

by

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SUPERVISOR: PROF D E MUTASA

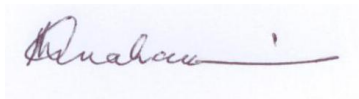
CO-SUPERVISOR: PROF M T VAMBE

JUNE 2013

DECLARATION

Student number: 48966258

I hereby declare that, **Linguistic and discursive strategies in media representations of HIV and AIDS healthcare policy in Zimbabwe: a critical analysis of selected printed discourse in Shona and English**, is my own work and that source materials that I have used or quoted have been acknowledged through complete references.



03 September 2013

(MR R. MAKAMANI)

DATE

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SUMMARY AND KEY TERMS

SUMMARY

This study sought to examine linguistic and discursive strategies used to construct messages reflective of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999 by government and private newspapers. Such analysis was perceived to be important since media content has a bearing on Zimbabweans' perception and attitudes regarding HIV and AIDS prevention, treatment and control. The study was aimed at comparing messages from newspapers with views by the people of Zimbabwe regarding the implementation of the policy. Findings reveal that empowerment programmes particularly those targeting women and children are lagging behind as Zimbabweans, literature and newspaper data sources testify. In addition, information sources concur that cultural (For example, stigmatisation, polygamy, religious practices, spouse inheritance) and structural (For example, patriarchy, masculinity, bureaucracy, politics) are stumbling blocks that negatively affect the implementation of the policy. Further, even though private and government newspapers do not fully agree on the portrayal of human agents, there is a general consensus between newspaper reports and Zimbabweans that people still face socio-economic and econo-political challenges that militate against the smooth implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. Government newspapers tend to downplay aspects which reveal inadequacies of government activities. The study notes this as betrayal of use of *ideological squares* both by government and private newspapers whereby certain aspects regarding the implementation of the policy are either downplayed or highlighted to influence perception. The study reveals that newspaper reports used nominalisation, quantification, positive politeness, thematisation, rhematisation, intertextuality, euphemism, proverbs, idioms, action verbs, metaphors and citation of experts as linguistic and discursive strategies both for agenda setting and building purposes regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. Other devices used particularly in the encoding of Operation Murambatsvina are, claptraps, deictic referencing, personal pronouns, adjectives and direct speech. The study attributes

problems regarding the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS intervention model to the top – down approach inherent in the policy. Hence, the call for an adoption of an unhu/hunhu/ubuntu inspired bottom – up HIV and AIDS intervention model in Zimbabwe. This would inculcate pro-family, pro-village, pro-nation/people and “servant leadership” (Mangena and Chitando, 2011) values in the fight against the pandemic through the embracing of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS). Unfortunately, such values largely continue to elude the radar of the current top – down HIV and AIDS intervention model currently in use in Zimbabwe.

KEY TERMS

Linguistic strategies, discursive strategies, media representations, HIV and AIDS healthcare policy, discourse, critical discourse analysis, media analysis, corpus analysis, ideological squares, agenda setting, thematisation, rhematisation, intertextuality, discourse topic, agenda building, top – down approach, bottom – up approach, unhu/hunhu/ubuntu

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the study

This study explores linguistic and discursive strategies used by selected newspapers in Zimbabwe to report on the implementation of the Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe. As argued by McNeilly, (2005: 303) the “Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infects white blood cells, the brain, the skin, and other tissues in both children and adults.” McNeilly (ibid: 303) proceeds to argue that, “... the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is the “...most severe manifestation of the virus....” The world over, the HIV and AIDS pandemic is a problem that is yet to be resolved. In addition, de Walque (2009: 209) avers, “The HIV/AIDS epidemic is one of the greatest challenges facing Africa.”

Zimbabwe, one of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa, is also affected by the pandemic. UNIGLASS (2001) in Johes (2004: 388), identifies sub-Saharan Africa as “...the worst affected region in which HIV and AIDS is considered to be a state of emergency as it “...threatens development, social cohesion, political stability, food security and life expectancy and imposes a devastating economic burden....” Hence, this study should be viewed as a scholarly effort to find solution to communication problems involving reporters of government and private newspapers in Zimbabwe and the people of Zimbabwe regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy.

Regarding HIV and AIDS prevalence, de Walque (Ibid: 209) cites UNAIDS (2007) as having indicated that in 2007 between “...20,9 million to 24,3 million people were infected with the HIV/AIDS virus in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1.5 million to 2.0 million died from the virus, and 1.4 million to 2.4 million became newly infected” (ibid: 209). Several other scholars concur with de Walque’s (ibid) analysis about the impact of the pandemic in Sub – Saharan Africa. For example, Seckinelgin, (2005: 351) notes that in Sub-Saharan Africa the epidemic’s prevalence has reached a “...catastrophic phenomenon...” Jones (2004: 386) adds, noting that the world’s response to the pandemic in Africa betrays a tendency “...to write - off Africa, rendering its inhabitants apparently expendable.” This calls for a “multisectoral approach” (Zimbabwe, 1999: 1),

hence the study's focus on how government and private newspapers in Zimbabwe have reported on the implementation of the policy aimed at routing out the pandemic. Therefore, for better information dissemination and consumption systems and processes, there is need to analyse the linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspapers to report on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy through a comparative analysis of such reports and the views of the people of Zimbabwe themselves. From the perspective of "...interdisciplinary teams that assess and manage patients living with HIV" (McNeilly, *ibid*: 303) or rather the "multisectoral" approach or pooling (*ibid*: UNAIDS, 2002 and UNGASS, 2001 in Jones, 2004: 386), part of the fight against the pandemic can be done on the arena of language and communication. This is the case for it is through language and communication that information on the four key areas covered in the Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe of 1999, namely, General Human Rights, Care for people living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA), Public Health and Gender, is disseminated.

1.1.1 The environment of the policy

The HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe was crafted when Zimbabwe was facing social, economic and political challenges. It has been argued that by 2009 Zimbabwe was experiencing a "...collapsed health system..." (Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights, 2009: 1). Further, events in Zimbabwe such as the 'No' Vote to Referendum on the Constitution of 1999, the farm invasions (2000 to 2010), Operation *Murambatsvina* (Operation Drive Out Filth) (2005) in Vambe (2008), the outbreak of violence during the 2008 elections and the outbreak of Cholera could have had an impact on the implementation of the National Policy on HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe of 1999 hence this researcher's undertaking to investigate how newspapers used linguistic and discursive strategies to reflect on how some of these events could have impacted on the implementation of the national policy on HIV and AIDS. Castella (2003: 46) also writes about "... a vacancy rate of 24% across the medical spectrum" which could have partly affected the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy particularly during the period under review, 1999 to 2010. This period falls within the "decade of crisis" as argued by Mangena and Chitando (2011: 233).

As alluded to earlier, the implementation of the policy was done in a harsh economic environment. Hanke (2009) argues that by mid November 2008, Zimbabwe's monthly inflation rate was 78,600,000,000%. He proceeds to argue that by that time the inflation rate was 98, 0% and the highest in the whole world. In a summative assessment of Zimbabwe's economic challenges and their impact on healthcare services the Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADHR) (ibid:1) posit, "A declining national income, a huge national debt, economic structural adjustment, recurrent droughts, widespread HIV / AIDS, and a weakening health system all contributed to the deterioration of Zimbabweans' health since 1990". ZADHR (ibid: 4) argues further that these factors and "...bad governance..." resulted in a "...weakened health system". From this perspective, it can be argued that, since its inception, the National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe was mainly implemented under harsh economic and political conditions.

Another perspective is that the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe was implemented when Zimbabwe was experiencing targeted sanctions hence the implementation challenges. On the subject of targeted sanctions, Elich (2002: 1) avers:

"Any nation that embarks on a path diverging from Western corporate interests and places the needs of its people over the demands of Western capital finds itself the target of destabilization, sanctions and intervention. As Zimbabwe moved away from the neoliberal path dictated by Western financial institutions, Western hostility grew. On September 24, 2001, the IMF "declared Zimbabwe ineligible to use the general resources of the IMF, and removed Zimbabwe from the list of countries eligible to borrow resources under the Poverty and Growth Facility (Ibid: 1)."

Hence, this research revolves around a problem:

1. The problem of implementing an HIV and AIDS policy under difficult conditions;
2. The problem of biased reporting by government controlled and privately owned newspapers on the implementation of the policy.

Thus Fairclough (in Wodak and Meyer, 2010: 168) is right to argue that, "Topics are often 'given' and they sometimes virtually select themselves."

Clearly, like other scholars, Fairclough (ibid) is right as the HIV and AIDS pandemic continues to be a problem not just for Zimbabwe but for Africa as a whole, in particular, and, the rest of the world, in general. For example, writing in the Windhoek Observer, Sankwasa (2011: 7) commented on HIV and AIDS statistics released by UNAIDS and the World Health Organisation (WHO) thus, “The figures indicate that sub-Saharan Africa is the worst affected region with 22 million cases reported, while the scourge has already claimed 17 million lives in Africa”. Sankwasa (ibid) proceeds to quote the first lady of the Republic of Namibia, Penelope Pohamba, who on the occasion of the Polytechnic of Namibia’s 15th HIV and AIDS awareness campaign in May 2011, revealed that Africa’s HIV and AIDS statistics constitute 70 percent of the cases recorded for the whole world. This foregrounds HIV and AIDS as a problem that merits scholarly attention.

1.1.2 The HIV and AIDS policy and its provisions

The National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe was published in December 1999. This policy was produced by a “...multidisciplinary team...of expert groups...” which conducted “8 sectoral, 20 provincial and 56 district meetings” for close to three years (Zimbabwe, 1999: 111). The policy document does not name the group of experts involved neither does it specify where these meetings were held. It however came as a delayed government response to the pandemic that was threatening to annihilate large numbers of the Zimbabwean population. The negative impact of the disease was noted by the Zimbabwean president, Robert Mugabe, who in the foreword to the HIV and AIDS policy, described HIV and AIDS as a “...tragic reality...” since by then an “...estimated...” “... 25% of people aged between 15 and 49 years...” in Zimbabwe was “...infected with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)...” In the foreword, Mugabe pointed out that HIV and AIDS was “reversing” progress made in the “...social and economic development...” in Zimbabwe (ibid). The first HIV and AIDS victim in Zimbabwe had been diagnosed in 1985 (AVERT, 2011, <http://www.avert.org/aids-Zimbabwe/htm>).

The Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS policy in force since 1999 sets milestones targeting a variety of HIV and AIDS related issues ranging from management of the disease, through general human rights, care and respect, circulating information and education

about HIV and AIDS, to public health. The policy does not explicitly deal with economic policies as a critical aspect in the national response to the HIV and AIDS pandemic. The provisions of the National HIV and AIDS Policy for Zimbabwe revolve around a “multisectoral” (Zimbabwe, 1999: 1) model of intervention. The policy is guided by principles such as the need to uphold the “human rights and dignity of all people”, “the responsibility to protect oneself and others from HIV infection”, provision of “counseling and care”, “sensitivity to gender” and the creation of a “supportive environment” (Zimbabwe, 1999: 2).

The Zimbabwe policy on HIV and AIDS has forty three guiding principles which summarise the implementation strategies of the policy. The guiding principles range from the need to adopt a multi-sectoral approach under the coordination of one umbrella body – The National Aids Council of Zimbabwe (guiding principle 1) to guiding principle number 43 which dwells on the importance of research in the area of HIV and AIDS. Guiding principle 2 of the policy underscores the need to protect human rights of people living with HIV and AIDS (ibid). The policy also guarantees rights to choose type of care by HIV and AIDS victims. Rights of orphans, children in general, women and men are also highlighted. Further, the policy dwells on the need to uplift the status of women through education and training and the creation of employment opportunities.

Any form of discrimination and ill - treatment of HIV and AIDS victims is barred by the policy. Gender violence is outlawed. Government is tasked with the responsibility to provide “the required leadership” and to play a leading role in “resource mobilisation and allocation” (ibid). The policy further spells out the need to channel efforts towards “viable income generation projects through support of community initiatives” to fight the pandemic (ibid). Additionally, all planning had to “prioritise HIV and AIDS issues” through the eradication of poverty, the reduction of unemployment, the “provision of adequate and appropriate housing” and the promotion of the family unit, for example, by protecting the family from “financial and economic threats’(ibid).

The policy’s preamble on Public Health outlaws migrant labour as it violates “...marital integrity...” (Guiding principle 4) through separating married couples thereby facilitating the spread of the disease. Such separation of couples is discouraged by strategy

number 6 of Guiding principle 4 thus, “Ensure, so far as is possible and as a priority consideration, that where both spouses are in employment, their places of work are proximate so as to facilitate cohabitation and the establishment of a stable family home.” In the same vein, guiding principle number 3 emphasises the need to promote the family unit by protecting it from “financial and economic threats” (ibid). Furthermore, contact with those infected with sexually transmitted infections (STI) is to be strengthened so that they access treatment distribution channels of condoms which are to be increased (Ibid).

The policy expresses commitment to the welfare of children evident in four Guiding Principles namely, Guiding Principle 26 which discourages the discrimination of orphaned children; Guiding principle 27 which states that children and young people should be accorded right to information and that both boys and girls should be given equal access to education, training and employment. Furthermore, Guiding Principle 28 states that children and young people should be protected from any form of abuse that could expose them to HIV and AIDS. Next, is Guiding Principle 29 which states that children and young people under the age of 16 should receive counseling, treatment and care when necessary.

The policy also calls for a holistic approach to care aimed at addressing the physical, social and psychological needs of HIV and AIDS victims and their families. According to the policy, information is to educate Zimbabweans about the disease. The media is tasked with the responsibility of creating an awareness of the pandemic through promoting “... prevention, control, care, and impact mitigation policies and interventions” (ibid).

1.1.3 The media environment

The promulgation and subsequent implementation of the National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe has received extensive media coverage from both government controlled and independent newspapers. The government controlled newspapers referred to in this study are *The Herald* (Daily) and *The Sunday Mail* (Weekly), *The Chronicle* (Weekly) and *Kwaedza*. The first two have a wide circulation while *The Chronicle* is mainly confined to the Matebeleland region and the Midlands province. *The*

independent newspapers are *The Standard* (Weekly), *The Zimbabwe Independent* (Weekly), *The Financial Gazette* (Weekly) and *The Daily News* which was banned by a Supreme Court ruling in 2003 for "...operating illegally and in defiance of the draconian Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA)" (Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2003). The use of the qualifier 'draconian' symbolises the general belief that the banning of the Daily News was for political rather than professional reasons. The selected privately owned newspapers circulate throughout the country.

The period from 1999 to 2010 was characterised by a heated debate between government controlled and privately owned newspapers concerning the implementation of the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS. However, this debate has not received meaningful scholarly attention to date. This creates a scenario in which, the linguistic and discursive strategies used by such newspapers to influence readers to accept certain viewpoints about the implementation of the policy are not known.

Such media debates appear to be triggered by deepening economic and social problems encountered by the people of Zimbabwe particularly during the period under review (1999 to 2010). It has to be stated though that the HIV and AIDS prevalence rate is still very high. For example, the executive summary of the United Nations of 2009 states that the HIV and AIDS prevalence rate of Zimbabwe is 15, 6 per cent adding that it is "one of the highest in the world" (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2010: 1) This prevalence rate was confirmed by the Zimbabwe Government's Ministry of Health in 2007 (ibid) and the late Governor and resident Minister of Harare Metropolitan Province, David Karimanzira, on 1 June 2009 (*The Herald*, 2 June 2009).

The Medicines San Frontiers' report of 2009 also confirm 15,6 per cent as the HIV and AIDS prevalence rate in Zimbabwe (Medecins Sans Frontieres Doctors Without Borders (MSF), 2007). In its most recent data section, the United Nations (ibid) states that the life expectancy in Zimbabwe dropped from 44/46 years in 2006 to 44/43 years in 2008 while the rate of the population without sustainable access to improved drinking water source rose to 50 per cent in 2008 from 40 per cent in 2006. As put by the UN, one of the sources of information is the Government of Zimbabwe (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2010). Given percentage rates on life

expectancy at birth and sustainable access to improved source of drinking water demonstrate problems encountered in the implementation of the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS policy.

The decline in the life expectancy of people in Zimbabwe indicates a scenario where parents die thereby leaving child - headed families. This culminates in legal, social and economic implications which generate media debate regarding the implementation of the policy. Media debates are centered on gaps on the implementation of the policy. The problem is that the policy makes a lot of promises which are not being implemented. This failure to implement the HIV and AIDS policy has culminated in a loss of trust between some media players and government. Consequently, independent newspapers and government controlled newspapers project different pictures about the implementation of the policy.

It is in the light of the context given above, that the study needs to establish the difference between content and representations in state controlled newspapers and content and structuring in private newspapers. Such media representations will be weighed against what the people of Zimbabwe themselves say about the implementation of the policy. To date, no studies have been carried out to investigate the linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspaper reports, on the implementation of the National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe of 1999. Views by Zimbabweans on the implementation of such policy are equally unknown.

1.2. Statement of the problem

There are conflicting newspaper reports about the implementation of the healthcare policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe. On one hand are government controlled newspapers namely, *The Herald* (Daily), *The Sunday Mail* (Weekly) and *The Chronicle* (Weekly) which appear to be in support of government's view that the implementation of the Zimbabwean healthcare policy has, and, continues to register success. On the other hand, are privately owned newspapers namely, *The Standard* (weekly), *The Zimbabwe Independent* (Weekly), *The Financial Gazette* (weekly) and *The Daily News* which seem to have been consistently sending the message that the implementation of the same policy has been associated with more failures than success. This study sets in to curve

a niche by investigating linguistic and discursive strategies employed by state controlled and privately owned newspapers in order to determine their effects in informing the Zimbabwe public of state policy and practice on HIV and AIDS prevention and treatment.

The discursive markers, in texts / discourse that signal more / less reliably the relation between content and discourse structure / textual properties / rhetorical devices, used by newspaper reports to convey information and comment on the Zimbabwe government's policy on HIV and AIDS are not known.

1.3. Aim of the study

To analyse the linguistic and discursive strategies used in messages about the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy in order to determine how state newspapers differ from private newspapers in their assessment of the implementation of such policy. This will indicate different strategies and possible effects in informing the Zimbabwe public of state policy and practice on HIV and AIDS infection, counselling and treatment.

1.3.1 Objectives

1. To identify, analyse and interpret the linguistic and discursive representation of the policy by selected newspaper reports.
2. To compare how government controlled and private newspapers reflect on the implementation of the policy.
3. To explain how newspapers influence the social attitude towards the policy.
4. To analyse newspaper reports in the light of views of Zimbabweans on the implementation of the policy.

1.3.2 Research questions

1. What are the similarities, differences and significance of the linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspapers in their reportage of the policy?
2. What are the views of Zimbabweans on newspapers' reportage of the policy's implementation?
3. How do newspaper reports compare with views of Zimbabweans on the implementation of the policy?

4. How do newspapers influence the social attitude towards the policy?
5. Why do neither government owned newspapers nor private newspapers present a comprehensive reportage of the healthcare system in Zimbabwe?

1.4. Significance of research

The study could influence a shift in the linguistic models used in the construction of HIV and AIDS campaign messages in newspapers for the betterment of communication processes and systems in the field. Policy makers from government and non – governmental organisations may also reflect on policy guidelines that the study could suggest. Academics in the fields of media studies, linguistics, English / Language for Specific Purposes, and communication would also be exposed to how reporters use linguistic and discursive devices to influence people's opinions and thus reflect on this aspect in research articles, seminars and knowledge dissemination.

Academics also stand to benefit from the theoretical contribution of the study. The use of corpus analysis, CDA and Media analysis in the study presents potential for academics to use this theoretical framework in related studies.

The study enables the language, communication and media studies students to become more aware of the influence of the linguistic choices that they could make when encoding newspaper reports dealing with important issues such as HIV and AIDS. This research makes a contribution to media discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis as areas of Language for Specific Purposes (LSP) by identifying linguistic devices and their potential influences to the reader.

The researcher intends to create a linguistic strategy for positive and balanced reporting on issues of national significance such as HIV and AIDS policy implementation. Lastly, scholars and students in the field of rhetoric stand to benefit from persuasive linguistic and discursive strategies that this study would bring to the fore. Therefore, in part, the study contributes in terms of the application of corpus based CDA and media analysis theoretical frameworks.

1.5 A Summary of reviewed Literature

This section presents a summary analysis of reviewed literature ranging from audience reception theories namely, agenda setting and agenda building through critical discourse analysis oriented literature to literature on HIV and AIDS in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular .

1.5.1 Audience reception theories and agenda building processes

Audience reception oriented media analytical frameworks reveal that media discourse influences audiences' perception of reality (Flower, 1991; Oguyemi, 1995; Reah, 1998; Chomsky, 2001; Herman and Chomsky (2008); Cockcroft and Cockcrot, 2005; Dijk, 1998, 2010; Chilton, 2004; Nordlund, 2003; Kress, 1983). Some of the audience reception theories are agenda setting and, or, building, cultivation and mainstreaming, framing and priming, the spiral of silence, diffusion, media / channel dependence and the hypodermic needle models (Bracken and Atkin, 2009). Since a wide range of these theories are subsumed by agenda building inclined theoretical models, the study will dwell on discursive strategies that the media employ within the framework of agenda building.

Media scholars in particular (Davie and Maher, 2006; Miller, 2007; Driedger, 2008; Gaines, 2008) and critical discourse analysts in general (Flower, 1991; Reah, 1998; Nordlund, 2003; Nafstad, Phelps and Carlquist (2005), demonstrate that newspaper reports use a repertoire of discursive strategies to influence readers to accept certain viewpoints and to score certain agenda goals. However, with respect to the implementation of the Zimbabwe HIV and AIDS policy, the goals of such agenda building processes are not known.

Recent studies shed more light on this issue of agenda building by revealing that through agenda setting and agenda building (Miller, *ibid*; Davie and Maher, *ibid*; Bracken, Atkin and Drieger, 2008) the media brings to the public arena “what to think” and what the public “thinks about”. The latter embodies the issue of “salience” (Driedger, *ibid*; Davie & Maher, *ibid*). News “influence the salience of issues” (Davie and Maher, 2006). This means that agenda setting leads to “priming” and hence “media

exposure to an issue will cause people to weigh that issue more heavily in making political judgements” (Miller, 2007). Through framing and priming, it is presupposed that the media act as stimuli to cause people to think and act in a pre-determined way. This study looks at how discursive strategies are used to effect priming both by government controlled and private newspapers.

Diffusion and cultivation theories revolve around persuasion. Persuasion is the nerve centre of this study. Gerber, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli’s (1986) cultivation theory posits that exposure to media influences attitudes. This means media persuades people to develop certain attitudes towards issues. The theory also focuses on “long term effects” of media exposure which are not directly related to this study (ibid). However, the persuasion and influencing of attitudes components of the theory makes it relevant to this study as it can be employed to unravel discursive strategies that newspapers use to influence attitudes of people towards the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy.

In this study the hypodermic / magic bullet theory which was popular in the 1940s /50s is not going to be used as it was disqualified by theories like the two step flow theory and the diffusion innovation theory / multi – step flow theory of mass communication. These theories proved that the audience is active and not passive recipients of media content as previously believed. Such theories proved that things like knowledge, experience and culture play a role in the manner people respond to media content. The study makes use of theories like cultivation, framing and priming within the agenda setting and agenda building model as they make it possible to analyse how discursive strategies are used to influence public opinion towards the implementation of the Zimbabwe policy on HIV and AIDS.

Recent studies have revealed that agenda building is a cumulative effect of activities associated with the media, government agents, the public and interest groups. This adds a new dimension to the agenda setting theory and its sister theory of primary definition which attributes media content solely to elite groups in society. The consequent theory of shared reality (Donsbach, 2004) views agenda building as an offshoot of combined efforts between journalists and other relevant stakeholders like government officials and members of the public who each leave imprints on the media’s

agenda. Consequently, the agenda building contest culminates in a wide range of discursive strategies mainly revolving around people's "negative emotions" (Miller, 2007: 693) and traceable to such agenda builders. The two – fold challenge is to unpack such discursive strategies and to explain how they influence public opinion on media content.

'Affect', 'inference' and 'personal importance' (Miller, 2007: 694) are some of the exploited discursive strategies that the media evoke in its attempt to call readers to 'action'. It has been noted that personal importance has a bearing on how people judge issues of national importance (Miller, Kronsnick, Fabrigar in Miller, 2007). Other discursive strategies that could be employed by newspapers to give their stories "additional layers of signifying processes" (Gaines, 2008) are the use of 'metaphors' or 'analogy', 'musical forms', 'dialogism' and 'calling without naming' (Allen and Faigley, 1995).

Related studies point out that metaphor (Fairclough, 1989; Cockcroft, Cockcroft, 2005), and deictic referencing (eg the use of 'we') (Mashiri and Makoni, 2003; Makamani, 2006; Peteresso, 2007) are some of the linguistic (and discursive) devices that speakers and writers use to forge identities with their target audiences. From a Halladayan model of analysis (1985), they fulfill the interpersonal metafunction of communication. However, for practical reasons, this study will confine itself to the use of media analytical frameworks and CDA whose declared findings are adequate in dealing with the current subject of investigation. This framework will be complemented by corpus analysis as corpora is useful in discourse analysis (Sinclair, et. al., 1992; Barker, 2008)

Lang and Lang (1983 in Driedger, 2008: 26) identify six steps that are crucial to agenda building. They are as follows:

1. An event or activity needs to be covered in the media; the very act of drawing attention to some topics can affect how much people may think or talk about it.

2. Simply being in the news is a necessary, but insufficient, condition needed to guarantee attention. Attention at a public or political level will vary based on how that issue affects peoples' lives.
3. The media gives an event or activity meaning by how it is described, defined and framed.
4. Language, through framing, conveys meaning to a broader audience.
5. The focus on attention to an activity or event can be amplified if it can be linked to other easily identified symbols (For example, 'truth', 'public right to know').
6. Using high – profile or credible sources (spokespersons or organisations) further promotes the concerns made in communication acts about an activity or event.

Within the six steps Lang and Lang (ibid) examine two points that have a direct bearing to this study: that attention of people is drawn to issues that affect their lives and that this depends on how such issues are described or framed. Regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe, salient issues that affect peoples' life and the discursive strategies used by the media to draw readers' attention towards such issues are not known. The last step mentioned by Lang and Lang (ibid) is also highly relevant to this study for it highlights the use of high - profile and credible sources in so far as they impact on the salience of an issue in the public sphere.

The study seeks to reveal such high profile sources as revealed by the media and suggest how they influence readers' attitudes. Elsewhere studies have revealed the critical role played by sources in agenda building (Driedger, 2008). Such studies have discouraged the reliance on essentialist models which rank sources as is evident in the theory of primary definers and passive / active audience models. Recommendations are made to adopt an eclectic theoretical approach based on shared reality and agenda building models in which "non – elite source groups" should merit serious scholarly attention in media studies (Driedger, (ibid).

A recent study that investigated agenda building in the E. coli contamination of a Canadian public drinking water supply (Driedger, 2008) showed that sources of media

content exploited theme in the agenda building process. Related studies in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have revealed that thematic and rhematic (Bloor and Bloor, 1995; Halliday, 1985; Guijaro, 1989; Makamani, 2006; Thompson, 1996), representation of ideas is one linguistic (and discursive) strategy through which writers influence readers ideologically. The study seeks to find whether this is the case regarding media's representations of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. The study seeks to establish whether this is the case regarding the language representation of the implementation of HIV and AIDS policy by state controlled and private newspapers. One explores revelations by CDA oriented investigations below.

1.5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) oriented literature

CDA is a 'reflexive' and a form of 'engaged social theory' with a firm 'theoretical and analytical' grounding that have made it to withstand criticism (Cavallrho, 2008). CDA is "drawn on the meta-theory of critical realism" (Barkho, 2007: 12). It stems from problems in society (Chouliaraki, and Fairclough, (1999) in Cavallrho, (ibid).

Even though CDA can be traced back to Gramsci, Habermas, and Althusser and to the work of Foucault (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 cited in Mazid, 2007), the leading scholars of CDA are van Dijk (1988, 1998) and Fairclough (1995). These have influenced a community of CDA global scholars and players namely, Flower (1991); Barkho, (2007); Kariithi and Kariethi, (2007); Mazid, (2007); Faria, (2008); Davis and French, (2008) and Archakis and Tsakona (2009). CDA scholars are driven by the common motive of analysing discourse as social practice (Carvalho, 2008). They dialectically tie discursive events to social processes and practices. They dig beyond the banality of linguistic expression. They seek to unravel hidden agenda and meaning of written and spoken discourse. For example, Flower (1991) took a cue from Fairclough (1995) to reveal power and ideological issues in the press. Flower (ibid) exposed "transitivity in syntax, lexical structure, modality and speech acts" as some of the linguistic strategies employed in news language (Carvalho, ibid). Carvalho (ibid: 169) observes that discursive strategies are "forms of discursive manipulation of reality by social actors including journalists in order to achieve a certain effect or goal." This shows that they are at the core of agenda building processes.

Carvalho notes that framing, positioning, legitimisation and politicisation are some of the discursive strategies used in media discourse. Davies and French (2008) examine how post-Katrina news coverage used discursive strategies such as vagueness, presupposition, over-completeness and blaming the victim noting that blaming the victim is aimed at justifying prejudice and unequal treatment of people. Kariithi and Kariithi (2007: 473) identify four types of legitimisation: “authorisation, rationalisation, moral evaluation and mythopoesis” (legitimation through narratives with a moral ethic or caution). They unveiled that media discourse on the 2002 Confederation of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) led strike employed legitimisation. Media discourse on the strike legitimised the then alleged pro-rich ANC government and delegitimised Cosatu.

Other persuasive strategies used by media discourse as observed by Carvalho (ibid) are layout and structural organisation, objects, actors, language, grammar and rhetoric and ideological standpoints. He does not however, delve into the issue of how media ownership patterns impacts on the use of such strategies. In addition, Carvalho (ibid) does not delve into the issue of linguistic and discursive devices that are used by the media to influence public opinion. However, Archakis and Tsakona (2009) alludes to this when he argued that different newspapers present ‘same’ events differently and from different focuses due to ideological and political reasons.

Wenham, Harris and Sebar (2009) and Matu and Lubbe (2007) echo van Dijk’s (1998, 2010) observation that newspapers use the ideological square to influence the readers’ opinions about issues. Wenham et al (ibid: 288) argue that “ideological squares occur when texts highlight the positive in-group and negative out-group actions”. Matu and Lubbe (ibid) explain four move structures of ideological squares which revolve around the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ model of conceptualisation. Mazid (2007) also demonstrate how President Bush used presupposition within the framework of ideological square to label people as US enemies after the attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September, 2001.

Ideological squares add a positive dimension to this research as they make it possible to analyse how newspapers reflect personalities and institutions involved in the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. It could also be important to find out how

ideological squares are interwoven within the inverted pyramid models (Archakis and Tsakona, 2009) associated with newspaper reports. Inverted pyramid model explains the overloading of important information at the beginning of newspaper articles and the decrease of detail as the newspapers story develops. The inverted pyramid discourse has four layers: “quoting, paraphrasing, background and comment” (Barkho, 2007: 13). Burkho (ibid) also found out that CNN and BBC exploited background information, recontextualisation and over-lexicalisation to make evaluative comments thus influencing their target audiences. In addition, direct speech that could be embedded in these layers adds the conversationalisation component of media content that attracts audiences’ attention (Archakis and Tsakona, 2009).

Nordlund (2003) quotes Gudmund Hernes as arguing that the following techniques are used in newspapers to manipulate readers, thus to recreate reality:

1. sharpening: a complex reality is made comprehensible to the reader,
2. concretization: avoidance of abstractions and favouring the specific at the expense of the general,
3. simplification: a complex reality is made comprehensive to the reader,
4. polarization: attention is called to opposites,
5. intensification: attention is called to conflicts rather than consensus, and
6. personification: events are being described from the point of view of an individual, often with unusual or interesting qualities,
7. Stereotyping: what is depicted must fit into a given set of roles, for example that of a villain or a saint.

Other techniques are:

1. concealment: withdrawing relevant information, that is, not telling the whole truth,
2. distortion of various degrees: manipulation of facts by exaggeration, minimization or equivocation,
3. falsification: presenting untrue fact, that’s lying.

Newspaper reports use these techniques within the framework of agenda setting and agenda building and even framing due to financial (Nordlund, 2003; Nafstad. et al, 2005) and ideological reasons (Flower, Hodge, Kress and Trew (1979) in Kress, 1983), Matu and Lubbe, 2007). Power [Fairclough, 1989; Dijk, 1988; Beard, (2000); Thompson,

(1996)] is yet another factor that determines this use of language. Discursive strategies used by newspapers betray a high degree of contestation of power among agenda builders whose motive this study attempts to untangle by analysing the deployment of discursive strategies associated with the implementation of the Zimbabwe policy on HIV and AIDS of 1999.

Scholars have also discovered that syntax can be used for manipulation (Thompson, 1996; Halliday, 1989; Reah, 1998; Salkie, 1995; Galasinski, 2000; Fairclough, 2003; Chomsky, 1988; Chilton, 2004; Kress, 2003). Syntactical arrangement can be used as a discursive strategy. Critical linguists such as Chilton,(ibid) and Chomsky (ibid) discovered that through syntactical transformation writers transform deep structures to surface structures bearing different grammatical forms and meaning. Two common transformations are passivisation and nominalisation (Thompson, 1996; Reah, 1998; Leckie – Tarry, 1995; Halliday, 1989; Flower, 1991; Fairclough, 1989; Chilton, (ibid); Kress, 2003; Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005). The question that needs to be addressed is, ‘Are these applicable to the Zimbabwean situation as investigated in the study?’

1.5.3 A Summary review of HIV and AIDS literature on Africa

Literature on HIV and AIDS in Africa identifies five main key drivers of the pandemic. They are: poverty, (Bwalya, 2006, Thompson and Lowenson, 2003; Netseane, 2004) masculinity (It results in the powerlessness of women who cannot negotiate for safe sex when men refuse to use condoms), slavery (Ntseane, 2004), and, food insecurity and inequity in health care provision (Thompson and Lowenson (2003). Poverty is associated with child sexual abuse which has been identified as contributing to 2% of transmission of HIV throughout the world (McNeilly, 2005: 304).

A broad based analysis of the pandemic’s life cycle makes one to concur with Hill’s (2004: 70) assertion that AIDS is “... a symptom of social conditions as well as a political disease.” In an analysis reminiscent of Moyo’s main argument in her book titled, *Dead Aid: Why is it not working and how there is another way for Africa*, Hill (ibid) points to neocolonial domination by Africa’s erstwhile colonizers as major driver of the disease on the continent. Both Hill (ibid) and Moyo (ibid) identify poverty in Africa as a product of aid, “dead aid” [Moyo, ibid)], and aid that comes with conditions (Hill, ibid). As argued by

Hill (ibid) and Moyo (ibid), aid perpetuates poverty on the continent thereby making it difficult for African governments to combat the HIV and AIDS pandemic.

Peiffer and Boussalis, (2010) point out that, in 2006, about two-thirds of foreign aid for HIV and AIDS control was received by sub-Saharan African nations. One other problem, as noted by scholars, is that donors prescribe HIV and AIDS intervention programmes in Africa irrespective of the fact that some of the intervention programmes will not be compatible with cultural practices of people in Africa (Seckinelgin, 2005). For example, it was discovered that whereas the promotion of condom use at an early stage contributed to the relative success of HIV and AIDS programmes in Uganda during the 1980s and early 1990s, the same programme proved to be counter-productive in Botswana (Allen and Heald, 2004).

The reason given for the failure of the ABC –Intervention- Model (Avoiding AIDS is as easy as ABC – Abstain, Be faithful, Condomise) was attributed to the existence of an “...alternative discourse of AIDS, bedded in Tswana beliefs and understandings, which held the condom an agent not in the control of the disease but rather in its very origin and spread” (Allen and Heald, 2004: 144). It then remains to be seen how Zimbabwean newspapers cover this aspect of donor prescription on HIV and AIDS intervention programmes as they report on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe.

1.6 Research methods

In this study, both primary and secondary data is used. Primary data was gathered through administering of questionnaires, the electronic survey and interviews with Zimbabweans. In addition, data were also gathered through a purposive sampling of newspaper cuttings and electronic newspaper articles. The HIV and AIDS policy document was also used as source(s) of data. The samples of newspapers focus on important events since the launch of the HIV and AIDS policy in 1999. Some of the events are Operation *Murambatsvina* and the parliamentary and presidential elections of 2008. These events have a bearing on the implementation of the AIDS policy.

Selected newspaper articles of between 1998 to 2010 from both government controlled and independent media namely, *The Herald* (Daily- government) and *The Sunday Mail* (Weekly - government) and, *The Independent* (Weekly - independent), *The Standard* (Weekly - independent) and *The Daily News* (Daily – independent; was banned in 2003) are analysed. For practical reasons, purposive sampling was used. *The Herald* library in Harare was visited to collect data from the government controlled newspapers and not so sensitive reports from other newspapers. This was supplemented with articles collected from the National Archives and the library of the Southern African AIDS Information Dissemination Services (SAFAIDS) in Harare. In addition, newspaper reports which inform or comment on government measures that are important in the current HIV and AIDS communication processes aimed at facilitating an understanding of the illness and popular knowledge on the kinds of treatment / support available to those who would have tested positive are analysed. Purposive sampling was used to select only those articles covering major events such as Operation *Murambatsvina* (Operation Drive Out Filth), the launch of the National Aids Council and the First HIV and AIDS conference.

Part of the data used in this research was gathered as follows:

1. Some notes from newspaper articles on Operation *Murambatsvina* were compiled in December 2009.
2. The collection of online media articles on HIV and AIDS by the Standard newspaper, *The Zimbabwe Independent*, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Herald* and other newspapers that report on Zimbabwe has been ongoing since the 2009.
3. Additional relevant articles by the selected newspapers on HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe were collected from the Herald Library in Harare in December 2009 and January 2010.

The study analyses at least 26 articles on Operation *Murambatsvina* [*The Standard*, (8), *The Sunday Mail* (4), *The Independent* (3), *The Herald* (8), *The Chronicle* (3)], 18 articles on the launch and role of the National Aids Council (NAC), (9 from government newspapers and 9 from private media), 16 articles on educational awareness and treatment programmes (8 from each side of the newspapers' divide), 10 articles on the Global Fund (5 from *The Sunday Mail* and

The Standard respectively and 2 articles from the other newspapers. At least Twenty five (25) other articles were selected from both government controlled and independent newspapers on women and children abuse.

Through the use of media analysis and critical discourse analysis aided by corpus analysis and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences, linguistic and discursive strategies are identified in the data sources and analysed to establish their influences and ideological underpinnings.

1.7 Theoretical framework

This study employs a two – tier theoretical framework of media analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA). Media analysis (Flower, 1991; Nafstad, et al 2005; Davie and Maher, 2006; Miller, 2007; Driedger, 2008; Gaines, 2008) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1989; Dijk, 1998; Carvalho Anabela, (2008); Matu and Lubbe, 2007), can be used to analyse linguistic and discursive devices that newspaper reports use to influence readers. Scholars have also revealed that CDA can be facilitated by corpus analysis (Sinclair, et. al., 2007; Barker, 2008; Huston, 2007; McEnery and Wilson, 2010; King, 2009). As media discourse consists of layers of meaning, Danesi's taxonomy (2002 cited in Gaines, 2008) is used. He proposes that analysis of media discourse should revolve around the following questions:

1. What does a certain structure (text, genre, etc.) mean?
2. How does it represent what it means?
3. Why does it mean what it means?

The use of this taxonomy is aimed at unpacking the meaning of layered newspaper discourse. The above taxonomy is complemented with Carvalho's (2008) analytical framework. Carvalho (ibid) explains that media analysis should examine the following:

1. Layout and structural organisation
2. Objects
3. Actors
4. Language , grammar and rhetoric
5. Discursive strategies

6. Ideological standpoints.

He also mentions contextual analysis and proceeded to include comparative – synchronic analysis and historical -diachronic analysis which are not used in this study. This study employs a three - tier analytical framework of a corpus analysis, CDA and media analysis. It enables this researcher to analyse how independent and government controlled newspapers in Zimbabwe used linguistic and discursive strategies to communicate certain views about the implementation of the National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe of 1999. Such an analytical framework makes it possible for the study to bring to the fore the potential influences to the public by both government controlled and private newspapers

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), will specifically be used to unveil indirect meanings, particularly those which relate to ideology and power that may be evident in newspaper reports (Fairclough, 1989, Dijk, 1998, Nordlund, 2003, Nafstad. et al, 2005). In addition, CDA is used due to its “self –reflexivity” and “socio-historical situatedness” (Mazid, 2007: 352). This enables the researcher to analyse newspaper discourse as both constituting and being constituted by historical events in Zimbabwe.

1.8 Scope of study

This study falls in the broad area of applied linguistics or applied language studies. It analyses the linguistic and discursive devices employed by government controlled and private newspapers in Zimbabwe, to comment on the implementation of the National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe of 1999. The study is motivated by the need to establish how selected newspapers influenced public opinion with regard to the implementation of the policy. The findings of this study will thus inform relevant stakeholders in fields such as language, communication, discourse and media studies to develop reporting strategies that do not mislead members of the public.

1.9 Definition of terms

- Agenda building: the role played by media informants and journalists to create something that people have to think about.
- Ideological square: a strategy used to influence people’s opinion by emphasising “positive in –group and negative out-group actions” (Wenham et al (2009: 288).

- Thematisation: a technique of framing content as theme in order to manipulate people.
- Rhetoric: the art of persuasive communication.
- Ideological standpoints: a position that reflects one's thinking.
- Discursive strategies/ devices: linguistic devices used to influence people
- Eclectic: an approach that is a hybrid of a number of approaches

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the study by proving that HIV and AIDS is a problem afflicting the Zimbabwean society hence the need to investigate its reportage by newspapers. This is crucial because dissemination of information is a key aspect in the fight against HIV and AIDS. Further, the chapter has described the guidelines of the National HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. This was done in order to indicate areas for investigation. Aims and objectives of the study have been given in the chapter. Aims and objectives demonstrate that the study has been triggered by the need to investigate linguistic and discursive strategies used by government owned newspapers and private newspapers to report on the implementation of the National policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe of 1999.

The chapter examined five research questions of the study. The research questions seek to find out correct information regarding the implementation of the policy by comparing newspaper reports with views from the people of Zimbabwe. To add, the briefly reviewed literature indicated that no studies have been conducted in Zimbabwe on linguistic and discursive strategies reflective of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy of 1999. CDA, media analysis and corpus analysis have been explained as underpinning the study's theoretical framework. The next chapter reviews literature.

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one deals with background to the study, research problem, aim of the study, research questions, objectives, significance of the study, literature review, research methods, theoretical framework, scope of study, conclusion, definition of terms and thesis lay out. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with literature review and theoretical framework respectively. Chapter 4 is about the research methodology while chapter 5 presents an analysis of linguistic and discursive devices

used to report on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy in Zimbabwe with complementary information coming from the people of Zimbabwe themselves. Chapter 6 dwells on the summary, conclusions and some recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on audience reception theories of agenda setting and agenda building in order to draw insights from scholarly findings to be used as an arsenal to lay bare strategies and motives of newspaper reports on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy in Zimbabwe. In the same vein, literature bearing relevant findings on diffusion and cultivation theories is also reviewed followed by that on critical discourse analysis (CDA) particularly that dealing with texts as social practices, media and ideology and the ideological square. Relevant literature on HIV and AIDS in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular is also reviewed. In the chapter, literature on the Uganda model is reviewed as it is pivotal and therefore standard to be used for better judgement of newspaper reports and views from the people of Zimbabwe on the implementation of the Zimbabwean policy on HIV and AIDS – cum- the Zimbabwean model.

2.2 Audience reception theories: agenda setting and agenda building processes

Audience reception oriented media analytical frameworks reveal that media discourse influences audiences' perception of reality (Flower, 1991; Ogunyemi, 1995; Reah, 1998; Herman and Chomsky (2008); Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005; Dijk, 1998; Chilton, 1987; Nordlund, 2003; Kress, 1983). Some of the audience reception theories are agenda setting and, or, building, cultivation and mainstreaming, framing and priming, the spiral of silence, diffusion, media / channel dependence and the hypodermic needle models (Bracken and Atkin, 2009). Some of the theories are closely related such that studies have been carried out which culminated in scholars calling for the need to combine certain media theories to achieve "parsimony" (Jeffres et. al., 2009). For example, both agenda setting and cultivation theories relate to how the audience is perceived to react to media content to which it would have been exposed. The spiral of salience also explains that constant exposure to media content will make audience to view issues as salient. However, the study will not dwell on the Hypodermic Needle Theory or Magic

Bullet as it is not based on empirical findings but on assumptions hence it's now being obsolete (Hoynes, 1997 in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hypodermic_needle_model).

Additionally, since a wide range of these theories are subsumed by agenda setting and, or, building inclined theoretical models, the study will dwell on discursive strategies that the media employ within the framework of agenda setting and, or, building.

2.2.1 Agenda setting

Media scholars in particular (Davie and Maher, 2006; Miller, 2007; Driedger, 2008; Gaines, 2008) and critical discourse analysts in general (Flower, 1991; Reah, 1998; Nordlund, 2003; Nafstad, Phelps and Carlquist (2005), demonstrate that newspaper reports use a repertoire of discursive strategies to influence readers to accept certain viewpoints and to score certain agenda goals. For example, in their analysis of the impact of Maxwell McCombs's four (4) decades of scholarly research whose results are the founding of the agenda setting theory and the generation of "400 published studies", Dave and Maher (2006: 358) argue that the news media "tell us not only what to think about but how to think about it." They (ibid) proceed to cite Lippmann (1922) who avers that "media messages have great influence on the picture in our heads."

In their revelation of McCombs's contribution on media effects, Davie and Maher (ibid) narrated three major agenda setting inspired studies spearheaded by McCombs namely, Magnitude of Contribution, The Charlotte Study and Multisided Perspective. Findings of the first two are important in shaping the subject attack in this study as demonstrated below.

1. Magnitude of Contribution

McCombs and Shaw demonstrated that media influences are at the cognitive, social and behavioural levels. McCombs and Shaw concluded that voters' perception of the importance of issues was determined by "...the media attention to those issues." (Dave and Maher, ibid: 359). This revelation is important to this study as one seeks to reveal the linguistic and discursive strategies that newspapers exploit to influence the thinking (cognition) of readers. For practical reasons, the study will not focus on the social and behavioural manifestations of media influences on readers.

2.2.2 The Charlotte Study

The pertinent revelation of McCombs and Shaw's (ibid: 360) research is the finding that media messages can make "...salient both objects (topics or issues) and attributes of those objects." Salience is central in this study in that the linguistic and discursive strategies will reveal what newspapers reports project as salient and how, as agenda setters, reporters desire that readers understand such issues in terms of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. This aspect is critical in this research.

Taking a cue from the above – mentioned studies, the study will analyse linguistic and discursive studies as potential "...cognitive mediators..." (Miller, 2007: 690). They impact on people's awareness of the implementation of the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS policy of 1999. Since "...content of news stories is a primary determinant of agenda setting" (ibid: 689), the study seeks to investigate those newsworthy aspects of the implementation of the policy to unravel the linguistic and discursive strategies used to reflect on such as aspects of policy implementation.

Taking a cue from Miller's (ibid: 690) findings on "...priming...", the study revolves around the thinking that the use of linguistic and discursive strategies creates a new awareness about an issue that has a bearing on the importance with which such an issue is accorded by citizens. This follows Miller's (ibid: 692) findings in which he outlines the determinants of the relevance hypothesis – that people engage in "a process of filtering information before making judgement", on the basis of the following:

Affect – This means that people attach relevance to an issue due to emotions that it arouses particularly if it creates "...anxiety and fear" (For example, fear of aspects of the policy's implementation) (ibid: 693).

Such stories point to things that need to be fixed – problems which is what any research study is about. Scholars have also established that people attach relevance to issues that trigger negative emotions. For example, when they view an issue as a threat; when they consider the negative consequences of an issue; and, when an issue is portrayed as having been neglected. This enables the study to investigate linguistic and discursive strategies that are used to create negative emotions associated with anxiety and fear among readers and, where possible unravel the ideological underpinnings behind them.

This approach is influenced by the rhetorical theory of Aristotle (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2003), which revolves around the three proofs of ethos (persuasion through character), pathos (persuasion through emotions) and logos (persuasion through reason). Hence, for better insight, in this study affect can be viewed from the perspective of the rhetorical theory.

Inference – Studies [Cohen, 1973; McCombs, and Shaw, 1972; Weaver, Graber, McCombs and Eyal, 1981 in Miller (ibid)], have shown that agenda setting is determined by how news media will label an issue / event as important. Such importance can be specifically mentioned by the media or it can be inferred by people who intuit that the mere selection of such and such as a news items by media people, politicians et cetera, makes it / them important issue(s).

Personal importance – as put by Miller, Kronsnick, and Fabrigar (2007), in Miller, (ibid), personal importance creates national importance. However, this study will pursue linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspapers to attach personal importance to news of implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy.

Other discursive strategies that could be employed by newspapers to give their stories “additional layers of signifying processes” (Gaines, 2008) are the use of ‘metaphors’ or ‘analogy’, ‘musical forms’, ‘dialogism’ and ‘calling without naming’ (Allen and Faigley, 1995). Additionally, related studies point out that metaphor (Fairclough, 1989; Cockcroft, Cockcroft, 2005), and deictic referencing (For example, the use of ‘we’) (Mashiri and Makoni, 2003; Makamani, 2006; Peteresso, 2007) are some of the linguistic (and discursive) devices that speakers and writers use to forge identities with their target audiences. From a Halladayan (1989) model of analysis, they fulfill the interpersonal metafunction of communication. However, this study is confined to the use of media analytical frameworks and CDA whose declared findings are adequate in dealing with the current subject of investigation.

In summary, ‘affect’ (pathos), ‘inference’ and ‘personal importance’ (Miller, 2007: 694) are some of the exploited discursive strategies that the media evoke in its attempt to call readers to ‘action’. It has been noted that personal importance has a bearing on how

people judge issues of national importance (Miller, Kronsnick, Fabrigar in Miller, 2007). In addition, with respect to the implementation of the Zimbabwe HIV and AIDS policy, the linguistic and discursive strategies together with the goals of such agenda setting processes are not known. However, it has already been revealed that recent studies shed more light on the issue of agenda building by revealing that through agenda setting (Miller, *ibid*; Davie and Maher, *ibid*; Bracken, Atkin and Drieger, 2008) the media brings to the public arena “what to think” and what the public “thinks about”. As noted earlier, the latter embodies the issue of “salience” (Driedger, *ibid*, Davie and Maher, *ibid*).

News “influences the salience of issues” (Davie and Maher, 2006). This means that agenda setting leads to “priming” and hence “media exposure to an issue will cause people to weigh that issue more heavily in making political judgment” (Miller, 2007). Through framing and priming, it is presupposed that the media act as stimuli that cause people to think and act in a pre-determined way. Therefore, in part, this study looks at how discursive strategies are used to effect priming both by government controlled and private newspapers.

2.2.3 Diffusion and cultivation theories

Diffusion and cultivation theories revolve around persuasion. Persuasion is the nerve centre of this study. Gerber, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli’s (1986) cultivation theory posits that exposure to media influences attitudes (<http://www.comminit.com/en/node>). This means media persuades people to develop certain attitudes towards issues. The theory also focuses on “long term effects” of media exposure which are not directly related to this study (*ibid*). However, the persuasion and influencing of attitudes components of the theory makes it relevant to this study as it can be employed to unravel discursive strategies that newspapers use to influence attitudes of people towards the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. As already noted, hypodermic / magic bullet theory which was popular in the 1930s /50s is not going to be used as it was disqualified by theories like the two - step flow theory and the diffusion innovation theory / multi – step flow theory of mass communication.

These theories proved that the audience is active and not passive recipients of media content as previously believed. Such theories proved that things like knowledge, experience and culture play a role in the manner people respond to media content. The study makes use of theories like cultivation, framing and priming within the agenda setting and agenda building models of analysis as they make it possible to analyse how discursive strategies are used to influence public opinion towards the implementation of the Zimbabwe policy on HIV and AIDS.

2.2.4 Agenda building

Agenda building is "...a collective process that involves the mutual collective influence of the media, government and citizens on one another" (Lang and Lang, 1983 in Driedger, (2008).

Recent studies have revealed that agenda building is a cumulative effect of activities associated with the media, government agents, the public and interest groups. It can be emphasised that agenda building is a complex process involving the media and its sources. According to this view, sources of media content also seek to use the media to dispel their own agenda. This adds a new dimension to the agenda setting theory and its sister theory of primary definition which attributes media content solely to elite groups in society. The consequent theory of shared reality (Donsbach, (2004) in Driedger, 2008) views agenda building as an offshoot of combined efforts between journalists and other relevant stakeholders like government officials and members of the public who each leave imprints on the media's agenda. For example, Drieger (2008) studied how sources played a role in agenda building in the media coverage of the E. coli contamination of Canadian drinking water supply thereby exposing residents to the risks of drinking untreated – bacteria - infected water. As put by Driedger (ibid) the problem was: while residents suffered from diarrheal diseases (For example, seven residents died while 2,300 got ill), management from the public Health Unit maintained that drinking water was safe and secure.

The media demonstrated that Walkerton residents and members of the citizen group participated in agenda building. Apart from showing that the E. coli contamination of public drinking water became the Canadian 'what-a story' (Tuchman , 1973 in Driedger,

(ibid), Driedger (ibid), reporters used their traditional story telling skills characterised by deceit, possible cover – ups and tragedy. Driedger (ibid) proceeds to argue that the media portrayed people as heroes, suffering victims, the villains and, that playing the ‘blame game’ was central on the media agenda. As alluded to earlier, a further crucial revelation from Driedger’s study (ibid: 25) is that the “...primary source of reality for news is not what is displayed or what happens in the real world”.

The reality of news is embedded in the nature and type of social and cultural relations that develop between journalists and their sources. For, “News is a product of transactions between journalists and their sources” (Erickson, 1989: 377 in Driedger, (ibid). Thus, in this study, it is crucial to unpack linguistic and discursive strategies associated with journalists and their sources much as it is critical to interview the people of Zimbabwe themselves about their views concerning the implementation of the policy. Revelations by Driedger (ibid) are very important as they bring about insights that can be mobilised to unpack newspaper and public discourses around prominent events during the phase of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy covered in this study.

The above reveal that, the agenda building contest culminates in a wide range of discursive strategies mainly revolving around people’s “negative emotions” (Miller, 2007: 693) and traceable to such agenda builders. As theories are intricately related to rhetorical theory it should be mentioned that media content that revolve around people’s negative emotions qualifies as negative rhetoric, which is rhetoric that subtracts rather than adds value (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005). Thus, in this research, the two – fold challenge is to unpack linguistic and discursive strategies used to evoke such emotions and to explain how they influence public opinion on media content.

Lang and Lang (1981 in Driedger, ibid: 26) identify six steps that are crucial to agenda building. They are as follows:

1. An event or activity needs to be covered in the media; the very act of drawing attention to some topics can affect how much people may think or talk about it.

2. Simply being in the news is a necessary, but insufficient, condition needed to guarantee attention. Attention at a public or political level will vary based on how that issue affects people's lives.
3. The media gives an event or activity meaning by how it is described, defined and framed.
4. Language, through framing, conveys meaning to a broader audience.
5. The focus on attention to an activity or event can be amplified if it can be linked to other easily identified symbols (For example, 'truth', 'public right to know').
6. Using high – profile or credible sources (spokespersons or organisations) further promotes the concerns made in communication acts about an activity or event.

Within the six steps Lang and Lang (ibid), examine two points that have a direct bearing to this study: that attention of people is drawn to issues that affect their lives and that this depends on how such issues are described or framed. Regarding the implementation of the HIV/ AIDS policy for Zimbabwe, salient issues that affect peoples' life and the discursive strategies used by the media to draw readers' attention towards such issues are not known. The last step mentioned by Lang and Lang (ibid) is also highly relevant to this study for it highlights the use of high - profile and credible sources in so far as they impact on the salience of an issue in the public sphere. The study seeks to reveal such high profile sources as revealed by the media and suggest how they influence readers' attitudes. As has already been stated, elsewhere studies have revealed the critical role played by sources in agenda building (Driedger, 2008). Such studies have discouraged the reliance on essentialist models which rank sources as is evident in the theory of primary definers and passive / active audience models. Recommendations are made to adopt an eclectic theoretical approach based on shared reality and agenda building models in which "non – elite source groups" should merit serious scholarly attention in media studies (Driedger, (ibid). As revealed in research methodology chapter of the study, the eclectic approach that is aimed at gaining more insights into the gap created by media content and reality regarding the implementation of the HIV / AIDS policy for Zimbabwe will be filled by soliciting views of Zimbabweans through Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) and interviews.

As shown earlier, a recent study that investigated agenda building in the E. coli contamination of a Canadian public drinking water supply (Driedger, 2008) showed that sources of media content exploited theme in the agenda building process. Related studies in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have revealed that thematic and rhematic (Bloor and Bloor, 1995; Halliday, 1989; Guijaro, 1989; Makamani, 2006; Thompson, 1996), representation of ideas is one linguistic (and discursive) strategy through which writers influence readers ideologically. The study seeks to find whether this is the case regarding media's representations of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. This study seeks to establish whether this is the case regarding the language representation of the implementation of HIV/ AIDS policy by state controlled and private newspapers. The study proceeds to explore revelations by CDA oriented investigations below.

2.3 Texts as social practice

Texts reflect activities in society. Therefore, through studying texts one can develop an understanding of the society from which they are produced. This perspective is crucial. It enables the study to navigate newspaper reports as a strategy of investigating structural and cultural issues that are relevant in the implementation of the HIV and AIDS Policy for Zimbabwe of 1999.

2.3.1 A review of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) oriented literature

CDA is a 'reflexive' and a form of 'engaged social theory' with a firm 'theoretical and analytical' grounding that have made it to withstand criticism (Cavallrho, 2008). CDA is "drawn on the meta-theory of critical realism" (Barkho, 2007) that "... incorporates social – theoretical insights into discourse analysis and advocates social commitment and interventionism in research" (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 447). It stems from problems in society (Chouliaraki, and Fairclough, (1999) in Cavallrho, (ibid). One major problem is that in modern societies discourse is "...an opaque power object..." and CDA seeks to make it "...more visible and transparent" (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 448). It is important to note that HIV and AIDS policy document, newspaper reports, campaign materials and views from Zimbabweans will be treated as discourse. This follows Theun van Dijk's (in Wodak and Meyer, 2010: 67) revelation that discourse is:

A multidimensional social phenomenon: It is at the same time a linguistic (verbal, grammatical) object (meaningful sequences of words or sentences), an action (such as assertion or threat), a form of social interaction (like a conversation), a social practice (such as a lecture), a mental representation of a meaning, a mental model, an opinion knowledge), an interactional or communicative event or activity (like a parliamentary debate), a cultural product (like a telenovela), or even an economic commodity that is being sold and bought (like a novel).

Essentially discourse refers to extended representation of spoken or written language. So, this study's focus is on extended use of language as opposed to isolated words. CDA will enable the researcher to adopt a broad based analysis focusing on both discourse as text and as – discursive practice (Fairclough, 1992a in Blommaert and Buclaen, 2000: 448). Viewing discourse as text would thus enable the study to analyse grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Such an analysis is important because it was found out, for example, that "...passive verb forms in news reporting..." can be used to hide the agent of "...political processes" (Ibid: 448). In addition, an analysis of discursive practices implies that when analysing vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure one should also pay attention to aspects that reflect context of discourse namely, speech acts, coherence and intertextuality (Blommaert and Buclaen, 2000). Blommaert and Buclaen (ibid: 449) further argue rightly that the main goal of CDA is to advocate for interventionism in social practices that it critically investigates in order to make "...proposals for change and suggest corrections to particular discourses." In addition, in the study, CDA analysis is aided by corpus analysis (Sinclair, 1992, Barker, 2008). Corpus analysis will expose collocations, key lexical items and their linguistic environment.

Even though CDA can be traced back to Gramsci, Habermas, and Althusser and to the work of Foucault (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 cited in Mazid, 2007), the leading scholars of CDA are van Dijk (1988, 1991) and Fairclough (1995). These have influenced a community of CDA global scholars and players namely, Flower (1991); Barkho, (2007); Kariithi and Kariithi, (2002); Mazid, (2007); Faria, (2008); Davis and French, (2008) and Tsakona (2009). CDA scholars are driven by the common motive of analysing discourse as social practice (Carvalho, 2008). They dialectically tie discursive

events to social processes and practices. They dig beyond the banality of linguistic expression. They seek to unravel hidden agenda and meaning of written and spoken discourse. For example, Flower (1991) took a cue from Fairclough (1995) to reveal power and ideological issues in the press. Flower (ibid) exposed “transitivity in syntax, lexical structure, modality and speech acts” as some of the linguistic strategies employed in news language (Carvalho, ibid). Furthermore, Carvalho (ibid: 169) observes that discursive strategies are “forms of discursive manipulation of reality by social actors including journalists in order to achieve a certain effect or goal.” This shows that they are at the core of agenda setting and, or, building processes.

Carvalho (Ibid) notes that framing, positioning, legitimation and politicisation are some of the discursive strategies used in media discourse. Likewise, Davies and French (2008) examine how post-Katrina news coverage used discursive strategies such as vagueness, presupposition, over-completeness and blaming the victim noting that blaming the victim is aimed at justifying prejudice and unequal treatment of people. Kariithi and Kariithi (2007: 473) identify four types of legitimation: “authorisation, rationalisation, moral evaluation and mythopoesis” (legitimation through narratives with a moral ethic or caution). They unveiled that media discourse on the 2002 Confederation of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) led strike employed legitimation. Media discourse on the strike legitimised the then alleged pro-rich African National Congress (ANC) government of South Africa and delegitimised Cosatu. Other persuasive strategies used by media discourse as observed by Carvalho (ibid) are layout and structural organisation, objects, actors, language, grammar and rhetoric and ideological standpoints. He does not however, delve into the issue of how media ownership patterns impacts on the use of such strategies. In addition, Carvalho (ibid) does not delve into the issue of linguistic and discursive devices that are used by the media to influence public opinion. However, Tsakona (2009) alludes to this when he argued that different newspapers present ‘same’ events differently and from different focuses due to ideological and political reasons.

Wenham, Harris and Sebar (2009) and Matu and Lubbe (2007) echo van Dijk’s (1998, 2001) observation that newspapers use the ideological square to influence the readers’ opinions about issues. Wenham et al (ibid: 288) argue that “ideological squares occur

when texts highlight the positive in-group and negative out-group actions". Matu and Lubbe (ibid) explain four move structures of ideological squares which revolve around the 'us' versus 'them' model of conceptualisation. Mazid (2007) also demonstrates how President Bush used presupposition within the framework of ideological square to label people as US enemies after the attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September, 2001. Ideological squares add a positive dimension to this research as they make it possible to analyse how newspapers reflect personalities and institutions involved in the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. It could also be important to find out how ideological squares are interwoven within the inverted pyramid models (Archakis and Tsakona, 2009) associated with newspaper reports. Inverted pyramid model explains the overloading of important information at the beginning of newspaper articles and the decrease of detail as the newspaper's story develops. The inverted pyramid discourse has four layers: "quoting, paraphrasing, background and comment" (Barkho, 2007: 13). Burkho (Ibid) also found out that CNN and BBC exploited background information, recontextualisation and over-lexicalisation to make evaluative comments thus influencing their target audiences. In addition, direct speech that could be embedded in these layers adds the conversationalisation component of media content that attracts audiences' attention (Archakis and Tsakona, 2009).

On this issue of persuasive communication, Nordlund (2003) quotes Gudmund Hernes as arguing that the following techniques are used in newspapers to manipulate readers, thus to recreate reality:

1. Sharpening: a complex reality is made comprehensible to the reader,
2. concretisation: avoidance of abstractions and favouring the specific at the expense of the general,
3. simplification: a complex reality is made comprehensive to the reader,
4. polarization: attention is called to opposites,
5. intensification: attention is called to conflicts rather than consensus, and
6. personification: events are being described from the point of view of an individual, often with unusual or interesting qualities,
7. stereotyping: what is depicted must fit into a given set of roles, for example that of a villain or a saint (Bengston, 2001).

Other techniques are:

8. concealment: withdrawing relevant information, that is not telling the whole truth,
9. distortion of various degrees: manipulation of facts by exaggeration, minimization or equivocation,
10. falsification: presenting untrue fact, that's lying.

Newspaper reports use these techniques within the framework of agenda setting and agenda building and even framing due to financial (Nafstad. et al, 2005) and ideological reasons (Flower, Hodge, Kress and Trew (1979); Kress, 2003; Matu and Lubbe, 2007). Power [Fairclough, 1989; Dijk, Beard, (2000); Thompson, (2003)] is yet another factor that determines this use of language. Discursive strategies used by newspapers betray a high degree of contestation of power among agenda builders whose motive this study should attempt to untangle by analysing the deployment of discursive strategies associated with the implementation of the Zimbabwe policy on HIV and AIDS of 1999.

Scholars have also discovered that syntax can be used for manipulation (Thompson, 1996; Halliday, 1989; Reah, 1998; Salkie, 1995; Galasinski, 2000; Fairclough, 2003; Chomsky, 1988; Chilton, 2004; Kress, 2003). Syntactical arrangement can be used as a discursive strategy. Critical linguists such as Chilton,(ibid) and Chomsky (ibid) discovered that through syntactical transformation writers transform deep structures to surface structures bearing different grammatical forms and meaning. Two common transformations are passivization and nominalization (Thompson, 1996; Reah, 1998; Leckie – Tarry, 1995; Halliday, 1989; Flower, 1991; Fairclough, 1989; Chilton, 2004; Kress, 2003; Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005).

Barkho (2007) also used critical discourse analysis to study online hard news stories from the BBC, CNN and Al-jazeera. Taking a cue from Halliday's (1971) identification of the three main functions of language as being ideational, interpersonal and textual, Barko's (ibid) research mainly pursued the often neglected textual function of language. Barko (ibid) found out that hard news discourse had four layers namely, quoting, paraphrasing, background and comment. He also noted that these layers were neatly woven in the inverted pyramid structure of news with the headline, lead and

satellite paragraphs in sequence with most important information as the headline and the lead followed by less important content as the story unfolds. Just like van Dijk (1988 in Barkho, (ibid)) established that as stories in the three sources unfolded, episodes or statements by witnesses or commentators followed and that these were “ranked in an implicit order of priority” (Ibid: 14). Barkho (ibid) further noted that the BBC and CNN used lexical choices that naturalized Israel’s actions while Al-Jazeera made lexical choices that naturalized the Palestinian side of history. Other strategies used were evaluative comments, paraphrasing, quoting and background all used by the BBC and CNN to legitimate Israel’s official discourse as well as its attack on Gaza while Palestine was negatively portrayed by being associated with “...*militants, activists or Islamists*” (ibid: 15). Barko’s (ibid: 16) study also revealed that while Israel was accorded the “...discursive privilege...” of making some comments, Palestine was denied that privilege. However, Al-Jazeera identifies Israel as agent of bombing and killing of Palestinians which both BBC and CNN hide. Further, Barkho (ibid) noted that unlike CNN and BBC Al-Jazeera does not use words like militants, activist and terrorist in relation to Palestinians. Barko’s (ibid: 24) study revealed that the three networks constructed a “...bifurcation of the conflict in which one side is represented as malign and the other as benign.” These revelations are critical in this study because the study analyses reports from newspapers with different interests and ownership patterns. It is important to unpack who they quote and why as well as how they package information within the inverted pyramid model of analysis. This is a technique used by media through which more important information is placed at the top. Under this model, the importance of information diminishes as the text proceeds.

2.4 Is the media neutral?

Research has shown that the mediated reality is (re)constructed reality (Kress, 1983; Nafstad, et al., 2005) which serves an ‘ideological’ and ‘political’ function (Fairclough, 1985, 1989, 2010; Kress, ibid). Scannell (1998 in Wenham et al., 2009: 286) defines ideology as “... a distorted system of values and beliefs used to promote the interests of a social group.” This study thus, in part, seeks to bring to the fore the social group(s) whose interests are represented by the linguistic and discursive strategies used in the reports on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. For example, in a related study of how two Australian newspapers, *The Age*, a Melbourne

morning newspaper and *The News*, an Adelaide (Murdoch) afternoon paper, reported on the same event of an 'impending strike by telecommunication technicians', Kress (1983: 43) found out that the two papers performed the ideological and political functions through "...deletion and classification of events and their restructuring, reclassification, and evaluation". Kress (ibid) noted that specific strategies used either to sway or cause readers to accept certain ideological lines of thoughts were nominalization (used to paint events as general and as such less important), strong physical action verbs (For example, hit to concretise the pending strike) and constructing participants as agents by positioning them in the thematic position of clauses. While noting the interpersonal motivations of the writers in recreating reality in this way, Kress (Ibid: 52) contended that nominalizations, thematisation and deployment of verbs, particularly action verbs, were done to effect 'implicit valuations' of speakers for ideological and political reasons.

2.4.1 Ideological square

Studies have demonstrated that ideological and political positions are also negotiated through ideological square (Mazid, 2007; Wenham, 2009), a technique through which interlocutors seek to "de/emphasise good/bad things of Us / Them" (van Dijk, in Mazid: ibid). In other words, the ideological square occurs when "...texts highlight the positive in-group and negative out-group actions. They also play down the negative in-group and positive out-group actions" (van Dijk 1988; 1998 in Wenham et al., ibid: 288). The private and government ownership patterns coupled with the fallout between the Zimbabwean government and the Western world provide a fertile ground for the existence of ideological square in Zimbabwean newspaper reports. Additionally, since newspapers reflect ideological and political positions, it would be interesting to investigate strategies that could betray ideological square in the reports on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy by government controlled and private newspapers particularly before the establishment of the inclusive government. For instance, it has been argued (Yule, 1996; Dubois, et al., in Mazid, (ibid)) that presuppositions are a part of ideological square that are "notoriously manipulative" (Huckin, 1997 in Mazid, (ibid) in the 'us' versus 'them' as evident in president Bush's speech nine days after the September 11, 2001 attack on the Trade Center and the Pentagon. As put by Mazid (ibid), Bush used 'us' to represent America and its values

(For example, freedom, democracy, progress, pluralism etc) and 'them' to represent the dystopic world, the world of terrorists.

Still on ideological square, Wenham and Saber (2009) analysed 50 articles from Australian newspapers and established that the ideological square was used to portray Africans as less competent and thus unable to solve the HIV and AIDS pandemic in Africa on their own without outside help. On the contrary, industrialised countries were portrayed as providing solution to HIV and AIDS problems in Africa. For example, African leaders were portrayed as irresponsible and incompetent [For example, the 'Tragic delusions of Thabo Mbeki: The Age, 2002: 6 (Ibid: 288)].

The causation of HIV and AIDS was identified as sexual behavior and promiscuity thereby undermining socio – economic issues critical in the fight against HIV and AIDS. However, poverty alleviation has been cited as a key aspect in combating the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Yeboah (2007 in ibid: 293) sums it up saying, “ Poor infrastructure, nutrition, healthcare, education and treatment, increased commercial sex work, female dependency and migration for work are all commonly associated with poverty and contribute to the spread of HIV and AIDS”. It remains to be seen how and why, Zimbabwean newspapers portray industrialized nations and their citizens, local experts, government officials and socio-economic issues in the fight against AIDS in Zimbabwe in keeping with the HIV and AIDS policy of 1999.

2.5 A review of literature on HIV/ AIDS in Africa

Studies conducted in Africa generally identify five key drivers of HIV and AIDS on the continent: poverty, (Bwalya, 2006; Thompson and Lowenson, 2003; Netseane, 2004) masculinity (It results in the powerlessness of women who cannot negotiate for safe sex when men refuse to use condoms), slavery (Ntseane, 2004), and, food insecurity and inequity in health care provision (Thompson, C. and Lowenson, R. (2003). The study concurs with Hill's (2004: 70) assertion that AIDS is "... a symptom of social conditions as well as a political disease." The study however, dwells more on social and economic conditions that relate to the disease.

Literature reveals that on 28 January 2003 President George Bush of the United States announced the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS which has ramifications for HIV and AIDS treatment and campaign programmes on the African continent. What comes to the fore is the emphasis on abstinence discourse which has been attacked by critics as "...a plan based on a values –laden medical behavioural mode" (ibid: 64). This approach discards the sociological factors associated with HIV and AIDS. It emerges that the Abstinence, Be Faithful, Condomise (ABC) model widely used in Africa originated from America and does ignore "oppressive social circumstances – such as poverty, unequal distribution of wealth, patriarchy, homophobia, sexism and heterosexism as key drivers of HIV and AIDS (Hill, 2004: 68). Hill (ibid: 70) proceeds to argue that the ABC model was based on "...moralising - universalizing of specific morals and their imposition on others as the only ways in which to mediate life."

Ntseane's (ibid) studies on commercial sex work in Botswana revealed that the US - cum - Ugandan initiated ABC (Abstain, Be faithful and Use Condom) HIV and AIDS campaign model (Gusman, 2009) used in Botswana does not work as there was need to address poverty and to put in place systems that would fully empower women. As put by Hill (ibid: 68) "To erase sexual orientation from educational initiatives is to foster injustice." This is so because the human being cannot oppose nature with a hundred percent margin of victory. For this reason abstinence cannot be the best solution for dealing with HIV and AIDS.

Gusman's (ibid) findings reveal that in Uganda, Pentecostal Charismatic Churches have been active in spreading the Gospel aimed at raising a "Joseph Generation" (ibid, 76), which is a new generation of youthful people who are free from sin, free from HIV and AIDS. Gusman (ibid) however notes that, Faith Based Organisations' HIV and AIDS campaign messages based on Abstinence and Faith (AB) only, confused the youth who were targeted with the ABC model by Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Parsitau, (2009) also reveals that the Deliverance Church in Kenya has attempted to provide a moral solution to the HIV and AIDS question by preaching a gospel themed on abstinence as well as through enforcing that those intending to get married get tested for HIV and AIDS. Parsitau (ibid) however established that some members of this church who are mainly young adults are resisting the infringement on their rights by the

church. It is important to note the deep involvement in social issues by Pentecostal Charismatic Churches in Uganda and Kenya. There is need, in this study, to examine the role played by non state actors in the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy in Zimbabwe. In addition, Bwalya's studies culminated in the recommendation for the adoption of a holistic approach as well as to incorporate HIV and AIDS in the foreign policy of Zambia as part of strategies to strengthen the fight against the pandemic. However, "...effective HIV and AIDS education will be that which: (a) is one part of an inclusive comprehensive strategy; (b) leads all women and men to live their lives with dignity; (c) does not stigmatise human desires but democratises them; (d) challenges the status quo; (e) fights sexism, heterosexism, homophobia, classism, global hegemony of the developed North, racism, militarism (war is a primary vehicle for the spread of HIV) and other oppressions; and (f) is linked to social conditions such as poverty, creation of migrant / mobile populations, and greed that are products of neoliberal economic policies" (Hill, *ibid*: 69).

It is, however, clear that literature that has been reviewed in this section does not comprehensively tackle social, cultural and structural issues relating to the management of HIV and AIDS as is done by literature reviewed later on in this chapter. However, this section bears insights on some contextual and religious realities that have a bearing on HIV and AIDS prevention and control. Such insights are important in the evaluation of linguistic and discursive strategies used by Zimbabwean newspapers to report on the implementation of HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe and the views of the people of Zimbabwe regarding such reports.

2.5.1 HIV /AIDS and communication disorders

Studies conducted by McNeilly (2005) reveal that the human immunodeficiency virus crosses the "...blood – brain barrier..." thereby affecting every aspects of life of those who would have been infected by the virus. It has been noted that the HIV retrovirus infects white blood cells, the brain, the skin and other tissues of both infected children and adults. Consequently, as noted by McNeilly (*ibid*: 303), the HIV virus results in "...communication disorders..." realized as defects in language areas such as "...phonology, voice... swallowing" and "...motor speech..." (*ibid*: 306). Hearing and feeding are also affected. Whilst calling for early detection and intervention

programmes, McNeilly (ibid) advocates for a multisectoral intervention strategies involving "...speech – language pathologists and audiologists..." among other players in order to meet the needs of HIV patients. McNeilly and Coleman (2000 in ibid: 307) argue that such intervention programmes "...should be culturally appropriate and respectful of the patient's religious or cultural values and practices". It would be important for this study to find out both from Zimbabweans and newspaper reports whether HIV and AIDS patients benefit from such services, most importantly so since the National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe of 1999 clearly advocates for multisectoral intervention strategies.

2.5.2 Problematising global governance of HIV/AIDS programmes in Africa

Globality is the dominant philosophy regarding the governance of HIV and AIDS programmes (Seckinelgin, 2005). One of its inherent problems is that donor organisations have been criticized for dictating HIV and AIDS policies to the beneficiaries of their funds. Seckinelgin (Ibid: 358) rightly avers: "...the donor also becomes the policy maker". The following are examples of funders: the World Bank, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS, individual donor countries (For example, the United States, Britain, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands and "their aid organizations such as the U.S. Agency for International Development [USAID]; and the UK's Department of International Development [DFID]; national governments and their existing policy intervention channels; and national civil society" (Seckinelgin, 2005: 352). Whereas there is nothing wrong with funding per se, what has been critiqued has been the forcing of an "... international HIV/AIDS policy produced by certain language and technologies" (Seckinelgin, ibid: 352). Africa has experienced this.

Seckinelgin (ibid) shows that studies conducted in Uganda, Zambia, Botswana and Rwanda revealed weaknesses in the use of such foreign crafted and dictated HIV and AIDS policies. For example, such universalism has promoted "...common aims and practices..." of HIV and AIDS intervention models used in Africa. Unfortunately, such commonality of approach does not factor cultural differences and unique historical and econo-political contexts characterising African countries and societies. African countries and societies are heterogeneous, not homogeneous. Literature further reveals that such

heterogeneity warrants a differential approach regarding both HIV and AIDS policies and intervention strategies.

Studies conducted in Botswana and Uganda reveal that a common approach to HIV and AIDS policy and implementation is not effective (Allen and Heald, 2004). In the studies it was found out that whereas the ABC Model, better understood as “Avoiding AIDS is as easy as ABC -Abstain, Be faithful, Condomise” (Ibid: 1144), was associated with relative success in Uganda, the same model culminated in a “...public health disaster...” (Ibid: 1141) in Botswana. In short HIV and AIDS campaign messages were met with stiff resistance in Botswana.

Research reveal that such messages violated “...Tswana beliefs and understandings...” through which the condom was perceived as “...an agent not in the control of the disease but rather in its very origin and spread” (ibid: 1144). The other reason blamed for the failure of HIV and AIDS campaign strategies in Botswana is the “...top down intervention” that was aimed to achieve “...total community mobilization...” (Ibid: 1147). Unfortunately for Botswana, the traditional structures of ‘*dikgolta*’ which basically is a structure of “...chiefs and their associated councils, took upon itself the responsibility of sending out field officers on door – to– door campaigns which was ineffective partly due to problems of allowances (including sitting allowances for chiefs), bureaucratic delays, and the belief that HIV and AIDS was a city problem and not a village problem (Ibid: 2004). Thus the pandemic was viewed as an ‘...external problem with people who had been working in the town coming back to die, and not an internal one’ (Ibid: 1147). The other problem can be perceived as a clash between cultural practices and modernity where it was feared that young people could no longer be brought to order due to fear of “...Human Rights lawyers...” who would sue any efforts by traditional authorities to discipline the youths for untoward sexual exploits. This view resulted in general reluctance by traditional authorities to deal with the disease with a sense of urgency hence rendering the prescribed HIV and AIDS intervention model ineffective. The model did not meet with local realities and expectations.

Literature also reveals that a localised version of ABC Model accounted for the success of the Ugandan HIV and AIDS experience. In the localized approach President Yoweri

Museweni was very instrumental in resisting the ABC Model which he dismissed as “...un African...” before he proceeded to campaign for the re – establishment of the communal system in which “... family values...” were brought to the fore (Allen and Heald, 2004: 1148). In the new model, the slogans: ‘love faithfully’ and ‘zero grazing’ (the concept of “...tethering a cow or goat to a post, so that it would eat grass in a circle” Ibid: 1148) were used. The Uganda model resulted in the following:

- a) an increase in the use of condoms in some areas and zero use of condoms in other areas. In some areas condoms were reported to have gone like “...hot cakes...” (Ibid: 1149);
- b) increased level of awareness of the disease due to “...public education campaigns...” (Ibid: 1149);
- c) decline in HIV and AIDS prevalence ‘probably’ due to a decline in casual sex and “...because of later age of first sexual intercourse for girls” (ibid: 1149).

It is reported that the Ugandan success story is largely due to the active role played by government and other players. “The president himself, government ministers and public health workers made speeches, but musicians, local and international NGOs, chiefs, Christian and Moslem groups, and local councils were also involved” (Ibid: 1149). For example, it is reported that local councils created by Museweni in 1986 were actively involved in putting up HIV and AIDS campaign posters in Uganda. These were respected by communities as they had the support of the president. They were also motivated to work as they were allowed to charge fees for their activities. One should not lose sight of the fact that Uganda’s success is largely attributed to the re-establishment of communal life. So, in order to succeed in the fight against HIV and AIDS, each country and, or, community should craft policies and intervention strategies in keeping with social, economic and cultural realities. Owing to its importance to the study, the Uganda experience will be covered in more detail later. At the moment it suffices to state that, in respect to the fight against the HIV and AIDS pandemic, it remains to be seen what the niche for Zimbabwe is as evident in views from Zimbabweans and newspaper reports.

2.5.3 The 'Dark continent' stigma

African and other progressive scholars' call for Africans to seek own solutions for African problems (Onyeani, 2008, Moyo, 2009; Madhimba, 2011) seems to gain currency, and, as a reaction to the cliché in which Africa is viewed as a "...dark continent..." (Jones, 2004: 390). As revealed in literature, the latter, however, has adverse consequences on the conceptualization and consequently implementation of HIV and AIDS programmes on the African continent. In summary, such problems are realised as embarking in Africa on HIV and AIDS intervention programmes that emphasise prevention rather than treatment (Jones, 2004), inadequate funding for HIV and AIDS programmes in Africa, crafting HIV and AIDS intervention programmes out of Africa and without the involvement of Africans, viewing Africans as dangerous unthinking sex machines and adopting blind "...developmentalism..." (Jones, *ibid*: 393) in the fight against HIV and AIDS irrespective of African contexts.

First, we conceive developmentalism thus:

...a tendency to reduce the problems of improving life in poor countries to one of a compulsion to promote 'development' by looking at them and knowing them only through the lens of 'developmentalism' and what they are not (*ibid*: 393).

Precisely, the above definition creates a scenario in which the third world is perceived as innocent fodder for Western models of development. In this case the west moulds itself as a life - saver for Africa – a developing agent without which Africa will remain uncivilised (dark continent). This has far reaching consequences for Africa as it remains a tabular rasa to receive dosages of such development – oriented intervention packages. The irony is that such development is implemented through the use of strategies and programmes that would have been tried and tested miles and miles away from the African continent. The problem is that such development is implemented within a framework of erroneous regimes of assumptions and misconceptions regarding what Africa is and is not.

One immediate problem of developmentalism is the emphasis, by donor policy, on prevention at the expense of treatment. Research has revealed, for example, that of the "...4 100 000 people in Africa who need treatment, only 50 000 or 1% receives

treatment for HIV and AIDS” (WHO, 2002 in Jones (Ibid: 386). Hence, even though HIV and AIDS is a human rights issue, in Africa donor countries are overlooking this aspect through emphasizing prevention at the expense of treatment. There is lack of “...prevention -treatment continuum” (Jones, Ibid: 387). In addition to this is the realisation that quite many HIV and AIDS campaigns instill fear among the target audiences. On this issue of fear campaigns Hsu (2006: 286) avers, “... merely increasing fear or worry is not enough in the system that affects behavioural outcomes in HIV and AIDS prevention”. Such prevention - based fear campaigns have been seen to be ineffective as they ignore those who would have already been infected by the virus. As scholars argue, such people need treatment and not prevention messages based on fear.

The root cause of the problem in the intervention model cited above has been the perception of the West in which it deems it its legitimate role to think on behalf of Africans. As put by Jones (ibid: 387), the problem stems from the “... representation of the North as the privileged centre of knowledge, authority and power, representations which exclude the voice of the excluded subaltern, or ‘Other’”.

In some circles Africans have been depicted as being incapable of sticking to the prescribed treatment requirements. The following is an apt summation of this thinking: “Ask Africans to take their drugs at a certain time of the day, and they don’t know what you are talking about (USAID in Johnes, ibid: 397). It is the purpose of this study to incorporate these perceptions in so far as how they are reflected in newspaper reports as well as in the views of Zimbabweans on issues relating to donor funding of HIV and AIDS programmes. For example, the emphasis on prevention rather than treatment can partly be blamed for the wrong assumption made by western thinkers about the sexual habits of Africans. The wrong assumption has been that of constructing an African as a misguided sex machine. Jarosz (1992 in Jones, ibid: 392) makes it succinctly clear thus, “Not only has Africa been represented as the cradle of HIV/AIDS, it is also depicted by academics through the lens of sexual practices which are seen as abnormal, untamed and dangerous”. However, the irony is, assuming this is the case, the question is, ‘What do you do with those who are already infected? Do you let them die? Lack of consultation of Africans by donor countries on major policy issues

regarding the implementation of HIV and AIDS intervention programmes in Africa has been blamed for the overlooking of African culture, religion, social practices and historical realities that needed to be meaningfully incorporated to effectively fight the disease.

It remains to be seen how these views relate to the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. The text below presents scholarly findings on how Operation *Murambatsvina* (Operation Drive Out Filth) in Zimbabwe is perceived as having affected people of Zimbabwe in general and HIV and AIDS patients in particular.

2.5.4 Operation *Murambatsvina* (OM)

This section reviews literature on Operation *Murambatsvina* (OM) as it affected social, economic and structural dynamics of the people of Zimbabwe in general and those directly affected in particular including those living with HIV and AIDS (Tibaijuka, 2005). In addition, scholars have revealed that HIV and AIDS is a social, cultural, structural, economic and even political disease (Jones, 2004; Faria, 2008; Dutta, and De Souza, 2008; Peiffer and Boussalis, 2010).

Operation *Murambatsvina* (OM) occurred in May 2005. Some scholars have argued that OM continued “...into 2006 and beyond...” (Hammar, 2008: 30). The official nomenclature of OM has been Operation Restore Order (ORO) which presupposes that the then government of Zimbabwe intended to deliver, to the people of Zimbabwe, some form of peace and tranquility as a result of such restoration of order. To date the real motive for this police operation is still a subject of scholarly debate and investigation. It is observed that 6 out of the 9 possible reasons indicated by Tibaijuka (2005), the United Nation’s Special envoy on settlement issues in Zimbabwe, are political. A number of scholars (Potts, 2006; Hammar, 2008; Bratton and Masunungure, 2006; Sibanda, Makahamadze and Maposa, 2008) betray skepticism over official reasons for OM and seem to variously view OM as a political manoeuvre. It is possible that government wanted to kill two birds with one stone, which are to, “...stifle independent economic and political activity in the country’s urban areas” (Bratton and Masunungure, 2006: 21). This is in tandem with Hammar (2008: 30) when he asserts, “*Murambatsvina* involved a more complex and political partisan agenda.” This study, however, does not

dwell on the motives for OM. The study however, demonstrates interest in pursuing how the operation could have impacted on HIV and AIDS programmes in Zimbabwe as reflected by newspaper reports and the people of Zimbabwe themselves. I review literature on the subject below.

Research reveals that OM directly affected an estimated population of between 650,000 to 7000, 000 people in Zimbabwe (Tibaijuka, 2005). Further, 1334,534 households lost their homes while 98,000 people were reported as having lost their informal sector livelihoods (Potts, 2006). OM is reported to have directly and indirectly affected "...2, 4 million..." people (Ibid: 276) or few hundred thousand people above the population of Namibia and more than double that of neighbouring Botswana. In a related article, in which they analysed how OM impacted on Vapostori of Marange's economic – cum - theological activities, Sibanda et al (2008) argue that OM left many jobless and homeless and that it produced "...more victims than beneficiaries among the Vapostori of Marange..." in the towns of Masvingo and Zvishavane. Showing how the Vapostori of Marange's theology is based on the biblical concept of self reliance as evident in Jewish tradition of tent making (Acts 18:3; 1 Thes 2:9).

Sibanda et al (ibid: 78) argue that OM destroyed flea markets and tuck shops while "...vending in items like fruits, vegetables and carrier bags especially at door entrances of big shops and bus termini were all disrupted". Protts (2006: 275) concurs with the above analysis on the loss of livelihoods at the hand of OM when he avers: "... nothing on this scale in such a short duration has ever been witnessed in urban Africa, not excluding apartheid South Africa...." In tabulated data quoted from a research conducted by the Action Aid and the Combined Harare Residences' Association survey on the impact of OM in Harare's high density areas, Protts (ibid: 279) shows the following among other variables:

Table 1: Operation *Murambatsvina*

Category of impact	% of response
Income source lost	79
Shelter lost	76
Food security affected	60
Loss of women's status and dignity	39
Increased vulnerability of children, orphans and women	37
Children's education affected/ dropped out	22
Deterioration of healthy due to Operation Murambatsvina	20

One of the provisions of the National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Zimbabwe advocates for the need to create "...a supportive environment at every level of society..." in order to "...enhance the response to HIV and AIDS by individual, families and communities" (Zimbabwe, 1999: 2). In fact, on the sub-heading of Community Home Based Care (CHBC) the policy document stresses the need to adopt a "...patient, family and community focus" (ibid: 14). This shows emphasis on the need to support existing structures and community efforts in the fight against the disease. Furthermore, the policy highlights that CHBC programmes should observe the following:

- Mobilise and support communities and families to deliver CHBC and utilize existing community structures;
- Cater for the needs of children in households affected by HIV/AIDS paying special attention to the children's socialisation and education (Ibid, 1999: 14).

It is apparent that table 1 above reflects a violation of all of the provisions of the HIV and AIDS policy that have just been highlighted. Researchers have argued that existing structures like Voluntary counseling and Testing Centers were demolished together with homes of people (Tibaijuka, 2005; Potts, 2006). Tibaijuka's (Ibid: 40) findings make direct reference to how OM may have affected HIV and AIDS patients as follows:

- Disruption of ARV treatment, Home based Care services and prevention programmes;
- Increased vulnerability For example, lack of balanced diet that undermines treatment;

- Decrease of between 15 – 25 % of people accessing services from HIV/AIDS organizations;
- Exposure to cold of HIV patients;
- Separation of couples;
- Increased transactional and commercial sex;
- Interruption of services and supplies.

In concurrence with the above, Hammar (2008: 31) avers, "... the operation induced unprecedented scales of poverty, homelessness and vulnerability with both immediate and long term effects". Furthermore, while noting that OM affected the "... livelihoods of large numbers of people..." Bratton and Masunungure (2006: 22) further argue that it "...breached national and international laws...." They also state that it violated "...human rights...." It is apparent that the destruction of structures also ran in the face of the policy whose Guiding principle 17 reads: "Voluntary HIV counseling and testing services should be made available and accessible to all members of the public" (Zimbabwe, 1999: 15). Last, by destroying the livelihoods of people, government was reneging on its responsibility to play a leading role in HIV and AIDS management and control as provided for by the policy. It remains to be seen how newspaper reports and Zimbabweans view this operation in regards to its treatment of HIV and AIDS management and control systems in Zimbabwe.

2.5.5 HIV/AIDS discourse in Zimbabwean literature in Shona and English

In this section, scholarly insights reflecting on how Zimbabwean literature has dealt with the pandemic is reviewed as such insights are relevant to this study's onslaught on how Zimbabwean newspapers and the people of Zimbabwe reflect on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy of 1999.

Kangira, Mashiri and Gambahaya (2007) analysed metaphors used by women writers in Totanga patsva (We start afresh). *Totanga patsva* consists of 25 short stories that focus on HIV and AIDS. In their analysis, the three scholars argue that the women writers used metaphors to save face since Shona culture dictates that tabooed words such as those relating to sex and sexuality be avoided. Some of the substitute words and phrases used are verbs that connote sex (*kujuruja* – to harvest (termites); *kudziura* – to open; *kudya* – to eat; *kunhonga* joy – to enjoy; *kufarana* – to be happy with each other

(reciprocal); nouns used to name HIV and AIDS (*majuru* (termites); *nyuchi dzegonera* (wild bees); *zviriko izvi/zvemazuvano izvi* (contemporary issues); *rutsva* (veld fire); *ngwena* (crocodile); and, verbs used to name HIV and AIDS (*kurohwa nematsotsi* (to have been attacked by thieves); *kurwara nguva ndefu/pfupi* (to have been ill for a long/short time) (ibid: 34 – 35). Some of the specific examples of metaphors used in the short stories are:

1. “*Handidye majuru ako ini. ... Ndofirei senge ndini ndakaenda kunojuruja?*” (I don’t want to have sex with you. Why should I die as if I am the one who brought the AIDS virus?) From “*Ndofirei Senge Ndini Ndakajuruja?*” By Shirley Gumbodete. (Why should I die as if I am the one who brought the AIDS virus? (ibid: 36).
2. *Kamwe chete ndiko kanga ndibaise nepfumo rerufu here?* (Is it true /fair that having casual sex only once can make me contract the deadly disease AIDS?). From Ruby Magosvongwe’s “*Chaita musosro uteme*” (What has caused the headache) (ibid: 39).
3. *Ndainge ndazvisikira moto muziso.* (Lit. I had put fire in my eyes. - I had caused trouble for myself). From “*Tikaramba takadaro tinokunda*” by Pelagia Kaseke (ibid: 43).

In the analysis, Kangira, Mashiri and Gambahaya (ibid: 33) rightly observe that metaphors are used to “...depict the dangers of HIV and AIDS, the squashed hopes and the pain brought mainly by infidelity”. AIDS is thus largely viewed as a disease of infidelity. A further review of literature exposes the limitations of their analysis thereby rendering it problematic. In addition, they do not embrace the use of the metaphor and other language devices such as proverbs and rhetorical questions. In Totanga patsva (We start afresh), rhetorical questions in particular are generously deployed by the women writers to communicate various messages about the pandemic ranging from how people get infected by the HIV virus, through the plight faced by HIV positive people (For example, during the denial stage, the stage of disclosure) and the suffering emanating from full blown AIDS. What would have been important would have been to engage in a thorough analysis of significant linguistic devices used strategically by women writers to articulate issues relating to planning, prevention, control and general management of the pandemic with a thrust of giving an academic guide as to how the

disease had to be dealt with by the people of Zimbabwe. In this regard, the suggestions made by Gambahaya and Muhwati (2009) and Vambe (2003) are regarded as being more practical and thus useful both to the study in particular and the people of Zimbabwe in general.

Gambahaya and Muhwati's (ibid: 58) analysis is deemed insightful owing to its stance that celebrates HIV and AIDS intervention programmes premised on the need to engineer an "...ennobling social action against HIV and AIDS and nation building" thanks to tradition-inspired mother - heroines exuding forgiveness and undying love for both husband and family. Even though their analysis is focused on motherhood which is only one ingredient in social action and nation building within the context of HIV and AIDS management, prevention and control, the insights drawn from the combative, intelligent, considerate, tolerant, passionate and resilient mothers is surely a necessary ingredient in the fight against HIV and AIDS.

In their analysis, Gambahaya and Muhwati (ibid) view the various roles played by women in supporting their husbands in particular and family in general to fight the disease as not only courageous but cultural. A case in point is Kaseke's short story titled, '*Tikaramba takadaro tichakunda*' (If we remain resolute, we shall triumph). Muhwati and Gambahaya (ibid) identifies VaMamoyo, the narrator's encouragement of her husband, Va Samaita, to go and get tested at the new start centre as a rare fit to be associated with a wife given the context of the patriarchal tradition in which mothers played a passive role in the family. VaMamoyo remarks:

Nyaya dzekunoongororwa ropa nyangwe chiri chipi chirwere dzaitoda kunetsa. Zvakanga zvava kutoda kurovera moyo padombo.

(He never liked any cases of blood testing whether the disease was related to AIDS or not. It called for act of courage to convince him). (p.59 in Gambahaya and Muhwati (ibid: 57)).

Key in Gambahaya and Muhwati's (ibid) analysis is the observation that the battle against HIV and AIDS needs a complementary relationship between motherhood and fatherhood. For example, in the short story *Dzinoruma* (They bite) by Chiramba, the

mother and narrator, Margy, forgives her husband, Thomas, despite his promiscuous behavior which had brought HIV and AIDS into the family. Gambahaya and Muhwati (ibid) quote part of the short story that reads:

Kwaedza Thomas akaenda kubasa, Margy akasara samazuva ose. Margy akazoenda kumadzimai amagurupu akamubaira zanzi: aifanira kurarama sei nemurume wake vachidanana kusvikira vazoparadzaniswa norufu (p. 57). (In the morning, Thomas left for work as usual. Margy went to women support groups and she got advice. She was to live happily with her husband until death separated them).

Other short stories cited by Gambahaya and Muhwati (ibid) are from *Light a candle*, another collection of 24 short stories by Zimbabwean women writers. Another example is *Totanga patsva (We start afresh)* in which a “...family – centred...” (Ibid: 55) motherhood is depicted as a must in Zimbabwe’s fight against the pandemic. In their review of Magosvongwe’s short story titled Sweet bitterness, an oxymoron connoting that life is awash with contradictions that people have to weave through in order to survive, Gambahaya and Muhwati (ibid) rightly observe that in the story, Loveness, the mother and narrator resolves to stay put in the family after Farai, her husband had died of AIDS related diseases, is similar to Chipo’s own very experience in *Murume Zvaafa. Ndorarama sei?* (Since my husband has passed on, how can I survive?). Another heroine cited by Gambahaya and Muhwati (Ibid) is Rebecca who in the story, *Keeping the promise*, makes an informed decision to stay with her husband Desmond despite the fact that Desmond had infected her with the HIV virus. Similarly in Benhura’s *Face of the future*, Sheba decides to keep her marriage with her husband, Farai.

According to Gambahaya and Muhwati (Ibid), African tradition in general and Shona tradition in particular celebrates family – centered mothers – literary speaking those strong enough to say ‘I will remain with and die for my family come what may’. In this study, important concepts such as motherhood and fatherhood are investigated in the light of how newspapers and Zimbabweans perceive such constructs in HIV and AIDS prevention, control and management. Further, the study investigates linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspapers to depict such cultural forces from the point of view of the people of Zimbabwe. It is however, important to mention that even though

remnants of colonial legacy might still be evident in the current challenges faced by Zimbabweans and the rest of Africa (For example, HIV and AIDS, hunger, corruption and civil wars), the study does not heavily dwell on discourse revolving around colonialism as it has often been used by many players in Africa including some 'pro-African' academics and politicians who are in the habit of naively blaming colonialism as a scapegoat for post-independence blunders that have caused Africa more harm than good.

Continuous lambasting of colonialism is in most cases a problem rather than a solution to African problems. Thus Gambahaya and Muhwati's concurrence with the depiction of HIV and AIDS as a "...warmed up left over from colonization" (Ama Ata Aidoo, (1998:47) in Ibid: 57)) is, in this study, viewed as problematic as it risks being used as a scapegoat by current non-performers on the continent. However, as the HIV and AIDS policy of 1999 advocates for practical solutions to fight the HIV and AIDS pandemic in Zimbabwe, it is imperative to investigate newspaper discourse on the implementation of the policy and the views from the people of Zimbabwe on the same in the light of the concept of motherhood and fatherhood as given by scholars.

An analysis based solely on steadfast mothers [For example, Gambahaya and Muhwati (ibid)] irrespective of the consequences of such steadfastness appear to be more biblical than practical. An adoption of this stance seems to be taking such mothers for granted by treating them as sacrificial lamps for more complex problems of modernity where the vectors and solution to the pandemic should be traced partly from tradition and modernity itself. For example, studies (For example, Mugwagwa and Kilonzo, 2009) have identified some aspects of tradition as being responsible for the spread of the disease. Among such aspects are certain African myths that cause people to resist the use of condoms. Mugwagwa and Kilonzo (ibid) also argue that in Zimbabwe and Kenya, AIDS has been regarded as a story of shame. These points to the issue of stigmatisation which mostly affect women in Africa due to African traditions, restricting female voices on issues of sexuality.

It has also been noted that in some parts of Zimbabwe and Kenya, AIDS is regarded as "...a curse that should be cleansed by having sex with a virgin..." (Mugwagwa and

Kilonzo, 2009: 258). Again, this is an issue around traditions which do not accord women and girls full human rights as their male counter parts. In addition, scholars have also singled out wife inheritance (*kugara nhaka*) as a cultural practice responsible for the spread of HIV virus among some African societies such as Zimbabwe. For example, it was observed that in the Nyanza province of Kenya the cultural practices of chodo konde (wife inheritance) accounted for the rise to 15.3 per cent in HIV and AIDS prevalence rate in that province which became the highest prevalence rate in Kenya as compared to other provinces (Mugwagwa and Kilonzo, 2009).

Tero is a Kenyan (Luo) ritual in which an unmarried woman or widow is cleansed by having sex with her. In addition to tradition, women also engage in risky sexual intercourse due to poverty (Mugwagwa and Kilonzo (Ibid). Owing to these revelations, one becomes skeptical to the concept of womanhood/motherhood as viewed by Gambahaya and Muhwati (2009). However, the HIV and AIDS policy dwells at length on issues of women empowerment and human rights needed by society to groom a mother with the qualities to combat the disease hence this study's focus on linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspaper reports to reflect on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy and Zimbabweans' views on such reports.

One scholar who sees some aspects of African culture as a solution to HIV and AIDS is Vambe (2003). In an article titled, "HIV/AIDS, African Sexuality and the Problem of Representation in Zimbabwean Literature", Vambe avers: African society's cultural beliefs and understanding of the source or cause of illness or wellness can indeed equip the people with knowledge to deal with HIV and AIDS positively to minimise the rate of infection, if not to eradicate it. In the analysis of *Waste not your tears* (1994) by Violet Kala; *Jemedza* (2000) by Wiseman Magwa; *Zviyedzo* (1998) by Daniel Matanganyidze; and *Mapenzi* (1999) by Ignatius Mabasa, Vambe (Ibid) reveals that culture needs to be reoriented to forge a new identity of motherhood and fatherhood. He proceeds to argue that the new concepts of fatherhood and motherhood need be mutually beneficial, supportive, calculative and considerate to shed off some cultural traits that negate positive womanhood by not involving both men and women in redefining cultural practices such as *kugara nhaka* (Shona custom of wife/husband inheritance) and

betrothal such that they become reengineered in order to be used as dependable cultural practices in the fight against HIV and AIDS as well as in the quest for quality life.

The foregoing is insightful as it is a departure from either the blind support or blame of tradition. For example, in their analysis Gambahaya and Muhwati (ibid) explain a family – centered mother as a product of tradition without looking into the dangers that this model of mother faces as a result of HIV and AIDS and the problem of passivity associated with motherhood as given by tradition. Vambe (Ibid) appears to be rightly advocating for a selective application of tradition. Hence he (Ibid) cautions that the traditional portrayal of HIV and AIDS as a woman disease has to be revisited. For example, as put by Vambe (Ibid), in *Jemedza* by Wiseman Magwa (2000) Loveness is an apt name associated with loose women just as in *Waste not your tears* and *Country Dawns and City Lights* by Musaemura Zimunya (1985).

In *Jemedza* Josiah and *Tererai* fail to have children in their marriage. Josiah dates Loveness who conceives and delivers a baby in addition to infecting Josiah with the HIV virus. Josiah in turn infects Tererai with the HIV virus. Meanwhile, in their quest to have children Tererai gets involved with a medical doctor named Spencer. Josiah eventually dies leaving her wife to be inherited by his younger brother Ngwarai. Josiah's parents are convinced that their son died as a result of ancestors who are angry and thus need appeasement. It is in this circle of not knowing that Ngwarai also got infected by HIV and AIDS after inheriting Tererai. Arguing that Tererai is depicted as a vector and not a victim of HIV and AIDS Vambe (Ibid: 478) quotes Dzikamai lambasting her thus:

Haikona kuita basa rokuuya *neAIDS* pano. Deno ndaizviziva ndisina kubvuma kugara *newe*. *Chokwadi angu aya mazvokuda mavanga enyora. Ko, iwe wakaregerei kundiudza kuti ndizvo zvaunazvo mugapu mako? ... Chiona nhasi wawavisa musha wose nemhiripiri.*

(You have brought AIDS here. If I knew that you had AIDS I would not have agreed to inherit you. See, now, you have destroyed my father's family) p. 68.

Vambe (Ibid) castigates culturally bound positions that view motherhood as a vector for HIV and AIDS while fatherhood is associated with an unsanctioned sexuality that is

always rewarded and celebrated. Another example given by Vambe (Ibid) is that of Precious who in *Zviyedzo* engages in extra-marital affairs while her husband, Joel Shumba, a soldier within the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) is on national duty in Mozambique. In the analysis, Vambe (Ibid: 480) observes that in *Zviyedzo* "...black women are stereotyped as prostitutes while national patriotism is described as a male prerogative". In addition, in the analysis of *Mapenzi* (Fools), Vambe (Ibid) notes that women participants become infected by HIV/AIDS due to lack of information. This means women are not empowered enough to deal with the pandemic. Vambe further posits:

For Saru, Tanya and Maud, the disease cannot be separated from the extreme poverty, lack of resources, female subordination and exploitation through the perpetuation of patriarchal cultures and traditions (McFadden, 1992: 192).

Rather than naively celebrating independence and tradition, Vambe (Ibid: 484) argues that post-independence poverty needs to be addressed while "...obscurantist cultural beliefs..." need to be dropped as a strategy against the pandemic.

Vambe (Ibid: 486) further contends:

Mapenzi highlights the political betrayal of the masses and the economic poverty as vectors in the spread of HIV/AIDS. The novel emphasises that the cultural context of the transmission of the disease has not changed. Some zones of African tradition, customs and the unarticulated assumptions of the superiority of the African male sexuality have not been challenged even in the new independence.

Vambe's view is in concurrence with Faria's (2008: 52) verdict which reads thus, "Vulnerability to infection and the burden of care is potentially undermined by structures of patriarchy in a socio-economically deprived environment that limits the ability of women to control heterosexual interactions." Faria (Ibid) made this pertinent observation following her studies of HIV and AIDS campaigns in Ghana. Vambe (Ibid) and Faria (Ibid) make observations that partly influence the analysis adopted in the study.

The foregoing demonstrate how literature has presented the pandemic. What needs to be done is to investigate how Zimbabwean newspapers report on the implementation of

the HIV and AIDS policy of 1999 and to assess the views of the people of Zimbabwe themselves regarding the implementation of such policy in the light of insights drawn from scholars particularly those that focus on motherhood and fatherhood and other aspects of culture that can be utilised in the fight against HIV and AIDS. For example, Chinouya and O’Keefe (2008) have used the Shona/Ndebele traditional concept of dare – “...a traditional gendered discussion zone” realized in the implementation phase as the Pachedu- Zenzele concept to spread HIV and AIDS messages to Zimbabweans in Luton, in the United Kingdom. Through Pachedu-Zenzele intervention model, they managed to spread HIV and AIDS messages to Zimbabweans in their homes, shebeens and pubs.

Some scholars have identified “...AIDS stigma...” (Sambisa, et. al., 2010: 170) as an impediment against efforts being made to fight the pandemic. It has been established that people refrain from disclosing their HIV status due to “...fear of experiencing violence, ostracism, and discrimination ...” (Ibid: 170). Arguing in this line are Wilson, Manual and Lavelle (1991) who aver, “Zimbabwean women occupy a subordinate role in unions (Bourdillon, 1987; Weinrich, 1982) and are expected to discuss contraception with their partners and, moreover, are presumed to be prostitutes if they carry condoms or propose their use (Wilson et al., 1989; Wilson, 1990). This revelation comes in the wake of limitations of the Health Belief Model (HBM) adopted by Zimbabwe in the fight against the pandemic. The model has limitations in that it focuses on the need to put in place strategies that influence change of behavior of an individual thereby ignoring social and structural influences behind such behavior. Such an approach becomes limited as it faces resistance from women and human rights activists in societies where they do not enjoy freedom to make informed decisions about their sexuality. Perspectives from Zimbabweans regarding the issue of stigma are critical for the study to unlock the facts behind newspaper reports on how stigma affects the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy.

2.6 Limitations of modernist - driven campaign models and the way forward

Scholars have argued that current HIV and AIDS campaigns that emphasise the use of the condom are products of global health care landscape based on a misconceived development agenda informed by development communication (Dutta and Souza, 2008). According to these scholars (Ibid: 326) such health – based development campaigns are aimed at bringing “...development in the underdeveloped sectors of the globe”. Arguing in this line Faria (2008: 66) contents, “...the emphasis on prevention is connected to the political economy of international funding for the epidemic which follows a paradigm of behaviour change as the most appropriate and cost-effective approach in resource poor countries”. It is noted that such prevention - oriented health campaign efforts are perceived as emanating from the center (primarily the United States, the United Kingdom) and are targeted at the peripheral sectors of the world such as India, Nepal, Mexico and African countries.

Health campaigns originated in the US in the 1950s. They were crafted with a development agenda of using health innovations to solve problems of the South and bring about development (Dutta and Souza, *ibid*). Dutta and Souza (Ibid: 327) posit:

This position was based on the assumption of expertise of those at the center, who could examine an underdeveloped community, evaluate its needs based on scientific instruments, and propose solutions that would supposedly propel the community toward development; the category of the “underdeveloped” was fixed in its position as the object of interventions, its people portrayed as the “primitive” receivers of campaign messages who were incapable of development without the helping hand of the interventionists.

In this model information flow is linear. Thus campaign messages are churned from the center (For example, national television, radio and newspaper channels) to target populations around the country. The target audiences play a passive role of simply receiving campaign messages which are aimed at changing their behavior patterns. Under this model alien solutions are regarded as solution to local problems (Dutta and Souza, *ibid*). This creates an unworkable top- down scenario characterized by the belief that for society to develop it should follow models from the West (Duta and Souza, *ibid*).

Scholars such as Airhihenbuwa (1995 in Dutta and Souza, 2008) have dismissed health campaign based on individual responsibility, cognitive choices and its Eurocentric bias and considered an alternative by suggesting a model that considers the socio- cultural context surrounding HIV and AIDS (Dutta and Souza, 2008: 330). They advocate for "... a polymorphic approach to health campaigns based on multiple truths and the privileging of cultural voices" (Ibid: 330). This perspective is further pursued below.

2.7 The critical-cultural paradigm and health communication campaigns

This approach considers cultural structures and practices. It brings into the fore the need to recognize people's knowledge systems and epistemology in the development of HIV and AIDS intervention programmes and campaign materials such as posters advocating for condom use. This approach is bottom – up in the sense that it puts to the fore a people's agenda rather than an alien agenda. It makes use of participatory methodologies as local communities are involved in every aspect of the developmental project. It embraces issues of ideology (the taken-for- granted assumptions about reality that influence taken-for-granted perceptions of situations and events) and hegemony (the process of manufacturing consent among those that are subordinated such that the dominant group can maintain its power) (Dutta and Souza, 2008: 330). It thus questions monolithic assumptions embedded in the dominant paradigm of health campaigns by providing "... a window into the fractured nature of knowledge, the multiple realizations of truths as seen through multiple lenses" (Ibid: 331).

This bottom-up approach does justice to issues of structure and culture which become pivotal in planning, implementation and evaluation of health communication campaigns. In this approach cultural beliefs are seen as a resource rather than as barrier to health communication campaigns. For example, Diop (2000, in Ibid: 332) noted that socio-cultural and religious factors were the reasons behind the low HIV and AIDS prevalence rate in Senegal. In addition to "universality of marriage and rapid remarriage of widowed and divorced persons" (Ibid: 333), it was noted that in Senegal there was strong moral lessons that discouraged people to engage in any form of cohabitation. These curbed the spread of the pandemic.

In addition to health behavior by an individual, there are a wide range of socio-political factors that impact on an individual and the community which are critical in the fight against HIV and AIDS. For example, it was found out that "...income inequality, politics and lack of democratic norms can impact health behaviours" (Dutta and Souza, 2008: 334). Current health campaigns target the micro- (individual behavior change) and not the macrocosm (the entire society or population). However, the critical-cultural approach celebrates and privileges local knowledge and wisdom and thus gives the community chance to present its problems and to design and implement campaigns in keeping to its needs (Airhihembuwa and Obregon, 2000 in Ibid). Through privileging indigenous communities people are not only given voices and empowered to participate in social change (Ibid). As argued by Dutta and Souza, 2008: 337) the critical – cultural approach is reflexive and thus enables the researcher to raise the following questions regarding efficacy of HIV and AIDS campaign materials:

- a) How is culture conceptualized in such culturally sensitive campaigns?
- b) Whom do these campaigns serve?
- c) For what purposes does culture get used in the campaigns?

These questions are critical in the analysis of the discourse of HIV and AIDS campaign messages as given in newspaper reports and the people of Zimbabwe.

Efficacy of the culture – centered approach in crafting health campaigns was discovered in the city of Kolkata, in West Bengal, India (Basu and Dutta, 2009). In this research Basu and Dutta (Ibid: 86) exposed the short-comings of the traditional linear message transmission model of health campaigns and the effectiveness of culture-centered model which puts attention to dialogue and locates the agency of the cultural participants in the culture being studied. In this approach dialogue and community members' participation are critical. It is a bottom-up approach.

In their study, Basu and Dutta (Ibid: 88) worked with two large communities of commercial sex workers (CsWers). The studies reveal that "...Commercial sex workers at Sonagachi and Kalighat in Kolkata, West Bengal demonstrated awareness about, and resistance to, mainstream communication patterns that portray them merely as passive subjects of persuasive messages (Basu and Dutta, 2008, 2009). It was also

noted that condom – promotion efforts in Indonesia have not yielded positive results (Basuki, et al., 2002 in Basu and Dutta, 2009).

Basu and Dutta's project (Ibid) with CSWers combined HIV and AIDS awareness, prevention, and control with community development activities. The benefits of the project to CSWers were as follows:

- daily meals to more than 125 children of commercial sex workers;
- five free health clinics every week;
- residential hostel for adolescent girl children of CSWers (Ibid: 91).

Given the above benefits, the CSWers were found to be more powerful and assertive in that they began to bargain for safe sex and condom use with their clients. It was also revealed that positive change is realized through the employment of a well calculated participatory approach in which dialogue plays a central role to focus on culture and structure and agency of those involved. In the research, the CSWers were actively involved in planning, designing, implementation and evaluation of HIV/AIDS programmes. They used participatory communication – "...a communicative effort that enables community members to weave together individual and collective discourses on health and living (Frey, Adelman, Flint, and Query, 2000; Frey, Query, Flint, and Adelman, 1998 in Ibid: 89). It is critical to reflect on discursive strategies used by newspaper reports to reflect on cultural aspects related to the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. Accordingly, views from the people of Zimbabwe are considered with regard to the role played by culture in the implementation of the policy.

2.8 The Uganda model

Uganda has been documented as the only country in the world to have experienced a significant and continued decline in HIV and AIDS prevalence rate. As put by Parkhurst (2005: 574) "Uganda experienced the highest decreases seen in HIV prevalence anywhere in the world." It is reported that upon assuming power as president of Uganda Yoweri Museveni put in place measures meant to tackle the pandemic head - on. The measures that Museveni put in place are important in this study as they can be used to evaluate Zimbabwe's response to the pandemic as revealed by newspaper reports and the people of Zimbabwe. The reason for this comparison is that Zimbabwe used the international template used by Uganda and other countries all over the world to develop

its HIV and AIDS policy in 1999. The adoption of the World Bank's conceived "multisectoral HIV/AIDS model" (Ibid: 584) coupled with the formation of the National Aids Council in Zimbabwe echo similar efforts made in Uganda which is given as the "...first country in the world to have a dedicated AIDS programme" (Ibid: 578). Just like in Zimbabwe thirteen years later, Museveni's governing National Resistance Movement set up the National Committee for the Prevention of AIDS (NCPA) and the AIDS control Programme (ACP) in 1987 and 1988 respectively. What is important to note is that the Uganda model involved the international community with the World Health Organisation (WHO) and other relevant stakeholders heavily involved in policy formulation and implementation. For example, three of the seven senior professionals in the ACP were appointed by the WHO (Ibid). In addition, "Ten of the thirty – six seats within the NCPA were appointed to representatives of NGOs or local religious organizations" (Ibid: 580).

The Ugandan government facilitated an environment in which various non – state actors got involved in the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy without interference from government. Museveni instituted an "indirect approach" characterized by a wide range stakeholders' consultation process in which non – state actors could fight the pandemic in their own unique ways (Ibid: 583). Thus NGOs designed HIV and AIDS programmes that were suitable to the communities in which they operated. HIV and AIDS campaigns became localized rather than generalized. HIV and AIDS intervention programmes became more meaningful to people as they identified with their realities in life as there was no "...one generalized approach to behavior change" (Ibid: 584).

Museveni's approach encouraged more non –state actors to join in the fight against the pandemic in Uganda such that by 1997 the government of Uganda estimated that there were 600 NGO groups fighting the pandemic in that country (Ibid: 484). This implied that there were "...a multitude of messages targeting different groups" (Ibid: 584). Last, Museveni's indirect governance of non – state actors fighting the pandemic brought about more transparency to HIV and AIDS management that was rewarded by more funding from the international community. On this issue of funding Parkhurst (Ibid) writes, "Uganda had received more funding for HIV and AIDS from international donors than any other surveyed country in sub-Saharan Africa in absolute terms. ...According to the National Health Accounts for 1997 – 1998, 43 per cent of the total national health

budget was provided by international donors, with government contributing 20 percent” (Ibid: 586). As the Zimbabwean policy on HIV and AIDS dwells on multisectoral approach, resource mobilization and the need to create a conducive environment, it is important to bear the Ugandan experience in mind as one evaluates linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspapers to reflect on the implementation of the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS policy and the views of the people of Zimbabwe on such policy implementation and newspaper reports.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature ranging from that on findings on agenda setting and theories, through CDA -oriented literature to that from Africa, Zimbabwe and Uganda which is given as a model, not just for Africa, but for the rest of the world.

Literature on agenda setting (For example, Charlotte study) reveal that media can make an object, concept or event salient through the use of discursive strategies that revolve around affect, inference and personal importance. From a rhetorical point of view any form of persuasive communication persuades through pathos, ethos and logos. Specific discursive strategies used in this regard are analogy, musical forms, dialogism, calling without naming, positioning, legitimation / de-legitimation, politicisation, recontextualisation, conversationalisation, polarisation, distortion, stereotyping, falsification, evaluative comments, quoting, restructuring, deletion, paraphrasing and intertextuality. Personification, the use of the metaphor, proverbs, idioms, nominalization, action verbs (For example, to connote strong physical action, the theme – rheme and other syntactic ordering are some of the linguistic devices used by the media to influence target audiences.

The chapter also revealed the role played by NGOs and church organizations in the implementation of the AIDS policy particularly in Uganda hence the special analysis of the Uganda model in which government played a commendable role as an indirect supervisor and effective resource mobiliser. In addition, literature also reveals the importance of sound and strategic government policies that encourage participation by specialists from various fields (For example, communication, social sciences and the medical field) in the fight against the pandemic. Further, the reviewed literature exposed

how some ill conceived policies such as those culminating in Operation Murambatsvina negated the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999.

In the study, flaws involved in the global governance of HIV/AIDS programmes particularly in the areas of funding; information dissemination and treatment have been laid bare. Literature discussed these as problems of modernist – driven approaches to the HIV/AIDS fight in which local solutions and knowledge systems are ignored for want of alien solutions. These have been analysed as problems of developmentalism in which local solutions to problems are ignored. Additionally, literature has also exposed the centrality of social, structural and cultural issues (Parkhurst, 2005) in the fight against HIV/AIDS with some scholars calling for a re-look into fatherhood and motherhood (For example, Vambe, 2003; Gambahaya and Muhwati2009), in order to empower people to fight the pandemic.

Recent literature tends to be in favour of the critical cultural paradigm in which local knowledge systems are mobilized to combat the disease (Dutta-Bergman, 2005; Dutta & De Souza, 2008). For example, as revealed by studies from the project that was implemented by commercial sex workers at Sonagachi and Kolkata, West Bengal in India, empowerment of locals, their involvement in resource mobilization and the use of indigenous knowledge systems were held as critical in the fight against HIV/AIDS (Dutta-Bergman, 2005; Dutta and De Souza, 2008). In the next chapter, the study analyses the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a justification for the CDA and media analytical framework as complemented by a corpus based analysis. Basically, this is a two - tier analytical framework with the corpus based analysis constituting analysis at the first or micro level while the CDA and media analysis is the macro – level analysis or analysis at the second level. It is argued that corpus based analysis is meant to make the theoretical framework more objective as, in addition to making it possible for the researcher to analyse aspects like patterns and frequency of lexical items in discourse, it also makes it possible for data to be quantified. On this aspect of quantification of data, it is argued that the main thrust of the study is to interpret patterns rather than to belabour on issues of lexical statistics. Additionally, it is only through the use of electronically processed linguistic data that large chunks of content are processed for analysis within a reasonably short span of time. Further, the chapter traces the critical aspect of the theoretical framework back to rhetorical and afrocentric roots of criticism. Through these traditions issues like ethos, pathos and logos are investigated together with figurative language and symbolism. Lastly, the theoretical framework investigates ideological squares, hegemonic issues, intertextuality and the significance of historical conditions in discourse.

3.2 Discourse studies

The theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and media analysis adopted in this study is oriented towards discourse studies. It involves a corpus based analysis (Jabeen, Rai & Arif, 2011, Adolphs and Knight and Carter, 2011) of the selected newspaper articles. This means it is a study that “...applies corpus linguistics” (CL) (Walsh, Morton and O’Keeffe, 2011:326) in order to “...scope out and quantify recurring linguistic features” (Ibid: 327). The corpus based analysis in the study provides a cutting edge to the CDA and media analytical framework by means of a “bottom – up” analysis (Mahlberg and McIntyre, 2011: 211). As alluded to earlier, the corpus based analysis, constitutes analysis at the first level or micro-level. The CDA and media theoretical framework therefore entails analysis at the level of discourse or second level.

This is macro - level analysis. Both types of analyses employed in the study are important as they play a complementary role. In addition, the inclusion of a corpus based analysis comes as an answer to the need for more objectivity in the analysis. As has been alluded to earlier, the corpus based analysis plays a complementary role to the CDA and media analysis theoretical framework employed in the study by making it possible for analysis to be executed right from “word” level (Adolphs and Knight & Carter, *ibid*: 320). Additionally, the theoretical framework thus engages words and word combinations (For example, collocations) to identify patterns and draw out conclusions based on objective information. Arguing in the same vein Jabeen et al (2011: 71) posit, “Due to its reliability corpus is used as a dominant and frequently used method to study linguistic variation”. Its use in the study is meant to study discourse from a vantage point. This renders the theoretical framework not only adaptable but also reflexive and dynamic.

The corpus based import in the theoretical framework enables the study to meaningfully utilize the advantages that “electronic text corpora” (Oster, 2010: 728) avails to discourse studies. One such advantage lies in the “conceptual tools” inherent in corpus based studies such as “co-occurrence and collocation, semantic preference and semantic prosody ----- that help to pinpoint semantic and pragmatic aspects of lexical units” (*Ibid*: 728). One clear advantage of corpus based analysis to the study is that it enables one to analyse the semantic inputs of collocates including their evaluative potential, through the exploration of large amounts of collocates. Oster (*Ibid*: 733) rightly argues thus, “...the typical surroundings of a lexical unit may reveal attitudinal and evaluative connotations that relate to the concept”. Given that the study analyses reports by government owned and private newspapers, the use of language to reflect attitudes and for evaluative purposes is critical. One more reason for the inclusion of corpus based analysis is that “...it can help to cover additional aspects of the text in order to complement the manual analysis” (Mahlberg and McIntyre, 2011: 206). Frequency of lexical items and recurring patterns around the environment of key words are important aspects that a corpus based analysis can contribute to the study. As Mahlberg and McIntyre (*Ibid*: 207) rightly argue, key words are vital “... trigger for thematic concerns”...or rather the “...aboutness...” (*Ibid*: 211) of texts. Furthermore, even though this may not be very significant in the study, it has to be mentioned that

corpus based studies have potential to quantify results. On this note, however, what is important to the study is objectivity rather than statistical data.

The theoretical framework as already outlined, vindicates Barkho (2007: 12) when he rightly argues that CDA is “drawn from the meta – theory of critical realism”. It “... incorporates social – theoretical insights into discourse analysis and advocates social commitment and interventionism in research (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000:447). It stems from problems of society (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, (1999) in Cavalrho (2008). It thus responds to problems of society and uses theory to inform researchers, policy makers, policy implementers, development agencies and governments about how to redress societal problems. Therefore, it links research to real life situations. Furthermore, CDA makes discourse “... more visible and transparent (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000:448). Additionally, as has been already demonstrated and will be elaborated on in detail later, CDA incorporates a number of theories and methodologies and can be combined with other theoretical approaches to give it a cutting edge. Hence, in the study, media analysis, particularly agenda setting and building theories are also used to complement the subject attack of CDA.

Of late discourse studies are conducted across disciplines in fields such as linguistics, social sciences and political science. They are multidisciplinary. However, the research agenda of linguistic - oriented discourse studies, adopted in this research, focuses primarily on linguistic and discursive strategies used in newspaper reports from Zimbabwe to frame the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy of 1999 and how such policy implementation is reflected in the HIV/AIDS discourse by Zimbabweans. Van Dijk, (1993: 252) sets the tone for the research agenda for CDA scholarship when he avers thus; “CDA should deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that results from it.” This is insightful for power determines language use (Fairclough, 1989, Holley, 1989, Beard, 2000). This insight is useful when unpacking discourses relating to the implementation of HIV/AIDS policies which research has exposed as reflecting a multi-layered power matrix. On one hand are donor communities with power to decide who to give money and in what amounts. On the other hand are various stakeholders, like intellectuals, policy makers and implementers, civic organizations, religious groups, cultural groups, traditional leaders,

non- governmental organizations, HIV/AIDS organizations, HIV/ADS victims and their families and members of the local population, all wielding various degrees of power. Most importantly, are host governments who select appropriate policy frameworks and oversee policy - implementation. One must not lose sight of the power of the media in framing messages relating to policy implementation hence this research.

Power implies control be it of action and cognition thus, "...a powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds" (Ibid: 254). This implies that the CDA – media analysis theoretical framework used in this study enables the researcher to analyse how "... discourse structures determine specific mental processes..." (Ibid: 259) regarding implementation of the policy. One needs to use the framework to arrive at how discourse facilitates the realization of "...specific social representations" (Ibid: 259). Therefore, the theoretical framework makes it possible to make tentative conclusions as to how, for instance, rhetorical figures like hyperboles, metaphors and semantic move structures facilitate thinking patterns that culminate in attitude formation and change. On this issue of influence, the study benefits from media's cultivation theory which posits that media exposure influences attitudes (Geber, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli, 1986). This means that the theoretical framework enables the researcher to comment on issues of ideologies evident in newspaper reports (Kress, 2003, Flower, Hodge, Kress and Trew, 1979). The issue of ideology is further expanded a little later as one explains ideological squares as a target aspect of the theoretical framework. At the moment, it suffices to stress that the analysis focuses on text production and reception. It is therefore critical for this study to analyse how newspaper reports influence people's cognition regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS Policy.

The CDA and media analysis theoretical framework employed in the study enables the researcher to unveil 'cognitive mediators' (Miller, 2001: 690) inherent in the discourse around the implementation of the policy. Cognitive mediators are perceived as linguistic and non-linguistic resources employed in various aspects of the HIV/AIDS implementation discourse. They range from 'priming' (Miller, *ibid*), to persuasion by use of affect, inference, and personal importance (Ibid), through metaphors and analogy (Gaines, 2008), to well calculated choice of information source. On the issue of source

of information, it is argued that, “News is a product of transactions between journalists and their source” (Erickson, 1989: 377 in Driedger, 2008). Additionally, the theoretical framework makes it possible to analyse how aspects of syntax such as theme and rheme (Bloor and Bloor, 1995, Halliday, 1989, Thompson, 1996) would have been used to aid cognition, thus for ideological purposes. In the same vein, it would be important to see how the study could unveil transformation, as an aspect of passivisation, is used together with nominalisation for manipulative purposes.

The CDA - media analytical framework adopted in the study enables the researcher to analyse discourse as an aspect of social life. On this issue of discourse analysis, Janks (2003, Accessed on 16-02-2012 from <http://docs.google.com>), rightly puts it that studying discourse as social practice enables the researcher to investigate the following questions:

- How is the text positioned or positioning?
- Whose interests are served by this positioning?
- Whose interests are negated?
- What are the consequences of this positioning?

On the same issue of research concerns of CDA, McGregor (2003, Accessed on 16-02-2012 from <http://www.kon.org/archives>), adds that other questions to be raised are: “What are they really saying?” and, “What else could have been said?” The study regards these questions as a guide to seek meaning behind the language used by newspaper reporters to report on the implementation of the policy as well as to assess information given by Zimbabweans in interviews and responses to questionnaires. Additionally, it is important for the study to focus on questions such as, What does this mean? Why did they use this language? How else could this have been said? What is missing? and, What thinking patterns does it cause? Equally important will be to investigate who are excluded from such discourses and why? For, CDA scholars argue that, “...the less powerful are less quoted and less spoken about, so that two other forms of (passive) access are blocked” (Ibid: 260). The multi- sectoral approach adopted in the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy in Zimbabwe presupposes equity. It is important to investigate voices represented in the implementation of the policy. This is important particularly as newspapers report on dominant discourses concerning implementation of the policy. Dominant discourses tend to favour the elite where for

instance, messages given by the elite are regarded as self evident and truths as opposed to messages of those not in power which are dismissed as irrelevant, inappropriate, or without substance (van Dijk, 2000).

The CDA – media analysis's research concerns are focused on discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias and how these sources are initiated, maintained, reproduced and transformed within specific social, economic, political, and historical contexts (van Dijk, 1988). Given that literature depicts HIV and AIDS as a disease affecting mainly poor people, issues of power, dominance and inequality are critical for they have implications for treatment, care, support and economic empowerment programmes aimed at alleviating the plight of HIV and AIDS victims and their families. Therefore, it is important for the theoretical framework adopted in the study to investigate how power relates to treatment as reflected both by newspaper reports and the people of Zimbabwe, particularly key informants. These issues are critical as they can be used as benchmarks to gauge the success, and, or, failure regarding the implementation of the policy as reflected in newspaper reports and the people of Zimbabwe. This ultimately feeds into the quest of this CDA and media analysis driven theoretical framework through, for instance, identifying with the victims of HIV and AIDS, particularly the disadvantaged ones in a bid to make tentative indications that would proffer solution to the problems they face in life. It needs to be emphasized that the theoretical framework adopted in the study is interventionist.

It has already been explained that the CDA – Media analysis theoretical framework seeks to answer specific questions. In a bid to answer such questions meaningfully, the theoretical framework leads one to be partly guided by Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three-tier model of CDA. First, the model highlights verbal and non-verbal language as objects of analysis. This makes it imperative for the researcher to investigate verbal and non-verbal meaning-making resources used in discourse namely "...words, pictures, symbols, design, colour and gestures" (van Dijk, 2011: 357). These are investigated to answer how they represent real life situations particularly those reflecting experiences of HIV/AIDS patients. The second aspect to be targeted by the investigation is the process of text production and, or, consumption be it writing, speaking/designing and reading by which such object is received by viewers. On this aspect, linguistic theories of modality,

transitivity, thematisation, grammatical metaphor and audience reception theories of the media are helpful as they seek to explain how information is perceived by target audiences. The third aspect of the three-tier model of analysis investigates the socio-historical process under which texts are perceived, negotiated, produced and reproduced. This stems from a CDA position that discursive events are "...shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them" (Dijk, 2011: 357). Discourse is thus both socially constitutive and is in itself constituted by society (Ibid). There exists a dialectical relationship which does not only need to be identified but also to be explained in ways that could re-direct the HIV and AIDS discourse and its implementation to yield maximum benefit to the people of Zimbabwe . This means ideological effects of HIV and AIDS discourse that relate to social class and to men and women communication barriers are to be laid bare and emerge with a way of going forward that captures the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe and the global effort behind the fight against the HIV and AIDS pandemic.

Farclough 's (1989, 1995) model of analysis discussed above paves way for a multiple analytic framework which is the essence and logic behind this study's choice of the CDA-Media analytical framework as an appropriate model of analysis. In the multi-pronged analytical framework, the first mode of analysis is a corpus based analysis through which texts are described by analysing patterns of lexical items used to create them. The second level of analysis is interpretation (processing analysis) (Janks, 1999). This is done though the use of CDA and media models of analysis including inferences drawn from how Zimbabweans would have responded to interview questions and questionnaires. The third level of analysis is social analysis (explanation) which results from inferences drawn from text analysis and analysis of responses by Zimbabweans. This is also based on intuitive knowledge of the researcher as a Zimbabwean armed with CDA and media analytical frameworks. Experience and knowledge of theory enables the researcher to identify patterns, fill in gaps and seek answers to unanswered questions regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. Therefore, the researcher will seek to investigate Halliday's grammatical resources of ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions of language in areas such as lexicalisations, patterns of transitivity, active and passive voice, nominalization, mood element, thematic structure, information focus and cohesion (Thompson, 1996).

This is aimed at exposing hidden meanings and power relations regarding the implementation of the policy and to suggest a way going forward.

The theoretical framework of CDA and media analysis adopted in the study is transformative. This research effort is thus in line with scholarly view of CDA as the “...study of language use, verbal interaction, conversation, texts, multimodal messages and communicative events” (van Dijk, 2011: 2) in a bid to unravel hidden meanings as well as power relations with the aim of seeking positive social change and development. HIV and AIDS literature has revealed that the disease mostly affects poor people hence the need to employ CDA and media analysis as both analytical and theoretical framework aimed at unpacking texts as “social practices” (Dijk, Ibid:358; Janks, Ibid) with a thrust that coincides with the aspirations of Zimbabweans particularly the poor and marginalized ones. Thus, the linguistic dimension of discourse studies adopted in the study enables one to analyse words, clauses, sentences or propositions as well as “...socially and culturally situated and cognitively based multimodal discourse as interaction and human communication” (van Dijk, 2011: 3). This is imperative as one seeks to bring to the fore the meaning of texts by analysing language as well as the historical contexts which generate such discourse. This enables the study to expose the meaning of texts in relation to power relations as dictated by history. Additionally, this critical approach endeavours to link text (micro-level) with underlying structures in society (macro-level) and the discursive structures upon which the text was drawn (meso – level) (McGregor, 2003). This betrays a three - stage research agenda characterized by theory through data (newspaper discourse and information from Zimbabweans) to theory (For example, when the research makes its own conclusions and proffers recommendations on the basis of new or existing theory). This analysis, though rigorous, is necessary to match the opaque nature of discourse. For example, Lang and Land (1983) in Driedger, (ibid): 26) hold the view that, “The media gives an event or activity meaning by how it is described, defined and framed”. This reflects undertones for omission, exaggeration; distortion and even politicization which the theoretical framework needs to unpack.

3.3 Historical insights of discourse studies

Discourse studies date back to ancient rhetoric where they were generically identified as the art of 'speaking well' (*bene dicendi*) (van Dijk, 2011: 1). Dijk (*ibid*) adds that enlightenment philosophers were the first to use the term 'critical'. During those times it was a term mostly associated with imparting knowledge to the youth who had to be nurtured to become future rhetoricians and thinkers. The notion critique implies raising questions around prevailing ideas and drawing informed conclusions following closely scrutinizing of such questions. The ancient Greek rhetorician, Aristotle is often singled out as one who has made a significant contribution to discourse analysis in general and critical discourse analysis in particular (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005). As shall be discussed later, Aristotle's three proofs of *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* did not only leave a mark in critical analysis but have influenced modern scholarship in a number of disciplines including discourse studies in general and critical discourse analysis in particular.

In the study, an Afrocentric dimension of CDA is blended together with CDA as is currently practiced and conceptualised. This Afrocentric position is informed by current thinking among African scholars that Africans need to seek own solutions to African problems. HIV/AIDS in Africa is an African problem. Further, tied to this idea is there is a blend of African rhetoric from which an African dimension of CDA can be located, argued and conceptualised. Such Afrocentric CDA recognizes the efficacy of African knowledge systems with its tools of critical analysis such as proverbs, idioms, similes, symbolism, myths and legends inherent in African languages and useful in communication. It is imperative on part of this researcher to be able to explain and analyse the use of these repertoire of African rhetoric and critical analysis particularly in the *Kwaedza* newspaper which publishes in Shona and to solicit views from Zimbabweans on the same.

More recently CDA can be traced back to Gramsci, Habermas, and Althusser and to the work of Foucault (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 cited in Mazid, 2007). Leading the pack of contemporary CDA scholars are van Dijk (1988, 1991) and Fairclough (1995). These have influenced a community of CDA global scholars and players namely, Flower (1991), Barkho, (2007), Kariithi and Kariithi, (2002), Mazid, (2007), Faria, (2008), Davis

and French, (2008) and Tsakona (2009). It is important to emphasise that CDA scholars are driven by the common motive of analysing discourse as social practice (Carvalho, 2008). They dialectically tie discursive events to social processes and practices. They dig beyond the banality of linguistic expression. They seek to unravel hidden agenda and meaning of written and spoken discourse.

It needs to be highlighted here that the Marxist theory and the Frankfurt School's critical theory have been identified as further building blocks to CDA (van Dijk, *ibid*). The Marxist theoretical position, in particular, views a dialectical relationship between the superstructure (For example, literature, newspaper discourse, politics, and religion) and the economic base (Eagleton, 1976; Seldan & Widdowson, 1997). The Marxist verdict is that ideas in any social formation reflect class interests especially those of the dominant social class. From a Marxist theoretical perspective, ideas do not orbit freely. They are reflective of, and, intercepted by historical conditions. The mandate would be to unpack the history under which the HIV and AIDS policy is being reported and implemented. The Marxist theory proceeds to show that such ideas are thus products of historical conditions which have to be investigated and changed in order to liberate the oppressed. CDA scholars like Reisgl and Wodak (2010) also share this view through advocating for the Discourse – Historical Approach (DHA) through which paradoxies and dilemmas in text internal structures together with manipulative aspects of texts are identified as subjects for investigation. This understanding is regarded as critical in this study as it partly informs the researcher to investigate the social, economic and historical realities that shape the HIV and AIDS discourse in Zimbabwe. This thrust of analysis is within the armpits of the theoretical framework in use in the study. An outcome of such an analysis will be to argue a case for a people-oriented HIV and AIDS response framework both in terms of reportage, treatment and care of HIV and AIDS patients and support of their families.

As has been noted, CDA and media analysis have roots in the critical theory. A notable scholar of the critical theory is Habermus's (1973). His critical theory is equally identified as partly influencing the birth of CDA as is currently practiced. The main focus of these theoretical perspectives is to explain social phenomena as well as to influence positive change. This is what the CDA and media analysis model of analysis entails.

Still on the rhetorical origin of CDA, scholars put it that rhetoric has three main branches namely epideictic rhetoric (rhetoric aimed at blaming and praising For example, modern advertisements, some aspects of media discourse and the language of politics), deliberative rhetoric (rhetoric that was associated with speaking in order to influence people to take action For example, in deliberative assemblies and parliamentary discourse and HIV and AIDS discourse in modern times) and, forensic or judicial rhetoric which was associated with accusation (categoria) or defense (apologia) (Kangira and Salazar, 2010).

At the heart of rhetoric is persuasion (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005). This study's pursuit of linguistic and discursive strategies used in newspaper reports partly lends itself into a repertoire of persuasive strategies espoused by various reporters and information sources (rhetoricians). Some prominent founding fathers of rhetoric whose evaluative strategies are relevant in this study are Quintilian – a good man speaks well; Erastus – the practice of rhetoric is synonymous with elegance; Plato – rhetoric is all about flattery and cookery and Burke – rhetoric is all to do with registering one's presence in the mind of the hearer or reader (Bitzer, 1968; Burke, 1969; Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005). Speaking well, elegance, flattery and cookery and registering one's presence are related in the sense that they all revolve around persuasive communication perceived as practicable through the use of linguistic and discursive strategies pursued in the study. It is important, for example, to investigate donor discourses on HIV/AIDS policies in the light of 'speaking well' and the consequences of such messages on HIV/AIDS policy implementation in Zimbabwe. For example, literature blame donor agencies for "...dictating HIV and AIDS policies in Africa" (Seckinelgin, 2005: 358). Donor discourses and action response to HIV and AIDS in Africa have also been blamed for biases due to the "...dark continent sigma..." (Jones, 2004: 390) that Africa has been made to bear by some donor agencies. This has led to attitudinal problems that have affected Africa's response to the pandemic. For example, scholars have questioned the efficacy of HIV and AIDS campaigns in Africa with some scholars stating that they are foreign, increase fear on people and hence are not effective (Hsu, 2006).

As can be seen in the historical account given, various aspects variously inform the theoretical approach of CDA and media analysis used in the study hence the tracing of the origin of CDA – Media analysis to ancient Rhetoric. As can be seen, aspects of persuasion tie rhetorical theory to the CDA component of the theoretical framework adopted in the study. Additionally, this study particularly takes a cue from the three proofs of rhetoric as propounded by Aristotle (Ibid: 2005). They are ethos (persuasion through character or personality), pathos (persuasion through emotions) and logos (persuasion through reason) (Black, 1968, Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005). It is important for the analysis adopted in this study to embrace the three proofs as persuasive tools that rhetorical figures both from the private and government institutions could have used in various phases of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy as reported by newspaper reports. This is important as CDA and rhetoric are tied together through history. Consequently, CDA is a form of intervention in social practice and social relationships with the intent to “... openly and explicitly position itself on the side of the dominated and oppressed groups and against dominating groups” (van Dijk, 2011: 358). In the case of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999, it is important to figure out who these groups are, their intentions and their language as revealed by newspaper reports and the people of Zimbabwe themselves. However, the intention is not to propagate sentiments of victimhood, as such, but to proffer conclusions that will make everyone a winner, in as much as CDA is “rooted in properties of contemporary life” (Ibid: 360)

As has been argued, by its nature CDA is a problem- driven interdisciplinary research movement that comprises of a combination of approaches. Its research agenda focuses on “... power, injustice, abuse, and political – economic or cultural change in society” (van Dijk, 2011:357). Since HIV and AIDS discourse, around the world, show that the disease largely affect the poor in society, the issues of power, injustice, abuse and political – economic realities in society become central to the fight against the pandemic hence the need to investigate how Zimbabwean newspapers depict such issues as well as to solicit information from the people of Zimbabwe. This is important as CDA sees discourse (semiosis) as a form of social practice (Ibid: 357). Thus, as an approach, it recognises the existence of a dialectical relationship between a discursive event and language used to frame it.

3.4 Ideological squares investigated

The CDA – media analytical framework creates a platform to investigate ideological squares in texts be they spoken or written (Mazid, 2007, Wenham, 2009). Ideological squares connote, “... statements that directly entail negative evaluations of THEM, or positive ones of US” (van Dijk, 1993:264). Tsakona (2009) alludes to this issue of ideological squares when he argued that different newspapers present ‘same’ events differently and from different focuses due to ideological and political reasons. For example, presuppositions are a form of ideological squares that are highly persuasive ((Yule, 1996, Dubois, et al., in Mazid, (ibid)). Wenham, Harris and Sebar (2009) and Matu and Lubbe (2007) echo van Dijk’s (1998, 2001) observation that newspapers use the ideological square to influence the readers’ opinions about issues. Van Dijk (bid) proceeds to argue that such ideological squares – bearing statements are accompanied by persuasive moves such as the following:

1. Argumentation: the negative evaluation follows from the ‘facts’.
2. Rhetorical figure: hyperbolic enhancement of ‘their’ negative actions and ‘our’ positive actions; euphemisms, denials, understatements of ‘our’ negative actions.
3. Lexical style: choice of words that imply negative (or positive) evaluations.
4. Story telling: telling about negative events as personally experienced; giving plausible details above negative features of the events.
5. Structural emphasis of ‘their’ negative actions, For example, in headlines, leads, summaries, or other properties of text schemata (For example, those of news reports), transactivity structures of sentence syntax (For example, mentioning negative agents in prominent, topical position).
6. Quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts, For example, in news reports.

Given that the newspaper reports analysed in the study have different owners, editorial policies, ideologies and allegiance to the government of the day, whose overall responsibility is to oversee the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy, the six ideological squares – oriented persuasive strategies are critical for use in exposing anticipated biases in some of the media reports particularly on sensitive issues regarding policy implementation. Therefore, in the study, hidden agenda behind arguments, rhetorical figures, lexical items, stories, syntax and credible sources of information are scrutinised and explained. It is important for the study to investigate

words' frequencies and recurrent patterns for ideological squares through a corpus based analysis.

Syntax can equally be used as a discursive strategy for manipulation (Thompson, 1996, Halliday, 1989, Reah, 1998, Salkie, 1995, Galasinski, 2000, Fairclough, 2003, Chomsky, 1988, Chilton, 2004, Kress, 2003). For example, CDA entails one to analyse transformation as a passivization strategy of persuasion (Thompson, 1996, Reah, 1998, Halliday, 1989, Flower, 1991, Fairclough, 1989, Chilton, 2004). In addition, Nordlund (2003) quotes Gudmund Hernes as revealing that sharpening, concretization, simplification, polarisation, intensification, personification, stereotyping, concealment, falsification and distortion are other strategies used by reporters to persuade their audience. These linguistic and discursive strategies are used in the CDA – media analysis theoretical framework in the study to seek an understanding of how the HIV/AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999 was understood and implemented. Such an analysis is interwoven with insights drawn from Zimbabweans.

3.5 CDA and media analysis on hegemony

Another issue that relates to CDA and media analysis theoretical framework adopted in the study is hegemony. Hegemony is a term associated with Antonio Gramsci (van Dijk, *ibid*). Hegemony implies winning the consent of the majority. The theoretical framework enables the study to investigate hegemonic aspects in newspapers reports. Hegemonic tendencies reflected in such reports particularly on sociocultural issues (Diop, 2000) need to be analysed and explained. It is important to investigate, for example, how issues of patriarchy, popular beliefs and cultural practices are dealt with in the campaigns as reflected in newspaper reports and by the people of Zimbabwe. Definitely a corpus based analysis can be used to foreground the macro – analysis that is ushered by CDA and media analysis. It is important to note that hegemony becomes an important front in implementing the HIV/AIDS policy of 1999. For, without majority support such implementation of policy becomes a nullity. It is thus critical to investigate how newspaper reports reflect on hegemonic issues regarding the implementation of the policy and the views of Zimbabweans regarding such hegemonic and, or, ideological maneuvers.

The theoretical framework adopted in the study, also calls for an analysis partly executed within the framework of Volosinov's (1973) first linguistic theory of ideology by which it is argued that language reflects ideology. On this issue of ideology, a corpus based analysis is the entry point of the study. This is combined with later linguistic insights such as those from Halliday's functional grammar through which it is proven that passivisation, relativisation, grammatical metaphors, thematisation and the use of reporting verbs are often exploited by writers and speakers to reinforce, prove and disapprove certain ideological positions and positioning. Tied to this is Kristeva's theory of text embeddedness better known as intertextuality. It states that texts are linked with other texts. As put by van Dijk (ibid: 361) intertextuality implies the idea that "...any text is a link in a chain of texts, reacting to, drawing on, and transforming other texts." This has implication for ideological underpinnings inherent in texts which has to be unpacked in an effort to understand both newspaper reports as well as views of the people of Zimbabwe in order to tackle the implementation of the policy from a vantage point. An intertextual analysis of texts enables the study to proffer meaningful insights and interpretations on issues like the concept of victimhood associated with popular sentiments surrounding Operation *Murambatsvina* (Operation Drive Out Filth). Such an innovative critical analysis does not only concentrate on desperation of HIV/AIDS patients as victims but shows possibilities of how they managed to wriggle their way out of vicissitudes of history and seek alternative ways of survival and treatment. In addition, the intertextual analysis enables the study to rethink the Uganda Model in use in Zimbabwe and possibly argue a case for an alternative model(s) on the basis of emerging common position interpreted from newspaper reports and the people of Zimbabwe.

3.6 Empiricism

The theoretical framework employed in this study is "empirical" (Whitford, 2011: 179). This means it employs bottom – up approaches to study patterns of language emerging from newspaper reports. This is done on the basis of observation (Woods, 2011). It deals with probability as it analyses language as parole. The theoretical framework makes it possible for the researcher to study language as used in social context. It is inductive. It is also descriptive and focuses on meaning and function of language. It can be conceived as having two levels of analyses. On the first level or the micro - level is

corpus based analysis in which patterns are identified and analysed at word level. CDA and media analysis occupy analysis at the macro – level or second level. It is at this level that ideological and power relations issues in language use are investigated and interpreted.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explained and justified the efficacy of the CDA and media analysis theoretical framework as complemented by a corpus based analysis. It has been shown that the theoretical framework has been carefully selected for want of objectivity in the findings of the study. Objectivity is necessitated by the study's exploration of data at both the micro – and macro – levels of analysis with the help of rapid electronically processed and quantified data packages. The inclusivity and dynamism inherent in the theoretical framework has been noted for its ability to analyse a variety of issues in discourse ranging from, ideological squares, through figurative language and symbolism to historical conditions, ideological squares, hegemonic issues and intertextuality. All of these are important in the investigation on linguistics and discursive strategies used by private and government owned newspapers in Zimbabwe to report on the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. The next chapter deals with research methodology.

Chapter 4

Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the theoretical framework upon which the research is grounded. This chapter presents the research design adopted for this study of linguistic and discursive strategies used by private and government newspaper reports on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999 and the views of Zimbabweans on the implementation of the same policy.

4.2 Research design

De Vos et. al., (2005: 269) identify five types of research designs namely, “Biography”, “Phenomenology”, “Grounded theory”, “Ethnography” and “Case Study”. This study is case Case Study. Therefore, in this study, research design implies, “the approach the researcher takes to study a particular phenomenon” (Ibid: 268).

The study is qualitative. This is so because it deals with immeasurable issues relating to the health of people. The study is driven by the conviction that “...reality is socially constructed by each individual and should be interpreted rather than measured; that understanding cannot be separated from context” (Johnson & Waterfield, 2004: 124). Hence, the use of purposive samples of newspaper articles and qualitative interviews together with questionnaires to collect data.

4.3 Data collection methods

This section discusses methods of data collection. They are questionnaires, interviews, non participant observation, library and internet searches. These methods are used to collect primary and secondary data.

4.3.1 Sampling method

The study employed purposive sampling. It is an aspect of non probability sampling. On purposive sampling, de Vos et. al. (Ibid) rightly concurs with the verdict that it is determined by the researcher’s professionalism and experience in accurately choosing a purposive sample bearing characteristics of the entire population. Accordingly, in the

study, purposive sampling was determined by the need to engage in a comparative analysis of newspaper reports on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe and the views of Zimbabweans on such implementation of policy. As such, purposive sampling was executed on newspaper reports and Zimbabweans. As it was not possible to reach out to every Zimbabwean, the researcher selected Zimbabweans who are generally perceived to be opinion leaders by virtue of their professional and, or, social standing. Therefore, elders, nurses, doctors, teachers, lecturers and university professors were selected. A couple of these professionals were targets for interviews while the majority agreed to complete questionnaires. In addition, it has to be mentioned that even though nurses and teachers are generally expected to hold similar views about HIV and AIDS, in the study they were treated separately as nurses are expected to know other health and care giving issues that teachers may not be knowledgeable about. Furthermore, and to cater for deviant cases, a couple of Zimbabweans from other sectors of the economy were also selected. Deviant cases are important gap fillers in any study (De Vos et. al., (Ibid).

In this study sampling was done from the perspective of the ‘...cooperative or collaborative model’ (Warren, 1994: 105). Warren (Ibid: 105) elaborates thus, “The terms ‘consensus,’ “cooperation,” and “collaboration” are used to describe a model or research relationships in which the researcher believes or assumes that the aims of the respondent and the researcher are more or less congruent.” This should be understood to mean that in the study the research agenda tenaciously stuck to the need to establish linguistic and discursive strategies used by private and public newspapers in Zimbabwe to reflect on the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999 as well as to compare such reports with views from the people of Zimbabwe.

The purposive sampling employed in the study is rooted in the tradition of Case Study which inevitably reflects some traits of ethnography. Characteristics such as the scrutiny of specific social phenomena, dealing with unstructured data, working on relatively small samples of data and resorting to narrative description and interpretation of data highlight that the study bears aspects of ethnography. Additionally, the desire to make the results more generalisable persuaded the researcher to deal with a heterogeneous group of subjects over a relatively long period of time. In addition, the subjects are located in

“...different geographical locations in a variety of settings” the goal being “...to add rigour to possible empirical generalizations that are derived from data arising from the fullest range of participants and settings” (Higginbottom, 2004: 17) and, “... samples of all possible experiences” (De Vos, 2005: 193).

In a bid to determine sample size(s) the researcher took counsel from Popay et al (1998) who hold the view that in qualitative research the sampling strategy does not seek to achieve statistical representativeness, but usually reflects the diversity within the study population. This is further corroborated by Grbich (1999) who argues that sample size is determined by the desire to access rich and complete information about a subject rather than by the need to make generalisations. Further, the purposive sampling employed in the study was informed by the need to generate “...depth rather than breadth...” (Johnson and Waterfield, 2004:124). Depth was achieved through interviewing a purposive sample of knowledgeable and experienced Zimbabweans ranging from elderly people in a rural area in Zimbabwe through a District Medical Officer, to lecturers at the University of Zimbabwe. In coming up with this purposive sample the researcher was further guided by Johnson and Waterfield (ibid:124) who further posit thus, “ Collecting data in the belief that more is better, rather than guaranteeing transferability may overwhelm the researcher, resulting in superficial analysis and thereby failing to elicit the unique meanings of the sample.” It is clear that the research was not about numbers but depth of meaning. This is corroborated by Fossey, et al (2002: 726) who aver thus, “No fixed minimum number of participants is necessary to conduct sound qualitative research, however, sufficient depth of information needs to be gathered to fully describe the phenomenon being studied.”

In the study, depth was realized by comparing private and government newspaper reports on the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy with views from Zimbabweans based in Zimbabwe and those who reside in neighbouring countries but always visit relatives in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, and, as giving voice to the disadvantaged is considered important in qualitative research, in addition to soliciting for the views of professionals like medical doctors, nurses, teachers, lecturers and professors, the study also engaged experienced and knowledgeable people in rural areas. This engagement of Zimbabweans dates back to 2010 when the researcher started to actively reflect on

socio-economic and political activities in Zimbabwe and how they possibly impacted on People Living with HIV and AIDS. In subsequent years, Zimbabweans were interviewed in various places including academic conference venues. In addition, non-participant observation complemented data gathering and notes were taken accordingly.

4.3.2 Questionnaire structuring

The study made use of a semi-structured questionnaire with two sections namely, section A focusing on demographic data and section B which bears a combination of closed and open ended questions. The questionnaire with a combination of closed and open ended questions was meant to probe respondents to facilitate an accurate record of their views and reflection on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. As a research instrument, the questionnaire was reflexive as it was used to facilitate semi-structured, face-to-face interviews. As Gill et. al., (2008), rightly aver, "...semi-structured interviews consist of a number of key questions that not only help to define the areas to be examined, but also allows the interviewer or interviewee to diverge so as to delve deeper into issues." The questionnaire was also used to guide a couple of questions for the electronic survey with key respondents. In addition, the questionnaire was administered to the majority of the generality of the respondents. The combination of closed and open ended questions was meant to get complete information from respondents.

As alluded to earlier, the questionnaire consists of three sections dealing with demographic data, questions on HIV and AIDS Policy's implementation and section on comments thereto. The section on demographic data focuses on employment sector, gender, age, working experience, language and educational background. This section is important in the comparative analysis of responses on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS Policy for Zimbabwe vis-à-vis demographic data. Section B consists of 12 statements reflecting the implementation of the HIV and AIDS Policy. Respondents were to indicate their responses by putting an x on their preferred answers from a range of possible responses including Agree (A), Strongly Agree (SA), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD) and Neutral (N). Statements reflect various critical aspects reflected by the HIV and AIDS Policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. They range from perspectives on whether HIV and AIDS patients are assisted to cope with their condition or not, to

availability of antiretroviral drugs, through treatment, to impact of cultural beliefs, to effort put to combat the pandemic, to issues of disclosure of one's status and whether or not one can freely discuss HIV/AIDS issues with close relatives called vanyarikani. Other issues covered in this section are whether or not HIV/AIDS campaign messages are of foreign origin, the possible impact of events like Operation Murambatsvina on People Living with HIV and AIDS; the roles played by the National Aids Council and government, and the link between HIV and AIDS policy implementation and the economic performance of Zimbabwe.

The last section solicited comments from respondents on key issues. They were expected to make comments on whether or not culture is a vector in the spread of HIV and AIDS; perspectives on accessibility of AIDS drugs by People Living with HIV and AIDS; whether or not people are free to discuss HIV and AIDS related issues with vanyarikani (close relatives); whether or not HIV and AIDS campaign messages are home grown and the possible impact of Operation Murambatsvina on People Living with HIV and AIDS; and, the role played by NAC in fighting the pandemic. Respondents were encouraged to make any other comments particularly if they gave Neutral as an answer to some questions.

To complement the questionnaire, an electronic survey which focused on Zimbabweans views on newspaper reportage of the policy was designed. As alluded to earlier, its structure was the same as the questionnaire serve for the section on questions which were focused on people's perceptions on newspaper reports.

4.3.3 Questionnaire distribution

For practical reasons, the questionnaire targeted Zimbabwean opinion leaders in Zimbabwe. These came from education, health and HIV and AIDS organizations. Informants range from Zimbabwean teachers, senior teachers, school heads, lecturers, senior lecturers, associate professors and professors working in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Arguing in support of sourcing data from various sectors of society, Johnson & Waterfield (2004: 122) cites Barton (2000) who argues that qualitative studies are a

means of allowing evidence to be elicited from diverse populations and contexts. In addition, nurses and doctors in both public and private practice in Zimbabwe and Namibia were also targeted as possible respondents to the questionnaire.

A District Medical Officer (DMO) is one of the key respondents who was interviewed. However, the DMO was initially interviewed using the face –to –face interview and, after realizing that he had more information as he had been the DMO responsible for HIV/AIDS programmes for a very large district in Zimbabwe between 2007 and 2011, an e-mail interview was agreed upon to provide deeper insights into his reflections on the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. As Brondani, MacEntee and O'Connor (2011: 221) rightly argue the email is "...spontaneous, comprehensive, interactive, confidential and cost effective." Further, the use of both face – to – face and email interview on this key respondent was meant to limit the loss of information that is detected on non verbal messages of respondents. Additionally, the standard 72 hours given as a timeframe within which respondents are allowed to respond to email interview questions allows respondents enough time to reflect on issues and give well thought out responses to questions (Ibid, 2011). In this study respondents are well informed and experienced opinion leaders. Zimbabweans who responded from outside Zimbabwe were those who frequently visit Zimbabwe and are always communicating with their relatives and friends in Zimbabwe.

A social network system was used to administer the questionnaire physically and via e-mail. The researcher took a cue from Devers & Frankel (2000: 266) who posit thus, "...accessing existing social networks (For example, colleagues, friends, other personal contacts) can be useful for obtaining basic information and facilitating entrée. Because a high level of trust is required to conduct some type of qualitative research, using a personal contact who can 'vouch' for the researcher or write a letter of support can be critical." Following this counsel the research effort yielded 113 completed questionnaires: 42 and 71 in Namibia and Zimbabwe respectively. In Namibia two colleagues at National University of Science and Technology volunteered to distribute the questionnaires to few other professionals. One of the colleagues volunteered to email the questionnaire to Zimbabwean colleagues at a South African university where he had worked. This yielded a response from a Zimbabwean professor working at that

university. The other colleague volunteered to administer the questionnaire to two hospital doctors, a visiting NAC official and two nurses. A couple of questionnaires were administered by some Zimbabwean school teachers and the researcher to Zimbabwean professionals based in Windhoek. However, the questionnaire was distributed to professionals who indicated that they visited Zimbabwe on a regular basis.

In Zimbabwe three nurses in Harare and a Voluntary Counseling and Testing Center professional in Domboshava volunteered to distribute some of the questionnaires. The other nurse is employed with a private organization that deals with HIV/AIDS counseling and testing in Chitungwiza. A student teacher and two senior teachers from the primary and secondary school sectors in Manicaland were the other professionals who volunteered to distribute the questionnaire to teachers and nurses in Manicaland in Zimbabwe. The sixth volunteer is an MBA student in Harare who distributed the questionnaire to her fellow students and workmates. The last volunteer is a lecturer with the Great Zimbabwe University. He distributed the questionnaire through e-mail messaging to colleagues. A couple of completed questionnaires were delivered to the researcher via e-mail.

The tables 4.3 and 4.4 below show the distribution of questionnaires per sector in Namibia.

Table 4.3: Employment Sector Namibia

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	2.4	2.4	2.4
1	29	69.0	69.0	71.4
2	6	14.3	14.3	85.7
3	5	11.9	11.9	97.6
4	1	2.4	2.4	100.0
Total	42	100.0	100.0	

The table above was generated using the SPSS system. It shows that 42 respondents completed the questionnaire in Namibia. The questionnaire was completed by 29 respondents from the field of education (sector 1), 11 from the health sector (sector 2) and one participant from an HIV and AIDS organization. The majority of the participants were teachers. It has to be mentioned that out of 50 questionnaires hand delivered in Namibia, 42 were completed and returned.

Table 4.4: Employment Sector Zimbabwe

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1.00	55	48.7	48.7	48.7
2.00	32	28.3	28.3	77.0
3.00	12	10.6	10.6	87.6
4.00	4	3.5	3.5	91.2
5.00	10	8.8	8.8	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows the total number of people who responded to the questionnaire in Namibia and Zimbabwe. The table includes sector 5 which incorporates other

professionals like Research Scientists, Engineers, a Haulage truck driver and a counselor at a voluntary counseling and testing centre who also completed the questionnaire in Zimbabwe. Additionally, the table shows that 55 respondents completed the questionnaire from the education sector while 48 respondents are from the health and care giving sector. Ten respondents are from the other professions stated earlier. Table 4.5 below provides information of respondents who completed the questionnaire according to gender.

Table 4.5: Gender

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	56	49.6	49.6	49.6
Valid Female	57	50.4	50.4	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

As can be seen from table 3, of the 113 respondents, 56 are male while 57 are female. The questionnaire was thus completed evenly by male and female respondents.

4.3.4 Qualitative interviews

In addition to the above, the researcher interviewed a couple of informants including university lecturers and a medical doctor. As argued by DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree (2006: 316) "Individual in-depth interviews are widely used by healthcare researchers to co-create meaning with interviewees by reconstructing perceptions of events and experiences related to healthcare delivery." Therefore, to effectively administer the interviews the researcher further took a cue from Gill et al (2008: 292) who put it thus, "The purpose of a research interview is to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on specific matters... to provide 'deeper understanding of a social phenomenoninterviews are, therefore, most appropriate where little is already known about the study phenomenon or where detailed insights are required from individual participants".

Interviews are thus meant to complement data obtained through the use of questionnaires.

4.3.5 A focus group discussion

Fossey et al (2002: 727) observe that, "...focus groups are facilitated group discussions that make use of the group interaction as the means to explore the research issue being studied, ...being particularly useful in exploring sensitive issues." HIV and AIDS is a sensitive issue, and, being in a position to engage a consortium of lecturers from the Departments of Linguistics, Religious Studies Classics and Philosophy and English (Faculty of Arts) and Curriculum and Arts, Teacher and Adult Education (Faculty of Education) was a welcome rare opportunity given the busy schedule of university lecturers. The focus group of six University of Zimbabwe lecturers was conducted on January 3, 2010 just outside the Linguistic Department's Departmental library where lecturers from the Faculty of Arts and the nearby Faculty of Education normally meet to take short breaks from office work. The researcher took advantage of this group of lecturers to introduce his research concerns. Lecturers favourably agreed and a discussion ensued. They, however, objected to being tape recorded and advised that from their research experiences tape recording was often resisted by Zimbabweans. This led the researcher to abandon the use of a tape recorder in the study. Fossey et al (Ibid: 728) concur saying, "In some situations tape- recording may be inappropriate, or overly intrusive, and so field notes may be used." Devers and Frankel, (2000: 264), further observe thus, "... the research design requires the researcher to understand and consider the unique characteristics of specific research subjects and the settings in which they are located." One gathers that for any research to take place effectively one needs to build a sound relationship, and, or, rapport with subjects (Hannabuss, 1996). Hence, the researcher abandoned tape recording and embraced taking notes throughout the study.

4.3.6 Purposive sampling of newspaper articles

The study analysed a purposive sample of at least 140 newspaper articles. On this issue Fossey, Harvey and Davidson, (2002:726) argue rightly thus, "Qualitative sampling is described as purposive (or purposeful) when it aims to select appropriate information sources to explore meanings..." In the study, a purposive sample of newspaper articles constituted secondary data while views from the people of Zimbabwe generated primary data. However, in each case, emphasis was put not on

quantity but on content coverage by the articles. The articles were collected over a relatively long period of time. Some relevant information from newspaper articles on Operation Murambatsvina was collected in the form of notes taken at the National Archives in Harare in 2010. Other articles were collected in December 2011 at the Herald and SAFAIDS libraries in Harare. Downloading of relevant articles started in 2010 and ended in December 2012.

In the study, the bulk of the analysed articles are from 1998 to 2012. Few articles though are from 1998 just before the HIV and AIDS policy was launched. The intention was to purposively select articles written just before or after the HIV and AIDS policy had been developed. The HIV and AIDS policy in Zimbabwe was in use since 1999. Further, articles had to reflect on various aspects of HIV and AIDS as stated by the policy. The HIV and AIDS policy dwells on a number of complex issues relating to HIV and AIDS namely, General Human Rights, Employment, Housing, Cultural practices, Education, Family life conditions and Health Care Provision. The purposive sample of articles is broken down as follows:

1. Public newspapers

- Herald: 60

- Sunday Mail: 30

- The Chronicle: 14

- Kwaedza: 31

2. Private newspapers

- The Standard: 46

- The Financial Gazette: 8

- The Daily Mirror: 18

- The Zimbabwe Independent: 6

In addition, the Herald and the Sunday Mail yielded a corpus of above 56652 tokens. The Kwaedza's corpus has above 20 996 tokens. The corpus from private newspapers is above 25 000 tokens.

4.4 The efficacy of mixed methods

The study employs a triangulation of three complementary pairs of analytical – cum – interpretive frameworks. They are Corpus Analysis (CA) (quantitative) and, CDA and Media Analysis which are both from the qualitative tradition. Arguing in support of a convergence of methodologies Cutcliffe & McKenna (1999: 379) posit:

Confirmability is concerned with using different methods or approaches in the same study in order that one set of results confirms those of another. Completeness is concerned with using different methods within one study in order to get a more complete picture that might not be achieved if one method alone were used.

Hence, in the study results from quantitative analysis are used either to refute or confirm qualitative results. This means that Corpus Analysis and Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) deliver results that complement results from CDA and Media Analysis. Triangulation has thus been necessitated by the need to get more accurate and complete results.

Primary data was obtained from Zimbabweans through questionnaires, qualitative interviews, and a focus group discussion. In this study, data from newspaper cuttings and downloaded newspaper reports is regarded as secondary because it reflects views by journalists and their informants in keeping with editorial policies. However, this triangulation of data sources is important as “... qualitative research can be seen as research marked by reliance upon multiple sources of data rather than by its commitment to any one source alone” (Cochran and Dolan, 1984, 28). It is clear that the use of the two research paradigms has been necessitated by the need to circumvent shortcomings inherent in each paradigm (Kelle, 2006, Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999) through the enhancement of the “...depth and quality...” of the findings (Begley, 1996: 688). This is necessary as in this study credibility is conceived as a product of a delicate balance between meaning (qualitative) that results from some form of measurement (quantitative) (Cochran and Dolan, 1985) of newspaper articles, respondents and frequency of analysed concepts. It should be borne in mind though that the study remains fundamentally qualitative. This means in the study “...a kind of generalization must be applied superior to statistical inference which does not depend

on the number of cases, 'but on the strength of theoretical reasoning" (Seale, 1999: 109).

Modern researchers have demonstrated the effectiveness of complementing qualitative research with quantitative research. For instance, Kelle (ibid: 310) puts it that, "...Quantitative methods are used to describe the investigated phenomena and expand on a macro-level and to guide qualitative sampling". In the study the complementary nature of these two paradigms is evident not just in the sampling strategies used but at the level of data analysis and interpretation where Corpus Analysis is used to bring to the fore word frequencies in newspaper reports as well as emerging patterns and collocations particularly of discourse topics and reporting verbs. This creates a platform for a more in-depth analysis and interpretation of meaning using a qualitative analytical framework of CDA and Media Analysis. A descriptive analysis and justification for the inclusion of SPSS in the analytical – cum – interpretive framework is given below.

4.5 The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Mouton, 2001) is used to aid CDA and media analysis of information obtained through questionnaires. This means SPSS is used to add value and force to the quantitative analytical and interpretive insights in the study. The SPSS was originally developed by Norman H. Nie, Dale H. Bent and C. Hardlai Hall in the 1970s (Ibid: 2001). It has been instrumental in health, educational and government research activities among others throughout the world. In the study, the SPSS, is used to rapidly enter and analyse data from completed questionnaires. Data is entered using numerical figures as codes that represent employment sector, title, age, working experience, language and educational background. This data entry and, consequently analysis is in tandem with Devers & Frankel, (2000: 269) who aver thus, "...computer programs may help organize and manage the vast amount of information collected during a qualitative study". In this study however, computer programs of Corpus Analysis and Special Package for Social Sciences are used both to facilitate data processing and analysis.

The tables below show how data from questionnaires is entered.

Table 4.6: Sector Variable Sector

Variable	Code
Education	1
Ministry of health	2
Private practice	3
HIV/AIDS Organisation	4

Table 4.7: Job Title

Variable	Code
Teacher	1
Nurse	2
NAC	3
Government official	4
Lecturer	6
Medical doctor	7
Associate professor/professor	8

Tables 6 shows that in the study, the field of education is entered as 1; Ministry of Health: 2; Private practice: 3 and HIV/AIDS organizations: 4. Further, table 2 indicates that various job titles are entered thus: teacher: 1, nurse: 2, NAC official: 3, Government official: 4, Lecturer: 6, Medical doctor: 7 and Associate professor/professor: 8. In addition, data is entered as ranges of numerical values as follows: age of respondents: 1 to 8; language: 1 to 4; educational background: 1 to 3. The range of questions from agree (A) to neutral (N) are entered in numerical values ranging from 1 to 5 respectively.

To complete data entry are comments which are entered as numerical values. For example, on item 16 (a) on the questionnaire, respondents commented on the following statement: *Culture is helping in the spread of HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe*. After having observed that respondents agreed with this statement indicating that Nhaka

(wife/husband inheritance), barika (polygamy), religious practices are the main causes of the spreading of HIV/AIDS in some communities in Zimbabwe, this data was entered as nhaka: 1, barika: 2 and religious practices: 3. Two variables entered to complete possible responses on question 16a are, disagree: 4 and, non response: 5. The rest of the questions after 16a were given variables ranging from, clinics are far away in rural areas to favouratism and corruption, through lack of finance, to lack of drugs and zero response. The above are only examples of the fifty variables entered to reflect respondents' views.

The SPSS comes with an academically attractive and effective three-tier analytical-cum-interpretive framework embraced under its descriptive statistics pathway. This analytical-cum-interpretive framework brings to the fore frequencies, co-relational analysis and cross tabulation of data. In the study this framework is used, among others, to expose the co-relation, for instance, between age, employment sector or educational background with cultural beliefs; perceptions on the availability of HIV/AIDS drugs; how Operation Murambatsvina could have affected people living with HIV/AIDS; the activities of the National Aids Council of Zimbabwe and government's response to the pandemic. The SPSS is also used to analyse and interpret responses using tables, graphs and pie charts. This brings objectivity to the study and complements qualitative analysis.

4.6 Corpus Analysis

Definitions of Corpus identify it as a collection of naturally occurring language (Sinclair, 1992), linguistic data (Crystal, 1991) and, or, actually occurring texts (Thornbury, 2006) in order to facilitate investigation about language use. Krishnamurthy's (2012: lecture notes) rightfully argues that corpus is like a library, in which one knows not where each text is but where every word in each text is. This conceptualization is indicative of the importance of corpus in foregrounding the analysis of newspaper reports in the study. Corpus development is thus a necessary preliminary analytical – cum – interpretive step in this study. As a form of analysis, it is critical as it enables a rapid selection, documentation and categorization of words for analysis, thanks to the AntConc Software system. Additionally, the processing of corpora for analysis using the AntConc Software package makes it possible for one to replicate analysis which is not practically possible manually. However, in the study some newspaper articles are also analysed

manually. Thus, the need for analytical rigour has necessitated the use of both manual and electronic methods in this study.

4.6.1 Bottom-up approach and Corpus Analysis

Corpus Analysis employs the bottom-up approach in use in the study. The bottom - up procedure starts with identification (tokenisation) which is critical as it facilitates the identification of words (tokens) as objects of study. Step 2 is that of frequency lists which is important as it shows the frequency of words in a corpus which signals text orientation and thematic concerns. This is vital in analysis and interpretation as it connotes patterns of occurrence of words and phrases in contexts. The other important aspect is that Corpus Analysis enables one to analyse language behavior such as concordance (Sinclair, 1966, Halliday, 1966). This behaviour of words is critical as it is related to context on the basis of the environment in which words and phrases appear in texts. Analysis at level 4 is that of collocation (Firth, 1957, Louw, 1993, Sinclair, 1987c, Stubbs, 1995). At this level the AntConc is used to show patterns. This leads to level 5 of interpretation and generalization. However, instead of resorting to open ended interpretation and generalization as is the norm in corpus methodology, and, as point of departure, the study uses CDA and Media Analysis to inform interpretation and generalization made at level 5.

4.7 The AntConc and corpus methodology

The AntConc is a computer programme that is used as an analytical tool for Corpus Analysis. The AntConc was downloaded from <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html> for free. It was developed by Lawrence Anthony (Ibid). In the study AntConc version 3.2.4 is used as it is compatible with Windows programme. The AntConc was downloaded and saved on the desktop. Data files of newspaper articles by private newspapers, the Kwaedza and other public newspapers were downloaded electronically and, or, scanned from copies of newspaper cuttings obtained from the Herald and Southern African AIDS Information Dissemination Services (SAFAIDS) libraries in Harare. They were then converted into plain text. This was followed by the removal of non-text (cleaned up). They were opened as files within the AntConc Software. After this analysis and interpretation were executed.

4.7.1 Criteria for corpus design

The study takes a cue from Clear (1992) who argues that corpus should be designed on the basis of external criteria. Aspects of external criteria that guide the study's compilation of corpus are: language variety/-ies, mode (Is the language written or spoken), text type (newspaper articles), genre (journalistic), domain (HIV and AIDS) and vintage (period of publication). This means that the said features of external criteria influenced the selection of newspaper reports as follows:

1. Only newspaper articles from private and public newspapers in Zimbabwe were selected.
2. Such articles were supposed to be on HIV and AIDS or on an aspect reflecting the potential impact of an activity or strategy on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS Policy for Zimbabwe of 1999.
3. Selected newspaper reports fall within the time period of 1998 to 2012.
4. Articles were to be in electronic form or hard copies (For example, photocopies of articles).

Therefore, the external criteria partly informed the strategy used to sample newspaper reports examined in the study.

4.8 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

In the study the methodology of data analysis and interpretation involves an eclectic methodological approach comprising Corpus Analysis (CA) and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) on one hand, and, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Media Analysis on the other. The latter complement the former by providing analytical and interpretive insights which are normally overlooked by the former quantitative-oriented methodologies.

CDA is used to analyse the implication and meaning of using passive verbs, recurrent expressions and "...choices and patterns in vocabulary" (Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000: 448). In the same vein, and, where they exist, it is also used to examine thematisation, rhematisation, elipsis, intertextuality, metaphors, the mood element, cultural bound terms and expression (For example, Shona proverbs) and idioms by newspaper reports on the implementation of the policy. Syntax is also interrogated (Halliday, 1989,

Thompson, 1996, Chilton, 2004) particularly as it relates to three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning) in language use (Halliday, Ibid & Thompson, ibid). In addition, nominalisation is also investigated (Halliday, Ibid & Thompson, Ibid). The uses of language by newspaper reports is normally elusive and thus merit rigorous scrutiny in the study. Furthermore, given the polarization of media in Zimbabwe, it is expected that public media reflects the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy with the intention to horn a pro-government agenda particularly on sensitive issues. It follows logic that private newspapers would adopt a negative stance particularly on such sensitive issues related to the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy. As the HIV/AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999, identifies issues like, Human Rights, Quality of Family Life, Health Care, Right to Education, General Empowerment (For example, employment), Accommodation and Access to Information, as directly related to HIV/AIDS policy implementation, it stands to reason that some of these aspects are deliberately overlooked and understated by newspaper reports and even by some of the informants. Thus, the use of CDA in particular enables the study to go beyond the banality of language to unpack meaning. CDA makes it possible to interpret recurrent patterns in discourse. It gives meaning to hidden agenda say behind the facade of using certain terms while avoiding using other terms and/or language expression.

The use of CDA enables the study to focus on discourse structures that influence cognition. It gives breadth and impetus to the study to interrogate issues of text production and reception. Thus, the use of CDA supports Media Analysis in an effort to unravel how newspaper reports are used as agents to manufacture consent on issues relating to the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. Hence, CDA is in use so as to give the study a cutting analytical and interpretative edge. Additionally, CDA's use enables the researcher to find meaning through answering the following questions put forward by Janks (2003):

- ▶ How is the text positioned or positioning?
- ▶ Whose interests are served by this positioning?
- ▶ Whose interests are negated?
- ▶ What are the consequences of this positioning? And;

- ▶ Why did they use this language? How else could this have been said?; What is missing?; and, What thinking patterns does it cause?

In the same vein, Naom Chomsky reiterated the argument that the media (For example, newspapers) “manufacture consent” thereby “undermining democracy” (Ajazeera television interview produced on January 13, 2013 at 20:35 p.m. (GMT). This means the media seeks to fulfill its own agenda through information dissemination. Thus, going by this theory, the media reports re-create reality (‘truth’) in keeping with its agenda. It is thus persuasive enough to argue that this undermines democracy in the sense that listeners, viewers and readers are coerced to believe media content. As a consequence of this exposure, they fall prey to media ideology. It is at this juncture that CDA is used to intervene by bringing to the fore hidden meaning that lie behind rhetoric. CDA does so by interrogating newspaper messages in terms of why such messages would have been produced and what else could have been said and/or how else could the messages been said?

CDA executes the above as it responds to, and, is a result of problems of society (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, (1999) in Cavalrho (2008). In doing so it thus investigates dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that results from it” (van Dijk, 1993: 252). Therefore, in the study, CDA is used to bring to the fore the implications of the unequal power between government newspapers (The Herald, the Sunday Mail and Kwaedza), private newspapers (The Standard, the Financial Gazette and the Daily Mirror) and the state and, the people of Zimbabwe particularly ordinary Zimbabweans. This is done in order to show how such unequal power relations either aid or distract information dissemination about the HIV/AIDS policy’s implementation thereby affecting Health and Care provision to People Living with HIV/AIDS. In doing so, CDA thus employs scientific knowledge to advocate for best practices, social commitment and interventionism in HIV/AIDS research (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000) in general and, the implementation of Zimbabwe’s HIV/AIDS policy of 1999 in particular.

4.9 Media analysis

As argued by Cavalho (2008) in qualitative research of this magnitude, Media Analysis should examine the following:

1. layout and structural organization;
2. objects (For example, visual images);
3. actors (For example, informants quoted in newspaper reports);
4. language, grammar and rhetoric;
5. discursive strategies; and,
6. ideological standpoints.

The six issues stick out as the reason behind the use of Media Analysis to complement CDA in the study. Even though there is an overlap in some cases where, for example, Media Analysis and CDA both look at the same issue like language and grammar, it should be borne in mind that they remain complementary. For example, whilst Media Analysis is interested in unpacking how language and grammar are used by newspapers to set and build agenda, CDA takes the case further by probing questions like:

1. Why is this language and grammar used?
2. How else could it have been said?
3. What is missing and why? Or; what was omitted and why was it omitted?

It is often through such probing that ideological squares (Matu & Lubbe, 2007, Mazid 2007, Harris & Sebar, 2009) are laid bare thereby illuminating meaning. In addition, Media Analysis is used to interrogate how newspaper reports employ background information and recontextualisation as manipulative tools within the inverted pyramid model (Archakis and Tsakona, 2009). Taking a closer look at the agenda setting and building. Nordlund (2003) quotes Gudmund Hernes who identifies the following manipulative techniques used by the media: sharpening, concretization, simplification, polarization, intensification, personification, stereotyping, concealment, distortion and falsification. However, these will be investigated in context. Arguing in this line Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000: 448) rightly aver thus, "Approaching discourse as discursive practice means that in analysing vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure, attention should be given to speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality - three aspects that link a text to its context."

4.10 Ethical issues

The researcher was guided by a strict code of ethics in keeping with the Zimbabwean context and culture. To effectively do so, the researcher adhered to macro- and micro-ethical criteria as proposed by Kubanyiova (2008). Kubanyiova (Ibid: 505) puts clarity on macroethical criteria indicating that it bears three co-values as follows:

“respect for persons, which binds researchers to protect the well-being of the research participants and avoid harm and/or potential risks; beneficence, that is, ensuring that the research project yields substantial benefits while minimizing harm; and justice, or in other words, a fair distribution of research benefits.”

In the study, the respect for subjects was considered critical. Hence, throughout the study, the researcher endeavoured to discern ethically sound situations and behaved accordingly. One such ethical decision was that of abandoning the use of a tape recorder in keeping with the Zimbabwean situation following an encounter with a focus group comprising University of Zimbabwe lecturers. This decision to do what is right in keeping with the situation is a delicate mix of virtue ethics and ethics of care (Ibid: 2008). They both are important aspects of microethics whose observation enabled the study to go forward. However, the issue of beneficence and justice remains futuristic in the sense that they are ethical concerns that dwell on the potential the study bears to benefit society in general. Additionally, as Zimbabwe is on the verge of elections it was part of the ethical consideration of the researcher to maintain neutrality by assuring respondents from various political persuasions that data was only to be used for academic purposes as defined by this research. Furthermore, gatekeepers' views were respected in order to maintain “...the integrity and credibility of the research” (Devers & Frankel, 2000: 266). As such, in order to collect data from Ministry of Health and Child Welfare and National AIDS Council officials, a letter of introduction was sought from the supervisor.

As a consequence of the introduction letter from the supervisor at UNISA, the researcher visited the Ministry of Health's Permanent Secretary who accordingly allowed the researcher to proceed with data gathering by force of the following letter of authorisation:

Telephone: +263-4-790039
Telegraphic Address:
"MEDICUS", Harare
Fax: +263-4-720119/702293
Telex: MEDICUS 22211ZW



Reference:
Ministry of Health and Child
Welfare
P O Box CY1122
Causeway
HARARE

04 January 2013

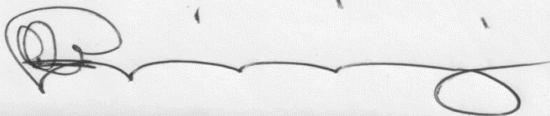
Prof Dave E Mutasa
Department Of African Languages
UNISA

**REF: FIELD RESEARCH IN RESPECT OF MR REWAI MAKAMANI DOCTORAL
STUDENT**

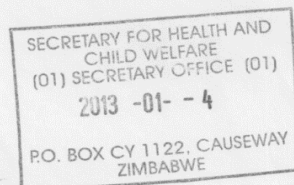
Authority is granted for the above mentioned student to carry out research in the HIV
and AIDS Department as well as the National AIDS Council.

By copy of this letter, Dr O Mugurungi (AIDS and TB Unit) and Dr T Magure (CEO NAC)
are duly informed.

Thank you



Brigadier General (Dr) G Gwinji
SECRETARY FOR HEALTH AND CHILD WELFARE



cc Dr O Mugurungi - Director, AIDS and TB Programme
Dr T Magure - CEO, National AIDS Council

In addition, and, as "Ethics is nothing universal, but a constructed product of cultural discourse (Brinkmann and Kvale (2005:159), the researcher took the following ethical procedure in keeping with the Zimbabwean cultural contexts:

1. Explaining the procedure of disseminating the questionnaire to volunteers: They were to speak politely to participants, greet, respect their views and allow them to complete the questionnaire during a timeframe that participants deemed reasonable. In addition, upon request, volunteers were to explain aspects of the questionnaire that some respondents were not quite clear about.
2. Obtaining subjects consent to participate in the research: Volunteers were to explain to participants that completing the questionnaire was purely voluntary and, as such, did not have any monetary rewards attached to it.

For want of a sterner ethical conduct, the researcher stressed to volunteers not to impose their will on subjects. Arguing in this line Brikmann & Kvale (Ibid: 170) aver: “Ethical as well as scientific objectivity is about letting the objects object to what we as researchers do to them and say about them (Latour, 2000). One fails to be objective and ethical in this sense if one does not allow one’s objects-such as human beings- to frustrate one’s investigations. Both the researcher and volunteers were adequately prepared to accept frustrations as part of any research endeavour. Frustrations occurred (For example, being given incomplete questionnaires by respondents; encountering well informed potential respondents like medical doctors, Ministry of Health and Child Welfare and NAC officials who made various excuses to avoid participating in the study). However, this did not derail the group from focusing on the main goal. Therefore, in the study, reflexivity was adopted as an overall ethical principle (Kubanyiova, 2008). Finally, the most critical ethical issue was the resolve by the researcher to provide a “...thick description...” (Ibid: 160) about the research procedure. This is aimed at laying bare the research procedure, hence, foregrounding the credibility of findings.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the efficacy of using quantitative methodologies in a predominantly qualitative research design. The complementary nature of quantitative and qualitative research methodologies has been examined and justified. In the chapter, it has been explained that Corpus Analysis and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences yield quantitative analysis which can be further analysed using a delicate, but effective analytical framework comprising CDA and Media Analysis. In the chapter, it is

examined how Corpus Analysis can be used to analyse a large corpus of newspaper reports by government and private newspapers. It has been argued that Corpus Analysis makes it possible to process large chunks of data to yield analysis of word frequency, collocation, patterns in the use of verbs, and, predominant thematic concerns of newspaper reports. In addition, the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) has been shown to rapidly facilitate an analysis of data on completed questionnaires. The analysis foreground a much in-depth analysis of CDA and Media Analysis which concerns itself with unpacking, ideological issues like the hidden agenda behind newspaper reports as reflected both by verbal and non-verbal language. Another issue to be brought to the fore by the last analytical -cum- interpretative framework is meaning resulting from a comparative analysis of newspaper reports and views from the people of Zimbabwe.

The chapter also explained that purposive sampling was used as the study falls within the tradition of Case Study. Further, the chapter examines how a purposive sample of newspaper reports by both government and private newspapers was either downloaded from the internet or copied from cuttings of such reports found in the Herald and SAFAIDS libraries in Harare. Qualitative interviews with rich information sources were conducted including a focus group discussion with lecturers at the University of Zimbabwe. Lastly, the chapter illuminates how the questionnaire was distributed both physically and through e-mail messaging to opinion leaders like Zimbabwean teachers, nurses, hospital doctors, university lecturers and professors. Next, is chapter 5 in which data are analysed and interpreted.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis, interpretation and discussion of data. First, is the corpus - driven analysis and interpretation of the corpus from government newspaper reports followed by that of private newspapers on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. Such analysis is illuminated by CDA and Media Analysis. This analysis and interpretation is complemented by manual processing and analysis of data from newspaper reports. Second, is the Statistical Package for Social Sciences – enabled analysis and interpretation of views expressed by Zimbabweans on the implementation of the policy. Such views were solicited through questionnaires and interviews. Next, is the comparative analysis of findings from newspaper reports and views by Zimbabweans. The discussion of data follows immediately. Last is a conclusion.

5.2 Identification, analysis and interpretation of linguistic and discursive devices used in the reports by the *Kwaedza* newspaper

This section presents an analysis and interpretation of identified linguistic and discursive devices in the reports by the *Kwaedza* newspaper.

5.2.1 Repetition of key words

The *Kwaedza* newspaper employs repetition of key words as both a linguistic and discursive strategy to influence people's thinking about HIV and AIDS related issues in Zimbabwe. Before this is pursued further, it has to be mentioned that, in addition to manual analysis, the *AntConc* was used. "*AntConc* includes a tag aware concordancer and plot distribution tool, word and keyword generators, and tools of cluster, N-gram and collocate analysis" (Anthony in Barker, 2009: 95). This software was used to generate a word list with 8205 word types and 20996 tokens from the *Kwaedza* newspaper reports. It is from this word list that most frequently used words were identified. Barker (2008: 123) argues rightly that the most frequent lexical items of a

corpus are crucial for analysis as they “...illuminate a variety of phenomena such as, ...a sociological profile of a given world...”

The main thematic concerns revealed in the reports on HIV and AIDS by the Kwaedza newspaper were identified from the key word list. Below is a window showing a list of the first few frequently used lexical items. It demonstrates that *vanhu* (people) (line 5), *chirwere* (disease) (line 12) and *vana* (children) (line 13) are the first three highest ranked content words as reported by the Kwaedza newspaper. Further, the list of key words shows that *vanhu* (people) features 127 times, while *chirwere* (disease) and *vana* (children) feature 82 and 78 times respectively. This also shows that the Kwaedza newspaper uses repetition of most important content words as a discursive strategy to persuade readers to accept views concerning the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe. The study regards repetition as an aspect of cultivation theory (Gerber, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli, 1986) used by the Kwaedza newspaper to influence perception. The hierarchical list of the first 18 word types is shown below.

1	408	kuti
2	152	uye
3	136	kana
4	136	uyu
5	127	vanhu
6	117	vari
7	116	iyi
8	115	ichi
9	98	ava
10	91	asi
11	91	iri
12	82	chirwere
13	78	vana
14	78	vane
15	75	vakati
16	69	vavo
17	66	avo
18	61	apo
19	61	vamwe
20	59	ari
21	58	Aids
22	57	mari
23	56	chete
24	55	kuita

Table 5.1 below bears the most frequently used lexical items from the *Kwaedza* corpus.

Table 5.1: Words frequency list

Rank	Requency	Word
3	148	<i>Vanhu</i> (people)
13	85	<i>Chirwere</i> (disease)
14	83	<i>Vana</i> (Children)
17	77	AIDS
24	57	<i>Mari</i> (money)
32	49	<i>HweHIV</i> (for HIV)
33	49	<i>neAIDS</i> (and AIDS)
34	48	<i>mai</i> (mother)
36	46	<i>madzimai</i> (women)
37	46	<i>mudzimai</i> (woman)
52	32	<i>murume</i> (man)
54	35	<i>sangano</i> (organization)
55	34	<i>mukuru</i> (leader)
61	33	HIV
62	33	<i>nechirwere</i> (by the disease)
64	32	Dr
66	32	<i>mukadzi</i> (woman)
67	32	<i>munhu</i> (person)
70	31	<i>mabasa</i> (jobs)
73	30	<i>dambudziko</i> (problem)
75	30	<i>pachena</i> (for free)
81	29	<i>nyika</i> (country)
90	26	<i>varume</i> (men)
91	25	<i>chibharo</i> (rape)
93	25	<i>mumba</i> (in the house/home)
96	24	<i>kudya</i> (to eat/food)
99	24	<i>Utachiona</i> (virus)
102	23	<i>munyika</i> (in the country)
103	23	<i>neHIV</i> (with HIV)

110	22	million
113	22	<i>mwana</i> (child)
121	21	<i>pamba</i> (at home)
125	20	<i>chirongwa</i> (programme)
130	20	<i>mhuri</i> (family)
133	20	<i>musikana</i> (girl)
135	20	<i>rubatsiro</i> (help)
137	19	Africa
140	19	<i>mhosva</i> (crime)
143	19	<i>neutachiwana</i> (with virus)
147	18	<i>chikafu</i> (food)
150	18	<i>nherera</i> (orphans)
225	13	<i>muZimbabwe</i> (in Zimbabwe)
229	13	<i>nesangano</i> (by an organization)
242	13	Zimbabwe

The table shows discourse topics (Guijarro and Hernandez (2001) or rather the main thematic concerns of the HIV and AIDS discourse in Zimbabwe as reported in the *Kwaedza* newspaper. Thus the *Kwaedza* newspaper uses discourse topics as discursive strategies to present issues relating to the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy of Zimbabwe. For example, the discourse concerns itself with people (*vanhu*), disease (*chirwere*), *vana* (children), AIDS, money (*mari*), women (*mai*, *madzimai*, *mudzimai*) and jobs (*mabasa*).

In the discourse, men (*varume*, *murume*) are not as prominent as women. Women are given higher ranking than men as follows: mother (*mai*): 34, women (*madzimai*): 36, woman (*mudzimai*): 37, while man (*murume*) is on number 52 and men (*varume*) is on number 94. In addition, to summarizing the main thematic concerns of the HIV and AIDS discourse reported in the *Kwaedza* newspaper, the table shows the relative centrality of the given lexical items – cum- thematic concerns. It shows for instance that, in the discourse, and from the perspective of the *Kwaedza* newspaper, *vanhu* (people) appear more frequently than *chirwere* (disease). Thus, from this perspective, in the

given discourse, the focus is more on people with a frequency of 148. However, in the same discourse, the disease (*chirwere*) is still prominent but not to overshadow people who remain pivotal. It is important to note that the discourse also concerns itself with thematic concerns ranging from problem (*dambudziko*: 73) and country (*nyika*: 81), to rape (*chibharo*: 91) and in the house/hut (*mumba*: 93), through to eat/food (*kudya*: 96) and virus (*utachiona*: 99), to programme (*chirongwa*: 125) and help (*rubatsiro*: 135). Therefore, the table presents what the HIV and AIDS discourse is about as reported in the *Kwaedza* newspaper. Further, information on thematic concerns is given below through a navigation of reporting verbs on selected themes.

5.2.2 Reporting verbs on *vanhu* (people) as linguistic and discursive strategy

The *Kwaedza* exploits reporting verbs to reveal critical aspects reflective of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. They include auxiliary, imperative and cognitive verbs. Some of the verbs bear various extensions like causative, reciprocal, stative and intensive extensions. Below is a window showing verbs associated with people (*vanhu*). It is a concordance list – “... a list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in...” (Barker, 2008: 71). It shows three words to the right and left of the lexical item *vanhu*.

1	Mushure mezvi kunozoonekwa vanhu vanopa rubatsiro rweHome Bas	Kwaedza Corpus
2	no Aids inonzi yave kuuraya vanhu 700 pavhiki roga-roga kubva	Kwaedza Corpus
3	i dzinenge dzave 600 000. Vanhu vakakurukurwa navo kwaCdzi n	Kwaedza Corpus
4	up. Mitambo iyi inodzidzisa vanhu kuti vasiyane nemabasa ekuwa	Kwaedza Corpus
5	abani nenyaya rakukurudzira vanhu vanorwara nechirwere kuti va	Kwaedza Corpus
6	zarabani haanyare kutaurira vanhu kuti ane chirwere lrukondomb	Kwaedza Corpus
7	zvaimunetsa zvikuru nekuti vanhu ava vaiona zvakasiyana-siyan	Kwaedza Corpus
8	nge zvakamuomera kuti audze vanhu kunyanya hama dzake nezvechi	Kwaedza Corpus
9	, ash nekuda kwekuziva kuti vanhu vanofanirwa kuzvidzivirira p	Kwaedza Corpus
10	irwa kuzvidzivirira pazviri vanhu vane utachiona uhu vanofanir	Kwaedza Corpus
11	tina. Akati yambiro yaanopa vanhu vese - Kapu nhatu dzefurawa	Kwaedza Corpus
12	chirwere ichi chashata uye vanhu vanofanira kuzvibata Faust	Kwaedza Corpus
13	zvirititira. Saka anoti dai vanhu vawana mabasa ekuita kuitira	Kwaedza Corpus
14	noun rwere chat. "Takawanda vanhu tine hutachiona uhu, saka va	Kwaedza Corpus
15	u tine hutachiona uhu, saka vanhu ngavasahwandise nyaya yechir	Kwaedza Corpus
16	vo mese mushaikwe chikafu. "Vanhu vazhinji vange vachipona nec	Kwaedza Corpus
17	kana achinge' abirwa, achid vanhu vava kutanga kuona kukosha k	Kwaedza Corpus
18	dza kuti makondomu akapihwa vanhu gore rapera kubva mwedzi waN	Kwaedza Corpus
19	ku- wana kuti kuTsanzaguru vanhu vanobatwa nezvirwere izvi va	Kwaedza Corpus
20	a majuzi. Zvichidai, kune vanhu vari kurwara vari mudzimba v	Kwaedza Corpus
21	anhu vanozvipira kudzidzisa vanhu nezvekuchengetwa kwevarwere	Kwaedza Corpus
22	gwa chekudzidzisana nevamwe vanhu vanobva kudzimwe nyika dzemu	Kwaedza Corpus
23	inge patogadzwa kabato kane vanhu vakabva kubazi rezvemitemo.	Kwaedza Corpus
24	kutinetisa ndechokuti vamwe vanhu vatinopa dovi nechikwereti v	Kwaedza Corpus
25	vanoda kufadza nyama vanove vanhu kunenge kuri k u z v i n y e	Kwaedza Corpus

The above corpus reveals some of the verbs associated with the lexical item people (*vanhu*) in the Kwaedza corpus. The corpus reveals people as both objects and agents or potential agents in the fight against HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. As agents people educate one another about the pandemic. For example, the former Minister of Health and Child Welfare is quoted educating people thus:

Nzira dzakasiyana –siyana dziri kukurudzirwa kuderedza chirwere ichi, semuenzaniso, kusaita zvepabonde nguva isati yakwana, kuvimbika kumudiwa wako mumwe chete nekushandisa maAnti-retroviral (mishonga yekuderedza zviratidzo zveAIDS) kana munhu ave neutachiona uhu.

(There are a number of ways which people are being encouraged to embark on in order to help fight the pandemic such as avoiding sex before marriage, sticking to one partner, and using Anti-retroviral drugs to reduce symptoms of AIDS) (Kwaedza, 1 – 7 April, 2005).

An example that shows people's portrayal as victims is enshrined in the following headline, *Akazviuraya anetswa neAIDS*. Part of the story reads thus, *Mumwe mudzimai wechidiki wekuHwedza kuMashonaland East akazviuraya munguva pfupi yapfuura mushure mekunge anetswa nekuramba achirwara nechirwere cheAIDS*. (She committed suicide after being tormented by AIDS. A young woman from Hwedza communal lands in Mashonaland East province, committed suicide recently after suffering from various illnesses due to AIDS). (*Kwaedza*, 1 – 7 April, 2005). Further analysis regarding the portrayal of people in the *Kwaedza's* HIV and AIDS discourse is presented in table 5.2 below:

Table 5.2: Potrayal of *vanhu*

People (<i>vanhu</i>) as agents/potential agents	People (<i>vanhu</i>) as objects
Line 1: <i>Vano-p rubatsiro</i> (helpers) simple verb radical	Line 2: <i>ku-uray- vahnu</i> (killing people) simple verb radical
Line 9: <i>Vano-fanir- kuzvi-dzimirir-</i> (They must behave).	Line 3: <i>Vaka-kuruku-rw- navo</i> (They were spoken to) passive extension
Line 13: <i>Dai vanhu va-wan- mabasa ekuita</i> (If people could find employment), subject concord + simple verb radical	Line 5 ; 20: <i>Vano-rwar-</i> (sick people) a relative
Line 13 below: <i>Kuti vasa-p vamwe chirwere</i> (So that they do not infect others); auxiliary verb and simple radical	Line 10; 14: <i>vane utachiona</i> (those infected by the HIV virus)
Line 15: <i>Ngavasa-hwand-is- nyaya yechirwere</i> (They must not shy from speaking out about the disease); applied extension	Line 8: <i>A-udz- vanhu</i> (So that s/he informs people) simple verb radical; cognitive verb
Line 24: <i>Vatino-p- dovi</i> (Those whom we give peanut butter)	Line 10: <i>vane utachiwana</i> (those with the virus), auxiliary verb
	Line 11: <i>Yambiro yaano – p- vanhu</i> (Advise that s/he gives to people). Tense sign (<i>no</i>) + verb radical
	Line 18: <i>Makondomu aka-p-ihw- vanhu.</i>

	(Condoms were given to people). Passive extension
	Line 19: <i>Vanoba-tw- nezirwere</i> (They get sick).; Passive extension
	Line 20: <i>Vari ku-rwar- vari mudzimba.</i> (They are sick in their homes). Infinitive affix + simple verb radical

5.2.3 Infinitive and cognitive verbs that connote victimhood

The verbs that portray people as objects are more than those that portray people as agents. This demonstrates that, in the discourse, people are portrayed as being more of victims rather than agents regarding the implementation of the policy. They are mainly on the receiving end. They are given condoms (*Makondomu aka-p-ihw- vanhu*: Line 18). (Condoms were given to people), get sick (*Vanoba-tw- nezvirwere*; Line 19) and are given information (*-udz- vanhu*; Line 8). People are also killed by AIDS (*ku-uray-vahnu 700 pavhiki*: Line 2). From the table, it can also be observed that reporting verbs to the right largely express plans about what people can and should do rather than what people are actually doing. The only verbs that express what people (some people) are already doing is *vano-p-rubatsiro* (helpers – those who help) and *vatino-p-a dovi* (Those whom we give peanut butter).

Four of the verbs to the right namely */ku-kuruku-rw-/* (to discuss), */ku-taurir-/* (to inform), */a-udz-/* (so that s/he tells), */ku-dzidz-is- /* (to educate) reflect a sense of telling. They portray telling in particular and education in general as a dominant aspect of the discourse of HIV and AIDS. So, education becomes a prominent feature of the process of implementation. One specific example of such educational programmes is the use of film by the Institute for Environment, Health and Development Communication and the National Aids Council in which people are taught about the importance of good moral behaviour as an intervention strategy against HIV and AIDS. Commenting on this as positive intervention through the film, *Big House – Small House*, the secretary for the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare had this to say, *Idanho rakanaka riri kutorwa nevedzisvondo, mapazi akazvimirira ega pamwe nemamwe masangano. Tsika yakadai inoita kuti tive nemufaro senyika nekuti tinenge tichibudirira mukurwisa HIV neAIDS.* (It

is a positive step being taken by church and independent organizations. This makes us proud as a country as we register success in the fight against HIV and AIDS) (Kwaedza, 19 – 25 February, 2010). Another example is the one featuring the chairperson of the committee on Health in the House of Assembly, Dr David Parirenyatwa, who averred thus,

Asi zvakadaro kuti tirwisane nedambudziko rekuparadzira kweHIV tinofanira kutarisa vechidiki avo neongororo yakaitwa muna2007 vari kutanga kuenda pabonde vaine makore gumi nemashanu. Izvi zvinoratidza kusabudirira kwenzvimbo dzakavhurwa dzakanangana nekubatsira vechidiki panhau dzepabonde nekukura kwavo.

(However, in order for us to successfully fight HIV and AIDS, we need to find ways in which we could help the youth. For in a 2007 survey, it was revealed that the youth engage in sex as early as 15 years of age. This indicates failure of programmes aimed at educating the youth about their sexuality) (Kwaedza, 26 March – 1 April, 2010).

From the two examples, verbs like *kutorwa* (to be taken), *kuparadzira* (to spread), *kuenda* (to go) and *kusabudirira* (to fail) are in the infinitive mood. The same pattern is found in most of the reporting verbs shown in table 5.2 above. This indicates that the process of policy implementation, - the campaign against HIV and AIDS, is on-going. One of the cognitive verbs (*ku-taur-ir-*) bears an applied extension which portrays people (*vanhu*) as passive recipients of information on HIV and AIDS. Similarly, */a-udz-/* (so that s/he informs) also relays the same message that people are passive recipients of the information about HIV and AIDS. Thompson, (1996), Reah, (1998) and Kress, (2000) identify passivisation as a common transformation used for persuasive purposes.

This analysis reveals people as suffering victims of HIV and AIDS. It also shows the unequal power relations of people as there are people who give help to others. These are people “...in powerful and privileged positions” (Baker, 2008: 72). Senator Parirenyatwa summed it up when he spoke about, ...*vanhu vatinofanira kuzivisa*. (People whom we must inform / educate) (Ibid).

Furthermore, the other infinitive verbs reflecting people as potential agents seem to blame and, or, label 'people' as having loose morals (need to behave well, avoid infecting others) and ignorant (not to shy out from declaring their HIV status). This culpability is evident in the following headings:

1. *Amai nejaya ravo vopengesana*
Muroora akatoroveswa pasi.
(Kwaedza, 17 - 23 September, 2010)
(Mother and her son are deep in love. The daughter in -law has since been divorced.)
2. *Mukadzi hutu namadzibaba* (Kwaedza, 16 – 22 July, 2010)
(Wife disappears with a man belonging to Madzibaba Church.)
3. *Ndobereka vana nababamukuru here?* (Since my husband is infertile, should I have sex with my husband's elder brother in order to have children?)

In example 1, the reporter uses slang which reflects city register or popular expression associated with young people in Zimbabwe. By using this register, the writer intends to reach out to a youthful audience and the working class who normally use such language. In example 2, the reporter uses the ideophone *hutu* (to disappear; to go) as a discursive strategy that makes the headline attractive to the reader. The rhetorical question in the last example is a discursive strategy aimed at making the reader to reflect on the story thereby understanding that some cultural practices need to be avoided as they have potential to fuel the spread of HIV and AIDS.

The above sub-headings demonstrate how people continue to engage in sexual relations that can expose them to the HIV virus. In the last example, the *Kwaedza* advisor (*tete chipangamazano*) advises the young woman to secretly have sex with one of her husband's relatives in order to have children. However, in her reply the aunt never referred to how this sexual conduct could expose the one being advised to the HIV virus. The aunt writes: *Kana usingade babamukuru tsvaga mumwe wehukama hwavo. ...Tete vamirira makorokoto emumusha imomo.* (If you are not comfortable with your husband's elder brother find one of his relatives. ... I look forward to hearing about your having given birth to a child from the same lineage). This depicts both lack of knowledge and mis-information as potential drivers of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe.

People are also portrayed as poor (need to get employment). It is apparent that the overall portrayal of people is their powerlessness as victims of HIV and AIDS particularly the unemployed.

5.2.3 Imagistic language characterising nouns and reporting verbs on AIDS

The concordance analysis of contexts in the reports in which the word AIDS features indicates that it is mainly used together with a variety of infinitive reporting verbs and nouns like *mukondombera*, *denda* (mysterious and difficult disease) and *chirwere* (mysterious disease). The reporting verbs and nouns used together with AIDS such as the ones given above, conjure images of hopelessness, despair, terror and death. Below is a concordance window reflecting the linguistic environment in which the lexical unit AIDS features in the discourse as reflected in reports by the Kwaedza newspaper.

1	ra varwere ava. Pari zvino Aids inonzi yave kuuraya vanhu 70	Kwaedza Corpus
2	era uyu ~yrikaioo reNational Aids ~P-ordination Programme. S	Kwaedza Corpus
3	iona hweHIV uhwo hunokonzero Aids. Pauwandu hwevanhu 11,5 mill	Kwaedza Corpus
4	asa ekurima nechirwere che - Aids. Gwaro rezvakakurudzirwa a	Kwaedza Corpus
5	sangano re - Southern Africa Aids Information Dissemination Se	Kwaedza Corpus
6	sati Yava nemushonga unorapa Aids chirwere ichi. Professor Cha	Kwaedza Corpus
7	raya hutachiwana hunokonzero Aids asi vane mushonga unokwanisa	Kwaedza Corpus
8	oknodzidhw Sangano rorwisa Aids kwaMakoni neMunyorori weKwaye	Kwaedza Corpus
9	weKwayedza SANGANO reFamily Aids Caring Trust (FACT) remaRusa	Kwaedza Corpus
10	%ve yen. zira dzekudzivirira Aids nedzekuronga mhuri. Gwaro ri	Kwaedza Corpus
11	ranra kwemukondombera weHIV, 'Aids mumajeri. Hurumende ichitung	Kwaedza Corpus
12	edzwa kwekuparadzirwa kweHIV/Aids reNational Aids Control Prog	Kwaedza Corpus
13	zirwa kweHIV/Aids reNational Aids Control Programme wakapindwa	Kwaedza Corpus
14	rirwa kwekuparadzirwa kweHIV/Aids. rakaonekwa nemuny azakatirw	Kwaedza Corpus
15	udziko rokuparadzirwa kweHIV/Aids. Vamwe vaipikisa pfungwa iyi	Kwaedza Corpus
16	angano wekukurukura nezveHIV/Aids mumajeri uyo wakaitirwa mugu	Kwaedza Corpus
17	kuita chirwere- :/ che- HIV/Aids. idzi ndedzinomiswa mumugwag	Kwaedza Corpus
18	uda kuhwanda nemunwe tichiti Aids inongowanikwa kune avo vanod	Kwaedza Corpus
19	sopirtdi muvatendi vedu kuti Aids iri kutora vakawanda kwete z	Kwaedza Corpus
20	ana nezvekuchenjerera II I V/Aids. Vamwe vakati vaimbotanga	Kwaedza Corpus
21	vaizokurukurirana nezvelilV/Aids mushure mevhangeri romweya m	Kwaedza Corpus
22	tendi vechechi yavo nezveHIV/Aids mushure mekuona dzimwe nheng	Kwaedza Corpus
23	e vanhu 1,5 million vane HIV/Aids. Pavanhu ava vazhinji vavo n	Kwaedza Corpus
24	ka here kuti munhu ange aine Aids iye asina kumborwara nenjovh	Kwaedza Corpus
25	angano wakarongwa neveFamily Aids Caring Trust uyo wakaitirwa	Kwaedza Corpus

The concordance list above demonstrates that the impact of AIDS to society is portrayed using imagistic language in the form of verbs the majority of which are infinitive. Examples drawn from the above window are given in the table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3: Reporting verbs

Line	Example	Analysis of the verb constituent
Line 1:	AIDS yave <i>ku-uray-a</i> vanhu (AIDS is killing people)	Infinitive prefix + verb radical
Line 6	... <i>ha-isat-i</i> yave <i>nemushonga unorapa</i> . There is no cure for AIDS)	Negative formative + auxiliary verb radical
Line 8	<i>Sangano ro-rw-is-a</i> AIDS (An organization fights against AIDS)	Verb radical + intensive extension
Line 10	<i>Nzira dzo-ku-dzivir-ir-</i> AIDS (Ways of preventing AIDS)	Possessive affix+ verb radical+ applied extension
Line 11	... <i>ku-parar-ir-</i> <i>kwemukondombera...mumajeri</i> (The spread of HIV & AIDS in prisons.	Infinitive prefix+ verb radical+ applied extension
Line 12	... <i>nezve-ku-deredz-w- kwe-ku-paradz-ir-w-</i> <i>kweHIV/AIDS</i> (About how to decrease the spread of HIV/AIDS	1. Infinitive formative+verb radical+passive extension 2. Infinitive formative + verb radical + applied extension +passive extension
Line 16	... <i>musangano we-ku-kurukur-a nezveHIV/AIDS</i> (a meeting to discuss HIV/AIDS	Possessive formative +Infinitive prefix + Verb radical
Line 17	<i>Ku-tapurir-an-w- kunogona kuita chirwere che HIV/AIDS</i> (how people might infect one another with HIV/AIDS	Infinitive prefix + verb radical + applied extension + reciprocal extension + passive extension

Line	Example	Analysis of the verb constituent
Line 19	AIDS <i>iri ku-tor- vakawanda</i> (AIDS is killing many people)	Infinitive formative + verb radical
Line 22	... <i>cho-ku-dzidz-is- vatendi vavo nezve</i> AIDS (for educating their church members about AIDS)	Possessive prefix + infinitive prefix + verb radical + intensive extension
Line 40 (Not on the snapshot)	<i>Va-no-rwar-a ne</i> HIV/AIDS (Those who are suffering from HIV/AIDS)	Subject concord + tense sign + verb radical

The analysis of the verb constituents in the table above relays a narrative about the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. First, the recurrent use of the infinitive formative /-ku-/ together with the tense sign /-no-/ connotes an ongoing process. Therefore, this analysis informs that deaths due to AIDS (LINE 1: *ku-uray- vanhu*) are continuing in Zimbabwe. The negative formative /-ha-/ (Line 6) partly foregrounds lack of a suitable medication as the reason why people continue to die from AIDS related illnesses (...*hatisati tawana mushonga unorapa*). This is part of a statement attributed to the late Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers' Association, Professor Gordon *Chavhunduka* in which he was quoted saying, *Tine mushonga kare unopedza zviratidzo (symptoms) asi hatikwanise kutaura kuti taa kurapa* (virus). *Asi handingati takawana mushonga unorapa chirwere ichi*. (We have medicine that cures symptoms of HIV and AIDS. However, I can't say that we now have medication that can cure HIV and AIDS) (12 – 19 Kurume, 1998). Additionally, due to lack of suitable medication, the disease continues to spread /*ku-parar-ir-*/ (Line: 11).

In the above example, the infinitive verb, /*kupararir-ir-*/ constructs the spread of the disease partly as a natural happening. There is no agent, no one to blame as the agent is hidden by newspaper reporters. This is for ideological reasons (Fairclough, 1989, Kress, 1983). Thus, Stubbs (1996: 107) correctly avers thus, "No terms are neutral. Choice of words expresses an ideological position."

One proceeds to detect that the verb to be reduced (*ku-deredz-w-*: Line 12) shows continuous effort being made to combat AIDS in Zimbabwe. Further, the applied extension */-ir-/* and passive extension */-w-/* in */kuparadz-ir-w-/* (the act of spreading) conjures images of human agents infecting innocent people with HIV. In a related story a young woman writes thus:

Babamukuru vangu, murume wasisi, vanogara vachida kutamba chiramuneni asi ini ndinoona sevanodarikidza. Semuenzaniso, kana sisi vangu vasipo vanogona kuda kundibata-bata magadziko angu ...kana kunditsvoda izvo zvandisingafarire.

My brother in-law, husband to my sister, sometimes touches me on my genitals, against my will. He does this in the absence of my sister and I am worried about this. (Kwaedza, 22 – 28 October, 2010).

In the foregoing example, the brother in – law pauses as a potential vector of HIV and AIDS. Therefore, in the given examples, the use of verbal extensions portrays victimhood as an aspect of the AIDS discourse in *Kwaedza* newspaper reports. On line 17, however, whereas the infinitive verb */-ku-/* in */ku-tapur-ir-an-w-/* (the act of infecting one another with HIV) portrays HIV infection as continuing in Zimbabwe, it further informs that any HIV positive individual can infect anyone. For example, a woman living with HIV and AIDS is reported to have harboured the intention of wanting to deliberately infect men as a revenging mission against those who had infected her in the first place.

Part of the story reads thus, *...achida kutsiva kupihwa kwaakange amboitwawo chirwere chacho nevamwe varume*. (She wanted to revenge her having been infected by other men (through infecting her own victims) (Kwaedza, 7 – 13 August, 2010). In the example, the infinitive action verb *kupihwa* (to be given; to be infected) bears the passive extension */hw-/* which connotes victimhood whereby innocent people are infected by other members of society.

Therefore, this makes HIV prevention everybody's responsibility. Furthermore, the infinitive affix /ku-/ in *ku-tor-* (to take) and the tense sign (-no-) in the relative /va-no-rwar-/ (those who are sick) portray the impact of AIDS as continuing in Zimbabwe. Hence, AIDS is metaphorically constructed as a powerful and not yet stoppable disease. The heading, HIV *neAIDS zvorwiswa sei?*, clearly symbolizes how HIV and AIDS continue to be a challenge to Zimbabweans (Kwaedza, 19 – 25 February, 2010).

One recurrent reason in the narrative is its linkage to people's behaviour. Hence, the part of the story with the given headline reads thus, ...*nyaya yema small – house ndiyo ichiri kudzorera shure kurwisana nedenda iri*. (The issue of small houses is fuelling the spread of HIV and AIDS (Ibid)). *Small house* is a metaphor used to refer to extramarital relationships by some married men in Zimbabwe. On the use of metaphors, Fairclough (1989) points out that, "When we describe x in terms of y, all the ideological attachments, connotations, associations and their meanings carried by y are projected onto x." Hence, the metaphorical construction of AIDS revealed in the personified infinitive verb *ku-tor-* (to take) conjures images of an invincible and fierce disease. Hence, headings like, *Zinatha haisati yava nemushonga unorapa Aids*, create fear among people (Kwaedza, 12 – 19 March, 1998). Thus, people are portrayed as vulnerable as they continue to suffer /va-no-rwar-/ from the pandemic. Lastly, the use of infinitive verbs in the discourse leaves one with hope as /ku-dziwir-ir-/ (prevention) activities continue.

From this analysis one deduces that infinitive verbs that revolve around the lexical item AIDS, are used as both a linguistic and discursive strategy by reporters of HIV and AIDS articles in the Kwaedza newspaper to portray such activities as continuous. The discourse is also characterised by metaphorical expressions in which AIDS is constructed as, not only frightening, but incurable with people as both agents and victims. The other feature of the discourse around AIDS is its nomenclature in which AIDS is identified variously as *denda*, *mukondombera*, *chirwere* and *mhepo iriko mazuvano...* (wind thus blowing nowadays; the mysterious disease) (Kwaedza, 3 – 9 July, 1998).

5.2.4 Collocations of *chirwere* (disease)

Collocations connote the co-occurrence of words in texts (Barker, 2008). This relationship of words has a bearing on meaning as Firth (1957) rightly argued that a word can be known by the company it keeps. This means collocations are important for discourse analysis. Thus, it is important to analyse the significance of the collocations of *chirwere* – a *Shona* term denoting AIDS in the *Kwaedza* corpus.

In the *Kwaedza* newspaper's discourse, AIDS is also referred to as *chirwere* (disease). The list of collocations below also shows that, in the discourse, AIDS is viewed as a condition (*vane chirwere*). The list further shows that the noun *chirwere* (disease) has the near demonstrative *ichi* as its most common collocation. As has been alluded to earlier, the collocation theory identifies collocation as related to meaning (Firth, 1957, Halliday, 1966, Sinclair, 1970). Hence, the collocation of *chirwere* (disease) and *ichi* (this) is a discursive strategy. It is aimed at influencing thinking about AIDS.

This is significant in the sense that it reveals that the *Kwaedza* newspaper reports portray AIDS (*chirwere*) as a disease that is among people. It thus stands to reason that, this use of collocations is aimed at warning people about the imminence of the disease and hence adopt behavior patterns that would contain its further spreading. To add, the collocation analysis also indicates other issues related to the disease and the AIDS discourse as covered by the *Kwaedza*. It thus emerges that the discourse is also about how the disease spreads (*kuparadzira*: 6), prevention (*kuzvidzivirira*: 15), how its further spreading can be reduced (*kuderedza*: 20) and medication (*unorapa*: 13). One also notices that the disease (*chirwere*) has *mumba* (in the home) as one of its collocations. It follows logic that it can partly be understood by thinking about activities in the home/house (In order to investigate what happens in the home/house, one analyses the activities of human agents below.

1	82	0	0	-1	chirwere
2	40	0	40	6.47671	ichi
3	9	9	0	4.88480	vane
4	7	7	0	5.41531	ane
5	6	6	0	1.91281	kuti
6	4	4	0	7.67835	kuparadzira
7	4	0	4	8.00027	chacho
8	3	0	0	-1	Chirwere
9	3	0	3	6.41531	chi
10	3	0	3	8.00027	cheTB
11	2	2	0	3.06954	vamwe
12	2	2	0	6.41531	Uyezve
13	2	2	0	7.41531	unorapa
14	2	1	1	3.60796	sezvo
15	2	2	0	8.00027	rekudzivirira
16	2	2	0	8.00027	ndimuzadze
17	2	2	0	7.41531	ndicho
18	2	0	2	4.35642	mumba
19	2	2	0	5.67835	mukurwisa
20	2	2	0	6.19292	kuderedza
21	2	2	0	5.83035	hunokonzera
22	2	0	2	6.67835	cheshuramatong
23	2	0	2	7.41531	cheshuga
24	2	0	2	8.00027	chemoyo

5.2.5 Reporting verbs and language that depicts women (*madzimai*) as down trodden

The *Kwaedza* employs reporting verbs and language that depicts women as downtrodden. In the reports, women are variously depicted as lacking. They are portrayed as lacking knowledge, skills, resources, power to negotiate for safe sex and do not occupy powerful positions in society as compared to their male counterparts. Consequently, the powerlessness of women renders them vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. The concordance list below shows the environment in which the noun *madzimai* (women) feature in the *Kwaedza* corpus. From the list it is clear that *madzimai* (women) is the focal point. Thus the term *madzimai* (women) is the thematic concern of the texts in which it features.

1	u reMakoni vanosanganisira madzimai maviri echichena aimbove v	Kwaedza Corpus !
2	e gore rapera vakadzidzisa madzimai anoita 31 449 gore rino nd	Kwaedza Corpus !
3	zviringwa zveku. simudzira madzimai asina varume vachiapa mapu	Kwaedza Corpus !
4	wakadzikwa zvaonekwa kuti madzimai nevana vavo kazhinji vaizo	Kwaedza Corpus !
5	ne we kambani iri iHarare, madzimai aya ogumisira osevenzesa i	Kwaedza Corpus !
6	chinokuyirwa vachibhadhara madzimai aya basa ravanenge vaita.	Kwaedza Corpus !
7	Mai Mafika vakakurudzirawo madzimai ayo ane vana vacheche kuti	Kwaedza Corpus !
8	mabhanana kunokuridzirwa. Madzimai emaposition ombunyikidzwa	Kwaedza Corpus !
9	e vavo yekuramba vachituta madzimai pamwe nokusavariridm uko v	Kwaedza Corpus !
10	nzero chekuti dzimwe nguva madzimai ndiwo anodhonzera varume k	Kwaedza Corpus !
11	zamu nekuti kazhinji kacho madzimai anoitwa masmall house anen	Kwaedza Corpus !
12	ga. Nyaya iripo ndeyekuti -madzimai pavanoita vana vanobva van	Kwaedza Corpus !
13	avanenge vari ngavatengere madzimai avo tinopfeka hatirambe",	Kwaedza Corpus !
14	a iyi vakati "dzimwe nguva madzimai edu anenge asisageze uye n	Kwaedza Corpus !
15	we yave kutungamira mukupa madzimai zvinhano zveutungamiri muh	Kwaedza Corpus !
16	mabasa emadzimai uye kuti madzimai aonekerewo munyika ino ain	Kwaedza Corpus !
17	e yakazvigona apo yakati, "Madzimai ivai sanduko yezvamatari	Kwaedza Corpus !
18	eri wemutungamiri wenyika. Madzimai ave nesimba mune zveumatong	Kwaedza Corpus !
19	. Iye zvino inguva yekuti madzimai azvipire kumira mira kwete	Kwaedza Corpus !
20	irira nguva. Inguva yekuti madzimai apfekere muzvinhanho zvisa	Kwaedza Corpus !
21	vezvicherwa neEngineering. Madzimai ngaazvipire kutsvaka mapan	Kwaedza Corpus !
22	ana neHIV/AIDS. Pasi rose madzimai ngaaumbe chisungo chimwech	Kwaedza Corpus !
23	risiro ingavepo uye yekuti madzimai o zvawo atsigirane nebudir	Kwaedza Corpus !
24	na. Donzvo hombe nderekuti madzimai azvipi munyaya dzezvematon	Kwaedza Corpus !
25	abasa ose zvawo. Pasi rose madzimai mune kundiso nerarai munya	Kwaedza Corpus !

Reporting verbs in the corpus demonstrate the powerlessness of women in Zimbabwean society. They are on the receiving end in various aspects of society hence the plethora of intervention programmes aimed at uplifting them. For example, the following are headlines that depict a plethora of problems faced by women:

1. *Bvisa mbatya ndikunamatire* (Undress so that I pray for you) (Kwaedza, 6 – 12 August, 2010).
2. *Chibharo chine musiyano* (Rape with a difference) (Kwaedza, 3 – 9 September, 2010).
3. *Akaponda mukadzi abata njovhera*. (He killed his wife after being infected with Sexually Transmitted Disease).

In the discourse, women are educated/trained (*akadzidziswa*: 2). Programmes are put in place to uplift them (*zvekusimudzirawo madzimai*: 3). If such programmes are not in place some of them end up as commercial sex workers (*Madzimai aya anogumisira avanzenza*: 5).

It has to be borne in mind though that the word *nzenza* (a loose and immoral woman) is a derogatory term used to refer to women who end up resorting to commercial sex work in order to earn a living. From this perspective, its use in the HIV and AIDS reports by the *Kwaedza* newspaper symbolises that women are deprived of rights to define their destiny in the Zimbabwean society. The HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe identifies rights of women and children as a central aspect in the fight against the pandemic.

The *Kwaedza* newspaper reports show that women lack resources. They have to work and be paid (*kubhadhara madzimai aya ...*: 6). However, they are also encouraged to work for upward social mobility (*kukurudzirawo madzimai*: 7). The discourse also constructs women as sex objects who are raped by their husbands especially among members of the Apostolic Church (*Madzimai emapositori ombunyikidwa*: 8). This is a heading to a report part of which reads thus:

Vamwe vakadzi vekuHonde Valley kwaMutare vakaroorwa nevarume vanopinda imwe chichi yechipositori vari kutsutsumwa netsika inoita varume vavo yekuramba vachituta madzimai pamwe nekusavariritira uko vanoita izvo zvasakisa kuti vararame kamwe kandaramo keunhapwa.

(Some women in polygamous marriages from Honde Valley village in rural Mutare are complaining about their husbands who relentlessly continue to marry more wives despite the fact that such husbands are failing to adequately care for the current wives. The current wives are living in abject poverty) (*Kwaedza*, 6 – 12 February, 1998).

This report symbolises how women are also ushered into polygamous marriages (...*yekuramba vachituta madzimai*: 9). In the report, the metaphor *kututa* (to gather) symbolises power relations tilted in favour of men. According to this framing, men have power to determine the number of wives they want. In this depiction women have no rights. They are constructed as sex objects. This is attributed to the poverty that characterise their lives. AIDS has been labeled a disease of poor people particularly women (Hill, 2004, Gusman, 2009). Hence in the discourse, women depend on men for

provisions such as clothing [*Ngavatengere madzimai avo,... tinopfeka: 13.* (Men must buy clothing for (us) their wives)].

Consequently, they suffer injustice at the hands of men. As shown below, women are victims of forced inheritance (*nhaka*; Line 11) and rape (*chibharo*: Line 16). Another example of rape is reported thus, *Bvisa mbatya ndikunamatire*. (Undress so that I pray for you) (*Kwaedza*, 6 – 12 August, 2010). This is a report involving a man who claimed to be a prophet who raped one of his patients. As has been alluded to earlier, the window below bears texts which show various problems associated with women. As discussed, such problems are known to spread the pandemic.

11	hiti hazviite kuti ndigare mudzimai uyu nhaka sezvo iri tsika	Kwaedza Corp
12	zvo iri tsika yakare uyewo mudzimai wangu ari kushora kuita uk	Kwaedza Corp
13	engo dzakavandika dzemumwe mudzimai ichiti yaitsvaga chikwambo	Kwaedza Corp
14	tiazivi kuti akaita set. "Mudzimai wangu ndiye akambopihwa ma	Kwaedza Corp
15	eke muguta reHarare, akati mudzimai wake haaoni. Vane vana va	Kwaedza Corp
16	wa mhosva yokubata iibharo mudzimai wemakore 28 oku;rekwa. Mu	Kwaedza Corp
17	o. Muchuchisi Ngoma akati mudzimai uyu akabvuma ndokunamatirw	Kwaedza Corp
30	swa nezvekuroorwa kwemumwe mudzimai asati auya pamusha. Neimwe	Kwaedza Corp
31	vdbvumirau kana kuti iye mudzimai-ndiye aitosarudzira murume	Kwaedza Corp
32	(65) vekwaMurehwa, vanova mudzimai wechitatu pabarika, vakats	Kwaedza Corp
33	o mhuri yoke asati aroora. Mudzimai airoorwa uyu aitozivikanwa	Kwaedza Corp
34	ke ayo vanoti murume mumwe mudzimai mumwe chete. Vanhu vazhinj	Kwaedza Corp

5.2.6 Reporting verbs depicting man as subject while woman is object

Contrary to a woman who is portrayed as object and therefore victim, the discourse constructs man as subject and culpable. This pattern found in the reporting verbs associated with man, frame him as a vector of HIV and AIDS. Below is shown the reporting verbs from the *Kwaedza* corpus that are associated with man. The texts from which the verbs are derived are translated and presented on table 5.4.

1	irwere ichi. Faustina akati murume wake, Nickson Nyama-riro ak	Kwaedza Corp
2	uma iyi yave kuzova vemumwe murume asina kuishandira," vaka- d	Kwaedza Corp
3	irwere ichi. Faustina akati murume wake, Nickson Nyama-riro ak	Kwaedza Corp
4	funda chaizovashamisa kuona murume ava kuzocha~jazve pfuma pai	Kwaedza Corp
5	imwe yadzo ndeinoti angave murume kana mudzimai anoita husham	Kwaedza Corp
6	rike kuti mudzimai ataurire murume wake kana achinge asina kun	Kwaedza Corp
7	uninina SEKURU- Ini ndiri murume ane makore 48 ekuberekwa uye	Kwaedza Corp
8	uye kubva kushaya kwakaita murume wacho, pamba ape, paronzi p	Kwaedza Corp
9	zi SEKURU KWAYEDZA - Ndiri murume ane makore makumi rnaviri n	Kwaedza Corp
10	a mushonga uyu nababa lake. Murume ari kupomerwa mhosva nemwan	Kwaedza Corp
11	ari vachisvikoshinha naye. Murume uyu akarambana naamai vemwa	Kwaedza Corp
12	o - gona kuitika kuti pamwe murume akamuzadza chirwere ichi ak	Kwaedza Corp
13	VaGonora. Zvisinei nekuti murume uyu one chipo chikuru cheku	Kwaedza Corp
14	naNetsai Mupandawana MUMWE murume anozviti muporofita anogara	Kwaedza Corp
15	auna kubata chibharo: Dare MURUME wekuEpworth uyo akange achi	Kwaedza Corp
16	ngwa. Pakanyorwa nyaya ino murume uyu aiva akamirira kupinda	Kwaedza Corp
17	nyora tsamba yakazoita kuti murume uyu asungwe. Onzi akabata m	Kwaedza Corp
18	weroja rake chibharo MUMWE murume wekuGlen Norah, muHarare sv	Kwaedza Corp
19	enjovhera. Kuchipatara uku, murume uyu akazokurudzirwa kuti an	Kwaedza Corp

The table below shows reporting verbs that construct man (*murume*) as subject and therefore culpable.

Table 5.4 Reporting verbs about man

Line	Text from the corpus	English translation
10	<i>Murume akapomerwa mhosva</i>	A man was accused of wrong doing.
11	<i>Murume uyu akarambana namai</i>	This man divorced his wife.
12	<i>Murume uyu akamuzadza chirwere.</i>	This man infected her with AIDS.
14	<i>Murume uyu anozviti anoporofita.</i>	This man calls claims that he can prophesy.
15	<i>Kubata chibharo; Dare, Murume wekuEpworth</i>	An Epworth man has been found guilty of rape.
17	<i>Murume uyu asungwe</i>	this man be arrested
18	<i>Chibharo mumwe murume wekuGlen Norah</i>	rape, a Glen Norah man
20	<i>Murume aive asingavimbe nemudzimai</i>	a man who did not trust his wife
21	<i>Mudzimai wake aine mumwe murume</i>	His wife sleeping with another man
22	<i>Murume ainge aine mudzimai wake</i>	the man who was sleeping with his wife

Reporting verbs shown above label man as an agent of HIV and AIDS. He gets accused of wrong doing (Line 10). This means man is framed as violating the provisions of the HIV and AIDS policy particularly on equal rights as he constantly tempers with the rights of woman and consequently her children. For example, a *Kwaedza* (30 July – 5 August, 2010) report entitled *Akadarikidza chiramv*, (He exceeded *chiramv*), relates an incident whereby a man raped his wife's young sister. The police only arrested the culprit after an unknown informant dropped an anonymous message in the police's suggestion box.

In a related story entitled, Small house – *Barika rine mutsauko*, (A new form of Polygamy) a woman laments thus, *Barika rainge rakanaka kare nekuti kwainge kusina makaro aveko mazuva ano*. (The manner in which polygamy was conducted in the past was fine, unlike nowadays when men engage in polygamy just for selfish reasons) (*Kwaedza*, 16 – 22 July, 2010) In addition to committing crime willingly, man divorces his wife (Line: 11) thereby rendering children vulnerable as, just like their mother, they depend on him for survival. Further, man willingly infects woman with HIV (Line: 12). The metaphor */a-ka-mu-zadz-a/* clearly labels man as the agent and woman as the victim of man's irresponsible behavior. In the above relative, the subject concord */a-/* represents man while the object concord */-mu-/* frames woman as a victim. Therefore, as in the examples given above, man is the subject while woman is the object, the recipient of man's action. As has been noted, man's series of violation of the rights of woman and, consequently, the relevant HIV and AIDS policy provision include committing rape (Line: 15), hence the need for man to be arrested (Line: 17).

The narrative indicates that man committed rape in various places notably Epworth (Line; 15) and in the Glen Norah high density suburb of Harare (Line: 18). As if this is not enough, man does not trust his wife (line: 20). He sleeps with another man's wife (Lines: 21 & 22). The story entitled, *Mukadzi hutu namadzibaba*. (Wife abandons husband as she disappears with a member of the *madzibaba* Church (*Kwaedza*, 16 – 22 July, 2010) clearly presents man as a vector of HIV and AIDS. This is from the perspective of the *Kwaedza* newspaper as demonstrated by the analysis.

The discourse reflected in the reports by the *Kwaedza* newspaper depicts women as victims of a double tragedy. On one hand they are economically disadvantaged whilst on the other they are treated as sex objects by men. Women are victims of abuse. However, the *Kwaedza* does not give a complete narrative on the socio-historical conditions which makes it possible for women to face such a double tragedy. Relevant information appears to be concealed in this regard (Nordlund, 2003). Stubbs (1996) is right to argue that linguistic choices are made to advance certain ideological positions. Below one examines the portrayal of men in the *Kwaedza* newspaper as reflected by reporting verbs.

5.2.7 Reporting verbs and metaphors depicting men as subjects while women are victims (objects)

This section presents an analysis showing that men are linguistically and discursively constructed as subjects whilst women are framed as victims. Reporting verbs, metaphors and idiomatic expressions are used in the discourse both as linguistic and discursive devices.

The term *varume* (men) is on number 94 on the words' frequency list of the *Kwaedza* corpus. It has 24 hits in a corpus of 20996 tokens and 8205 word types. Below is a window showing the concordance environment in which *varume* (men) features in the newspaper reports represented by the corpus.

5	tsutsumwa netsika iri kuita	varume	vavo yekuramba vachituta ma	Kwaedza Corp
6	variritira kwavaiita, vamwe	varume	vaivaidra hutsinye nokuzova	Kwaedza Corp
7	ano. Asi chii chinoita kuti	varume	kana vakadzi vaite tsika iy	Kwaedza Corp
8	madzimai ndiwo anodhonzera	varume	kumasmall house nekuda kwez	Kwaedza Corp
9	apikisa pfungwa iyi vaehiti	varume	ndivo vane dambudziko uye h	Kwaedza Corp
10	mba ape, paronzi pari kuuya	varume	vakasiyana siyana uye vese	Kwaedza Corp
11	tanga kwaingonzi kunoonekwa	varume	chete, asi nha-ci zvasanduk	Kwaedza Corp
12	ke. Mukadzi wokuda kuzadza	varume	Aids ngaasunungure mwoyo C	Kwaedza Corp
13	alimani PASICHIGARE vamwe	varume	vaiita barika apo madzimai	Kwaedza Corp
14	edandemutande iri apo vamwe	varume	vanoita madzimai emuchihwan	Kwaedza Corp
15	s" mamwewo madzimai achiita	varume	vemuchihwande "Sugar Daddy'	Kwaedza Corp
16	ri kure memadzimai avo kana	varume	vavo vopedzisira vave kuita	Kwaedza Corp
17	anoshandisa zvinodha ka uye	varume	vanoenda pabonde nevamwe va	Kwaedza Corp
18	me vanoenda pabonde nevamwe	varume	vane mikana yakakura yokuwa	Kwaedza Corp
19	anga kvvaingonzi kunoonekwa	varume	chete asi nha_ci zvasanduka	Kwaedza Corp
20	na vadiki vanenge vatorenva	varume	kana vabereki nechinvere ch	Kwaedza Corp
21	makumi maviri nepfumbamwe.	Varume	vari kunze kwemakore aya va	Kwaedza Corp
22	atana madzishe neHurumende,	varume	vanosvika 7S3 vakachecheudz	Kwaedza Corp

From the window shown above, *varume* (men) are portrayed as culpable for various activities that contribute towards the spread of HIV and AIDS. Just like *murume* (man), *varume* (men) are depicted as subjects while women (*madzimai*) are the objects of men's activities. Men are metaphorically accused of behaving so irresponsibly by senselessly marrying many wives (*kututa madzimai: Line: 5*). This is part of the story relating how some members of a certain apostolic church in Honde Valley are reportedly marrying many wives irrespective of the fact that they are unable to adequately support their families. The headline of the story goes thus, *Madzimai emapostori ombunyikidzwa*. (Wives married to members of the apostolic faith sect are being abused) (*Kwaedza*, February, 6 – 12, 1998).

Men also engage in secret love affairs (small house, Line: 8). Small house is metaphor used in Zimbabwean English to depict immoral behavior of affluent men. Newspaper reports also indicate that men are to blame (*vane dambudziko*, Line: 9) for most of the HIV and AIDS problems affecting the family in particular and society in general. Further, different men are reported to be visiting certain places to solicit for sex with commercial sex workers (*kuuya varume vakasiyana siyana*, Line: 10). In line 14 it is again reported that men are in the habit of instituting polygamous marriages (*varume vaiita barika*). This immoral behaviour of men is corroborated by the following headline, *Nyakumbotizwa nemurume ndokuzonomunyengedza akasvikozadzwa AIDS*. (A wife got infected by HIV virus after reuniting with her estranged husband) (*Kwaedza*, 6 – 12 February, 1988).

By use of an idiomatic expression *varume vanoenda pabonde nevamwe...*, (Line 17), men get accused of engaging in promiscuity. However, in line 22 a total of 783 men are reported to have undergone circumcision (*varume vanosvika 783 vakachecheudzwa*). This comes from the report entitled, *Kuchecheudzwa nedenda reHIV/AIDS*, in which *Murombedzi* reminds men about the need to refrain from casual sex even after undergoing circumcision as such men can still be infected by the HIV virus (*Kwaedza*, 6 -12 July 2007). The use of the idiom */kuchecheudzwa/* denotes positive politeness

reflecting the *Shona* culture's use of indirectness in order to save face when faced with face threatening situations (Kangira, Mashiri and Gambahaya, 2007).

Brown and Levinson (1987: 101) perceive positive politeness as referring to, "... redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants (or the actions/acquisitions/values resulting from them should be thought of as desirable." Therefore, the use of the expression */kuchecheudzwa/* adheres to *Shona* people's sense of bashfulness inherent in their Knowledge Systems. However, even though this circumcision of men appears positive, it can be argued that men did this for selfish reasons. They might have needed to be immune from HIV, thus using circumcision as a license to sexual promiscuity – further abuse of women.

The behavior of men is consistent with the way they are socialized and the patriarchal nature of Zimbabwean society. Consequently, society does not seem to take serious offence with men of loose morals, hence the terms *nzenza* (loose woman) and *hure* (harlot) refer to women of loose morals rather than men. The only sex - related behavior of men that is punishable is when men sleep with other men's wives. They are labeled *mhombo* and, this is a punishable offence.

5.2.8 Thematisation –cum- nominalisation of key HIV and AIDS campaign concerns

The *Kwaedza* newspaper reports also use a combination of thematisation and nominalisation of key issues in HIV and AIDS campaign messages as linguistic and discursive strategy. Thematisation is a communicative, hence persuasive strategy, used to make readers believe messages as valid by placing some aspects of texts in the initial position of the clause (Halliday, 1985; Thompson, 1996, Guijarro and Hernandez, 2001). Thus, it has a bearing on meaning (Thompson, 1996). As put by Fowler (1991: 80), "Nominalisation involves a process of being converted from a verb or adjective into a noun or a multi-compound which offers ideological opportunities."

Nominalisation creates existence through combining words. This influences thinking. It is an agenda setting strategy (Donsbach, 2004, Driedger, 2008). In this study, the placing of a linguistic component on the initial position of the clause is regarded as a discursive strategy aimed at making the proposition believable. This is so because

information on the initial position of the clause is “given” while information placed on the rheme is “new” (Halliday, 2004: 87). Therefore, readers are meant to take for granted such messages. This initial placement is thus for manipulative purposes. It renders a segment of the message non negotiable.

Thematisation is a discursive strategy that influences salience of an entity (Davie & Maher, 2006). Readers are therefore expected to take such message as non contestable. Table 5.5 below shows the use of thematisation -cum- nominalisation as both a linguistic and discursive strategy used by the *Kwaedza* newspaper.

Table 5.5: Thematisation

Theme	Rheme	Translation	Date
<i>Matambudziko anosanganikwa nawo pakushambadza zveAids</i>	<i>Q (Rheme has been elided)</i>	Problems faced when spreading messages about HIV/AIDS	10-16 September, 1999
<i>Kudya kwechinyakare</i>	<i>kunonzi kunokodzera kune vane Aids</i>	Traditional food is suitable for people living with Aids	16-22 July, 1999
<i>Mukadzi ane utachiona hweHIV</i>	<i>anobuda pachena</i>	A woman living with HIV declares her status	16-22 July, 1999
<i>Vemachechi</i>	<i>vopa zvidzidzo zvirira maererano neAids</i>	Churches spread AIDS messages	18-24 September, 1998
<i>Chirwere ichi</i>	<i>hachina mushonga unochirapa</i>	This disease is incurable	10-16 July, 1998
<i>Vabereki vanofa neAids</i>	<i>vosiyira vana vavo matambudziko makukutu</i>	Children of parents who die from AIDS are experiencing untold suffering	3-9 July, 1999

Theme	Rheme	Translation	Date
<i>Pfambi dzepaKuwirirana</i>	<i>dzoridigurwa neAids</i>	Kuwirirana commercial sex workers are die in large numbers from AIDS	27 Jan. – 5 Feb., 1998
<i>Kugarwa nhaka kwemukadzi wemushakabvu</i>	Q (Elided theme)	Inheritance of the wife of the deceased	20-26 Feb., 1998
<i>Zinatha</i>	<i>haisati yava nemushonga unorapa Aids</i>	Zinatha does not have medicine for AIDS as yet.	19 Feb., 1998
<i>Nyakumbotizwa nemurume ndokuzomunyengetedza</i>	<i>akasvikozadzwa Aids</i>	A wife got infected after being persuaded to reunite with her estranged husband	6-12 Feb., 1998
<i>Madzimai emapostori</i>	<i>ombunyikidzwa</i>	Wives of members of the Apostolic church are forced to have sex with, and, by their husbands	6-12 Feb., 1998

The themes above largely focus on awareness messages about HIV and AIDS. Therefore most of the early HIV and AIDS messages concentrated on creating awareness about the disease. Thus, in the discourse, thematisation is used to present, as non negotiable, issues ranging from, living positively with HIV and AIDS, the importance of traditional foods to people living with HIV and AIDS and the need for the church to play a pivotal role in spreading HIV and AIDS messages among Christians. The latter is important, for, in some circles of the Zimbabwean society, HIV and AIDS is attributed to non believers.

Other messages would therefore focus on issues ranging from the fact that the disease has no cure and the problems faced by orphans left behind by parents who would have succumbed to the disease, to lack of awareness among some commercial sex workers, through how some traditional practices such as polygamy continued to contribute towards the spreading of the disease, to false hope raised by some traditional healers who claimed to have the cure for AIDS. Therefore, on the latter, *Kwaedza* reporters seek to provide information to the contrary by citing the leader of Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association (*Zinatha*) informing the public that *Zinatha* does not have a cure for AIDS as yet. However, some herbs administered by some members of *Zinatha* could heal some ailments linked to AIDS such as wounds and herpes.

The above analysis demonstrates that thematisation –cum- nominalisation is used as a strategy to foreground such important aspects that reporters want readers to take as non negotiable during a critical phase in the fight against HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. Hence, issues of patriarchy and male domination that mitigate against women's chances of negotiating for safe sex in and outside marriage, be it in some religious circles such as the Apostolic church, become critical in the discourse. As can be noted, such topics are thus presented as given in the discourse. On this issue, Mathesius (1939) is right to define a theme thus, "...that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker precedes". Indeed, thematisation – cum- nominalisation is exploited by the *Kwaedza* newspaper for the same manipulative purpose, however, in this case, to alert the public about what to focus on when fighting the pandemic.

As has been alluded to earlier, reporters use nominalisation to create existence out of word combinations thereby creating an entity. This linguistic technique makes the created entity non negotiable. As put by Thompson (1996: 172), "The non-negotiability associated with nominalisation can clearly be a powerful weapon in cases where the speaker or writer wishes, for whatever reason to avoid negotiation, with its possible outcome or rejection."

As shown in the table, *Matambudziko anosanganikwa nawo pakushambadza zveAids* (Problems faced when spreading messages about HIV and AIDS), is a grammatical

entity created through nominalisation. What is on offer as non negotiable here is the fact that there are hurdles encountered in efforts being made to disseminate information about HIV and AIDS. This is what reporters want readers to believe. Other nominalised entities, thus non negotiable, presented as themes are, *kudya kwechinyakare* (traditional food), *Mukadzi ane utachiona hweHIV* (A woman living with HIV) and *vabereki vanofa neAids* (Parents who die from Aids). As themes, these nominalised entities are meant to convince the reader. Arguing in this line Thompson's (1996: 172) avers thus:

In the persuasive text, one common technique is to objectify opinion by nominalising it, so as to make it more difficult for the reader or hearer to disagree with it.

Having looked at how reporters used thematisation –cum- nominalisation as an agenda setting technique (Donsbach, 2004, Driedger, 2008), one turns on to the use of experts.

As has been already stated, one aspect exploited by the *Kwaedza* is to give expert views on messages. In the examples given in table 5 above, the leader of *Zinatha* is the cited expert. However, the window below bears examples of more experts in the form of the former Minister of Health and other officials.

1	kuchengetwa kwakanaka kwevana	Dr David Parirenyatwa svondo rap	Kwaedza Corj
2	na hweHIV nechirwere cheAIDS.	Dr Parirenyatwa vakati shasha dz	Kwaedza Corj
3	e neutachiwana uhu," vakadaro	Dr Parirenyatwa. Nyangwe zvazvo	Kwaedza Corj
4	kubata kunoita chirwere ichi,	Dr Parirenyatwa vakati zvisoma	Kwaedza Corj
5	oora kana kuroorwa," vakadaro	Dr Parirenyatwa. VaGodfrey Mahac	Kwaedza Corj
6	reParamende kuMurehwa North,	Dr David Parirenyatwa, vakapawo	Kwaedza Corj
7	denda reHIV neAids," vakadaro	Dr Parirenyatwa. Mushakabvu Mars	Kwaedza Corj
8	unyanya lzichiri kusimukira,"	Dr Ampomah vakadaro vachiratidza	Kwaedza Corj
9	AIDS ari kuramba zvakanaka."	Dr Ampomah vakataura izvi vachif	Kwaedza Corj
10	uye kuremekedzana audzimba.	Dr Elizabeth Mbizvo vanofambisa	Kwaedza Corj
11	vinova zvinrwisa HIV neAIDS.	Dr Elizabeth Mbizvo vakayemura k	Kwaedza Corj
12	bove muimbi, 1 Paul Matavire (Dr	Love) akabura dzidzo nezvipo	Kwaedza Corj
13	ing With HIV and AIDS (ZNNP+)	Dr Tavona Shako vakatsinhira vak	Kwaedza Corj
14	adoma munguva pfupi yadarika,	Dr Owen Mugurungi chiremba anoon	Kwaedza Corj
15	iwana hweHIV nyore," vakadaro	Dr Mugurungi. Kudzingiswa itsik	Kwaedza Corj
16	sanana muzvipatara," vakadaro	Dr Mugurungi. Kare uye nazvino,	Kwaedza Corj
17	engetedzwa kwakanaka kwevana,	Dr David Parirenyatwa, vakati zv	Kwaedza Corj
18	a rekutora mukushanda kwavo.	Dr Parirenyatwa vakataura mashok	Kwaedza Corj
19	a mamiriro ehutano," vakadaro	Dr Parirenyatwa. Dr Parirenyatw	Kwaedza Corj

As demonstrated above, citation of experts and authority figures is another linguistic and discursive strategy used by the *Kwaedza* to persuade readers to accept messages. On this issue Barker (2008: 72) rightly avers, “Journalists are able to inform their readers by producing their own discourses or helping to reshape existing ones. Such discourses are often shaped by citing the opinions of those in powerful and privileged positions.” At stake here is the involvement of experts and journalists in defining and thus building the agenda for Zimbabwe in the fight against HIV and AIDS at the expense of ordinary Zimbabweans. The linguistic strategy involved herein is the direct speech of the expert. The discursive strategy is realized in that such speech can be related to real contexts with identified participants. For example, in the report entitled, *Mukadzi ane utachiona hweHIV anobuda pachena* (A woman living with HIV declares her status) the woman –cum- expert is cited encouraging others to similarly declare their HIV status. She advises, *Takawanda vanhu tine hutachiona uhu, saka vanhu ngavasahwandise nyaya yechirwere ichi*. (There are many of us living with HIV and AIDS, so people need to come in the open about their condition regarding the disease) (Kwaedza, 16-22, July 1999).

In another incident a NAC official is cited as saying, *Hatipi mari iyi kumunhu ari ega. Tinopa mapoka akavamirira. Kana mapato aya apihwa mari iyi tinoongorora kuti iri kushandiswa zvainofanirwa kunge ichishanda here, vakadaro VaMaseko*. (We do not give this money to individuals. We only give it to organizations. We then assess to establish whether such organizations will be using the money for the relevant purpose, said Mr Maseko) (Kwaedza, 19 – 25 August, 2005).

The above demonstrates that citation of experts is a linguistic and discursive strategy deployed by the *Kwaedza* to bring about credibility to texts. Readers are thus persuaded by voices of experts and official figures. One gets a situation in which a text becomes embedded with other texts. This phenomenon is called intertextuality (Cook, 2001). As suggested by Cook (Ibid) intertextuality is a known persuasive strategy. In the *Kwaedza* influential personalities like leaders of Zinatha, the Minister of Health, leaders of organizations such as the Girl Child Network, are cited to make messages believable. An issue that emerges is the exclusion of voices of ordinary people from the HIV and AIDS discourse. It can be argued that experts and officials are cited at the expense of

ordinary people who purportedly are the beneficiaries of such programmes. This omission betrays an ideological stance.

5.2.9 Shona for Specific Purposes

The *Kwaedza* makes use of a variety of *Shona* that specifically relates to the fight against HIV and AIDS. In this study, this variety of *Shona* is called *Shona* for HIV and AIDS. An analysis of the first 60 word types of the corpus indicates that it has simple grammatical words as the most frequently used and high ranking words. Therefore, *kuti* (because), *uye* (and), *kana* (or), *vari* (they are), *ichi* (this), *ava* (these), *asi* (but), *iri* (this), *vakati* (they said), *vavo* (their) and *apo* (there) are the most frequently used and high ranking grammatical word forms reflected in the discourse. It also emerges from the *Kwaedza* HIV and AIDS corpus that reporters on HIV and AIDS consistently use simple and accessible language. The language used is simple and to the point.

The language is also characterised by technical terms such as HIV and AIDS, *mukondombera*, *denda*, *moto*, *chirwere*, District AIDS Action Committee, Ward AIDS Action Committee, National AIDS Coordination Programme (NACP), Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT), National AIDS Council (NAC) and Southern African Aids Information Dissemination Services (SAFAIDS) (*Kwaedza*, 10-16 July, 1988). It needs to be noted that the terms *mukondombera*, *denda*, *moto* and *chirwere* are simple to native *Shona* speakers as in the discourse they are used to refer to AIDS.

The other common characteristic of *Shona* for HIV and AIDS used in the *Kwaedza* is its low use of figurative language such as idioms and proverbs. Only common idioms and proverbs are sparingly used in the discourse. An example of an idiomatic expression that is used is, *Aiwa ane nzeve anzwa. Zvizhinji zvichauya sepfumvudza yechirimo*. (Let those with ears understand. More advice will come later. *Kwaedza*, 5-11 August, 2005).

Reporters also sparsely use simple rhetorical questions in order to persuade readers to think about solutions to raised issues and hence understand intended messages. Examples are as follows:

1. *Vanhu vanosvika 22 million vakafa pasi rose mumakore kubva muna 2000. Ko kusvika iye nhasi, gore rino 2005 zvave pakadii?* (Since 2000, 22 million people died due to AIDS. So, how many people have died from AIDS by now? (*Kwaedza* 5-11 August, 2005))
2. *Tizvibvunze kuti vangani vashandi vakatisiya uye nherera dzasarira ingani?* (We have to ask ourselves the following question: How many workers have died and how many orphans were left behind? (*Ibid*).

In discourse, rhetorical questions convince through engaging target audiences. Other aspects of *Shona* for HIV and AIDS used in the *Kwaedza* are simple ideophones like */bv-u-ul/ ...kunyange zvazvo manhamba acho asati anzi bv-u-u pachena*. (Even though, the number has not been released). Idiophones make language captivating to the reader.

The discourse also makes use of idioms like, *...kufa kunoomesa mate mukanwa*. (due to startling death) and *...nemhepo iriko mazuva ano*. (...by the current disease) (*Kwaedza*, 3-9 July 1988). Politeness theory informs that when faced with face threatening situations, people use language to save face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Accordingly, Zimbabweans used carefully selected language not just to name the pandemic (Kangira, Mashiri & Gambahaya, 2007) but also to reflect societal desire to redesign social order and stability in the face of danger to the community. Hence, under such threatening circumstances, lighter moments need to be created using figurative language including exaggerations as follows:

Pfambi dzepakuwirirana dzavakuridigurwa neAids. (*Kuwirirana* commercial sex workers are dying in large numbers due to AIDS). (*Kwaedza*, 27 Jan. – 5 Feb., 1998).

Lastly, reporters use third person narrative technique which reflects some of the specific issues that journalists intend readers to remember. Such issues range from the food suitable to people living with HIV and AIDS, to how the disease is spread, through human rights issues, to care and treatment. For example, in one report traditional food stuffs such as *mutakura*, *nhopi*, *rupiza* and porridge made from sifted maize meal and porridge made from *mauyu* (Kwaedza, 27 January – 5 February, 1998) are recommended for people living with HIV and AIDS.

5.2.10 Summation

This section has revealed that the Kwaedza employs repetition as a discursive strategy to depict main thematic concerns in the HIV and AIDS discourse of Zimbabwe. Such themes include *vanhu* (people), *vakadzi* (women), *vana* (children), *varume* (men) and *chirwere* (disease – HIV and AIDS). Auxiliary, imperative and cognitive verbs are used to depict people as more of objects than either agents or potential agents in the fight against HIV and AIDS. Further, verbs and nouns associated with HIV and AIDS conjure images of hopelessness, despair, terror and death. AIDS is metaphorically constructed as powerful and unstoppable disease.

Women and children are configured as lacking and downtrodden while men are constructed as subjects and culpable in the spread of HIV and AIDS. To reflect on these issues reporting verbs, metaphors and idiomatic expressions are used. Thematisation – cum – nominalisation is used to frame HIV and AIDS campaign messages. Other techniques used are citation of experts who reflect pro-government positions and government officials. Ordinary people are not cited. Last, is the use of *Shona* for HIV and AIDS and third person narrative to reveal issues of HIV and AIDS education, treatment, care and control.

5.3 Analysis and interpretation of linguistic and discursive devices reflected in the corpus from the Herald, the Chronicle and the Sunday Mail newspapers

The corpus developed from articles by the Herald, the chronicle and the Sunday Mail newspapers demonstrates that HIV and AIDS discourse is concerned with repeated themes such as HIV, people, home, man, wife, health, mother, children, status, family, ARV, women, AIDS, school, clinic, community, medication and counseling.

Repetition is thus used as a linguistic and discursive strategy to communicate messages around these themes. However, to fully reflect on linguistic and discursive strategies used in the reports by these newspapers, one needs to explore the environment in which some of the above - mentioned thematic concerns are used. One starts by taking a look at the concordance environment of the term HIV.

1	02:00 Catherine Murombedzi HIV Walk It is time to take stock	Clean Corpus
2	n has made in regards to the HIV pandemic, which has caused ha	Clean Corpus
3	level conference on National HIV and Aids closes in Harare tod	Clean Corpus
4	lts and children living with HIV in need of the life-saving dr	Clean Corpus
5	e ask everyone to know their HIV status yet we have such scari	Clean Corpus
6	d niece has turned out to be HIV positive. To make matters wor	Clean Corpus
7	ibility. Most people who are HIV positive believe that when th	Clean Corpus
8	does not stand on just one's HIV status. The man wrote in sayi	Clean Corpus
9	on an advert that speaks on HIV sees us ending up arguing. In	Clean Corpus
10	y everyone should know their HIV status it is such cases that	Clean Corpus
11	al leaders as the drivers of HIV. He called on men to be satis	Clean Corpus
12	men who knew that they were HIV positive still put women at r	Clean Corpus
13	ention and the spread of new HIV infections everyone's duty. W	Clean Corpus
14	an is enough to think one is HIV negative which is unfortunate	Clean Corpus
15	when a pregnant woman tests HIV negative and the baby is safe	Clean Corpus
16	y too conclude that they are HIV negative which is unfounded.	Clean Corpus
17	me flatly refused to have an HIV test on the basis that his wi	Clean Corpus
18	y girl and both were fit and HIV negative. So how could he be	Clean Corpus
19	ld he be even thinking of an HIV test - his illness was "eithe	Clean Corpus
20	"I flatly refused to have an HIV test as my wife had given bir	Clean Corpus
21	ore than surprised. I tested HIV positive," he said. The man s	Clean Corpus
22	another test and she tested HIV negative again," he said. "Th	Clean Corpus
23	I pointed out that his being HIV positive did not mean he woul	Clean Corpus
24	heme was "Elimination of New HIV infections in Children, Keepi	Clean Corpus
25	00:00 Catherine Murombedzi HIV Walk It's January 7and many p	Clean Corpus
26	u that you needed to have an HIV test? You laughed it off and	Clean Corpus
27	ere confirmed as both tested HIV positive. Charles was devasta	Clean Corpus
28	her to child transmission of HIV (PMTCT). This transmission, k	Clean Corpus
29	s of the programme as she is HIV negative. The Elizabeth Glase	Clean Corpus
30	e 72 percent were tested for HIV, 78 000 women living with HIV	Clean Corpus
31	IV, 78 000 women living with HIV have received some form of an	Clean Corpus
32	t pregnant women living with HIV, even in the remotest areas,	Clean Corpus
33	lthy and their babies remain HIV-free as well," said a report	Clean Corpus
34	r book "A Generation Free of HIV". "The national programme has	Clean Corpus
35	ar reached 49 percent of all HIV-positive women in Zimbabwe. I	Clean Corpus
36	nge after mothers had tested HIV positive was to have them ret	Clean Corpus
37	elling. "When a mother tests HIV positive and is in need of tr	Clean Corpus
38	ve. If a baby is found to be HIV negative then the cotrimoxazo	Clean Corpus

The corpus segments shown above demonstrate that reporters used sub-technical language as a linguistic and discursive strategy to communicate positive messages about HIV. Such positivity is a “politeness” strategy necessitated by the need to protect “face wants” of HIV positive members of society (Yule, 2003: 60). This is done in order to maintain interpersonal links with HIV positive people including their friends and relatives.

Halliday (1989) argues that language can be used to perform the interpersonal metafunction. This means, and, as indicated in the given examples below, HIV discourse has been carefully crafted to maintain human relations. This strategy creates social cohesion. Examples of sub-technical expressions which reflect politeness are, “HIV status” (line 5), “HIV positive” (line 6), “drivers of HIV”, (line 11), “HIV negative” (line 14), “HIV test” (line 17), “living with HIV” (line 31) and “HIV free” (line 33). It needs to be pointed out that most of these expressions characterised by politeness in the nomenclature of HIV and AIDS, come from the report on the 2011 HIV and AIDS conference themed, “Elimination of New HIV infections in children, keeping mothers alive”. In addition, to evaluating ground covered in the fight against the pandemic in Zimbabwe, the conference’s theme and the reporter’s language reflect hope in the fight against HIV. For example, expressions such as, “children living with HIV, HIV positive” (line 6), “HIV negative” (line 18), “HIV – free” and “HIV spread and breaking it down” (line 47) encode messages of hope (The Herald, 9 September, 2011).

The report also makes use of language that evokes positive emotions such, “life saving drugs and avoidable deaths” (Ibid). In addition, in the report a husband is quoted saying, “I was counseled and told that from then on we had to use protection...” (Ibid). This shows that HIV and AIDS is no longer perceived as the death trap that it used to be before these interventions. From this report’s perspective, counseling and information are now readily available to those who need such services.

The analysis above connotes that HIV discourse is meant to influence a course of behavior. From a rhetorical point of view, it persuades through pathos, ethos and logos (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005). However, the examples given above persuade through evoking emotions of hope (HIV walk, children living with HIV, HIV spread and breaking it

down) and happiness (HIV negative, HIV free). Therefore, the examples betray the use of pathos. This shows that the type of HIV discourse reflected above falls within the armpit of deliberative rhetoric (Black, 1978). It is thus deliberative rhetoric purposefully constructed in order to influence behavior change hence its use of politeness.

5.3.1 Linguistic and discursive strategies used in the depiction of people

The examples given below show the linguistic environment involving the key word, people. As key words can be used to analyse literary texts, it is important to examine the linguistic environment of the noun, people. This enables one to meaningfully explore the linguistic and discursive devices associated with the lexical item, people in the discourse.

1	to live. Nationally 400 000 people are on active ART, leaving	Clean Corpus
2	e with stress when you have people languishing on the waiting	Clean Corpus
3	and I believe on many other people's lives. I am more attached	Clean Corpus
4	port to compatibility. Most people who are HIV positive believ	Clean Corpus
5	a nation and where do young people like the "niece" above stan	Clean Corpus
6	ted. The problem with most people is that they rely on the "b	Clean Corpus
7	that: "Hey no wonder young people are dying." The answer is:	Clean Corpus
8	Walk It's January 7and many people are watching their purses.	Clean Corpus
9	members. Being January most people barely have enough to send	Clean Corpus
10	arles assured all the other people present that it was high ti	Clean Corpus
11	opened his eyes and shocked people. His road to recovery was s	Clean Corpus
12	om the dead. However, today people feel the grim reaper should	Clean Corpus
13	the power of money can make people settle for anything. A maid	Clean Corpus
14	gnant. She went back to her people where the marriage party wa	Clean Corpus
15	s a law to protect innocent people from infected but one has t	Clean Corpus
16	and collected his loot when people get paid. He told all who c	Clean Corpus
17	rom an Aids-related disease people still flocked there and it	Clean Corpus
18	not make sense not to deny people these condoms which are che	Clean Corpus
19	ve issue which I think most people are not fully aware of. Ma	Clean Corpus

20	e not fully aware of. Many people especially men think if the	Clean Corpus
21	e of our national response. People living positively gave test	Clean Corpus
22	lf that these two important people needed me around and I had	Clean Corpus
23	ngers of unsafe sex and are people on ART themselves. The thre	Clean Corpus
24	have no new infections, if people still have unprotected sex	Clean Corpus
25	ency but ought to teach the people to fish. * cathrine.mwauiyak	Clean Corpus
26	. Touched by the plight of people after disasters the world o	Clean Corpus
27	tment, care and support for people living with HIV (founded by	Clean Corpus
28	f the lives of the affected people. They have therefore set ou	Clean Corpus
29	rden to Bako reDonhodzo Old People's Home (Soda) in Highfield	Clean Corpus
30	general cleaning of the old people's home is a built-up event	Clean Corpus
31	unteering and mobilise more people to volunteer their time and	Clean Corpus
32	through volunteerism. "As people get older, their bodies get	Clean Corpus
33	more nutrition than younger people to keep their bodies health	Clean Corpus
34	ned about the well-being of people living with HIV and vulnera	Clean Corpus
35	ing with HIV and vulnerable people, The Centre decided to help	Clean Corpus
36	romised to get the relevant people before Christmas so that we	Clean Corpus
37	l Policy Dialogue for young people, the challenges they faced	Clean Corpus
38	ays the case, let the young people speak for themselves and th	Clean Corpus

From the above texts, people are involved in a number of activities related variously with efforts made to combat HIV and AIDS. Texts report about people as being “active on ART” (line 1) and “languishing in waiting” (line 2). People are “HIV positive” (line 4) and “young people are dying” (line 7). The foregoing are components of a Herald report (9 September, 2011) in which “stupid men” are said to propose love to “all beautiful women they meet”. The reason given is that such men engage in “bus stop diagnosis” whereby they wrongly use observation to determine whether one is HIV positive or not (The Herald, 9 September, 2011). In addition, in line 11 people are reported to be shocked while in line 15 innocent people are to be protected.

The full report features in the Herald report of 6 January 2012 in which a “rich” man who miraculously survived after suffering from AIDS for a very long time, is reported to have infected several women, mostly domestic workers, whom he lured due to his wealth. Further, people are reported as “living positively” (line 21) whilst some people might still be having unprotected sex (line 24). From these examples, one notes that the use of the auxiliary verbs ‘are’ and gerunds - verbs in the present continuous tense (languishing, dying, living) shows that propositions for HIV and AIDS in the discourse refer to issues that are valid for the present.

One of the reports mentioned above is about risky behaviour inherent in farming communities whereby the writer quotes an informant highlighting that such people were supposed to be given condoms (The Herald, 30 December, 2011). It is thus discourse about issues that are on - going.

Even though the discourse portrays people as victims of HIV and AIDS, it also shows progress made in the fight against HIV and AIDS. It is reported that 400 000 people are on ART while some are living positively (The Herald, 9 September 2011). Quantification is thus used as a discursive strategy to show progress made in the fight against HIV and AIDS. This perspective demonstrates that Zimbabwe has reached a stage in which one can get infected by HIV and continues to live a normal life provided they will be receiving treatment. However, the discourse also presents the fight against HIV and AIDS as a challenge as, "...if people still have unprotected sex even if they know that they are HIV positive, this does not give a clear picture in the future" (The Herald, 15 December, 2011).

Lastly, the discourse expresses positive politeness regarding the nomenclature of those infected. If they are infected by the virus without showing signs of the disease (AIDS) they are referred to as "people living with HIV" (line 27). The adoption of this nomenclature in Zimbabwe demonstrates that Zimbabweans use positive politeness particularly when faced with face threatening situations (Kangira., Mashiri, & Gambahaya, 2007). To gain further insights into the HIV and AIDS discourse by the Herald, the Chronicle and the Sunday Mail, one explores the linguistic environment of the key word 'man' below.

5.3.2 Identification, analysis and interpretation of linguistic and discursive techniques associated with the framing of 'man'

In the window shown below, man is portrayed as follows: "frustrated" (line 2) due to an HIV positive partner who was so sensitive to topics related to HIV and AIDS such that each time they sought to discuss such she became angry. Furthermore, man "had been unwell", is "on ART" (line 4), "would die" (line 9), "pulled a Lazarus" (mean he pleaded for help) (line 11) and "settled for women who worked" (line 14), (The Herald, 6 January, 2012). One of the reports puts it thus, "The man who had been unwell for sometime

flatly refused to have an HIV test on the basis that his wife had recently given birth to a bouncing girl and both were fit and HIV negative” (The Herald, 9 September, 2011). This symbolises ignorance as a vector of HIV and AIDS.

Other Man’s activities are, *sneak to a* “man’s house” (line 15), “eagle –eyed... wasted no time” (line 17), “sexual union with a man” (line 18) and “new...in Naomi’s life” (line 19). Part of the report featuring the latter reads as follows: “Naomi leaned on her lover’s friend Jairos for support and in no time Jairos became the new man in Naomi’s life” (The Herald, 30 December, 2011). This symbolizes AIDS as a disease of poverty and man as a vector of AIDS. Other reports involving man partly read: “who said the condom burst” (line 24), “who is a prophet” (line 27), “gets married to as many wives” (line 28), “man’s thing to be unfaithful” (line 30), “family man and very responsible” (line 31), “refused to be treated” (line 34) and “has married 11 times”, (line 38, The Herald, 14 June 2012).

1	n just one's HIV status. The man wrote in saying that it is be	Clean Corpus
2	as her," said the frustrated man. I can hear grumblings and qu	Clean Corpus
3	tive which is unfounded. One man from my home area found out t	Clean Corpus
4	dant couples are common. The man who had been unwell for somet	Clean Corpus
5	that was madness," said the man. He said he only agreed to be	Clean Corpus
6	HIV positive," he said. The man said he was lucky in that the	Clean Corpus
7	herine Murombedzi James is a man in his mid sixties. His first	Clean Corpus
8	This is the true story of a man on ART who, despite his healt	Clean Corpus
9	foregone conclusion that the man would die when he slipped int	Clean Corpus
10	fternoon visiting hours, the man opened his eyes and shocked p	Clean Corpus
11	tal recuperating. Truly, the man pulled a Lazarus on the world	Clean Corpus
12	reaper should have taken the man as he now seems to be sending	Clean Corpus
13	the maker in his stead. The man, who lives in one of the low	Clean Corpus
14	own appears a challenge. The man settled for women who worked	Clean Corpus
15	edza. She would sneak to the man's house when she was off duty	Clean Corpus
16	for in marriage by a wealthy man. The new in-law did not disap	Clean Corpus
17	beloved one. The eagle-eyed man wasted no time in grieving ov	Clean Corpus
18	ved in a sexual union with a man who later had her arrested ac	Clean Corpus
19	o time Jairos became the new man in Naomi's life. The two got	Clean Corpus
20	or further tests. The second man writes: I am a widower. My w	Clean Corpus
21	ation, I fell in love with a man in February this year and in	Clean Corpus
22	not sleep with him, he was a man of honour and he respected me	Clean Corpus
23	f upside down. The norm is a man or woman uses protection outs	Clean Corpus
24	to fear. In the case of the man who said the condom burst, hi	Clean Corpus
25	ns. "I did not even know the man prior to my marriage. It was	Clean Corpus
26	was given away to marry this man," said the innocent-looking g	Clean Corpus
27	ing venture," she said. "The man who is a prophet and has thre	Clean Corpus
28	normal. "It is normal that a man gets married to as many wives	Clean Corpus
29	posed. No fully functional man can go that long without becom	Clean Corpus
30	are not faithful, so its a mans thing to be unfaithful. It is	Clean Corpus
31	ness trends. I am a family man and very responsible, he said.	Clean Corpus
32	y responsible, he said. The man said that he was comfortable w	Clean Corpus
33	band agreed. Since the young man was not familiar with the cit	Clean Corpus
34	, no, he said. Now that the man had refused to be treated they	Clean Corpus
35	uld get married to the first man who approached her just to sp	Clean Corpus
36	than my former husband. This man was the foreman at a local po	Clean Corpus
37	someone mature, even an old man who would give her a roof ove	Clean Corpus
38	aper carried a story about a man has married 11 times. He was	Clean Corpus

It is noted that the majority of the above action verbs are in the past tense, for example, "frustrated", "pulled a Lazarus", "settled for women" and "wasted no time". This means they relate to what man did. Some of the verbs are in infinitive (For example, to be unfaithful) while some are in the present tense (is a prophet, (is) on ART). They relate to man's current activities. Hence, in this discourse man is evaluated negatively as irresponsible and therefore culpable on the basis of his past and current actions. He is engaged in activities that spread HIV. In addition, man refuses to be treated.

It is only in few instances when man does the right thing like being “on ART” and being a family man and responsible. However, the latter also presupposes the existence of two forms in which ‘man’ exist namely, one who is virtuous and honourable and another who is irresponsible and dangerous to society. The narrative seems to suggest that, it is almost close to the nature of man to be unfaithful and immoral. The Herald report (6 July 2012) says it all, “It’s man’s thing to be unfaithful. In fact, it is, macho.” This betrays discourse that configures man as the vector of HIV and thus a danger to society. This blaming of personalities falls under epideictic rhetoric – rhetoric about praising and blaming. However, this rhetoric leaves out structural and cultural issues thereby failing to address socio-historical circumstances that influence man to behave in the way he does.

5.3.3 The linguistic and discursive strategies used in the depiction of wife

As a first step to address the above, one presents a window showing the concordances of wife below:

20	having fish "bought" by the wife. Jairos' neighbours told him	Clean Corpus
21	nd drunk and slip off to his wife. Jairos played to the tune.	Clean Corpus
22	that Jairos must take Miros wife. The case was settled and th	Clean Corpus
23	rings home Rusia as a second wife. Justice is delivered accord	Clean Corpus
24	y do not bow to her demands. Wife swap has taken place, it app	Clean Corpus
25	ommunities seem to engage in wife swap with ease. There appear	Clean Corpus
26	owner in the area, said that wife swaps and early marriages ar	Clean Corpus
27	where one would have lost a wife or husband. In the case of a	Clean Corpus
28	goes on. Naomi is now Miros' wife and Rusia is "happily marrie	Clean Corpus
29	ordant HIV situation with my wife. We got tested together in M	Clean Corpus
30	writes: I am a widower. My wife died in 2005 giving birth. I	Clean Corpus
31	d to Domboshava as the third wife. Loveness is one of the many	Clean Corpus
32	at I was given' to him as a wife. He announced this and my fat	Clean Corpus
33	the husband or sometimes the wife is away from home for weeks	Clean Corpus
34	usually have a spare wheel (wife) in each city if not in-betwee	Clean Corpus
35	consider her like my second wife, said Mhofu. Mhofu was evasi	Clean Corpus
36	y sister, she is a priests wife, where can she have contracted	Clean Corpus
37	impapers.co.zw The 3rd, 4th wife syndrome Thursday, 14 June	Clean Corpus
38	e her former husband and new wife. I did not waste time for b	Clean Corpus

On the first line the verb bought is used euphemistically thereby suggesting that the wife exchanged sex for fish. Line 21 implies that man can afford to go for adventure and still come back to his wife who is portrayed as passive. Line 22 suggests wife inheritance while line 23 refers to a polygamous union.

Lines 24 to 26 bear nominalisation by which a new phenomenon wife swap(s) is constructed. It is a product of modernity.

The Herald story (30 December, 2011) bears the story of wife –swapping between two friends. The report proceeds: “Multiple concurrent partners are the major drivers of HIV and the farming community seems to engage in swapping with ease.” This frames a woman as a sex object. Line 27 suggests possible death of a wife or husband due to HIV and AIDS. Line 30 refers to death of a wife when giving birth. Part of the report reads as follows: “His wife died in 1998” (The Herald, 6 January, 2012). In line 31 a polygamous union is referred to. Three wives are married to one husband. An arranged marriage is intimated in line 32. Part of the story reads thus, “They offered their new in – law another wife” (6 January, 2012). The woman involved does not make decision about her marriage. Line 34 suggests the involvement of man with another woman outside marriage. In such relationship the wife is metaphorically referred to as a “spare wheel” (line 34). Line 35, 37 and 38 variously refer to relationships between men and more than one wife. Line 36 connotes an extramarital relationship involving a priest. In each of these cases wife is constructed as passive, abused, unhappy and sex object.

A deviant case is however reported: “I discovered my wife’s status after tying a note” (The Herald, 9 September, 2011). It is rare in the discourse to find a wife who is responsible bringing HIV and AIDS to the family. A quick survey of a window on the lexical item women betray a similar pattern in which women are portrayed as powerless, poor and exploited sex objects. This configures HIV and AIDS as being perpetrated by patriarchy. It is discourse that largely persuades through pathos (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005).

5.3.4 An examination of linguistic and discursive devices used in the portrayal of children

Below are windows showing the concordance list involving the lexical item, children.

The analysis and interpretation follows immediately after.

1	d. With 650 000 adults and children living with HIV in need of	Clean Corpus
2	lay. Today 23 000 innocent children are in urgent need of a ch	Clean Corpus
3	ve someone remain with the children," he said. I pointed out t	Clean Corpus
4	n of New HIV infections in Children, Keeping Mothers Alive". M	Clean Corpus
5	have enough to send their children to school. So one wonders	Clean Corpus
6	y over 16 000 HIV positive children are living healthy lives i	Clean Corpus
7	y suburbs, has three adult children. Two of the children stay	Clean Corpus
8	adult children. Two of the children stay abroad and spoil thei	Clean Corpus
9	ied and now have two minor children. As would be the demands o	Clean Corpus
10	are the order of the day. "Children as young as 12 years are f	Clean Corpus
11	rmined and able to see her children grow up. She has not start	Clean Corpus
12	importance she had to her children hence her perseverance to	Clean Corpus
13	on orphans and vulnerable children? Yesterday, Zimbabwe join	Clean Corpus
14	ng child rights and giving children voices. In all this he sou	Clean Corpus
15	om Generation", "Unite for Children", "Hard Knock Life", "Beau	Clean Corpus
16	lated deaths and all these children are vulnerable and need as	Clean Corpus
17	eness. Loveness misses her children but there was no way she c	Clean Corpus
18	b and I could not take the children with me," she said. Lovene	Clean Corpus
19	Loveness has not seen her children in a year and she says she	Clean Corpus
20	"I am worried now about my children. I have heard that there c	Clean Corpus
21	omised to help her get her children in the near future so that	Clean Corpus
22	that we go and collect my children. I will then go and look a	Clean Corpus
23	where I will live with my children. She also said she will ta	Clean Corpus
24	lso said she will take the children to the hospital along with	Clean Corpus
25	zw Condoms in schools: Let children speak Thursday, 03 Novemb	Clean Corpus
26	each a decision. That some children are indulging in early sex	Clean Corpus
27	here are a few mischievous children in schools can not be disp	Clean Corpus
28	a barometer for all school children to be in need of condoms,"	Clean Corpus
29	olders in this matter, the children. They have spoken, they d	Clean Corpus
30	couple was blessed with 14 children. Of these, 10 have died. O	Clean Corpus
31	the pain was over. "All my children and their wives got TB and	Clean Corpus
32	cause of death for the 10 children and their spouses was TB,	Clean Corpus
33	health delivery system. The children also need to have HIV test	Clean Corpus
34	ce of having been exposed. Children under 16 need a guardian o	Clean Corpus
35	education of three of the children," said Ambuya Mazungu who	Clean Corpus
36	e rains would fall. "These children have had nothing to eat. W	Clean Corpus
37	y in question three of the children had not gone to school. "T	Clean Corpus
38	to orphaned and vulnerable children in Buhera district. Danana	Clean Corpus

The linguistic environment featuring children reflects their powerlessness and vulnerability. In a related story a report has this say, "...65 000 adults and children living with HIV in need of life saving drugs what are the mitigating factors that we are taking to ensure that these lives are not lost as they wait for their turn to be saved" (The Herald, 9 September, 2011). It needs to be observed that, just like women, children are rarely able to construct their own identities and discourses. Their discourses are constructed by the powerful and influential figures in society (journalists, non-governmental organizations, government officials and other expert figures). For example, the Herald (1 December 2011) reports about the Save Humanity Project "...aimed at giving children voices through music and dance."

The window above constructs children as facing numerous threats due to HIV and AIDS. They are living with HIV (line 1); 23 000 children are in need (line 2) and some children are left under the care of people other than their parents (line 3). Children are infected with HIV (line 4); 16 000 HIV positive children are living healthy (line 6) lives in Zimbabwe as they are on Antiretroviral Treatment (ART) medication (The Herald, 9 September, 2011). A mother is also reported to be struggling with her children's upkeep (line 12). Children are orphans and vulnerable (line 13). Furthermore, children need to be empowered by being given voices (line 14) and some are separated from their mother (line 17) thereby making the mother worried (line 20). There is also mention of condoms in schools (line 25) as some of the children are reported to be indulging in early sex (line 26). A parent lost 10 out of 14 children (line 30) and all his/her children and their wives got tuberculosis (TB) (line 31). The Herald (9 September, 2011) also reports thus, "Today 23 000 innocent children are in urgent need of a chance to live" (Ibid). There is a report about children with nothing to eat (line 36) and another in which children had not gone to school (line 37). Last is a report about orphaned and vulnerable children in *Buhera* district (line 38).

Another reports indicates thus, "...children as young as 12 are forced into marriage" (The Herald, 30 December, 2011).

In some of the reports about children, quantification has been used as a discursive strategy aimed at persuading through pathos (23 000 children in need, 16 000 HIV positive children, 14 children....10 have died (lines 26 and 30 respectively).

In these examples, journalists employed imagistic languages to evoke emotions of fear and hope. There is little hope as condoms are being distributed in schools, however, affecting their education.

5.3.5 The citation of official figures and ‘experts’

One discursive strategy that features prominently in government controlled newspapers is the use of role models, government officials and expert figures from pro-government non-governmental organizations. Through their citation such groups of people are constructed as responsible for agenda building process (Donsbach, 2004 and Driedger, 2008) involving HIV and AIDS issues in Zimbabwe albeit at the exclusion of ordinary Zimbabweans. An example is that of a top official of the National AIDS Council of Zimbabwe who is cited saying:

If an organization decides to help people living positively, its efforts should be seen on the ground, following the most marginalized in rural areas and directly working with them. ...They have their concerns and it is important that we do not talk on their behalf. We are working towards close partnership with them and inviting them to participate in all workshops and meetings that we hold (The Herald, 27 September, 2006).

It should be borne in mind that this was said in September 2006. This is close to a decade after the introduction of the HIV and AIDS policy. This connotes a top-down approach in the implementation of the policy in which there was no meaningful involvement of the grassroots particularly people living with HIV and AIDS.

The lack of involvement of ordinary people and people living with HIV and AIDS appears to precipitate hurdles in the implementation of the policy. One such problem is reflected in the Herald (20 August 2004) when a parliamentarian laments thus, “There is need for the National AIDS Council and its support structures to operate professionally and be transparent and accountable in terms of the disbursement of fund. In the same article NAC is reported as having put in place ...measures to minimize the abuse of funds” (*Ibid*). What emerges is the alleged apparent lack of professionalism and transparency by NAC which culminates in abuse of funds.

More insights on this will be made as the study explores views from Zimbabweans. At this point it suffices to note that state media used powerful members of society to set and build an agenda for the implementation of HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe at the exclusion of ordinary people living with HIV and AIDS. This does not seem to augur well for a successful policy implementation.

5.3.6 Summation

The analysis and interpretation of data from the corpus from state newspapers yielded positive politeness that is used as a discursive strategy in reports to save face on issues involving the nomenclature of HIV and AIDS. The analysis further exposes the use of deliberative rhetoric with undertones of hope. Even though people are constructed as victims through reporting verbs (For example, auxiliary verbs and gerunds), there exists a ray of hope in the implementation of the 1999 HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe. Quantification is used to reflect on this progress as well as to frame problems peculiar to children regarding the pandemic. Further, reporting verbs, metaphors and nominalisation betray the use of epideictic rhetoric to frame men as subjects and thus culpable. Men are depicted as spreading HIV and AIDS which is causing women and children to suffer. Women and children are powerless and vulnerable. To add, government officials and pro- government role models and expert figures from non-governmental organizations appear to champion the top – down HIV and AIDS intervention model at the expense of people at the grassroots.

5.4 An identification, analysis and interpretation of linguistic and discursive strategies used by private newspapers

The list of key lexical items from private newspapers (The Standard, The Financial Gazette, The Independent, The Daily News) reveals a repetition of key issues in the fight against HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. They are, HIV (9), AIDS (22), Zimbabwe (24), people (25), women (29), health (36), government (37), children (59) and men (71). Other lexical items listed as important include, programmes (82), Harare (86), treatment (92), *murambatsvina* (96), prevention (112), ART (122), houses (127) and services (130). Below is an analysis of HIV and AIDS discourse involving some of these lexical items.

5.4.1 The linguistic and discursive construction of people as suffering and unsettled by private newspaper reports

The discourse linguistically and discursively constructs people as troubled, powerless and unsettled. Faircoulgh, (1989) and Driedger, (2008) argue that language underpins ideology hence the need to moderate views from newspapers by those given by the people of Zimbabwe. As shown on the window below, people are displaced (lines 1 and 3) and they are without decent accommodation (line 2). They die of AIDS related diseases (line 4) and they had their homes destroyed (line 5). People are also forcefully driven out of their homes (line 6) and, consequently they now survive in substandard dwelling units (line 8). Further, hundreds of people fail to benefit from what they had been promised (line 9). Some individuals are reportedly collecting people's moneys (line 11). This suggests exploitation of poor people by powerful members of society.

The use of the gerund suggests something that was ongoing during the time of writing. Hundreds of people are "staying in shacks" (line 12) and supposed beneficiaries of a housing scheme are suffering (line 14). Further, 700 000 are rendered homeless (line 25) and informal business structures are destroyed (line 26). Lastly, an individual is metaphorically referred to as a walking coffin by other members of society, while 1,1 million people are living with HIV, 100 000 are receiving ARV treatment and 30 000 HIV positive people are waiting for treatment (line 21).

1	h cases among the displaced people both in urban and farming	Standard 43 reports
2	e decent accommodation for people in these communities," said	Standard 43 reports
3	a response to over 700 000 people who were displaced under O	Standard 43 reports
4	ile clinic, says scores of people die of HIV/Aids related dis	Standard 43 reports
5	settlement of about 10 000 people that was destroyed by the g	Standard 43 reports
6	The forced evictions drove people not only from their homes,	Standard 43 reports
7	occupants of the houses and people who call themselves legitim	Standard 43 reports
8	ct hundreds of thousands of people left to survive in substand	Standard 43 reports
9	nt Trust, said hundreds of people who were supposed to benefi	Standard 43 reports
10	d individuals. "Most of the people staying at those houses wer	Standard 43 reports
11	w they have been collecting people's moneys. "They want to cov	Standard 43 reports
12	t now there are hundreds of people who are staying in shacks,	Standard 43 reports
13	understood that some of the people who were allocated stands	Standard 43 reports
14	ficiaries are suffering yet people who were sitting pretty whe	Standard 43 reports
15	ccupants of the houses and people who call themselves legitim	Standard 43 reports
16	who was among the first 50 people who were supposed to move	Standard 43 reports
17	house. "We do not know why people whose houses were not destr	Standard 43 reports
18	believe that at some point people said I was a walking coffi	Standard 43 reports
19	d Moyo are some of the many people in Zimbabwe who have been	Standard 43 reports
20	Fund. At least 1,1 million people are living with HIV in Zimb	Standard 43 reports
21	rnment. Of the 1,1 million people living with HIV, 100 000 of	Standard 43 reports
22	the donors at least 210 000 people will be on ART by the end o	Standard 43 reports
23	ring a media tour that more people will have access to life-sa	Standard 43 reports
24	an change the lives of many people living with HIV," Rubaya s	Standard 43 reports
25	hich left more than 700 000 people homeless. The operation als	Standard 43 reports
26	of informal business people who had their structures destroyed	Standard 43 .

From the above, people are discursively constructed in terms of their numbers and movement. In this case both figures and scores (line 4) are used as adjectives for people. The quantification of people, for example, in "700 000 people ... displaced" (line 3), "settlement of about 10 000 people ... destroyed" (line 5), "hundreds of thousands of people left to survive in substandard..." (line 8), "hundreds of people who were supposed to benefit; hundreds of people staying in shacks ..." (line 12) and "700 000 people homeless" (line 25) is meant to persuade through pathos (emotions). It is also aimed at evoking negative emotions against powerful people who caused such suffering of people in large numbers. For example, a report on Hopley farm avers thus, "...scores of people die of HIV/AIDS related diseases at the farm every week" (The Standard, 26 April 2010).

From the given examples, it emerges that emotional appeals are linguistically realised in action verbs that metaphorically conjure horror images. Such verbs are, displaced (line 1, 2), destroyed (line 3), forced (line 6) and drove (line 6).

The latter is a verb used metaphorically to evoke negative emotions of anger as the reader is meant to think that people cannot be driven in large numbers like animals. The noun “homeless” (line 25) is also aimed at persuading through evocation of negative emotions of anger. Thus, Fairclough (1989) and Stubbs (1991) are right to argue that language use is ideological.

Private newspapers seem to have been setting an agenda aimed at influencing perception (Dave and Maher, 2006, Bracken and Atkin, 2009). Further, the use of statistical figures is meant to convince readers to accept the figures as accurate and therefore factual. It also creates ideological squares based on two groups of people: on one hand, the affected, the suffering and powerless and, on the other, agents of this suffering, namely, powerful members of society (For example, government officials and the police). This connotes vicissitudes of a class system which unfortunately run in the face of HIV and AIDS Policy of 1999.

The HIV and AIDS policy recognises as critical the observance of human rights hence the forceful eviction of people becomes a violation of such policy. It further stipulates the need to economically empower people. The policy also upholds the integrity of the family unit expressed variously as creating an environment that allows married people to stay together as husband and wife and ensuring that children go to school while the family has access to health facilities. Thus, from the perspective of the foregoing newspaper reports, the HIV and AIDS policy provisions for Zimbabwe were variously undermined hence affecting the implementation of some of the provisions of the policy.

5.4.2 Identification, analysis and interpretation of linguistic and discursive devices used in the portrayal of women

Private newspaper articles depict women as generally poor but proactive. Women activists champion women’s rights. They give women a voice as symbolised by the following:

We should not be wasting our time and energy discussing what two people, men or women, agree to do behind closed doors. Instead we should be looking at how rapists should be sentenced and also how men who kill their wives should be dealt with. (The Standard, 11 August 2010).

These are the words of the Executive Director of Women's Trust in response to the alleged call for polygamy among members of the apostolic church by the president. Women activities further argued that, "...polygamy belonged to the past where women were socialized to think that they can only succeed in life by leaning on a man" (Ibid). They further pointed out that polygamy was "...likely to worsen the spread of AIDS" (Ibid). Therefore, to private newspaper reports, women are not hopeless. Even though they are reported as having been raped (line 2), they remain resilient and proactive.

Part of the respective report reads thus, "Many poor women have been raped while young girls are abused by the "haves" of Hopley for food – some for just a loaf of bread" (The Standard, 22 May, 2010). Despite hurdles, women embrace the spirit of falling and rising again in life hence, even though they are HIV positive (line 3), some women from Epworth managed to form a soccer club – "ARV Swallows" which is involved in league matches (line 5) (The Standard, 31 October, 2009). There is also mention of assuring women a "small income" (line 16) and an apparent on-going campaign aimed at "emancipating women" (line 20). What emerges is that, as women demand their rights, polygamy is rightly viewed as an "infringement on women's rights" (line 21). Further, women are now demanding "exclusive relationships" (line 22). Part of the story on infringement of women's rights featuring this line reads as follows:

Marriage is about right and although we respect that the issue of polygamy goes down to choice; we are also aware that women want exclusive relationships with men and very few want to share their men with other women (The standard, 11 August 2010)

It emerges that, the Standard identifies women as determined to collectively confront their challenges in life through activities like sport (For example, soccer club for women living with HIV and AIDS) and formation of women organizations like the International Community of Women Living with HIV (ICW). Below is a window showing the concordances of women.

1	their means of livelihood. Women have been especially affected	Standard
2	in the compound. Many poor women have been raped while young	Standard
3	ever stole his bedding. The women on the other hand seem disin	Standard
4	y, a group of HIV positive women from Epworth, came together	Standard
5	champions in the Positive Women's Soccer League at Gwanzura	Standard
6	. "I heard about the women's soccer while attending a w	Standard
7	comprising of HIV positive women of whatever age who were int	Standard
8	lp society to respect us as women first who are capable of do	Standard
9	sed it. "The idea of women playing soccer was a huge jo	Standard
10	nothing we couldn't do as women living with HIV if we set ou	Standard
11	saying look at these crazy women but today it's these same pe	Standard
12	proud." To the three women, this victory is not due to	Standard
13	reports of newborn deaths. Women at Hopley live in torn plast	Standard
14	In some of the worst cases women described the ordeal of givi	Standard
15	he few options available to women and girls but it is arduous	Standard
16	10pm. Rather than assuring women a small income, they may be	Standard
17	ave ruffled feathers among women's rights groups who have des	Standard
18	f in the bible. Last week, women rights activists said Mugabe	Standard
19	al respect between men and women and thus should encourage mo	Standard
20	day and age of emancipating women, we have other people calli	Standard
21	ing for the infringement on women's rights," one activist said	Standard
22	ice; we are also aware that women want exclusive relationship	Standard
23	share their men with other women." The activists said since	Standard
24	psychological problems for women and children, adding that it	Standard
25	belonged to the past where women were socialised to think tha	Standard
26	ing for the infringement of women's rights through polygamy,	Standard
27	ng what two people, men or women, agree to do behind closed d	Standard
28	executive director of the Women's Trust said. "Instead, we	Standard
29	n.com/mar19_2011.html HIV+ women come together to drive own a	Standard
30	pril 2010 17:58 A GROUP of women living with HIV last week la	Standard
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5.4.3 Identification, analysis and interpretation of linguistic and discursive devices used to frame children as HIV and AIDS victims

Reporting verbs, nominalisation and metaphors are used to depict children as powerless and vulnerable. "Child headed families" (line 5), "children staying with relatives" (line 5), "*children as young as 10*" (line 8) and "children orphaned by Aids" (line 14) are three examples of nominalisations in which the reader is persuaded to think about the future of children as gloomy. For example, a report entitled, "Children orphaned by AIDS", maintains that "22 000 children of school going age were out of school" (The Zimbabwe Independent, 22 July, 2010). In the example, "Children orphaned by AIDS", is the nominalised form that the writer wants the reader to think about. However, one of the nominalised forms is also used to reflect hope as effort is being made to put in place mechanisms to empower children.

“Justice for Children’s Trust” is a concept that creates hope in the sense that justice will be fostered in order to create a happy environment for children. Hence, this nominalisation enables one to conceptualise “justice for children” as both real and justifiable. Further, hope is created as other nominalised entities like “Children’s rights” (lines 2 and 3) come to mind. This creates positive emotions of hope in the mind of the reader as one gets the impression that children’s problems will be solved. Their problems are numerous. One such problem is dropping out of school (line 1) which is metaphorically encoded to enable readers to figure out the possible impact of a situation in which children fail to proceed with their schooling. In addition, children are “at risk” (line 25), “orphaned” (line 14), “raped by their fathers” (line 28) and “abused” (line 38). The action verbs, “drop” (in drop out, line 1), “orphaned” (line 14) and “abused” (line 38) symbolise the vulnerability of children.

By using such verbs, reporters are setting an agenda for readers to think about the plight of vulnerable children. The fact that 2/3 of the infected children are infected but not yet on antiretroviral drugs (ARVs) invites positive thinking by the reader. Further examples of reports which reflect on the suffering of children are as follows:

1. “Children drop out of school ... children’s rights being jeopardised by loose policies” (The Standard, 2 November, 2009);
2. “Children as young as 10 were already sexually active because most of them do not go to school and spend their time indulging in delinquent activities” (The Standard, 22 May 2010);
3. “...100 children below five years have been dying daily in the past five years due to preventable diseases of which HIV and AIDS topped the list” (The Standard, 31 July, 2010);
4. “...300 children crammed in a tent at Hopley ...writing in sand with their fingers” (The Standard, 11 August, 2010)

It can be observed that all the examples make use of emotive language. They are aimed at evoking negative contingent emotions. Writers thus seek to influence cognition through pathos. This is so because feelings aid thinking (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005).

One of the reports also make use of the inclusive personal pronoun “our” (line 10) as involvement strategy to persuade readers to think and possibly act in order to alleviate the suffering of children. Lastly, reporters use collocation of ‘women and children’ as opposed to ‘men and children’ both to connote the care and support that children receive from their mothers and to symbolise a double – edged plight of children and women. Hence, the emancipation of children is partly an emancipation of women. The analysis betrays the use of deliberative rhetoric by reporters. This is rhetoric that seeks to influence change in the way women and children are being treated as such ill treatment facilitates the spread of HIV and AIDS.

The window features the linguistic environment of the lexical item, children.

1	ocha. "We fear these children are likely to drop out of	Standard
2	stitution must incorporate children's rights such that we do n	Standard
3	e continuous cases of the children's future being jeopardised	Standard
4	said Zinyanya. Justice for Children Trust (JCT) Programmes Di	Standard
5	of child-headed families, children staying with relatives and	Standard
6	latives and most of these children have confirmed that they w	Standard
7	ing to Khumalo some of the children do not report the cases of	Standard
8	According to Maruta, some children as young as 10 were alread	Standard
9	ed the uncertain future of children at the compound, which ha	Standard
10	ampan. "The future of our children is at stake," said Chinyuk	Standard
11	uched by the plight of the children Samson Kazembe (34), an un	Standard
12	the farm to cater for the children who are not attending for	Standard
13	s, not only for their own children but also for other childre	Standard
14	children but also for other children orphaned by the Aids pand	Standard
15	l bathroom with her three children. The house, which was allo	Standard
16	ll bathroom with her three children. She is hurt and her pain	Standard
17	ple at risk. Parents with children studying at the university	Standard
18	eported that about 220 000 children of school going age were d	Standard
19	orm of education for their children. They had no books, statio	Standard
20	classrooms. At Hopley 300 children of primary school ages wer	Standard
21	al problems for women and children, adding that it also usual	Standard
22	n to protect the right of children living with HIV as many of	Standard
23	e the worsening plight of children and women living and affec	Standard
24	atistical Office said 100 children below the age of five year	Standard
25	0. Two thirds of infected children urgently requiring ARVs we	Standard
26	rage of HIV treatment for children in the critical first two	Standard
27	on orphaned and vulnerable children in the country were repor	Standard
28	thers who are raping their children. It is a major concern he	Standard
29	a this week said women and children remain the missing face o	Standard
30	ds treatment for women and children. Salama said: "HIV and Ai	Standard
31	th for pregnant women and children in Zimbabwe. In an era of	Standard
32	al access when mothers and children have little access to bas	Standard
33	lt coverage at 29,6 % and children coverage at 10%. "Both tar	Standard
34	and indiscriminate in that children, the sick, the elderly, p	Standard
35	ther ablution facilities. Children have dropped out of school	Standard
36	forced evictions and their children. The government must take	Standard
37	cy. She has four surviving children who were all born before t	Standard
38	ly abused. And 15 of these children have tested positive for	Standard

5.4.4 Positive and negative linguistic and discursive encoding of men by private newspapers

Having analysed the linguistic and discursive strategies employed in relation to children, one analyses the linguistic encoding of men by private newspapers. In the discourse, men are both negatively and positively evaluated through nominalisation, cognitive verbs, action verbs, relative phrases and an idiomatic expression. For example, the window reflects that the nominalised form "sexual impulse" (line 2), has been used to

negatively evaluate men's behavior. However, such behaviour is portrayed as natural hence shifting the blame from men to nature. Men's sexual behavior is also encoded as natural as follows: men have a "poor health seeking behaviour" (line 12, The Standard, 31 July 2010). The highlighted nominalised construction is part of the speech made by a scholar in the field of HIV and AIDS. In the speech she configures men's behaviour as a condition and therefore unavoidable. This perspective is shared by an official who argues thus, "...men are placed at risk by masculine values, which discourage them from protecting themselves, their partners, their families" (The Standard, 20 May 2012).

This perspective shifts the blame from men to nature. It is a line of thinking that protects men from being blamed as they are framed as victims of culture. In line 39 is a similar trend of thinking in which men are said not to know how "...to keep it in their pants" (The Standard, 20 May 2012). In this example, indirectness is achieved through the use of an idiomatic expression. It is a politeness strategy as the message is potentially face threatening (Cutting, 2002). Indirectness is a communication strategy used by *Shona* people to save face (Kangira, Mashiri and Gambahaya, 2007). However, its use in the given context constructs men as victims of their natural condition.

The window below shows the linguistic environment featuring men.

1	ense to many people. To many men, it is a vindication to get	Standard
2	nct and sexual impulse, some men were not very happy with hav	Standard
3	out how circumcised "Zulu" men do not get infected by HIV. S	Standard
4	r, a game believed to be for men only this might help society	Standard
5	e started people, especially men were laughing at us saying l	Standard
6	ages mutual respect between men and women and thus should enc	Standard
7	xclusive relationships with men and very few want to share th	Standard
8	very few want to share their men with other women." The acti	Standard
9	discussing what two people, men or women, agree to do behind	Standard
10	d be sentenced and also how men who kill their wives should b	Standard
11	mmendable as it may be, most men continue to shun the programm	Standard
12	ere attended by women only. Men who spoke to Standardhealth s	Standard
13	ronment is user-friendly for men and that men realise that hea	Standard
14	er-friendly for men and that men realise that health issues a	Standard
15	irector Nyaradzo Mgodzi said men were eager to play their part	Standard
16	tion programmes. Actually, men are feeling left out of studie	Standard
17	f studies. One issue is that men have a poor health seeking b	Standard
18	selves to clinics more than men, for example on pregnancy iss	Standard
19	in, the evidence shows that men feel they can make a differe	Standard
20	le-focused prevention study, mens participation was very good	Standard
21	ted in areas they patronise, men can participate fully. He s	Standard
22	participate fully. He said men complained that women were be	Standard
23	orkplace-based intervention) men expressed the desire to take	Standard
24	ing on women and leaving out men who, in actual fact, play a	Standard
25	acquire the infection than men largely because of cultural r	Standard
26	quate sexual performance by men, dissatisfaction, mere greed a	Standard
27	-use and behaviour change by men among other factors. Meanwhil	Standard
28	I will point to you several men who are married to young gir	Standard
29	s said last week. Not only men are cheating these days, even	Standard
30	e Mission in Mberengwa more men are being persuaded to suppor	Standard
31	e PMTCT programme. By using men who are role models in their	Standard
32	these is the involvement of men." She said it was crucial fo	Standard
33	She said it was crucial for men to be involved if the program	Standard
34	amme was to succeed because men made most crucial decisions o	Standard
35	ying Zimbabwe needs more and men and women who are dedicated t	Standard
36	unequal status of women and men. Results of survey carried	Standard
37	their organs as compared to men, so there is need to research	Standard
38	t and dress shabbily because men were finding it difficult to	Standard
39	eaded women, all because our men do not know how to keep it in	Standard

The above window shows that the discourse seeks to persuade by evoking positive emotions about men. This is persuasion through pathos. Action and cognitive verbs are used to portray men as raring to participate in programmes aimed at containing HIV and AIDS. In a report a scholar is quoted as having said the following: "...men are eager to play their part but still felt they were being left out in HIV prevention programmes" (The Standard, 31 July 2010).

To further depict men in positive light they are said to have expressed desire to take a leading role in HIV and AIDS programmes (The Standard, 31 July, 2010). To frame men as willing to participate in HIV and AIDS programmes action verbs are used: “circumcised” (line 3), *to play*, in eager to play their part (line 15), “participate” (line 21), “complained in men complained that women were being put in the forefront of HIV programmes.” An additional action verb reflective of men’s keenness to contribute towards the eradication of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe is, “expressed in men expressed their desire” (line 23). Furthermore, the cognitive verb, feel in “men feel they can make a difference” (line 19) betrays men’s readiness to take part in HIV and AIDS programmes.

The use of relatives reflects the reporters’ effort to downplay men’s irresponsible behaviour. Examples are: “men who kill their wives” (line 11) and “men who are married to young girls” (line 28). Further, the negative formative, “not”, for example, in “Not all men are cheating these days” (line 27, The Standard, 28 August 2010) is aimed at downplaying such immoral behaviour by some men. This makes this act of immorality peripheral and less significant. However, men are slightly attacked for wanting to be circumcised for selfish reasons. The respective report reads thus, “To many men, it is a vindication to get circumcised and then lose all worries about getting infected regardless of sexual behaviour” (The Standard, 22 May, 2010). The overall image of men as given in the discourse is that of a group of proactive people who are attempting to actively participate in HIV and AIDS programmes. The discourse thus appears to be encouraging men to participate in HIV and AIDS programmes.

5.4.5 The linguistic and discursive construction of treatment

Below is a window showing the linguistic environment of the lexical item treatment. The window demonstrates the use of nominalisation, quantification and citation of experts from HIV and AIDS movements as linguistic and discursive strategies to reflect on treatment of AIDS patients. An example of nominalisation used is “comprehensive treatment and management of STIs” (line 2). This is part of the statement made by the Advocacy Officer for Student and Youth Working on Sexual Reproductive Health Action Team (SayWhat) in which the young official is cited saying, “...there is no college that offers Anti-Retroviral Therapy (ART) or Comprehensive treatment and management of

STIs” (The Standard, 6 November 2011). In the example, the nominalisation of “comprehensive treatment and management of STIs” configures it as a concept the speaker is putting forward for negotiation.

As alluded to earlier, the window demonstrates the use of nominalisation, as linguistic and discursive strategies to reflect on treatment of AIDS patients. An example of nominalisation used is “comprehensive treatment and management of STIs” (line 2). This is part of the statement made by the Advocacy Officer for Student and Youth Working on Sexual Reproductive Health Action Team (SayWhat) in which the young official is cited saying, “...there is no college that offers Anti-Retroviral Therapy (ART) or Comprehensive treatment and management of STIs” (The Standard, 6 November 2011). In the example, the nominalisation of “comprehensive treatment and management of STIs” configures it as a concept the speaker is putting forward for negotiation.

1	prehensive systems for the treatment and management of sexually	Standard
2	py (ART) or comprehensive treatment and management of STIs.	Standard
3	ued that the discovery of treatment drugs lessens the human c	Standard
4	at would be required for treatment and therapy are considerab	Standard
5	I got tested and sought treatment and here I am today - very	Standard
6	that more people access treatment. Zimbabwe has recei	Standard
7	counselling, testing and treatment centres across Zimbabwe, w	Standard
8	ver 200 000 people are on treatment and more than 39% of the a	Standard
9	guarantee their right to treatment and are demanding adequate	Standard
10	ase such as the right to treatment were enshrined in the cons	Standard
11	not recognise access to treatment as an enforceable right.	Standard
12	auses that make access to treatment an "enforceable right". T	Standard
13	ntion services, care and treatment. The network's spokespers	Standard
14	challenges in accessing treatment, social services, basic he	Standard
15	sibility it is to provide treatment," she said. "I expect tho	Standard
16	"There is no alternative treatment in rural areas." Midlands	Standard
17	rtedly failing to access treatment and there was negligible c	Standard
18	gligible coverage of HIV treatment for children in the critic	Standard

In the example given above, the negative formative /no-/ that foregrounds the nominalised form implies that the concept is being negatively evaluated. The aim is thus to portray failure of those responsible and, by implication, government, to institute “comprehensive treatment and Manangement of STIs”.

The negative evaluation of treatment is corroborated by an HIV and AIDS activist who posits, “There is no alternative treatment in rural areas” (line 16, The Standard, 23 July, 2010). The use of the negative formative *no* connotes lack of the nominalised concept, - “alternative treatment in rural areas”. It shows that people in rural communities have unique challenges unlike their counterparts in urban centres.

The other nominalised form is “challenges in accessing treatment” (line 14). The concept is negatively evaluated by “challenges”. It reflects hardships faced by AIDS patients in accessing treatment. Other negatively evaluated nominalised forms are, “failing to access treatment” (line 17) and “negligible coverage of HIV treatment for Children” (line 18). A report on treatment bears the following heading, “Lack of resources hinder HIV/AIDS response” (The Standard, 11 August, 2010). The report states *absence of CD4 counts* and shortages of antiretroviral drugs as some of the problems. Similarly, another report states thus:

It may be argued that the discovery of treatment drugs lessens the human capital haemorrhage but the resources that would be required for treatment and therapy are considerable. Prevention is therefore less costly (The Standard, 24 October, 2009). This negative evaluation of treatment betrays gaps regarding treatment opportunities of some HIV positive Zimbabweans.

The discourse also employs quantification as a discursive strategy. For example, line 8 reads thus, “200 000 people are on treatment and more than 39% of adults now know their HIV status”. In this case quantification is used as a discursive strategy to register progress made in the fight against HIV and AIDS. It also reflects that a lot needs to be done in order to wipe out the pandemic. Another example of quantification is “many”. It features in, “...many people living with HIV are failing to access ARVs and other drugs and medicines ...” This was said by the Zimbabwe National Network for People Living with HIV and AIDS (ZNNP+) Masvingo Vice Chairperson. As the adjective “many” refers to an indefinite number, its deployment in this regard betrays persuasion through pathos. It evokes negative emotions of fear. It is thus used for ideological (Fairclough, 1985, 1989, Kress, 1983) and agenda setting purposes (Donsbach, 2004, Driedger, 2008) purposes.

It negatively evaluates this aspect of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy as failure by the relevant stakeholders. However, the only hope on the issue of treatment is the very “discovery of treatment drugs” (line 3). Therefore, the discourse on treatment by private newspapers, demonstrates that even though the mere discovery of treatment drugs creates hope, there are teething problems that need attention.

5.4.6 The linguistic and discursive portrayal of government

As shown by the window below, the discourse revolving around the lexical item government employs nominalisation, action verbs, a possessive and a gerund to relay mixed messages about government – failure and little success. Nominalisation, action verbs, a possessive and a gerund are used to connote government’s failure to effectively implement the HIV and AIDS policy. The nominalised forms are, “victims of the government sponsored Operation *Murambatsvina*” (line 1) and their (government’s) lack of sincerity (line 21). This perspective demonstrates that the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare’s delivery regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy is inadequate.

1	lots where victims of the government-sponsored Operation Muram	Standard
2	Zinyanya, castigated the government for its Operation Garika	Standard
3	leb Mutandwa implored the government to allow Non Governmenta	Standard
4	have lost hope and their (government) promises of hope have tu	Standard
5	one of the victims of the government-sponsored Operation Mura	Standard
6	ion of the operation, the government embarked on a re-housing	Standard
7	t is a dismal failure and government now appears to have aban	Standard
8	listus Chinyuku said the government had failed victims of Ope	Standard
9	that was destroyed by the government despite several court or	Standard
10	residents are bitter that government appears to have abandoned	Standard
11	rom the Ministry of Local Government late last year that gove	Standard
12	ment late last year that government was no longer able to bui	Standard
13	ecent house today had the government lived up to its promises.	Standard
14	splashed in newspapers by government confirming that they had	Standard
15	inst Evictions - said the government must take action to prot	Standard
16	. The watchdogs called on government to provide alternative ac	Standard
17	cent house today had the government lived up to its promises.	Standard
18	Mapako, a victim of the government's 2005 Operation Murambat	Standard
21	irs "just exposes their (government's) lack of sincerity". Th	Standard
22	ew statistics released by government. Of the 1,1 million peop	Standard
23	think of them. She said government policies and their impleme	Standard
24	nts today. In contrast to governments publicly stated intentio	Standard
25	up on a premise that the government would provide plots upon	Standard
26	the creation of the unity government in February 2009 has not	Standard
27	ffectively abandoned by a government that is failing in its du	Standard
28	n unchallenged. The unity government should confront this man	Standard
29	. BY BERTHA SHOKO Government officials recognised for	Standard
30	tates has lauded Zimbabwe government officials for their effor	Standard
31	ry, presenting two senior government officials with awards fo	Standard
32	al Fund. Another senior government official, Tapiwa Magure, d	Standard
33	We are impressed by the government of Zimbabwes leadership of	Standard
34	on said the United States government has invested over US\$245	Standard
35	about US\$200 per month. Government health workers, especiall	Standard
36	even more peeved by the governments insincerity. Just a mon	Standard

As reflected on the above window, the use of the possessive in "...victims of government's 2005 Operation *Murambatsvina*" confers government with ownership of the operation hence making it culpable. This use of a possessive is ideological. This linguistic and discursive construction of government as bad is corroborated by action verbs used in reference to government such as, "castigated" (line 2), "abandoned" (line 7), "failed" (line 8) and "destroyed" (line 9). These negative emotions evoking action verbs are reflective of "the decade of crisis" – the period between "1998 to 2008" (Mangena and Chitando, 2011: 233). During this period Zimbabwe experienced "political and economic instability" due to "failure by politicians to use *hunhu* or *ubuntu* to develop our social and economic institutions (Ibid: 235).

The examples, bear two instances in which government appears to be positively evaluated. First, is on, “government embarked on re-housing”. However, the full text reveals that government is also negatively evaluated in the given example. This depiction of government betrays ideological maneuvering which needs to be unpacked through further analysis. The text reads thus, “After widespread condemnation of the operation, the government embarked on a re-housing programme code – named Operation *Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle* that was aimed at providing shelter for the victims. However, the project is a dismal failure and government now appears to have abandoned it” (The Standard, 22 May 2010). Relating people’s basic needs to the prevalence of HIV and AIDS, Mangena and Chitando (2011: 237) aver:

Much work needed to be done and the prevalent rate of HIV and AIDS especially in the first half of the decade in crisis reached alarming levels with 1 in every 4 people having the virus that causes AIDS.

The second instance in which government is positively evaluated regarding its role in combating HIV and AIDS happens in 2010. Heading of the respective report reads thus, “Government officials recognized for fight against HIV” (The Standard, 5 December 2010). More insights on the role of government in the fight against HIV and AIDS are given as the study explores the people of Zimbabwe’s views on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS Policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. At this point it suffices to argue that linguistic and discursive strategies such as nominalisation, action verbs, a gerund and a possessive are used to construct government largely as insensitive and uncaring. However, narratives from government newspapers demonstrate the opposite, one can only come to an objective conclusion after examining the views by Zimbabweans.

5.4.8 Summation

This analysis has revealed that private newspapers portray people as troubled, powerless and unsettled. Quantification, gerunds, emotional appeals in action verbs and metaphors are deployed as linguistic and discursive strategies to communicate such messages.

Some of the given strategies are used to depict women as poor but proactive. This is done through combative discourse reminiscent of that associated with feminist movements. To add, children are constructed as powerless and vulnerable. Action verbs and collocation of women and children are used as strategies to lay bare the plight of children and their mothers.

Nominalisation, cognitive and action verbs, a relative phrase and idioms are variously used to positively and negatively evaluate men. Men's behaviour is largely blamed on nature. Furthermore, access to treatment is presented as a problem particularly in some rural communities. This is done mainly through nominalisation and quantification. Lastly, some of the said linguistic and discursive strategies including possessives are used as linguistic and discursive strategies that configure government as characterised by both success and failure in the fight against HIV and AIDS. Next, is comparative analysis of corpora from government and private newspaper reports.

5.5 Similarities and differences in the linguistic and discursive devices used by newspapers in their reportage of the policy

The main lexical items given by both government and private newspapers are, in the main, similar. They however, differ in ranking. This reflects differences in emphasis and ideological issues about HIV and AIDS to be revealed in this section. Some of the first couple of repeated lexical items to appear in the corpora studied are as follows:

1. **Kwaedza:** people, *chirwere* (disease), *vana* (children), AIDS, *mari* (money), HIV, *mai* (mother), *madzimai*, (women), *mudzimai* (woman), *sangano* (organisation), Dr (*Doctor*), *mukadzi* (woman), *munhu* (person), *mabasa* (jobs),
2. **The Herald and The Sunday Mail:** HIV, people, home, man, wife, health, mother, children, status, family, ARV, women, AIDS, school, clinic, community, medication and counseling.
3. **Private newspapers:** HIV, AIDS, Zimbabwe, people, women, health, government, children, men, programmes, Harare, treatment, murambatsvina, prevention, ART, houses and services.

Deviant cases from the Kwaedza are *mari* (money), Doctor (Dr) and jobs. The Herald and Sunday Mail bear school, community and clinic as lexical items that do not feature as leading lexical items in the corpus from private newspaper reports. However, these are related to children, people and treatment on the key word list from private newspapers. Interesting, deviant cases appear to be Zimbabwe, Harare, *Murambatsvina*, prevention, houses and services on the list of key lexical items from private newspaper reports. Reasons behind this difference might emerge through further analysis of linguistic and discursive strategies used by private and government newspapers in this section starting with people.

5.5.1 The linguistic and discursive construction of people

The corpuses by government and private newspapers linguistically and discursively denote people as victims of HIV and AIDS. The Herald and Sunday Mail corpus also shows progress made in alleviating problems that people face due to HIV and AIDS. Government newspapers thus reflect optimism in the fight against HIV and AIDS on the strength of programmes that are put in place both by government and pro- government agencies. However, private newspapers define optimism on the basis of the discovery of drugs that combat HIV and AIDS. Thus, as HIV drugs were discovered in foreign countries, private newspapers conceptualise hope on the basis of foreign intervention.

Both private and government newspapers, employ positive politeness in the discourse associated with the nomenclature of HIV and AIDS victims. The term in use is 'people living with HIV and AIDS'. In addition, in response to one of the questions on the questionnaire, an informant wrote thus, "...People have given names to HIV/AIDS, for example, *Karombo kakauya kanopedza ridzi vanhu vakasazvibata munhau dzepabonde*." (This strange disease has potential to wipe out the whole clan if people do not exercise self control on sexual matters.) This demonstrates that Zimbabweans' use positive politeness as a face saving strategy when faced with face threatening situations (Kangira, Gambahaya and Mashiri, 2007).

Private newspapers use quantification to describe people in terms of their movement. The use of quantification is an attempt to persuade through pathos (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005). They are unsettled as they are moved by government thereby affecting their settlement patterns as well as sources of livelihoods and access to healthcare facilities. However, on this issue one needs to solicit views from the people of Zimbabwe.

Analysis has revealed that both government and private newspapers use reporting verbs, nominalisation and idioms as linguistic and discursive strategies to portray problems faced by people due to HIV and AIDS.

5.5.2 The linguistic and discursive configuration of women

Government newspapers depict women as lacking. They are poor, and vulnerable. They are on the receiving end. They need to be educated. They are abused by some men, including their husbands particularly those associated with Apostolic churches. Women are variously depicted as objects and powerless. Reporting verbs, metaphors, nominalisation and idioms are used in both private and government newspapers to present women as victims of patriarchy. Further, the *Kwaedza* uses collocation to reveal women as mercilessly ravaged by an ever present and ubiquitous disease [*Chirwere ichi* (This disease)].

Private newspaper reports depict women as poor and suffering. However, they are not hopeless. They are proactive. Hence, women are associated with combative discourse reminiscent of feminist movement. They are futuristic and actively involved in the construction of their own discourses and identity. There is effort made by women to come together in order to collectively chart a way forward through organizations such as International Community of Women Living with HIV (ICW). Thus, unlike women in the *Kwaedza*, the Herald and the Sunday Mail, women in private newspapers are independent. They do not depend on men for everything in their lives. They determine their destiny and that of their children. One analyses the depiction of men below.

5.5.3 Linguistic and discursive construction of men

Government newspapers construct men as vectors on HIV and AIDS. They are culpable as they regard women as sex objects. According to the Herald and Sunday Mail corpus, men do all sorts of irresponsible things such as pretending to be a prophet (line 27) as a strategy to hoodwink women in order to have sex with them. Part of the story reads thus, “The man who is a prophet and has three wives saw in one of his visions that I was given to him” (The Herald, 17 November, 2011). Men are also variously involved in multiple sex as symbolized by a man who marries 11 wives (line 38, The Herald, 14 June, 2012). Just like the Herald and the Sunday Mail, the *Kwaedza* employs reporting verbs, metaphors, idiomatic expressions, thematisation, intertextuality and nominalisation to variously portray men as vectors of HIV and AIDS and therefore culpable. For instance, in the Herald, the Chronicle and Sunday Mail corpus, a woman who has sexual intercourse with a man outside marriage is referred to as a “spare wheel” (line 34, The Herald, 6 July, 2012). HIV and AIDS are thus portrayed as being perpetrated by patriarchy.

Private newspapers both negatively and positively evaluate men. Nominalisation, cognitive verbs, relative phrase and idiom are used to configure men. In the discourse men’s sexual behaviour is downplayed by attributing it to nature. It is thus portrayed as a cultural condition of men. Therefore, culture and not men needs to be blamed. Man is thus said to have a “poor health seeking behaviour” (The Standard, 31 July 2010). In addition, as portrayed by private newspapers, men are proactive and willing to come into partnership with women in order to combat HIV and AIDS.

Other human agents portrayed by private and government newspaper reports are children. In both cases, children are depicted as weak and vulnerable. They do not have a voice of their own. In government newspaper reports, children - related HIV and AIDS discourses feature adults in the form of government officials, professionals from non-governmental organizations and journalists from government media. Such reports show that children are infected by HIV and AIDS largely due to the irresponsible behaviour of male adults.

Government newspapers also use quantification as a discursive strategy to project the rate at which children are affected by HIV. Imagistic language is also used to evoke both positive and negative emotions about the manner in which children are affected. For example, it has been demonstrated that government newspaper reports employ quantification and imagistic language to conjure images of fear and hope. For example, negative emotions and fear about children's security arise from reports on "23 000 children" who are in need of treatment (line 2, *The Herald*, 9 September, 2011) and children who have nothing to eat (line 36, *The Herald*, 28 October, 2011). However, private newspaper reports create hope through reports featuring nominalisation. For example, "Justice for Children's Trust" and "Children's rights" is nominalisation in which hope is created about the future of children.

In private newspapers hope is associated with effort made by non-governmental organizations rather than government. The role of government is downplayed by private newspaper reports. However, government newspapers enable one to visualise hope in the implementation of HIV and AIDS policy as a result of positive government policy implementation strategies. There appears to be agenda setting and building strategies employed by government and private newspapers which take the 'us' and 'them' pattern. Such are ideological squares to be further investigated as one analyses how these newspapers reported on a specific issue like Operation *Murambatsvina* which has a bearing on the implementation of HIV and AIDS policy in Zimbabwe.

5.5.4 Newspaper reportage on specific events linked to HIV and AIDS activities in Zimbabwe

The HIV and AIDS discourse in Zimbabwe has been linked to socio-historical events characterising particularly "the decade of crisis" (Mangena and Chitando, 2011: 233). Regarding this period between "1998 to 2008", Mangena and Chitando (*Ibid*) aver that it is a period:

When Zimbabwe was experiencing social, political and economic crisis of alarming proportions. ...a period with three indicators (one of which is) the collapse of social institutions such as education, health and the family.

As stipulated by the HIV and AIDS policy provisions, events that affect the economy and social systems have a bearing on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999 hence, this section's analysis of newspaper reportage of Operation Murambatsvina (Operation Drive Out Filth).

To pave way for the analysis, one needs to highlight some of the relevant provisions of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe which were violated by the operation. The specific provisions are:

1. General Human rights;
2. Care for people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA);
3. Gender issues;
4. Education about HIV/AIDS/STI and HIV/STI research;
5. Supportive environment;
6. No to human rights violations;
7. No to discrimination;
8. Promotion of marital integrity and sustainability,
9. Promotion of marital unity;
10. Protection of family against threats (For example, lack of housing facilities, finances, health problems)

As one analyses relevant newspaper reports, it needs to be kept in mind the main concerns regarding policy implementation as reflected in President Mugabe's foreword to the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. He rightly identifies HIV and AIDS as "A tragic reality being experienced by families, communities and the nation at large" (Mugabe: Zimbabwe: 1V). He thus calls for "...a broad based participatory and consultative concerted and unified national response" (Mugabe, *ibid*). Lastly, he instructs that government's role is "...to provide the required leadership to mobilize national efforts to combat the epidemic" (Zimbabwe: 3). One gives a brief background of the operation below.

Operation *Murambatsvina* (Operation Drive Out Filth) was executed in May and June 2005. It was during the winter season. Newspaper reports reveal that Operation *Murambatsvina* was confined to high density suburbs and government created informal settlements such as Hatcliffe and *Dzivaresekwa* extensions, Porta Farm and White Cliff Farm (The Standard, 29 May 2005) and rural areas namely, *Mrewa*, *Nyazura*, *Makoni* east, *Nyazura*, *Makoni*, *Seke Mashonaland* Central and *Mashonaland* West provinces (The Standard, 12 June 2005) and farms (Daily Mirror, 17 June 2005). Tibainjuka (2005) indicates that it rendered more than 700 000 people homeless and affected 2,4 million people.

Two conflicting theories attempt to explain why this operation was conducted. First, is the government position which states that it was carried out in order to clean up cities against illegally built structures including fleamarket stalls, informal workshops and dwelling units. Second, is a position by a group of scholars in which political reasons are cited (Vambe, 2008, Mlambo, 2008, Sibanda, 2009). It has been argued that possibly government wanted to kill two birds with one stone, which are to, "...strifle independent economic and political activity in the country's urban areas" (Bratton & Masunungure, 2006: 21). Hammar (2008: 30) adds his voice when he asserts, "Murambatsvina involved a more complex and political partisan agenda." However, this study is concerned only with the operation's link to the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy of 1999. On this issue Tibainjuka (2005: 40) argues thus:

Testimonies from the affected population and service providers indicate that a number of AIDS patients have had their ARV treatment disrupted as a result of the evictions. Several hundred persons receiving such treatment have reported displaced in Harare alone. ... In cases where ARV treatment has been interrupted, this could result in drug resistance, declining health, and ultimate death.

The operation was described as “...callous and insensitive” (The Standard, 20 May 2005). This connotes the use of negative evaluative language to evoke negative contingent emotions (See Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 2005). The Daily Mirror, (21 May, 2005) adds thus:

A combination of the harsh economic conditions, HIV and AIDS scourge and rural to urban migration has forced hundreds of people onto the streets to beg and make ends meet. However, these destitute harass civilians grabbing women’s handbags, foods from people and at times snatch jewelry from women’s necks and wrists (Ibid).

The mention of HIV and AIDS in the above statement is another indicator of the fact that People Living with HIV and AIDS were affected by the operation. One further explores the linguistic and discursive strategies used in the reportage below.

5.5.5.1 Negative evaluation, claptraps, deictic referencing and positive politeness

To foreground the analysis, one needs to examine the President’s comment on Operation *Murambatsvina*.

While opening the 22nd ordinary session of the ZANU PF National Consultative Assembly in Harare in 25 June 2005, President Mugabe told delegates that the clean – up operation was, in fact, a reconstruction programme designed “... to weed out hideouts of crime and grime, filthy stalls and encourage the construction of orderly planned and tidy residential and business structures in their place.” In the report, he proceeded to say, “**Their** (BBC and CNN) crocodile tears will not deter us from carrying out the necessary action to rid ourselves of malpractices that have caused hardships to our people through the illegal trade in essential commodities like sugar, soap, mealie – meal, fuel, foreign currency and clothing items’ (The Sunday Mail, 26 June 2005).

The foregoing betrays the use of claptraps – cum - ideological squares as a face management strategy. The speech configures two groups of people evident in the use of ‘us’ versus ‘them’. This perspective is shared by (Reah, (2001) who notes that deictic referencing (For example, ‘their’ and ‘our’) is used to forge a common identity between the speaker / writer and the audience as well as to label the referent as culpable thereby creating a ‘them and us effect.’

This shows the use of ideological squares aimed at forging a common identity with the majority. Artkinson (1984) in Beard (2000) argues that politicians use claptraps (soundbites) – a device of language designed to catch applause - to appeal to their audiences. Such statements connote the use of positive politeness (Cutting, 2002: 47, Yule, 1996) as a communication strategy aimed at convincing people that the operation was a well conceived government programme with good intention. Cutting (2002; 47) quotes Brown and Levinson (1987) as arguing that politeness is a cross cultural phenomenon by which interlocutors seek to “... establish social relationship through acknowledging and showing an awareness of the face, the public self image, the sense of self, of the people that we address. ... speakers should respect each other’s expectations regarding self image, take account of their feelings and avoid threatening acts.” To some scholars the President’s speech comment symbolizes how Operation *Murambatsvina* demonstrated an attempt to separate / quarantine (Harris in Vambe 2008) the poor (filth) from the rich (clean / normal). Hence, the foregoing text needs to be understood as a face management strategy that does not fully reveal the operation’s cause and its possible impact particularly to People Living with HIV and AIDS.

5.5.5.2 Thematised headlines, third person narrative and direct speech

Newspaper reports employed thematised headlines as a linguistic and discursive strategy to expose the effect of Operation *Murambatsvina* on People Living with HIV and AIDS. One of the articles informs about the rise in “separations” of couples and expresses fear of a possible rise in “child prostitution” (The Standard, 26 June, 2005). The article’s headline reads thus: ‘Clean –up forces 3000 out of school’, (Ibid). The headline presents clean-up as a given and thus non negotiable theme whilst ‘forces 3000 out of school’ is the negotiable rheme.

This negatively evaluates the operation. Part of the report featuring this headline proceeds as follows:

“Both the Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe and ZIMTA estimated that as many as 300 000 children have dropped out of school after their homes were destroyed. Most acutely affected school children were in the Harare suburbs of Mbare, Hatfield, Highfield, Glen Norah, Glen View, Budiriro, Mufakose, Warren Park, Kuwadzana, Dzivaresekwa, Epworth, Tafara and Mabvuku.”

On this same issue of prostitution, a victim of the operation in Beitbridge has this to say, “We are too many ladies looking for too few men. I need to come earlier and stay longer to get business” (www.sokwanele.com/articles/sok. Mail and Guardian Reporter). In a related issue Mangena and Chitando (2011: 237) write:

In 2008, many schools were closed and the majority of children were thrown out onto the streets leading to moral vices such as thuggery, theft and drug abuse. This fuelled the spread of the HIV pandemic.

It emerges that, when children drop out of school for whatever reasons, they may engage in immoral behaviour which could culminate in the spread of HIV and AIDS. The very act of depriving children of a right to education is in itself a violation of some provisions of the HIV and AIDS policy of Zimbabwe which focuses on General Human rights and the rights of children to be educated.

One gathers that newspaper reports use third person narrative and direct speech as discursive strategies to reflect on how the operation violated the said policy provisions. Another insightful thematised headline goes thus: “White cliff Farm ‘homes’ leveled” (The Standard, 26 June 2005). Part of the article has this to say,

Many families are still sleeping in the open air amongst the ruins of their homes, more than a week after the destruction of their homes. HIV positive people sleeping in the open with no medical attention ...375 infants sleeping in the open.

From the headline, one notes that ‘leveled’ is an emotive metaphor used to evoke sympathy of the reader. It is an agenda setting strategy aimed at portraying the operation as bad. By citing the statement to a reputable association of medical practitioners, the writer seeks to achieve persuasion through attribution and intertextuality (Reah, 2001). This use of expert voices is an agenda building discursive strategy. Further, the direct quotation full of lexical words (Hatcliffe, HIV positive people) and statistical evidence (375 infants) is aimed at making the readers accept the information as authentic. It follows logic to argue that HIV and AIDS patients and care givers suffered quietly during this operation.

5.5.5.3 Metaphors and discourse topics expressing despair and destruction

The headline, “US \$60m went up in smoke during *Murambatsvina*” metaphorically symbolises the destructive impact of the operation. This headline can be understood as an extended metaphor that is used to create powerful and lasting images and ideas in the mind of the reader on negative effects of the operation. It symbolises how the said operation negatively affected the source of livelihoods of those affected and the Zimbabwean economy in general. ‘Smoke’ can be regarded as a double - barreled metaphor that communicates both the destructive effect of fire that was used to burn some of the structures and the very act of destroying houses, shacks, flea market stalls and workshops.

Some of the metaphors that reflect despair and destruction are highlighted in the following:

1. White Cliffe Farm ‘homes’ **leveled** (Sunday Mail, May 29, 2005)
2. Scores **Ditch** City Life (The Daily Mirror, 30 May 2005)
3. Operation **Pushes** Pupils out of School (-----, 3 June 2005).
4. Clean –Up **Forces** 300 000 pupils out of school (The Standard, 26 June 2005)

In the above examples, the terms ‘leveled’, ‘ditch’, ‘pushes’ and ‘forces’ are used metaphorically to effectively and emphatically send the message that Operation *Murambatsvina* had brought suffering to people as it destroyed (leveled) people’s homes and caused pupils to abandon schooling as they migrated to “unknown

destinations” with their parents and guardians (Sunday Mail, 26 June 2005). This violated the HIV and AIDS policy provisions given above particularly the ones on human rights and the need to protect the family from threats.

One also notes that the themes, “White Cliffe Farm ‘homes’, “Scores”, “Operation” and “Clean – up” were carefully selected and positioned as “discourse topics” (Guijarro and Hernandez (2001), as they are the entities that writers “want readers to remember (Feries, 1994: 234). They can equally be viewed as themes or rather the noteworthy content of the N- Rheme (Halliday, 1985, Thompson, 1996). This initial positioning of the identified themes / discourse topics is deliberately intended to make readers accept their lexical imports as facts. Thus, on number 1, for example, the reader is meant to accept for fact that White Cliffe Farm ‘homes’ had been razed to the ground. On numbers 3 and 4 readers are expected to be shocked to read about the “Operation” / “Clean – Up” which, as if to contradict its ‘good intentions’ as implied in its name, had now ‘pushed’ pupils out of school’ / ‘forced’ 300, 000 pupils out of school.

Reporters clearly seek to cause readers to be suspicious about this operation. This is also evident in a Sunday Mail report (22 May 2005) entitled, “Police raid leave informal traders stranded.” It should be borne in mind that the label ‘police raid’ downplays the operation by depicting it as police rather than government business. It protects government from criticism. It is ideological (Halliday, 1989). In the report a victim of Operation *Murambatsvina* is quoted lamenting his loss thus:

We have been paying \$32 000 per month as rent to use these premises and we were not given any notice to remove our goods. We were only surprised to see police disembark from their trucks and setting our shacks and furniture on fire. It would make sense to give us alternative places to operate from but they haven’t...

In this section reporters exploited thematisation / discourse topic and direct speeches of *Murambatsvina* victims as rhetorical strategies to convince readers that the operation had negative social, economic and health outcomes to the victims in particular and the people of Zimbabwe in general.

One also notices that *Murambatsvina* negatively affected affected people living with HIV and AIDS. On this issue Tibaijuka (2005: 39) avers thus,

Assuming that the displaced population had an HIV/AIDS prevalence rate similar to the rest of population, the mission estimates that over **79,500 persons over 15 years of age living with HIV/AIDS have been displaced**. The Operation has led to an increase of vulnerability and, probably, risky sexual practices and gender-based violence. It has also led to a disruption in HIV/AIDS services, particularly ARV treatment, home-based care and prevention.

The above runs in the face of positive statements by some officials from SADC such as the following: “In many of our cities we have these problems but we lack the guts and courage to address them” (The Herald, 22 November, 2006). What remains clear though is that the event affected people living with HIV and AIDS.

5.5.5.4 Use of the theme – rheme syntax

There are other reports that use the theme – rheme syntax to show the desperate conditions experienced by *Murambatsvina* victims. An example is the report with the title, “Clean –up victims appeal for food” (The Standard, 27 November 2005). From this article one notes that the theme “clean –up victims” has been deliberately ‘thingfied’ through “nominalisation” (Halliday, 1985) in order to make the reader visualize the helplessness of victims of Operation *Murambatsvina*. The syntactical packaging of the theme and the rheme is meant to make the reader realize the sharp contradiction of the purported intention of the operation (clean – up) and its outcome – victims now appealing for food. This is meant to ultimately influence the reader to hate not just the operation but its agent (the government).

In this article, it is noted that this linguistic packaging of theme and rheme enables the reader to understand both the suffering of HIV/AIDS victims affected by *Murambatsvina* and the sharp contradiction between this operation and the National Policy on HIV / AIDS for Zimbabwe of 1999.

The policy makes caring of HIV and AIDS patients a priority both for government and relevant stakeholders. It equally makes the need to create a conducive environment coupled with the fostering of Human rights as priority areas in mitigating against the further spread of the pandemic. And yet in the same report part of the appeal reads thus, “Kindly find herein the six months’ food aid proposal and a one off assistance to two HIV/AIDS support groups located in the community” (The Standard, 27 November 2005). This symbolizes how the operation violated the Community Home – Based Care (CHBC) with a patient, family and community focus advocated in the HIV/ AIDS policy document.

The Herald and The Sunday Mail do not give the reader insights about how Operation *Murambatsvina* could have affected HIV and AIDS victims. The *Kwaedza* newspaper reports also construct it as a government programme with good intention. One of the articles reads thus, *Chirongwa chekuchenesa nzvimbo. ...Mukuitwa kwacho muri kuwanikwa nhubu dzakasiyana – siyana.* (The clean-up operation: In its execution, criminals of all sorts are being arrested.) (*Kwaedza*, 3 – 9 July, 2005). The Sunday Mail reporter also depicted the operation as well intended by emphasizing the housing programme that government embarked upon in a bid to accommodate victims of Operation *Murambatsvina*. Part of the report reads thus, “...Government had instead launched a noble exercise, operation *Garikai / Hlanani Kuhle*.” Whereas the issue of re-housing will be explored, it suffices to note that to government newspapers, the state solved ‘temporal’ problems anyone affected by *Murambatsvina* could have faced.

Below is a window from private newspapers’ corpus. It demonstrates that the operation contributed towards the spread of HIV and AIDS much as it created further problems to people living with HIV and AIDS.

1	s Abuse scandal exposes Murambatsvina	http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk	Standard
2	the infamous Operation Murambatsvina has created a child abus		Standard
3	ent-sponsored Operation Murambatsvina of 2005 are taking refu		Standard
4	re taking refuge. Under Murambatsvina illegal houses and struc		Standard
5	placed under Operation Murambatsvina. "We call for thes		Standard
6	y forms of abuse. After Murambatsvina: shattered dreams and br		Standard
7	nt-sponsored Operation Murambatsvina (Take away the filth) of		Standard
8	ed victims of Operation Murambatsvina. Chinyuku is a former ch		Standard
9	to victims of Operation Murambatsvina have been taken over by		Standard
10	rnment's 2005 Operation Murambatsvina, has been living in a s		Standard
11	lished during Operation Murambatsvina. It is now five years af		Standard
12	s were not affected by Murambatsvina and were not on the list		Standard
13	lost our houses during Murambatsvina are now benefiting," add		Standard
14	ance known as Operation Murambatsvina, which left more than 70		Standard
15	HA SHOKO Five years on Murambatsvina victims struggle 2010 07		Standard
16	nal/37367-five-years-on-murambatsvina-victims-struggle.html Th		Standard

The window refers to child abuse (line 2), victims taking refugee (line 3), shattered dreams (line 6) and that life of victims continued to be a struggle (line 15) five years after the operation had been conducted. All these points are opposed to the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe. By using this imagistic language reporters sought to set an agenda through pathos.

5.5.5.5 The use of verbs and metaphorical expressions portraying failure

In this segment it is argued that verbs and metaphorical expression were used by some newspaper reporters to explain the failure by government to provide accommodation to *Murambatsvina* victims, thereby further exposing them to disease, hunger, self humiliation and general degradation. This use of linguistic expressions is in line with Kress and Hodge (1979: 6) (<http://www.thefreelibrary.com>) who maintain that, "Linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted. In this way hearers can be both manipulated and informed, preferably manipulated while they suppose they are being informed." Thus, the manipulative potential of linguistic forms such as action and relational verbs was exploited by reporters to vehemently express their disappointment towards the failure by government to provide victims of *Murambatsvina* with descent accommodation contrary to promises made when Operation Restore Order (Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle) was launched.

Government responded to the after effects of *Murambatsvina* with an ambitious housing programme called Operation *Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle*. The latter was conceived after the publication of a critical report by UN envoy Anna Kajimulo Tibaijuka. It is in the light of this and wide criticism of *Murambatsvina* that an undisclosed government official is reported to have admitted that “mistakes were made” (The Financial Gazette, 8 December 2005). Another article with the title: “Government admits bungling on demolitions”, quotes Jan England, the United Nations Under - Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs lamenting: “Many people are now living with extended families and crowding other houses. There is not enough shelter to house those evicted”. This observation concurs with the following headline: “Squatter camps blossom” (The Zimbabwe Independent, 29 February 2007). This is metaphorical expression which symbolises failure by government to provide accommodation to *Murambatsvina* victims. In addition to overcrowding conditions, the latter reports about a “settlement in Glen Lorne suburb that had “degenerated into a haven for criminals and immoral behaviour in a tranquil environment” (The Zimbabwe Independent, 29 February 2009). In this example the verb “degenerated” metaphorically conjures images of a situation that had gone out of control thereby exposing people to all forms of danger.

Another headline with the same message is entitled: “Evicted squatters resurfaced,” (The Sunday Mail, 4 December 2005). The article shows a picture of a skeletal woman standing in front of her plastic shack in Epworth at a squatter camp called *Komboniyatsva* (the farm is burning). The visual and the verbal message clearly symbolise the hardships faced by *Murambatsvina* evictees. One also notes from the articles that the verb ‘bungling’ used in the Financial Gazette’s report is meant to negatively evaluate government for demolishing peoples’ houses before coming up with alternative accommodation. Negative evaluation is also noted in the verb ‘blossom’ used in the article by the Zimbabwe Independent. This is metaphorical use of language for negative evaluation that betrays the reporter’s attitude towards failure by government to alleviate the suffering of victims of *Murambatsvina*. However, one notes that the verb ‘resurfaced’ used in the Sunday Mail’s report is meant to portray the re-emerging of shacks as something ordinary which is no cause for panic. This is a pro-government stance.

The named articles portray how government had failed to provide descent houses to victims of *Murambatsvina*. Crowded conditions are notorious for the spread of HIV and AIDS and other communicable diseases due to the fact that their inhabitants are vulnerable to all forms of abuse. This aspect of how Operation *Murambatsvina* could have contributed to the spread of HIV and AIDS would be further examined as one analyses media articles that report on the aftermath of *Murambatsvina* in this study. However, below is a window showing the life experiences of some of the victims of Operation *Murambatsvina* who were settled at Hopley farm. The corpus was developed from reports by private newspapers.

1	to help us." Across town at Hopley Farm, some 15 km outside Ha	Standard
2	e while they are inside. At Hopley, the sick queue for long ho	Standard
3	uch syphilis are common at Hopley where 90% of the residents	Standard
4	o the accommodation crisis. Hopley Residents Association chair	Standard
5	Chinyuku who now stays at Hopley Farm. "There are no schools	Standard
6	ids pandemic. Residents of Hopley said cases of rape go unrep	Standard
7	e abused by the "haves" of Hopley for food - some just for a	Standard
8	n fact, for the victims at Hopley Farm, Hatcliffe Farm, Caledo	Standard
9	residents in settlements at Hopley Farm and Hatcliffe Extensio	Standard
10	s set up Operation Garikai. Hopley Farm settlement presents on	Standard
11	of newborn deaths. Women at Hopley live in torn plastic shacks	Standard
12	rs worst nightmare, but at Hopley there is an almost fatalisti	Standard
13	harsh economic realities at Hopley and other settlements are v	Standard
14	ationary, or classrooms. At Hopley 300 children of primary sch	Standard
15	e settlements are found in Hopley, Kambuzuma, Dzivarasekwa, G	Standard
16	e around the settlements of Hopley, Whitecliff and Caledonia f	Standard
17	Murambatsvina haunts gvt at Hopley http://www.dailynews.co.zw	Standard
18	eaths of newborn babies at Hopley settlement, just outside th	Standard
19	e to Live, Newborn death at Hopley Settlement, found that at	Standard
20	ast 21 newborns had died at Hopley within a five month period	Standard
21	When people were settled in Hopley, the government promised th	Standard
22	better access to services. Hopley - located about 10 kilometr	Standard
23	Michelle Kagari. Women in Hopley told Amnesty International	Standard
24	he government moved them to Hopley. All said they wanted to g	Standard
25	regnant women in Zimbabwe, Hopley residents are particularly	Standard

The window demonstrates a lot of hardships faced at Hopley farm. They range from long queues for the sick at healthcare facility, though common occurrences of sexually transmitted infections [STIs e.g syphilis (line 3)], to lack of schools and cases of rape that go unreported (line 6). On this issue of hardships, The Zimbabwe Independent (22 July 2010) posits: "Hopley farm presents one of the most heart-rending accounts of life in one of Zimbabwe's post – *Murambatsvina* settlements". Furthermore, the window narrates "abuse (of women) by the 'haves' of Hopley for food". This portrays poverty as

a vector for such abuse thereby perpetrating HIV and AIDS. The abuse of *Murambatsvina* victims is corroborated by the Standard's report entitled: "Sexual Abuse Scandal Hits Bulawayo Primary School" (<http://www.thestandard.co.zw/>). Part of the article reads:

At least 106 orphans at a local primary school with 366 pupils have been sexually abused. And 15 of these children have tested positive for HIV after they were raped by close relatives, a yet to be released documentary has revealed. The pupils at Lockview Primary School come from a neighbourhood, which consists of peri-urban plots where victims of the government's 2005 clean - up campaign found refuge."

The window mentions premature deaths of babies (line 12; 19). This clearly exposes the link between Operation *Murambatsvina* and HIV and AIDS. This link is however, downplayed by government newspaper reports.

The Sunday Mail and the Herald propagated the view that government was right in coming up with both operations. According to this view, Operation *Murambatsvina* was a positive move by government to get rid of malpractices and immoral behaviour from the city. From this perspective, Operation *Hlalani Kuhle* was a success as reflected in the following headline from the Herald: 'Reports on *Garikai* houses false.' This is a headline of an article in which the minister of local government, Ignatius Chombo, was quoted dismissing as false the revelation by Amnesty International that Operation *Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle* had failed. Chombo remarked thus, "It is basically a mischievous report. They are sitting in their lofty offices in London and Brussels phoning some non-governmental organizations here for information. It (the report) is only intended to discredit Zimbabwe whose national housing programme is one of the best in Africa" (The Herald, 9 September 2006).

The report entitled, "Chombo hands over housing stands (The Sunday Mirror, 8 October 2008), mentions the taking over of a clinic at Hopley farm by the city of Harare. According to the report, this take - over was done in order "...to provide free treatment to residents, most of whom suffer from HIV and AIDS related illnesses".

Assuming that this was done, the question to be asked is: 'What about the rest of the HIV and AIDS victims of *Murambatsvina* who had scattered in various camps, and informal settlements throughout Zimbabwe?'

Information from newspaper reports on the failure of *Halani Kuhle / Garikai*, is corroborated by independent bodies and UN agents. It is alleged that this failure was partly caused by lack of funding and corruption by civil servants. The issue of under – funding was highlighted in the findings by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on local government which noted that, "...Operation *Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle* project did not get the attention it deserves in terms of funding....However, the government failed to honour its obligation by failing to make the resources available that would see the project to completion" (The Daily Mirror, 30 November, 2006).

Some newspaper reports blame government for being culpable in denying the funding that could have alleviated the suffering of HIV and AIDS victims in particular and, *Murambatsvina* victims in general.

Some reports also state that the real beneficiaries of *Garikai* houses were not the victims of Operation *Murambatsvina* who included some HIV and AIDS patients (Tibaijuka, 2005, The Sunday Mail, 5 March, 2006). Such beneficiaries were the powerful elite - "chefs" (The Herald, 28 July 2006). These engaged in all sorts of deals at the expense of real victims of Operation *Murambatsvina*.

5.5.5.6 Summation

This section on the analysis and interpretation of corpora from government and private newspapers reports has revealed three findings. First, is the exposition of the linguistic and discursive strategies used by government and private newspapers in Zimbabwe to report on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. Second, is the perceived social perception of messages fore-grounded by such linguistic and discursive strategies. Third, is the revelation that links Operation *Murambatsvina* to the HIV and AIDS discourse in Zimbabwe. This makes it impossible to discuss HIV and AIDS discourse in Zimbabwe without making reference to the said

operation. The next section presents an analysis and interpretation of views by Zimbabweans on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy.

5.6 Analysis of views by Zimbabweans

This section presents an analysis of views given by Zimbabweans. These views were largely expressed through 113 completed questionnaires. Information from questionnaires is complemented by that gathered through interviews. However, the majority of Zimbabweans preferred questionnaires to interviews.

5.6.1 Biographical information of respondents to the questionnaire

Of the 113 respondents to questionnaires, 48,7 % were from the education sector (Educati) (i.e teachers, lecturers and professors), 38.6% were from the Health sector 28,3 % government nurses and doctors and 10,3 % nurses and doctors in private practice (Priv. P). Of the remaining, 3,5% were from HIV and AIDS organizations (H/AO) and 8.8 % were from other sectors of the economy (Other). In addition, 49,6% of the respondents are male while 50,4% are female. This reflects a gender balance. Furthermore, 18.6% participants who completed the questionnaires belonged to the 26 – 30 age group, 29,2% to the 31 -35 age group, 11,5% to the 36 - 40 age group and 19,5 % to the 41 – 45 age group. This shows that participants who completed questionnaires were aged between 26 and 45 years. Arguably, these are people who drive the economy. They also work with Zimbabweans from other age groups. They understand the HIV and AIDS situation in Zimbabwe. In addition, 93.8% speak *Shona* as their first language while 4.4% are Ndebele speakers. Lastly, 34,5% studied Natural Sciences, while 44,2% Humanities and Social Sciences and 21,2% studied other disciplines. Part of this information is reflected in the tables on sector and gender below.

Table 5.6: Economic sector

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Educati	55	48.7	48.7	48.7
MoH	32	28.3	28.3	77.0
Priv. P	12	10.6	10.6	87.6
H/AO	4	3.5	3.5	91.2
Other	10	8.8	8.8	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.7: Gender

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Men	56	49.6	49.6	49.6
Women	57	50.4	50.4	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

Having analysed biographical information of Zimbabweans who completed the questionnaire, one needs to examine views of respondents on specific questions that have a bearing on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy of Zimbabwe.

5.6.2 People's perceptions on the level of assistance given to People Living with HIV and AIDS

In response to the issue of whether or not people living with HIV and AIDS are helped to cope with their condition in the community of the participants, 62.8% of the respondents agreed, 18.6% strongly agreed, 11,5% disagreed, 1,8% strongly disagreed while 5.3% preferred to be neutral about it. Whilst the issue of neutrality will be addressed as one analyses comments made by respondents, the analysis demonstrates progress in the fight against HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. It also shows that there still exist some people who are living with HIV and AIDS however without being assisted to cope with their condition by relevant stakeholders. This lack of assistance is corroborated by an interviewee who indicated the following:

Dzimwe nguwa vana baba vaX vanochovha mabhasikoro kuenda kuMarange clinic vodzoka vasina mushonga vachinzi hakuna mishonga

(In some instances people living with HIV and AIDS like father of x ride bicycles to Marange clinic only to come back empty handed due to unavailability of drugs.) (Interview with sekuru X in Marange Communal lands, 24 December, 2012).

The table below gives information about respondents' views regarding the availability of assistance to People Living with HIV and AIDS.

Table 5.8 HIV and AIDS patients are assisted / not assisted

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1.00	71	62.8	62.8	62.8
2.00	21	18.6	18.6	81.4
3.00	13	11.5	11.5	92.9
4.00	2	1.8	1.8	94.7
5.00	6	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

5.6.3 Availability of drugs and access to treatment

The second question focused on the availability of antiretroviral drugs. On this issue, 46,9% indicated that drugs are readily available while 18,6% strongly agreed. This means 65,5% agreed (A) with 30,1% disagreeing (D) with the statement. Those who preferred to be neutral about it were 4.4%. What emerges from this analysis is that antiretroviral drugs are in good supply in Zimbabwe but they are not readily available in some areas. The table below gives information about how respondents views on the case of drug availability.

Table 5.9: Drug availability

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
A	53	46.9	46.9	46.9
S A	21	18.6	18.6	65.5
D	27	23.9	23.9	89.4
SD	7	6.2	6.2	95.6
N	5	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

The information on the availability of HIV and AIDS drugs above relates to views of respondents on access to treatment. On this issue, 57,5% of the respondents indicated that it is easy for People Living with HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe to access treatment.

However, 38% argued that not every person diagnosed as HIV positive has access to treatment. While the case of 4,4% neutral ones will be addressed later it emerges that many People Living with HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe have access to treatment. However, few of those who would have tested positive do not have access to treatment. The table below bears this information.

Table 5.10: Access to treatment

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
A	50	44.2	44.2	44.2
SA	15	13.3	13.3	57.5
D	38	33.6	33.6	91.2
SD	5	4.4	4.4	95.6
N	5	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

On access to treatment, some respondents stated that in some rural areas far away healthcare facilities make it impossible for people living with HIV to access treatment. Accordingly, 72,6% of the respondents stated that clinics are far way while 31 (27,4%) indicated that clinics are within the vicinity of peoples' homesteads. However, an interviewee had this to say, *VaMakamani, sekumusha kwedu maclinic ari kure, vedu wee. Zvekuti vamwe varwere nanongosvika pakufa vasingaendikunorapwa.* (Mr Makamani, taking my rural home as an example, some clinics are very far away from homesteads in rural areas, such that HIV positive patients will end up losing life without being treated.) (Interview with an informant in Harare, 28 December, 2012). Further, 93,8% of the respondents stated that lack of knowledge about HIV and AIDS made it impossible for some people to access treatment. However, 96,5% highlighted favouritism and corruption as mitigating against some people living with HV and AIDS' chance of accessing treatment.

On the issue of corruption a respondent to the questionnaire wrote thus, "... Some drugs are being sold or now used to feed chickens, which affect their (drugs) accessibility in supply centres."

This shows that HIV and AIDS discourse is inseparable from economic issues. The tale below reflects respondents' views on favouratism and corruption.

Table 5.11: Favouratism and corruption

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
A	109	96.5	96.5	96.5
D	4	3.5	3.5	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

Lastly, 85,8% respondents believed that People Living with HIV and AIDS failed to access treatment due to lack of finance. In a related issue a respondent averred thus, *Mabazi nemishonga zvodhura VaMakamani*. (Bus fare and drugs are now expensive Mr Makamani). (Interview with an informant in Harare, 28 December, 2012).

5.6.4 Stigmatisation and cultural beliefs

The questionnaire also focused on stigmatization and cultural beliefs. They are explored in sequence. On stigmatisation, 29,3% respondents indicated that People Living with HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe are not stigmatised by society. However, 55,8% of the respondents argued that stigmatisation against people living with HIV and AIDS still exists in Zimbabwe. The table below reflects discrimination as a threat to the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999.

Table 5.12: Stigmatisation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
A	24	21.3	21.3	22.1
SA	9	8.0	8.0	29.2
D	42	37.2	37.2	66.4
SD	21	18.6	18.6	85.0
N	17	15.0	15.0	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

The issue of stigmatisation also featured in HIV and AIDS discourse of some respondents. For example, one interviewee has this to say about her brother in law who was staying at her home without having disclosed his status to family members:

VaMakamani, zvinorwadza mufunge. Ndikafunga kuti takagara naye almost kwegore rose asina kutitaurira kuti murwere aiva atori kunwa mapiritsi. Munhu kutotamba zvake nevana vangu tisingambozivi kuti ndizvo zvaari. ... Handiti deno akatizivisa taidai takazivawo chikafu chekumupa. Iwo mazifuta ataimubikira...

(Mr Makamani, it pains. It's hard to imagine that we stayed with him at our home for almost a year without him ever disclosing his HIV status to us only to discover much later that he was taking antiretroviral drugs. I fear for my children whom he used to freely play with as we assumed that he was in good health. If only we had known about his HIV status, I could have put him on a special diet, not some of the oily food stuffs that I used to give him...) (Interview with a Zimbabwean academic at Johannesburg International Airport, 26 May, 2012).

From this interview, it emerges that this academic feared for her children who used to play with an HIV positive uncle. Whereas this sounds normal, it betrays undertones of stigmatisation. Another interviewee explained that people living with HIV and AIDS face discrimination on the job market as some employers do not employ such people. The respondent added that people living with HIV and AIDS also face discrimination in marriage as people do not want to marry those who would have tested positive. They are also discriminated against in various socio-cultural setting, the informant proceeded to say (Interview with a respondent in Harare, 3 January 2013). Stigmatisation connotes ideological squares through which some people living with HIV and AIDS are viewed on the basis of 'them' and 'us' by those who are HIV negative. This puts HIV positive people at a disadvantage as they get deprived of psycho-social support necessary for their survival. Having analysed responses of stigmatisation one proceeds to examine respondents' views on cultural beliefs as shown in the table below. In this and other tables to follow, A stands for agree, SA, strongly agree, D, disagree, SD, strongly disagree and N, neutral.

Table 5.13: Cultural beliefs

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
A	59	52.2	52.2	52.2
SA	42	37.2	37.2	89.4
D	6	5.3	5.3	94.7
SD	4	3.5	3.5	98.2
N	2	1.8	1.8	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

The table above demonstrates that the majority of respondents view culture as a vector in the spread of the HIV virus in Zimbabwe. One respondent wrote thus, “Culturally, a wife cannot deny her husband sex and cannot ask for the use of protection hence can easily contract the disease if the husband has it.” Further, respondents who held this view were 89,4%. Only 10% of the respondents disagreed while 2 % were undecided. Specific cultural practices cited by respondents are polygamy, religious practices, spouse inheritance (For example, wife / husband inheritance) and *chinyarikani* (For example, not being able to discuss issues of sexuality with people like in-laws and some respectable members of the opposite sex).

On the above issue, a questionnaire - respondent averred thus, “Cultural barriers means some topics are taboo between certain people. Sometimes mothers / fathers find it difficult to talk about sex education with kids of either gender”. Furthermore, 68 respondents identified polygamy as a cultural practice that contributes in the spread of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. However, 39,8% of the respondents felt that polygamy is no longer an issue as people were no longer practicing it due to modernity. However, this is contradicted by the fact that 94,7% of the same group of respondents agreed that religious practices were fuelling the spread of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. It stands to reason that this number had been boosted by some respondents who had earlier on dismissed polygamy on the grounds of modernity. It emerges therefore that polygamy remains a critical issue in the spread of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe as some members of society still practice it mainly due to religious and cultural reasons. On this issue of religious practices one respondent summed it thus:

Mabarika, especially *kwedu kuchipositori*, and *zvauya kuipa*. (Polygamous marriages are common especially among my fellow members of the Apostolic Church. It's a serious issue.

Inheritance, is another issue given as a cause of HIV and AIDS. In response to this issue on the questionnaire, one respondent summed it up thus: *Nhaka dzapedza misha*. (Polygamy has destroyed families.) On this issue, 75,2% respondents were on the affirmative while 24,3% thought that inheritance is not an issue any more. On this issue of inheritance, some of the respondents answered as follows:

1. Yes. Some families still practice some cultural activities like *kugara nhaka* and *barika* without looking at what could have caused death of their relative.
2. Not really. Many cultural practices actually favour and value some values and to bunch African culture as evil is not reflecting the truth. For example, circumcision has been there in some cultures and this helps a lot.
3. I don't agree with this statement because most people in Zimbabwe are educated and culture may not have a big role in the spread of HIV / AIDS.
4. No, gone are the days when people believed in polygamy. However, there is a high prevalence.
5. To a certain extent –Yes. Culturally, the man is the head of the house (patriarchal societies) and the woman is treated like an object; a commodity bought from the market. Hence, paying lobola denies the woman a voice and the man literally owns her. This comes about because the lobola tradition is, in most cases, misinterpreted. Hence, the man would not be willing to use a condom because he is misinformed. Other traditions include widow inheritance, *kuzvarira* and *chimutsamapfihwa*. However, I also believe that if interpreted correctly, there is nothing wrong with these traditions.
6. Yes. The culture regards sex education and discussion about sex as taboo. Also, certain practices like *kuzvarira* and *nhaka* are helping in the spread. The church (For example, *Madzibaba; Mapositori*) who do not allow members to go to the hospital and promote polygamy.

From the above, it can be seen that circumcision (2) and education (3) are given as reasons why HIV and AIDS can no longer be spread by culture any more in Zimbabwe. However, in an interview a respondent had this to say:

Vanhurume mungavagona here? Handiti vamwe varume vanonzi varikuenda kundochecheudzwa kuti vanyatsofara vakasununguka sezvo zvichinzi kana vadaro havazobatiri zvirwere zvepabonde.

(Men are difficult to understand. Some men are volunteering to be circumcised, in order to freely engage in extra-marital affairs. For such men believe that once they get circumcised they will be immune from sexually transmitted infections.)
(Interview with Ms B in Harare, 21 December, 2012).

This shows that there is confusion about circumcision as some people interpret it as a passport to engage in sexual promiscuity. On education, a group of interview respondents indicated that HIV and AIDS continued to affect both educated and uneducated people in Zimbabwe. (Interview with respondents in Harare, 22 December, 2012). The same respondent named patriarchy and the misinterpretation of lobola by some men as fuelling HIV and AIDS in some parts of Zimbabwe.

On *chinyarikani*, it was indicated by some interviewees that it very much militated against freely discussing HIV and AIDS issues with people like one's in laws. On this issue, one interviewee averred, *Hazvigoni kuti nditaure zvepabonde naambuya*. (It is not possible for me to discuss issues of sexuality with my mother in law." (Interview with a respondent in Harare, 18 December, 2012). On this same issue, 61% of those who completed questionnaires agreed that it is fuelling the spread of HIV and AIDS, while 31,8% disagreed. Only 7,2% preferred to be neutral. In addition, a total of 72,5% of the respondents hold the view that some of the cultural beliefs covered above make it impossible for people to disclose their HIV status. One respondent to the questionnaire summed it up thus, "The matter hinges on personal privacy coupled with a fear to be considered to be of loose morals. The inherent stigmatisation makes HIV positive people to remain in cocoons."

The other aspect covered by the questionnaire is the level of awareness. On this issue, 93,8% agreed that HIV and AIDS campaigns had helped a lot in creating awareness among Zimbabweans. Only 6,2% disagreed. In addition, 60% of the respondents stated that they feel free to discuss HIV and AIDS matters with anyone including *vanyarikani*. They attributed this to an increase in awareness levels. However, one is worried about 31,8% of the respondents who indicated that they could not discuss sexual issues with *vanyarikani*. In addition, the fact that 7,1% were neutral clearly shows that even though there is a high level of awareness of HIV and AIDS issues in Zimbabwe, there are some Zimbabweans who still cannot freely discuss HIV and AIDS issues due to dictates of culture.

5.6.5 Views on campaign messages

Some respondents indicated that some HIV and AIDS campaign messages are not home grown. The table below indicates that 50,5% of the respondents hold the view that HIV and AIDS campaign messages are not home grown. However, 38% argued against the foregoing viewpoint while 13 chose to remain neutral. The issue of neutrality will be addressed later.

Table 5.14: Campaign messages are foreign

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
A	48	42.5	42.5	43.4
SA	9	8.0	8.0	50.4
D	31	27.4	27.4	77.9
SD	12	10.6	10.6	88.5
N	13	11.5	11.5	100.0
Total	113	100.0	100.0	

On this issue of campaign messages, some of the respondents wrote as follows:

1. Yes. Some of the messages are more of Western culture than our African culture and some are in English instead of local languages.
2. Most messages carry an urban bias and do (not have) not reflect on rural context.
3. Campaigns with a Western orientation result in a cultural blockage as the norms and values of people seem to be ignored.
4. More than 50% of HIV and AIDS campaign material is home grown in order to be widely used by our local communities. Since HIV is a global 'concern', it is also ideal to consider materials for people from other countries.
5. To a certain extent yes. The cultural context should be considered for any HIV /AIDS campaign messages. The two cannot be separated. I believe, Africans can use their own knowledge systems to come up with effective campaigns that can easily be understood by its own people.

Other respondents differed with the statement that some HIV and AIDS campaign messages were not home grown. They argued that HIV and AIDS were a universal phenomenon which warranted a universal approach. Others felt that messages were adapted to suit the local context. In an interview a group of informants cited the ABC (Abstinence, Behaviour change and Condomise) and the concept of zero grazing models as being of foreign origin. They also indicated that most campaign messages featuring people in sex - related compromising positions were equally foreign to the *Shona/Ndebele* traditions. Equally dismissed as foreign were messages that emphasized the individual rather than the community. One of the interviewees averred thus:

Kana tikashandisa nemazvo ruziwo rwatinarwo muno, tichisanganisira, vemuzvikoro, ma colleges, ma universities nevanhu zvikuru vekumaruva, tinogona kugadzira zvombo zvekudzidzisa vanhu nezve AIDS zvakanakira zvisingambobviri.

(If we use our local talent in schools, colleges and universities including people particularly those in rural communities, we will be able to put together more

meaningful HIV and AIDS educational materials.) (Interview with Zimbabwean academics in Harare, 3 January 2011).

Protestations against some of the messages seems to stem from the quest to have messages that reflect Shona / *Ndebele* peoples' views about sexuality, its purpose in society and how it can best be expressed. Critics felt that indigenous knowledge systems were not fully explored in the fight against HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. This point to the pitfalls of the top to bottom approach used in the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS model (Makamani, 2011). One now reflects on Zimbabweans' views on Operation *Murambatsvina*.

5.6.6 Perspectives of Zimbabweans on the activities of NAC

Zimbabweans are generally satisfied with the activities of NAC. They associate it with successes registered so far in HIV and AIDS prevention, treatment and care provision. The respective table below shows that 77% of Zimbabweans positively evaluated the activities of NAC. However, 12% are dissatisfied while 13% were undecided.

Table 5.15: NAC helping

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	52	46.0	46.0	46.0
1.00	36	31.9	31.9	77.9
2.00	8	7.1	7.1	85.0
3.00	4	3.5	3.5	88.5
4.00	13	11.5	11.5	100.0
5.00	113	100.0	100.0	
Total				

Some of the comments read thus:

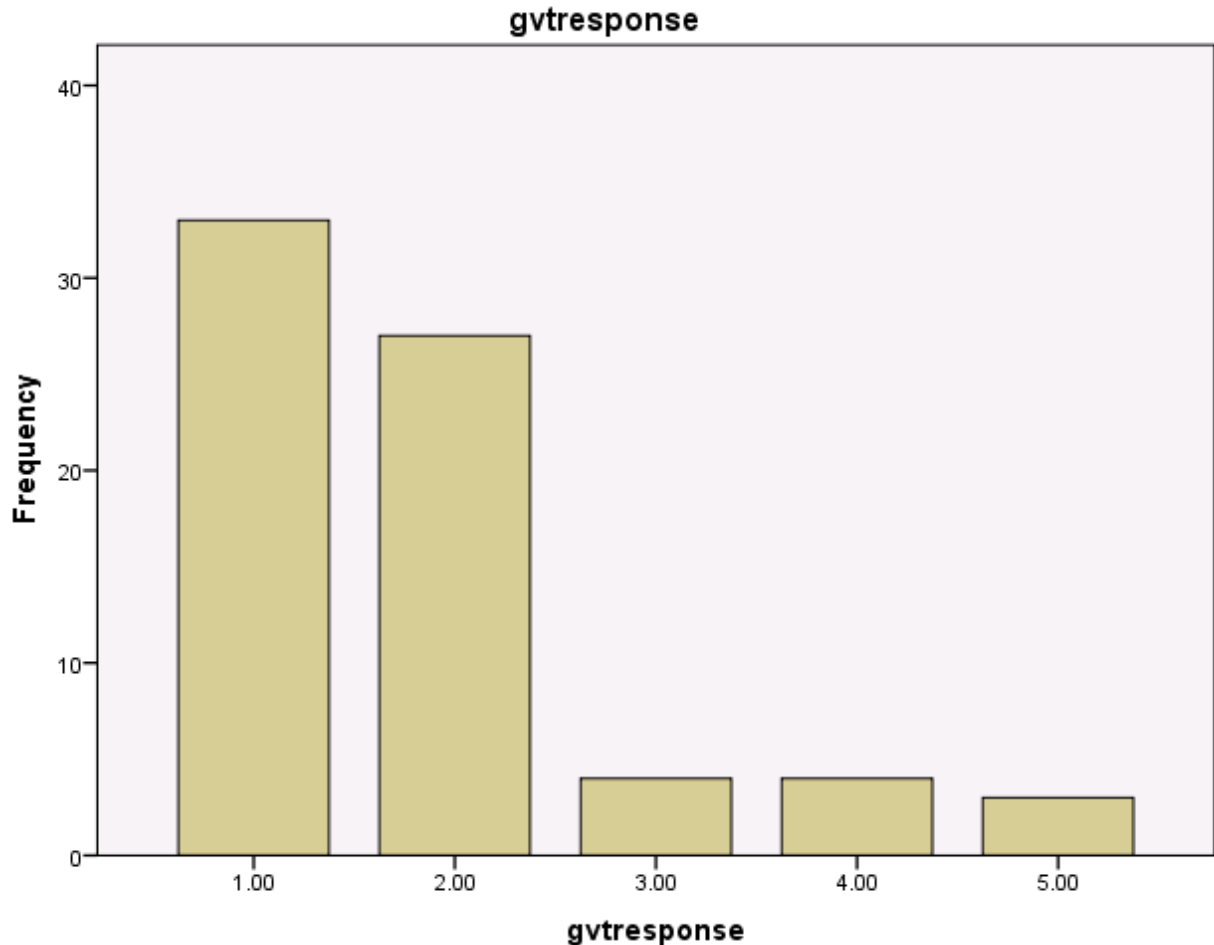
1. Their performance is highly appreciated because they have managed to reach all corners of Zimbabwe distributing condoms and Health Education on HIV and distributing antiretrovirals.
2. Partially for they have not covered certain areas country wide. They must have a mobile team that monitors the disbursement of drugs and foods to patients for transparent purposes.
3. There is too reliance on donors instead of NAC.
4. NAC performed well in most areas. It provides people with lessons and foods and also temporary structures for shelter after the Operation Restore Order.
5. NAC is only concerned with those in the towns and cities. Those in the rural areas are not benefitting much. They should do outreach programmes.
6. It has performed well. At least part of the population is aware of the disease, have access to drugs (ARVS) and treatment of opportunistic infections. There is an improvement in the prevention of mother to child transmission.

The statements given above largely portray success than failure. NAC's performance is "highly appreciated" (1) as it has "performed well" (6). However, there is room for improvement particularly with regard to the need for NAC to more active in rural areas. Next, is an exploration of Zimbabweans' views on the role played by government together with economic issues.

5.6.7 Zimbabweans' views on Government's response and economic issues

The bar graph below demonstrates people's satisfaction with the role played by the Zimbabwe government in fighting against HIV and AIDS. On the graph, 1 and 2 connote those who agreed and strongly agreed respectively. While 3 and 4 represent those who disagree and strongly disagree in that order.

Bar graph 5.1: Government response (gvtresponse)



Some of the general comments read thus:

1. Overall, Zimbabwe has achieved a lot towards combating HIV/AIDS.
2. There is need for Zimbabwe as a society to stand as a nation and fight against this pandemic, women empowerment, education of people about HIV/AIDS all will contribute positively to fight this pandemic.
3. Our Government is doing fairly well. However, the rural people are not getting enough resources especially drugs and food for the patients to survive.
4. In Zimbabwe it is not easy for HIV positive people to access treatment due to lack of resources (money) and the little help by government. ... Due to crippling economic situation of the country, the Zimbabwean Government hasn't done much in terms of affording people the ability to combat the pandemic.

5. The Government is trying its level best but progress is hampered by limited resources due to economic challenges.

The comments above show that although there is progress made in the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy, there exist challenges mainly due to economic hardships that Zimbabwe is currently experiencing.

Further responses by Zimbabweans on the same issue are as follows:

6. Zimbabwe has been commented in various fora for our response to the pandemic. We do not have the best doctors or drugs or resources but we have to make the best of what we have. It is prudent to assess our response in light of the global environment and local conditions. There may be shortcomings but most people are doing something and take the fight against HIV / AIDS strongly.
7. Although HIV infection rates have gone down in Zimbabwe, these factors make PLWHIV lives unbearable:
Far way health centres;
Strained human resources;
Shortages of equipment and drugs.

From the above, it is noted that, part of the reason why respondents felt that the Zimbabwean Government did not play as much a role as it could is due to unfavourable economic conditions. Hence drug availability, lack of relevant equipment and healthcare facilities continue to be challenges faced. One exposes views of Zimbabweans on this issue below.

Table 5.16 Economic performance

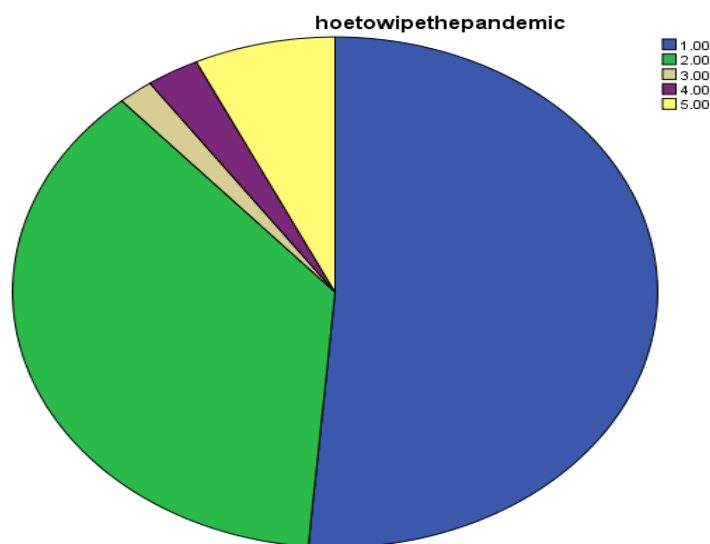
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	45	39.8	39.8	39.8
1.00	50	44.2	44.2	84.1
2.00	8	7.1	7.1	91.2
3.00	2	1.8	1.8	92.9
4.00	8	7.1	7.1	100.0
5.00	113	100.0	100.0	
Total				

The table above reflects that 84% of Zimbabweans who completed the questionnaire, tie the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy to the economic performance of the country. Only about 9 % disagreed while 7,1% chose to be neutral. The results authenticate the verdict that AIDS in Africa is a disease of poverty (Bwalya, 2006, Thompson & Lowenson, 2003, Netseane, 2004). Lastly, the study examines views of Zimbabweans regarding what should be done in order to wipe out the pandemic.

5.6.8 How to wipe out the pandemic

The pie chart below reflects views by Zimbabweans regarding how to eradicate HIV and AIDS.

Pie chart 5.2: How to wipe out the pandemic



The pie chart above clearly shows that the majority of Zimbabweans, 88,5% see local solution as the overall strategy that could ultimately put an end to HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. Such views were expressed by 100 out of 113 participants who completed the questionnaire. Five 4,5% disagreed while 7,1% elected to be neutral. This call for local solution is, in this study, interpreted as a vote of no confidence against the current top to down HIV and AIDS intervention model currently in use in Zimbabwe. Hill (2004: 68) argues that the ABC (Abstain, Be faithful & Use a condom), model originated from America. It is based on "...moralising which is universalising of specific morals and their imposition on others as the only ways in which to mediate life" (Ibid: 68).

This model is based on development communication (Basu and Dutta, 2009). Basu & Dutta (Ibid: 46) proceed to argue that the model emphasises prevention and behaviour change as cost effective and thus suitable for resource poor countries such as those on the African continent. In addition to blaming donors for donating funds and dictating HIV and AIDS policies, Seckinelgin (2005: 358) states that this model is in use in Uganda, Zambia, Botswana and Rwanda. Owing to striking similarities of HIV and AIDS messages, the study adds Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia on the list of countries using the model. Gusman (2009) observed that the same model failed in Botswana as it was incompatible with the dikgotta structure of chiefs and their councils. In Botswana the council of chiefs was responsible for the dissemination of HIV and AIDS information. In Uganda the model only worked after president Museveni advocated for a hybrid ABC model that is pro-family values. The model currently in use in Zimbabwe is flawed as it focuses on socio-cultural and not structural issues. Hill (2004) is right to note that the model does not address poverty, patriarchy, homophobia, sexism and unequal distribution of wealth which are important in the meaningful eradication of HIV and AIDS.

5.6.9 Summation

Zimbabweans' views betray modest success in the fight against HIV and AIDS. This success is attributed to effort made by government, Non – governmental organizations and the National AIDS Council of Zimbabwe. There is a high level of awareness of HIV and AIDS among Zimbabweans thanks to educational and awareness programmes. HIV and AIDS prevention, treatment, control and care provision has markedly improved. However, Zimbabweans also note a number of teething problems that merit attention. Such problems range from inadequate supply of drugs particularly in rural areas and Stigmatization, to far away clinics in some rural communities, through favouritism and corruption to inadequate resources. Other problems are associated with cultural practices (For example, wife/husband inheritance, polygamy), patriarchy and religious beliefs. There is also lack of knowledge about HIV and AIDS by some Zimbabweans. Additionally, some HIV and AIDS campaign messages are only in English hence incomprehensible to less literate Zimbabweans. Some HIV and AIDS messages are alienated to local cultures. There are also problems associated with not pro-people programmes (For example, Operation *Murambatsvina*) which are associated with the

spread of the pandemic. Last is a not so favorable economy that makes it hard to adequately resource HIV and AIDS programmes and, lack of fully utilisation of indigenous knowledge systems in the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy.

5.7 How do Zimbabweans view reports in newspapers?

Zimbabweans have expressed mixed feelings about newspaper reportage about HIV and AIDS issues. Some have indicated that newspapers do not give prominence to HIV and AIDS, as such news are only placed on the front page during “commemorative days”. The following is a response:

They do cover HIV/AIDS in the newspapers, but there is not much that relates to the epidemic other than on commemorative days. The *Herald* does have a column of course written by and over the past three months (March, April and May), they have had about four stories focusing on HIV/AIDS. ...The *NewsDay* used to have a column called ‘Agony Aunt’ that addressed such issues. It last appeared around 2011. ...In all this the newspapers will be getting information from Government, NGOS or Government agencies like the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare as well as the National AIDS Council (NAC).

(Electronic survey response by a Zimbabwean academic conducted on 14 May 2013)

The above interview shows that the respondent bemoans lack of dedicated columns on HIV and AIDS in most of the newspapers. The response also betrays a top-down approach as newspapers use influential members of society from “Government, NGOS or Government agencies like the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare as well as the National AIDS Council (NAC)” as sources of information at the expense of people at the grassroots.

Another perspective expressed by respondents can be represented by the following respondent's views:

I think the newspapers played their part in providing information on HIV/AIDS issues although there are some loopholes in the provision of the information. The issue of HIV/AIDS has impacted negatively to the nation, I think the readers need adequate information on the impact of this issue supported by statistics; this helps them understand that surely this is reality. I feel that they should have a section where they talk about HIV/AIDS in each and every paper published and in vernacular language.

(Electronic survey response by a Zimbabwean accountant, 16 May 2013)

This view expresses the need for more objective reporting backed by statistical evidence in the reportage about HIV and AIDS. It also focuses on the need to employ indigenous languages and, by implication, Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) in the dissemination of HIV and AIDS information in order to reach out to the majority of Zimbabweans. The need for objective reporting was also expressed by another respondent who protested against "...the use of sexist language in papers such as H-metro and B-metro which sensationalise issues without necessarily being sensitive." (Electronic survey response by a Zimbabwean, conducted on 15 May 2013).

Another responded who share the perspective given above averred thus: "Some of the information is sketchy..."(Electronic survey response by a Zimbabwean on 13 May 2013). These views demonstrate that, objectivity in reporting implies the use of language that reflects the HIV and AIDS situation in the country. This entails avoidance of emotional language and provision of adequate information backed by statistics.

Respondents also indicated the need for newspapers to maintain human relations through their reportage of HIV and AIDS issues. A responded noted thus, "The focus is on statistics and improving sales rather than addressing the harsh realities of human relations. For example, the heading, "Tuku reveals HIV/AIDS status." (Electronic survey response received on 14 May 2013).

This testifies to the fact that HIV and AIDS is a sensitive topic which needs to be reported on responsibly in order not to damage people relations.

Some respondents criticised biased reporting described by a respondent thus, “Sensationalising issues along political lines” (Electronic survey answer received on 13 May 2013). Similarly, another respondent had this to say:

The state controlled newspapers seem to report too positively on the matter whereas private newspapers seem to be realistic in terms of numbers and effectiveness of the programmes. It also seems, where government is seeking funding for AIDS related programmes, the government controlled press tends to over inflate the figures and the private sector controlled press reports otherwise. (Electronic survey response from a Zimbabwean academic, 13 May, 2013).

The above symbolise the existence of ideological squares for agenda setting purposes as has already been found out in this chapter (Driedger, 2008). Such maneuverings serve sectarian rather than the interests of People Living with HIV and AIDS.

Perspectives discussed thus far, demonstrate lack of a pro-people and responsible journalistic culture which incorporates people’s value systems hence maintaining human relations through responsible reportage about HIV and AIDS. By implication, responses thus call for journalism that is informed by the “*hunhu* or *ubuntu*” philosophy (Mangena & Chitando, 2011: 234). It can be argued that, this type of journalism understands, and, is informed by people’s value systems, aspirations, norms and developmental needs.

Zimbabweans also indicated that on the overall, Zimbabwean newspapers should be commendable for creating awareness about the pandemic given that they operate with limited financial, human and other resources. Lack of professionalism and skills by some reporters was another limitation given by respondents. Next, is a comparative analysis of views by Zimbabweans and newspaper reports.

5.8 A comparative analysis of views by Zimbabweans and newspaper reports

Analyses of views by Zimbabweans and corpora from government and private newspaper reports reveal a general progress made in the fight against HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. However, whereas Zimbabweans view this to be a product of government, non - governmental organizations and relevant stakeholders' effort, newspaper reports tend to attribute such progress to different players. For example, government newspapers explain success in terms of government and quasi-governmental organizations' effort together with other pro-government stakeholders and individuals.

Private newspaper reports configure progress and optimism largely as a result of the discovery of HIV drugs coupled with effort made by some non - governmental organizations, like minded stakeholders and individuals. These differences in reporting patterns are ideological (Flower, 1991, Kress, 2003 & Matu et. al.; 2007). This betrays a propaganda model explained thus, "...the media serve, and propagate on behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them" (Chomsky & Herman, 2008: xi). From this it becomes clear that private newspapers tend to ideologically frame non - governmental organizations and related stakeholders in positive light in the fight against AIDS in Zimbabwe while government newspapers also frame some non - governmental organisations and related bodies negatively while government and its allies are configured positively. Such are ideological squares evident in the reporting patterns of the two groups of newspapers (Van Dijk 1988, 1998). According to Wenham & Saber (2009: 288) through ideological squares "positive out-group actions are down – played" while "negative out-group actions" are "highlighted".

Both newspaper reports and Zimbabweans express a general satisfaction in progress made in awareness levels among Zimbabweans. However, Zimbabweans and private newspapers point out teething problems in some rural areas where some people are still not knowledgeable about HIV and AIDS. These two sources also indicate that even though there is a marked improvement in the supply of drugs, there are some rural communities in which antiretroviral drugs are not always available.

The other finding is that, both private newspapers and Zimbabweans partly relate lack of access to treatment in some rural areas to healthcare centres which are far away from communities. Still on lack of access to treatment, corruption is also identified as a stumbling block by the majority of Zimbabweans and private newspapers. The fact that government newspapers do not highlight these aspects including the plight faced by some rural communities in accessing treatment connotes the use of manipulative techniques of concealment, distortion and falsification (Nordlund, 2003). However, this also reveals private newspapers' use of stereotypes in relation to government in which the pre- 2009 government was always portrayed as villain rather than a saint.

Information sources are in unison in depicting culture as delinquent and thus responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS. However, in addition to culture, the majority of Zimbabweans and private newspaper reports also label structural issues as partly responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS. On culture, the common narrative features patriarchy as culpable. Hence, government newspapers portray men as vectors of HIV and AIDS. Women and children are thus depicted as poor and defenseless. According to this perspective, men's activities like immorality, polygamy, wife inheritance and general domination of women perpetuate the spread of HIV and AIDS. This shows the use of epideictic rhetoric in which women are praised while men are blamed by government newspapers.

Private newspapers, however, depict women as poor but proactive. In this light women are champions of their identity and destiny with or without men. They are pro-family mothers (Gambahaya & Muhwati, 2009), who are prepared to take the heat independently of men. They are keen to redefine a new culture as determined by challenges posed to them and their children in particular, and society in general, by HIV and AIDS. In addition, private newspapers portray men both positively and negatively. Positive, because they are willing to work with women and, negative, because they still follow cultural and religious practices which undermine the fight against HIV and AIDS.

Another common feature in information sources is the use of positive politeness in the nomenclature of HIV and AIDS. Names such as “*Karombo kakauya aka*’ (This strange disease), *mukondombera* and People Living with HIV and AIDS depict a society that is aware of the dangers of stigmatisation in keeping with politeness strategies inherent in local cultures.

Economic issues feature prominently in the discourses by Zimbabweans and private newspapers. Such sources tie economic issues to the successful implementation of HIV and AIDS programmes in Zimbabwe. Government newspapers tend to downplay economic issues and Operation *Murambatsvina*. However, private newspapers and Zimbabweans relate the said operation to HIV and AIDS. Furthermore, newspaper sources use a wide range of linguistic and discursive strategies to construct messages about the implementation of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe whereas Zimbabweans used simple *Shona* and English. However, both newspaper sources and Zimbabweans indicate that Zimbabwe adopted a top - down approach to implement an HIV and AIDS policy which is characterised by more successes than failures.

5.9 DISCUSSION OF DATA

This section presents the discussion of data. It seeks to highlight findings per research question given in chapter 1 on the basis of what emerges from the analysis.

5.9.1 Similarities, differences and significance of the linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspapers in their reportage of the policy’s implementation

Findings have revealed that, linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspapers are largely similar. What differ are ideological orientations particularly on contentious issues regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy.

The linguistic and discursive strategies employed include repetition of discourse topics, nominalisation, thematisation, rhematisation, intertextuality, euphemism, idioms, action verbs, and metaphors. Other devices used particularly in the encoding of the link

between Operation *Murambatsvina* and HIV and AIDS are, claptraps, deictic referencing, personal pronouns, adjectives and direct speech. In addition, positive politeness, quantification, citation of experts building and ideological squares have been deployed variously as discursive strategies for agenda setting and agenda building purposes.

Newspaper reports deploy positive politeness in the nomenclature associated with HIV and AIDS. First, is politeness associated with the name given to the disease. Various *Shona* names are used particularly by the *Kwaedza* to indirectly reveal the ubiquitous nature of AIDS, its destructive potential and, to depict it as a mysterious disease without labeling or denigrating those living positively. Thus, names like *zvemazuvano* (the prevailing human condition - the current disease), *shuramatongo* (that which destroys / causes ruins), *chirwere* (mysterious disease) and 'ari *pachirongwa* (the one who is on the programme, meaning one who is taking ARVs) are meant to indirectly depict HIV and AIDS as a mysterious and incurable disease characterising the current human condition. It has been revealed that linguistic and discursive devices used influence readers' perception of the disease and relevant stakeholders seized with the implementation of the policy including human agents (For example, men, women and children).

Analysis betrays the use of a wide range of linguistic and discursive devices in the framing of human agents. The following example from the *Kwaedza* newspaper symbolises the portrayal of some people as culpable due to their engaging in risky sexual practices:

Mukadzi hutu namadzibaba (*Kwaedza*, 16 – 22 July, 2010)

(Wife disappears with a man belonging to *Madzibaba* Church.)

In the above example, a member of the *Madzibaba* Church takes someone's wife thereby potentially exposing the victim to possible HIV infection. This behaviour by a Church elder betrays a lack of *unhu* or *ubuntu* which in turn is symbolic of the demise of Indigenous Knowledge and its attendant wisdom among some Zimbabwean elders. Such demise renders society vulnerable as it would be starved of role models thereby

depriving youths of the much needed guidance. Further, it culminates in the involvement of some members of society in face threatening acts that consequently propagate the spread of HIV and AIDS.

Unhu/Ubuntu embodies attributes such as empathy for others, social justice, fair-mindedness, respectful behaviour, conscience, interdependence, a spirit of sharing, obedience, humility, solidarity, caring, hospitality and servant leadership (Kamwangamalu, 1999, Mnyaka & Motlhabi, 2005, Mangena & Chitando, 2011). Irresponsible behaviour that is associated with the spread of HIV and AIDS, points to the need to revitalize Indigenous Knowledge as a strategy to curb the further spread of the pandemic. On this issue, Warren, Slikkerveer and Brokensha (1995: xiii) aver thus, "...indigenous knowledge is far more relevant, valid, and useful than had been supposed." This issue will be pursued in the next chapter.

Findings expose quantification as a discursive strategy employed by newspaper reports to show progress registered in the fight against the pandemic. Through this discursive strategy, people receiving treatment and financial resources raised to fight AIDS have been revealed. Quantification has been used as an ideological tool by both government and private newspapers. However, whereas government newspapers have used this strategy to depict government's position regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy, private newspapers used the same strategy to attribute such progress in terms of effort made by non - governmental organizations (NGOs) and international bodies.

Private newspapers have also used quantification to connote movement and restlessness of people particularly during events like Operation *Murambatsvina*. Such restlessness has been blamed for exacerbating the spread of HIV and AIDS by private newspapers hence identifying government as culpable. Operation *Murambatsvina* resulted in victims losing their dwellings, community support, sources of medication and treatment, counseling services, networks for psycho-social support and community home based care projects.

As demonstrated by findings, the linguistic and discursive strategies identified also connote the use of epideictic rhetoric to frame human agents as victim (For example, people, women, children) and vectors (For example, men – largely in government newspapers and less so in private newspapers).

Patriarchy and religious practices are labeled as vectors by both government and private newspaper reports. Analysis revealed that patriarchy and religious practices appear to exploit the poverty conditions faced by women thereby rendering them sex objects. This abuse of women disrupts family stability. It also renders children vulnerable as they are faced to drop out from school. This exposes them to abuse and being infected with the HIV virus. However, whereas government newspapers squarely blame men for facilitating the spread of HIV and AIDS due to irresponsible behaviour, private newspapers construct men as both culpable and willing to cooperate with women in effort made to combat HIV and AIDS.

The analysis also revealed that newspaper reports express optimism in the fight against HIV and AIDS. However, there exists ideological squares in the manner in which such optimism is expressed. Government newspapers express optimism on the basis of government effort and that of government related agencies (For example, the National AIDS Council). On the contrary, private newspapers envision optimism on the basis of the discovery of drugs and efforts made by international bodies. This configures success as a product of foreign rather than local (government) effort.

Both government and private newspapers demonstrate a general improvement in drug availability, access to treatment and care – giving to People Living with HIV and AIDS. They equally point out stigmatisation, cultural practice, lack of knowledge and economic problems as some of the factors presenting teething problems to the fight against HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. Further, private newspapers expose corruption as threat to the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999.

5.9.2 Views of Zimbabweans on newspapers' reportage of the policy's implementation

Zimbabweans regard newspaper reportage about implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy as largely successful. Even though they attribute the radio and television as having played an instrumental role in informing people about the prevalence of HIV and AIDS, they partly give credit to newspapers for playing a part in informing the nation about the prevalence of HIV and AIDS.

Zimbabweans expressed a general contentment regarding the coverage of topics by newspapers noting that the role of government ministries, non - governmental organisations and individuals in the fight against HIV and AIDS, has been highlighted by newspaper reports. They equally expressed satisfaction with regard to newspapers' coverage of HIV and AIDS programmes in rural communities. They noted that information about prevention, care and treatment has been disseminated throughout the country. Zimbabweans noted that some newspaper reports have named culture, patriarchy and religious practices as partly contributing in the spread of HIV and AIDS. Men were also identified as culpable while women and children are victims. Such are social ills whose remedy will be pursued in chapter 6.

Zimbabweans are however of the perception that, more should be done in order to ensure rural communities derive maximum benefit from such reportage. They suggest that indigenous languages should be extensively used in order to effectively spread HIV and AIDS messages to people in rural communities.

Zimbabweans however expressed lack of satisfaction on the manner in which some newspaper reporters sensationalise information about HIV and AIDS at the expense of objectivity. They noted that sensationalised reportage tend to undermine HIV and AIDS campaign strategies by unwittingly promoting behaviour patterns that facilitate the spread of HIV and AIDS. B-Metro and H-metro newspapers were given as examples. However, these were not included in the study.

What applies to the study is the sensationalising of newspaper reports on HIV and AIDS topics that relate to national economy, religious issues and unpopular government programmes. Biased reporting deprive people of relevant HIV and AIDS information.

5.9.3 Newspaper reports compared with views of Zimbabweans on the implementation of the policy

Analysis reveal that both Zimbabweans and newspaper reports express a general satisfaction in the progress registered with regard to the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy of 1999.

Zimbabweans and newspapers indicated progress made in the provision of antiretroviral drugs to People Living with HIV and AIDS. Awareness campaigns mounted since the first instance of HIV and AIDS in 1985, have increased the levels of awareness among Zimbabweans such that people are now reasonably informed about the prevalence of HIV and AIDS in the country. People are now generally aware of measures to take in order not to increase the further spread of the disease.

Zimbabweans are in agreement with newspaper reports that culture, religious practices and patriarchy are still significantly contributing to the spread of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. Both of the said information sources identify men as culpable in the spread of the disease. They equally agree in stating that men tend to exploit the poverty conditions of women to abuse women as sex objects thereby perpetrating the spread of the pandemic. This irresponsible behaviour by men connotes a void to be remedied by solution proffered in chapter 6.

Zimbabweans and newspapers problematise the top-down approach characterising the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. However, government newspapers and some Zimbabweans define the top – down approach in terms of dictation by donor agencies on how financial aid on HIV and AIDS has to be spent. The underlying argument is that this undermines national initiatives and response. According to this view there is nothing wrong in using HIV and AIDS funds in other healthcare related issues irrespective of donor instructions regarding how such money should be used.

Private newspapers and the majority of Zimbabweans are opposed to the top – down HIV and AIDS intervention model in which powerful members of society conceive and implement HIV and AIDS programmes without consulting people from the grassroots. This top – down approach has been dismissed as it is associated with corruption and favouritism in the distribution of HIV and AIDS resources thereby depriving other deserving members of society of the much needed services, care and support.

Newspaper reports and Zimbabweans maintain that Zimbabwe is experiencing economic challenges that compromise the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy of 1999. Such economic challenges result in lack of adequate healthcare facilities particularly in rural areas. This compromises treatment of those living with HIV and AIDS. Poor road network system particularly in some rural areas is a product of economic hardships. It compromises accessibility of people to treatment centres.

Zimbabweans and private newspapers identify some government sponsored programmes such as Operation *Murambatsvina* for contributing in the spread of HIV and AIDS. Such sanctioning of operations that compromise the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy, connotes lack of servant - leadership qualities which the country needs in order to combat the disease. This issue is further pursued in chapter 6.

Lastly, newspapers employed emotional language in order to influence readers to accept certain views regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. Thematisation, rhematisation, repetition of discourse topics, claptraps, idioms, reporting verbs, metaphors and intertextuality are some of the linguistic resources deployed by reporters to project certain ideas meant to influence readers' perceptions. Quantification and citation of expert figures are some of the discursive strategies deployed to influence perception.

This use of linguistic and discursive strategies culminated in ideological squares in which government newspapers adopted a pro-government position whilst private newspapers mainly adopted an anti-government stance through their reporting. Hence, to Government newspapers, success registered in the implementation of HIV and AIDS

thus far is attributed to positive planning by government and its allies whilst to private newspapers success is attributable to foreign intervention and effort by the NGOs. Zimbabweans rightly attribute success to all parties involved including government.

5.9.4 How newspapers influence the social attitude towards the policy

This section dwells on linguistic and discursive strategies that newspapers employ to “...propagandise on behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them” (Chomsky and Herman, 2008: xi). Through such linguistic and discursive strategies newspapers recreate reality thus influencing thinking.

In this study, analysis has revealed that through the “...discursive construction of individuals...”(Davies & French, 2008: 243) such as men, women, children and influential members of society, newspapers created an identity of such individuals hence, influencing a way of perceiving them in regard to their contribution to HIV and AIDS issues. For example, it is through such construction that one understands men as vectors while women and children are victims of men’s behaviour as reflected in HIV and AIDS discourse reflective of the implementation of the policy.

The discursive construction of individuals, cascades into an arena of a gamut of linguistic and discursive devices variously deployed to underpin desired messages aimed at readers’ perception of reality. For example, culture, religious beliefs, stigmatisation, corruption and favouritism and patriarchy have been linguistically and discursively constructed as perpetuating the spread of HIV and AIDS.

Thematisation, rhematisation, metaphors, repetition, idioms, claptraps, deictic referencing, reporting verbs and rhetorical questions have been exposed, through analysis of newspaper reports, as being exploited to set an agenda for HIV and AIDS discourse in Zimbabwe. For example, repetition of discourse topics has been identified as a strategy used to construct topics considered as salient by reporters. Thus, people, HIV, AIDS, women, children, men, antiretroviral drugs and treatment have been depicted as salient issues in the discourse through repetition.

On controversial topics such as Operation *Murambatsvina*, government newspapers have adopted the government position of “...blaming the victim...” (Davis & French, 2008: 243) as law breaker while private newspapers adopted a stance in which government was blamed for embarking on an operation that facilitated the spread of HIV and AIDS. On such topics, omission of undesired information has been variously deployed by newspapers to influence public opinion. This connotes the use of ideological squares by reporters to highlight desired information while undesired content was either downplayed or totally ignored.

Positive politeness has also been used to discursively influence people’s opinion regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. Newspaper reports betray consensus with regard to the nomenclature of AIDS and its victims. For example, those infected with the virus are politely identified as People Living with HIV and AIDS. This forges interpersonal links as it resonates with the sense of bashfulness in keeping with Zimbabwean cultures. One proceeds to discuss why newspapers cannot be perceived as presenting a complete picture about the implementation of the healthcare system in Zimbabwe.

5.9.5 Limitations of newspapers in presenting a comprehensive reportage of the healthcare system in Zimbabwe

This section discusses business interests, lack of professionalism, ownership control, editorial policies, inadequate journalistic skills, economic hardships and legal issues as some of the reasons why it is impossible for newspapers to present a comprehensive reportage of the healthcare system in Zimbabwe.

Apart from being sources of news, newspapers are a thriving business of our time. They operate on business lines. As such, they thrive to make profit through their sales and advertising. It follows logic that newspapers only concentrate on such topics that make business sense. Healthcare is not always attractive enough to lure customers to buy newspapers. Hence, such issues are normally relegated to inside pages of newspapers. In some cases, they do not feature such news at all. On this issue a respondent averred thus:

...Newspapers, on the other hand, are in the business of selling news and disseminating information. They only focus on what they think is the most pertinent at the time. The only time newspapers put up HIV/AIDS issues as front page news is when the State President officiates at a wedding and happens to talk about chastity in families... (Email interview with a respondent, 15 May 2013).

Some journalists lack professionalism and skills. In the case of Zimbabwe, as discussed in Chapter 1, Zimbabwe experienced massive brain drain of skilled human resources including journalists during the period in focus (1999 to 2009). This largely falls in the “decade of crisis” (1998 to 2008) (Mangena & Citando, 2011: 233). The loss of skilled journalists during this period resulted in media houses employing inexperienced reporters to replace those who had left. Such reporters present two kinds of dangers. First, they lack professional authority to maintain professional ethics regarding objective reporting particularly when confronted by excessive pressure from powerful members of society. The other danger is lack of enough skills to engage in investigative journalism particularly relating to complex economic, social and political dynamics relating to the healthcare system. This gap of professionalism and skills has necessitated this study to weigh newspaper reports against views from Zimbabweans regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999.

Ideological squares exposed by the analysis of newspaper reports reflect ownership and editorial influences in some of the reports. This makes it difficult for such reports to accurately reflect the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. Journalists would need certain qualities that would empower them to overcome the said challenges and threats against their profession and integrity. This issue is pursued further in chapter 6.

The other threat is economic hardships that Zimbabwe continues to face. This compromises coverage of news regarding healthcare provision as reporters are unable to travel across the country in search for news.

Tied to this are financial hardships faced by some literate members of society which make it impossible for them to access healthcare information in newspapers.

On the last note, Chapter 1 referred to media laws such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) as one of the legal regimes invoked to ban the Daily News in 2001. These laws limit freedom of journalists to report as information dictates in fear of possible consequences of such reportage. It is partly due to these laws that the coverage of healthcare system in Zimbabwe remains a challenge.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter has exposed the linguistic and discursive strategies inherent in the corpora from government and private newspaper reports, in *Shona* and English, on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS Policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. Similarities and differences in the emerging reporting patterns have been identified. The chapter has also examined the views by Zimbabweans on the implementation of the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS intervention model. The chapter has also engaged in a comparative analysis of views by Zimbabweans and emerging issues from both government and private newspaper reports. Lastly, the chapter discussed reasons that militate against newspapers' bid to present a complete coverage of the healthcare system in Zimbabwe.

The chapter exposed the use of repetition of key thematic concerns by newspapers. Key words reflect the 'aboutness' of HIV and AIDS discourse in Zimbabwe. Differences in ranking order of key lexical items identified in the corpora demonstrate different ideological thrusts of the newspapers in keeping with editorial policies and funding requirements. It has been revealed that newspaper reports highlight people as being the main issue regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. Zimbabweans also concur with this viewpoint.

The study has established that newspapers variously portray people as suffering due to HIV and AIDS. However, newspaper reports and Zimbabweans express hope on the basis of progress made in Zimbabwe in the fight against HIV and AIDS. It also emerged that, whereas government newspapers express hope in terms of intervention by government and its allies, private newspaper reports indicate hope as a product of the discovery of drugs and the intervention by some non - governmental organizations and like minded individuals. Government's role is downplayed by private newspapers and

highlighted by government newspapers. However, Zimbabweans attribute progress in the fight against HIV and AIDS to efforts made by government, non – governmental organizations and relevant stakeholders.

Newspapers employ reporting verbs, nominalisations and idiomatic expressions as linguistic and discursive strategies to project the problems faced by Zimbabweans due to HIV and AIDS. In addition, quantification is used by government newspapers to connote progress made in the fight against HIV and AIDS. However, private newspapers use quantification to depict people as unsettled and suffering. Zimbabweans use quantification to denote both progress made and challenges faced in the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999.

Newspaper reports also use reporting verbs, metaphors, nominalisation, intertextuality, idioms, collocation (For example, Kwaedza) as linguistic and discursive strategies to portray human agents. Women and children are generally portrayed as poor and vulnerable. Government newspaper reports in particular, depict women as powerless and dependent on men. However, private newspapers construct women as poor but hopeful and energetic as they fight to define their own destiny and identity with or without men. Hence, in private newspapers, women empower themselves through associations such as International Community of People Living with HIV. Men are portrayed as victims of patriarchy by private newspapers and therefore they are faintly labeled as culpable for problems encountered by women and children due to HIV and AIDS. Government newspapers betray a stereotype in which men are constructed as culpable and thus vectors of HIV and AIDS.

Regarding the above - mentioned issue, Zimbabweans partly blame patriarchy and men who tend to abuse women and children for various reasons. Furthermore, Zimbabweans and private newspaper reports reflect on problems of accessing healthcare facilities in some rural areas where healthcare centres are far way from communities. The two information sources also mention corruption, poor planning and poor economic performance of the country as impediments in the fight against HIV and AIDS. Government newspapers downplay the latter only to agree with both private newspapers and Zimbabweans in identifying religious beliefs and cultural practices (For

example, polygamy, spouse inheritance, *chinyarikani*), as perpetrators of the pandemic. The study has explained these as ideological squares inherent in reporting patterns by private and government newspapers. Such ideological squares are reflective of media ideology aimed at effecting agenda setting and building (Nordlund, 2003, Donsbach, 2004, Driedger, 2008). Next is chapter 6. It presents summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Summary

This chapter concludes the study. It examines the link between aims and objectives of the study, reviewed literature, theoretical framework and methodology of the study, to findings. Thus, the chapter presents a summary of findings from private and government newspaper reports and the people of Zimbabwe. It also highlights findings on similarities and differences between newspapers reports and views from the people of Zimbabwe. Last, is the conclusion and recommendations based on the findings of the study.

This study was aimed at revealing linguistic and discursive strategies used in messages by government and private newspapers to reflect on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. This means, in addition to analysing linguistic strategies, the study also examined how such discourse reflects real life. Thus, focus was put on similarities and differences in the linguistic encoding of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy by newspaper reports and the inherent influence of such on Zimbabweans' perception and attitudes regarding HIV and AIDS prevention, treatment and control.

To facilitate the realisation of the foregoing, the study focused on specific objectives ranging from describing the aims and objectives of the healthcare policy on HIV and AIDS and linguistic and discursive strategies used by newspaper corpora, to a comparative analysis of such strategies. Furthermore, the study sought to examine how newspaper reports influenced social attitude regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. Lastly, the study had to examine the views by Zimbabweans regarding the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy, and to compare such views with findings from newspaper reports' corpora. Next, was to make a conclusion and recommendations on the basis of findings, hence the primary concern of this chapter.

6.2 Conclusions

As indicated in the foregoing, the first task has been to describe the HIV and AIDS policy as a strategy of assessing the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS intervention model from both the perspective of newspaper reports and Zimbabweans. Regarding this issue, it emerges from the description in chapter 1 that the policy was designed in 1990 when the first infection had been recorded in 1985. The five (5) - year gap between the instance of first infection and date on which the policy was unveiled indicates that Zimbabwe was slow to react to the pandemic. This is implied in President Mugabe's foreword to the policy in which he intimates that the policy was launched when the pandemic was already ravaging the nation (Zimbabwe, 1999). The other emerging issue exposed by the description is the involvement of not clearly defined expert groups in equally not clearly defined locations during the drafting of the policy. This configures the policy as an offshoot of a top – down approach. It is donor – driven and this dependency syndrome can be blamed for:

1. being exploited by donor countries to dictate HIV and AIDS policies in Africa.
2. creating a false sense of security through thinking that donor funds would sustain HIV and AIDS intervention programmes in the country.

Zimbabwe fell into this trap of inheriting a foreign engineered HIV and AIDS policy whose levels of adaptation to meet local conditions does not fully satisfy people.

One commendable aspect of the HIV and AIDS policy is the adoption of a multi-sectoral approach as given on its number 43 guiding principle. However, Zimbabweans feel that people at the grassroots are sidelined. This is corroborated by newspaper reports which highlight the suffering experienced mainly by women and children including the poor in general. Issues of sensitivity to gender, the need to create a supportive environment and the need to protect Human Rights of people living with HIV and AIDS (PLWA) (Guiding principle 2) are covered in the policy description.

Findings reveal that empowerment programmes particularly those targeting women and children are still lagging behind as Zimbabweans and newspaper data sources testify. Women and children do not always have access to healthcare provision particularly in

rural communities. The majority of women and children are poor. Consequently, they are subjected to all forms of abuse by some men. Thus, women are used as sex objects while children are forced out of school by renegade fathers.

Information sources concur that stigmatisation still exists. Further, even though private and government newspapers do not fully agree on the portrayal of women and men, there is a general consensus between newspaper reports and Zimbabweans that people still face socio-economic and economic-political challenges that militate against the smooth implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy. Findings reveal that clinics are far away in some rural areas. Drug availability is equally elusive in such settings. Favouritism and corruption exist. Unemployment is high. Resources are scarce. Economic performance of the country is poor. Patriarchy and masculinity continue to dog the nation as vectors of the pandemic.

The points on corruption, far away healthcare facilities and lack of drug availability are only mentioned by the majority of Zimbabweans and private newspapers. Private newspapers exaggerate in their reportage of government effort. Government newspapers tend to shun aspects which reveal inadequacies of government activities. This is for ideological reasons. This omission symbolises a tug of war between private and government newspapers whereby the latter downplay government shortcomings and highlight its achievements regarding policy implementation whilst private newspapers do the opposite. Analysis has exposed these ideological molestations between government newspapers and private newspapers as ideological squares meant to variously influence people's attitudes towards the HIV and AIDS intervention programme in general, and specific players like government in particular.

The study also established that the HIV and AIDS policy makes it imperative for planning to prioritise HIV issues. In addition, adequate housing is called for while the family is supposed to be protected from economic threats. Further, economic empowerment initiatives are to be supported while children's welfare is to be promoted. Children are to be protected from abuse. The policy also calls for a holistic approach whereby the physical, social and psychological needs of people living with HIV and AIDS are to be upheld.

Findings however, further indicate that some of these policy provisions are not being fully addressed. For example, Zimbabweans and private newspapers bemoaned gaps in planning which expose people living with HIV and AIDS to danger by depriving them of basic needs such as food, shelter and access to healthcare facilities.

Findings also betray structural and cultural issues that need to be addressed in order to put HIV and AIDS under control. Zimbabweans and government newspapers however, express satisfaction about government's response to the pandemic. They point out, as positive planning by Government, the establishment of NAC whose mandate is to manage HIV and AIDS programmes in Zimbabwe. However, some Zimbabweans and private newspapers express reservations about the activities of NAC citing lack of transparency as a problem. For example, NAC was said not to be visible enough in rural areas as its District AIDS Committees (DAC) have failed to alleviate problems faced by people living with HIV and AIDS in some of the rural communities.

Favouritism and corruption were also cited by Zimbabweans and private newspapers particularly in the manner in which NAC (mis)managed US \$7,29 million donated by the Global Fund towards HIV and AIDS programmes in 2009 (Makamani, in Ige, 2011) . Such lack of transparency has had a negative impact on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy.

Findings also reveal cultural practices such as spouse inheritance, polygamy and *chinyarikani* (the custom associated with bashfulness) as partly responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS. All newspaper data sources and Zimbabweans concur that even though HIV and AIDS awareness campaigns have created awareness among Zimbabweans, there still exist pockets of resistance particularly in some rural communities and religious groupings. In such settings, as findings reveal, men still treat women as sex objects. Information sources indicate that men do so due to lack of knowledge about HIV and AIDS. However, such activities result in the suffering of women and children as they are infected and affected by the pandemic. Private newspaper reports, however employ combative discourse associated with some women organizations depicted as charting a way through which women seek to face patriarchy as they define their own destiny and identity.

6.2.1 Linguistic and discursive strategies used

This study has revealed a gamut of linguistic and discursive strategies used by government and private newspapers to report on the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy for Zimbabwe of 1999. They include nominalisation, thematisation, rhematisation, intertextuality, euphemism, idioms, action verbs, and metaphors. Other devices used particularly in the encoding of the link between Operation *Murambatsvina* and the spread of HIV and AIDS are, claptraps, deictic referencing, personal pronouns, adjectives and direct speech.

Positive politeness, quantification, citation of experts and ideological squares have been deployed variously as discursive strategies for the purpose of ideology and agenda setting and building. The linguistic and discursive strategies deployed betray the use of epideictic rhetoric to frame human agents as victim (For example, people, women, children) and vectors (For example, men – largely in government newspapers and less so in private newspapers). In addition, it is through such linguistic and discursive strategies that private newspapers construct government as a vector of HIV and AIDS. It is blamed for embarking on Operation *Murambatsvina* which is linked to the pandemic. Patriarchy is equally labeled as a vector by both government and private newspaper reports thanks to the above – mentioned linguistic and discursive strategies.

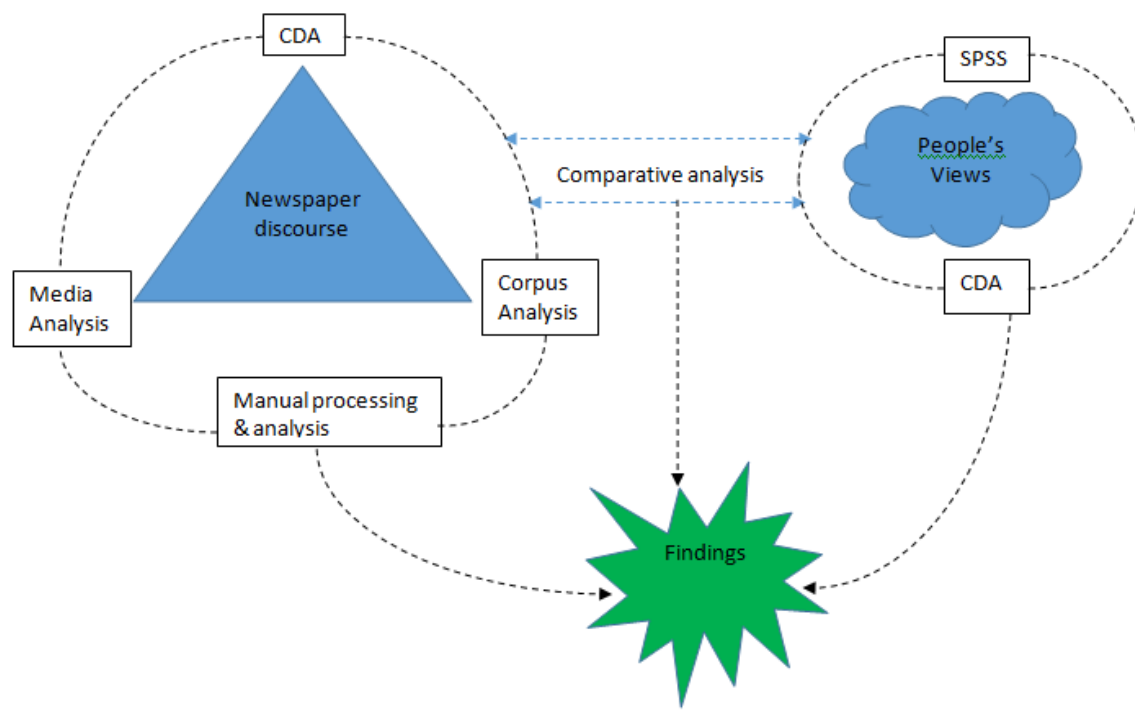
6.2.2 Methodological contribution

This study has registered a contribution by demonstrating the efficacy of using a corpus – driven CDA and media analytical framework to unpack linguistic and discursive strategies used in media discourse to reflect on the implementation of an HIV and AIDS policy. This contribution is two - fold namely:

1. The demonstration of using corpora created by researcher to facilitate analysis of discourse (For example, newspaper reports' corpora);
2. The use of CDA and Media Analysis to aid corpus analysis in the broad field of discourse analysis.

Diagram: Theoretical framework

The diagrammatic representation of the theoretical framework is shown below.



Key

CDA: Critical discourse analysis

SPSS: Statistical package for social sciences

This analytical framework generates keyword lists, collocations and the general linguistic environment of a lexical item in discourse. These are important for analysis particularly as the researcher employs a wide range of analytical insights from CDA and Media Analysis. CDA analysis yields ideological squares and power of language as embedded in, for example, intertextuality, thematisation, rhematisation, nominalisation, falsification, passivisation, transformation (For example, the use of metaphors) and use of expert figures.

Media Analysis bears a number of insights which revolve around agenda setting and building which can be used to illuminate CDA and corpus analysis. In addition, the use of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences to facilitate analysis of data obtained from completed questionnaires, is a methodological breakthrough in the area of applied linguistics in particular and, language and communication in general, within the context

of HIV and AIDS discourse. Lastly, the complementary nature of analytical framework used in the study remains pivotal as its humble contribution.

6.2.3 Possible impact of findings

This study stands to generate interest in similar studies to analyse corpora made by researchers in various fields of human endeavour particularly languages, applied linguistics, communication, journalism, literature, media studies and other related disciplines. The study will benefit students and seasoned researchers in these fields. In addition, policy makers in government also stand to benefit from this study.

6.3 Recommendations

This section seeks to proffer recommendations aimed at changing the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS intervention model for the better. This answers to the need to improve the human condition which has been the niche of any CDA - driven research.

Findings reveal as problematic the top-down approach in the Zimbabwean HIV and AIDS intervention model thanks to its foreign origin. Findings also betray all problems associated with HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe (For example, women and children's abuse, lack of viable empowerment programmes, stigmatisation, corruption and favouritism) as emanating from lack of *Unhu / hunhu (Ubuntuism)* (a socio-cultural modeling of a person so that s/he is responsible, respectable and useful to society).

Unhu/Ubuntu embodies positive attributes that would provide Zimbabwe with a new crop of developers and implementers of a people - sensitive HIV and AIDS intervention model. Such professionals would be humble, fair minded, polite, caring, just, respectful and devoid of corrupt tendencies. At the moment, there is lack of such a breed of professionals in Zimbabwe, hence the current implementation and related problems. Such professionals would put people first in their endeavour to fight HIV and AIDS.

Unhu/Ubuntu resides in Indigenous Knowledge Systems of Zimbabwe. It would create a thinking about the other among those responsible for community development like NAC officials, teachers, doctors, nurses, Government Ministers, professionals in the NGO world and journalists. *Unhu/Ubuntu* would create a consultative-leadership philosophy

which would entail the re-launch of a bottom – up HIV and AIDS intervention model to replace the current top – down one. *Unhu/Ubuntuism* embodies Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS). Hence, the study perceives the fully utilisation of IKS in the fight against the pandemic in Zimbabwe as solution to the current challenges. IKS celebrate collectivism as defined by the philosophy of *Unhu/Ubuntuism* inherent in local Zimbabwean traditions.

The deployment of IKS in the area of HIV and AIDS will ensure the following:

1. that there is equity, hence fairness in the distribution of resources (For example, AIDS drugs);
2. that government and relevant stakeholders adopt a pro-people approach in their planning activities as well as in the implementation of such plans;
3. that a new philosophy of responsible journalism is nurtured as opposed to one driven by individualism and monetary rewards;
4. the facilitation of a new approach to HIV and AIDS in which women, men and children develop relationships based on *Unhu/Ubuntu*, hence devoid of stigmatisation and abuse;
5. HIV and AIDS campaign that is linked to material conditions of people so that people living with HIV and AIDS are given enough food, drugs, education, shelter and clothing for them and their families;
6. *Unhu/Ubuntu* will strengthen the values of sharing and love for one another in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe, like other African countries, is endowed with IKS which revolve around *Unhu/Ubuntu* hence this study's recommendation for its adoption as a framework to inform the conceptualisation and implementation of HIV and AIDS policy.

Unhu/Ubuntu celebrates pro-family, pro - village and pro - nation values. In the same vein, *Unhu/Ubuntu* nurtures pro – motherhood and pro - fatherhood values among married couples in as much as it brings about a pro-people leadership orientation. Hence, through its adoption, drivers of HIV and AIDS such as poverty, masculinity, food insecurity and inequality in accessing healthcare services will be minimised.

Unhu/Ubuntu would ensure the adoption of a grassroots – centred participatory bottom – up, as opposed to the current pro – leadership centred top – down HIV and AIDS intervention model. *Unhu/Ubuntu* therefore generates an HIV and AIDS intervention model that incorporates all Zimbabweans irrespective of class and position in society. This inclusiveness ensures the rolling out of an HIV and AIDS programme from a socio – cultural and historical perspective, hence, meeting the dictates of the human condition in Zimbabwe.

Such a model would address the current structural and cultural challenges dogging the current model. As a consequence of the adoption of *Unhu/Ubuntu*, a consultative – leadership philosophy will humble NAC and Government officials to accept facilitation by institutions of higher learning, like - mined individuals and organizations, both to adopt this *Unhu/Ubuntu* - driven pro-people - paradigm in the fight against HIV and AIDS and, to facilitate its spreading in Zimbabwe starting with people at the grassroots.

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7.3 GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPERS

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

A QUESTIONNAIRE ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HIV/AIDS POLICY FOR ZIMBABWE

R. Makamani, Polytechnic of Namibia, Department of Communication.

rmakamani@polytechnic.edu.na

Dear Sir / Madam

I kindly request for your assistance in responding to this questionnaire. The aim of this research study is to find out the ground covered thus far in implementing the HIV/AIDS policy for Zimbabwe. Your views will be treated as confidential and they will be used only for the purposes of this research.

Thank you for your contribution.

SECTION A: (Demographic data)

In this section indicate your choice by an x

1. I work in:

Sector	Title →→→		
Education	Teacher	Lecturer	Associate
	Senior Teacher	Senior Lecturer	Professor
	School Head		Professor
Ministry of Health	Nurse	Doctor	Doctor (Specialist) (Specify)
Private Practice	Nurse	Doctor	Doctor (Specialist) (Specify)
HIV/AIDS Organisation	NAC		

Media Organisation	Government Media Journalist	Private Media Journalist	
Ministry of Health	Official (Specify)		
Other specify			

2. Gender:

Male	1	
Female	2	

3. Age:

Below 20 years	1	
21–25 years	2	
26–30 years	3	
31–35 years	4	
36–40 years	5	
41–45 years	6	
46–50 years	7	
51 years and above	8	

4. Working experience:

Less than 1 year	1	
1–2 years	2	
3–4 years	3	
5–6 years	4	
7–8 years	5	
9–10 years	6	
Above 10 years	7	

5. My mother tongue is:

Shona
Ndebele
English
Other (Specify)

6. Educational background:

Area		
Natural Sciences	1	
Humanities Social Sciences	2	
Other (please specify)	3	

SECTION B: Questions on HIV/AIDS Policy's implementation

In the following statements kindly indicate your view by an x against the given options:

Key

Agree (A)

Strongly Agree (SA)

Disagree (D)

Strongly Disagree (SD)

Neutral (N)

HIV/AIDS patients are helped to cope with their condition in my community.	A	SA	D	SD	N
Anti-retroviral drugs are readily available to those who need them.	A	SA	D	SD	N
It is easy for anyone diagnosed as HIV positive to access treatment.	A	SA	D	SD	N
HIV/AIDS patients are not stigmatised by society.	A	SA	D	SD	N
Some cultural beliefs are helping in the spread of HIV/AIDS.	A	SA	D	SD	N

HIV/AIDS positive people can freely disclose their HIV status.	A	SA	D	SD	N
I can freely discuss HIV/AIDS campaign messages with anyone in society (For example, close relatives (vanyarikani)).	A	SA	D	SD	N
Some HIV/AIDS campaign messages appear to be more foreign than local.	A	SA	D	SD	N
Events like Operation Restore Order (Operation Murambatsvina) negatively affected some HIV/AIDS patients.	A	SA	D	SD	N
The National Aids Council (NAC) has helped a lot in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe.	A	SA	D	SD	N
Success for HIV/AIDS programmes hinges on economic performance of the country.	A	SA	D	SD	N
The NAC has managed HIV/AIDS resources in a transparent manner.	A	SA	D	SD	N
The Zimbabwe Government has effectively responded to the HIV/AIDS pandemic.	A	SA	D	SD	N
To effectively wipe out the HIV/AIDS pandemic there is need for local solutions to the pandemic.	A	SA	D	SD	N

16. Kindly make comments on the following:

a) Culture is helping in the spread of HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe.

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- b) Not all HIV/AIDS positive people are able to access anti-retroviral drugs.**

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- c) People find it difficult to discuss HIV/AIDS campaign messages with some close relatives better known as vanyarikani.**

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- d) Some HIV/AIDS campaign messages are not home grown thereby creating communication barriers with the locals.**

.....

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e) Operation Restore Order negatively affected some HIV/AIDS patients.

.....

.....

.....

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.....

f) NAC has not performed well in the fight against HIV/AIDS

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g) Kindly write any other comments below particularly if you chose Neutral for an answer.

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Thank you for your contribution in this research.

Appendix 2: Electronic survey questions on Zimbabweans' views about newspapers

1. What are your views on how government and private newspapers have reported on HIV and AIDS related issues in Zimbabwe?
2. Have government and private newspapers been successful in reporting about HIV and AIDS issues in Zimbabwe?
3. What are the challenges faced by newspapers in their reportage?
4. What should be done in order to improve the situation regarding newspapers' reportage about the implementation of the implementation of the HIV and AIDS policy?

Appendix 3: Introductory letter by the promoter



TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN 15 OCTOBER 2012

Mr Rewai Makamani is a doctoral student in the Dept of African Languages at The University of South Africa. Currently he is carrying out field research which is a prerequisite to analysis and discussion of his research study. Hence, he is administering his questionnaire selected participants. It would be sincerely appreciated, therefore, if you were to assist him this regard.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "DM", followed by a long horizontal line extending to the right.

**Dave E. Mutasa
Professor
Department of African Languages
(UNISA Main Campus)**

Appendix 4: Permission to conduct research

72130609
Medicus

Telephone: +263-4-790039
Telegraphic Address:
"MEDICUS", Harare
Fax: +263-4-720119/702293
Telex: MEDICUS 22211ZW


ZIMBABWE

Reference:
Ministry of Health and Child
Welfare
P O Box CY1122
Causeway
HARARE

04 January 2013

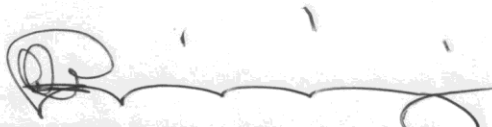
Prof Dave E Mutasa
Department Of African Languages
UNISA

REF: FIELD RESEARCH IN RESPECT OF MR REWAI MAKAMANI DOCTORAL STUDENT

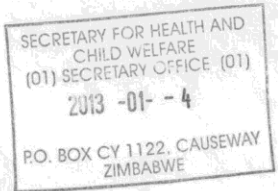
Authority is granted for the above mentioned student to carry out research in the HIV and AIDS Department as well as the National AIDS Council.

By copy of this letter, Dr O Mugurungi (AIDS and TB Unit) and Dr T Magure (CEO NAC) are duly informed.

Thank you



Brigadier General (Dr) G Gwinji
SECRETARY FOR HEALTH AND CHILD WELFARE



cc Dr O Mugurungi - Director, AIDS and TB Programme
Dr T Magure - CEO, National AIDS Council

Appendix 5: Samples of newspaper reports

A. Government newspapers

Kwaedza

HIV neAids zvorwiswa sei?

MUNGUVA apo vanhu vemuZimbabwe vari kurwisana nekupararira kwehutachiwana hwedenda reHIV neAids, pane kunakurirana pakati pevanhurume nevanhukadzi pakuti ndiyani anounza chirwere mumba.

Kunyange zvazvo denda iri riri kurakidza kuderera, nyaya yema "small house" iri kunzi ndiyo ichiri kudzorera shure kurwisana nedenda iri.

Asi chiiko chinonzi "small house"? Pane mhinduro dzakawanda uye imwe yadzo ndeinoti angave murume kana mudzimai anoita hushamwari hwepabonde nemurume kana mudzimai zviri kunze kwewanano.

Asi chii chinoita kuti varume kana vakadzi vaite tsika iyi ivo vakaroora kana kuroorwa?

Mubvunzo uyu unowanzomutsa gakava pamwe nekupomerana pakati pevarume nevakadzi apo mumwe nemumwe anenge achida kuzvinatsa.

Nyaya yemasmall houses yakatsviriridza svondo rapfuura muHarare apo pakaparurwa bhaisikopo rinonzi Big House Small House nesangano reInstitute for Environment, Health and Development Communication rakabatana neNational Aids Council.

Amai Patience Shamba (32), avo vakasiyana nemurume wavo, vakapa chikonzero chekuti dzimwe nguva madzimai ndiwo anodhonzera varume

kumasmall house nekuda kwezvavanoi-to vari mumba.

Iyi nyaya ingangodaro tine hudzamu nekuti kazhinji kacho madzimai anoitwa masmall house anenge akamboroorwa vaine vana asi zvichida vakakundikana kugarisana nevarume vavo.

Vazhinji vacho vanenge vachitoziva zvinokonanisa vanhu mumba saka vanenge vachitozvira kuchengetedza "wanano iyi".



VANHU ava vairatidzira mumugwagwa muguta reHarare nekupa kurudziro yekuvimbika kumudiwa mumwechete nguva pfupi yodarika.

"Ini ndakasiyana nemurume uye part zvino ndinogara ndega. Nyaya iripo ndeyekuti -madzimai pavanoita vana vanobva vanyanya kuisa nguva zhinji kuvana vokanganwa kuti.kuna baba.

"Vana baba vanobva vabuda uye kazhinji kacho pavanoenda kunze vanondobatwa zvakanaka," vakadaro Amai Shamba.

"Yambiro yangu kumadzimai art mudzimba ndeyekuti batai vana baba zvakanaka, rudo rwamange muinarwo pakutanga ngarurambe rwuripo kudakara maparadzaniswa nerufu."

Zvisinei, Mai Rudo Masundire (33), vakaroorwa uye vane vana vatatu, vakapikisa pfungwa iyi vaehiti varume ndivo vane dambudziko uye havadi kutsiurwa.

"Dambudziko riri pavarume 'vedu.Vanotisiya mumba vachienda kumasmall house nekuti kune zvitsva (zvepabonde) zvinenge zvichiitwako zvisingaitwe nemadzimai avo mumba.

"Chinongodiwa apa kutaurirana kana kuri kudzidziswa hatirambe uye zvavanoona zvakapfekwa kunze kwavanenge vari ngavatengere madzimai avo tinopfeka hatirambe", vakadaro Mai Masundire.

Zvichakadaro, VaPhilip Ziurawa (44) vakanakurawo nyaya iyi vakati "dzimwe nguva madzimai edu anenge asisageze uye nyaya yekusabudirana pachena mumba pamwe nekugumbuka zvisinganzwisisike".

Rimwe dambudziko rakawanikwa ndere tsika yechivanhu iyo yakanzi inoita kuti pasava nekunyatsobudirana pachena pakati pevarume nevakadzi vari muwanano.

Semuenzaniso vamwe vakati zvinhu zvisingatambirike kuti mudzimai ataurire murume wake kana achinge asina kunyatsogutsikana pabonde vachiti anenge achizotya kuti angazonzi ipfambi.

Vamwe vakati mushure mekugara asingagutsikane kwenguva mudzimai anokwanisa kuzobudawo mumba achitsvaga vamwe panze zvobva zvakonzera kusavimbika.

Mumiriri mudare reParamende kuMurehwa North, Dr David Parirenyatwa, vakapawo pfungwa yavo pakuparurwa kwechirongwa cheOneLove Campaign chakaitwa kwaMurewa nguva yadarika.

"Munhu anofanira kugutsikana nemudzimai wake mumwe chete uye kune vari pachipari endai munotorwa ropa mugare makavimbika mumusha menyu kuitira kuti tirwisane nekupararira kwedenda reHIV neAids," vakadaro Dr Parirenyatwa.

Mushakabvu Marshal Munhumumwe akaimba achiti " rudo imoto runotokutidzirwa vana amai- musati zvamaroorwa imi hamuchageze".

Mubvunzo uripo pakuti kana vanhu vachinge varoorana vari vaviri ndiyani anofanirwa kunge achukuchidzira mwenje werudo mumba?

Wanano sezvo iri sungano yevanhu vaviri, ibasa zvakare revaviri ava kuti

Denda reHIV neAids rinowanouya nemunhu mumwecheteb mumba asi zvichizogumisira zvaurya vaviri vana vachisara vasina variritiri.

Imwe nyaya zvakare yakanzi iri kukonzera kusavimbika mudzimba inhau yekuda mari zvakadarikidza.

Vamwe vakati izvi zviru kunyanya kukonzera nekuti mazuva ano basa ravana tete nanasekuru rekuraya vari kupinda muwanano harichanyanyokosheswa sepasichigare.

Vana vazhinji vave kupedza nguva yavo vari muzvikoro kure nevabereki uko vanenge vachidzidzisana zvavanoona pazvivhitivhiti uye kana vachinge vadzoka kumba vabereki vanenge asina nguva nevana vavo apo mat nababa vese vanenge vachienda kumabasa.

Nemamiriro akaita zvinhu munguva apo nyika iri kuda kurwisa denda iri, kunakurirana nyaya hakuna kwatinosvitsa.

Zvakakosha kuti tive vakavimbika mukurwisa chirwere chemukondomera ichi nokuti tikasadaro tingapere nechakapedza mbudzi.

By Abigail Halimani

Kwaedza, 19 – 25 February, 2010

Kodzero dzevanhukadzi ndedzevanhu vose

IYE zvino Zimbabwe yave kutungamira mukupa madzimai zvinhano zveutungamiri muhurumende, rnumakambani nemumasangano. Kusimukira kwamai Joice Mujuru semutevedzeri wemutungamiri wenyika chiyedza kune ruzhinji rwanaamai vane chishuwo chekutungamirira ramangwana.

Mashoko akataurwa naMai Oppah Muchinguri gurukota rezvemadzimai nesimukiro uye zvichemo zvavo anoti, "Kodzero dzemadzimai ndedzemunhu wese zvake."

Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre and Network iri kushanda nesimba pamwe nehurumende nemamwe masangano ichiyananisa bhajeti yemari yenyika kuti

isimudzirewo mabasa emadzimai uye kuti madzimai aonekerewo munyika ino aine kodzero dzakazara, nyika ine matongerwo akasununguka uye mabasa emaoko.

Sekutaura kweimwe mhare yakazvigona apo yakati, "Madzimai ivai sanduko yezvamakatarisira pasi rose." Ava ndiVaMahatma Gandhi vekuIndia makore apfuura apo vaitungamira nyika iyi.

Simbaradzo yavo yakasimbaradza Beijing Declaration for Human Rights musangano mukuru wekutanga wakaitwa pasi rose ukapembedza kodzero dzamadzimai.

Nhasi muZimbabwe Mai Joice Mujuru mutevedz eri wemutungamiri wenyika. Madzimai ave nesimba mune zveumatongerwo enyika. KuLiberia muAfrica Mai Serleaf Johnson vari kutungamira zvine kodzero nerunyararo.

Izvi zviri kutaridza kusimuka kwekodzero dzemadzimai muZimbabwe, Africa nepasi rose kusanganisira nyika dziri kutungamirwa nedzakambotongwa nemadzimai dzakaita seBritain, India neBrazil. Vatungamiri ava vanosanganisira Mai Margaret Thatcher naIndira Gandhi.

Iye zvino inguva yekuti madzimai azvipire kumira mira kwete kumirira nguva. Inguva yekuti madzimai apfekere muzvinhanho zvisati zvapindwa nemadzimai semunyaya dzezvezvicherwa neEngineering. Madzimai ngaazvipire kutsvaka mapangiro eruzivo mune zvemishonga arwise zvirwere zvakafanana neTB, cancer necytomegaloma virus zviri kufambidzana neHIV/AIDS.

Pasi rose madzimai ngaaumbe chisungo chimwechete chekudyidzana mune zvebumbiro reDomestic Violence. Ngavaumbe simboti inocherechedza kukosha kwavo mune zvose zvinofambirana nenguva.

Simukiro yezvirongwa zvevadzimai zvave kuda masangano anomirira ivo chete pachavo asina rusarura pakati pavo nevarume. Mamwe emasangano aya epasi rose ndeanoti, Unifem (United Nations Fund for Women, Afri Development Fund for Women nemamwe` anocherechedza zvirongwa zvamadzimai.

Tarisiro ingavepo uye yekuti madzimai o zvawo atsigirane nebudiriro yemitemo ichave net giro neupenyu hwavo kunyanya yebhiri rebongo2 zo mudzimba. Budiriro yemadzimai mukusimudzira zvirongwa zvekugovewa kwevl kusimukira kwavo

mukutungamira makambani u zvirongwa zvekupiwa mari vachisimudzir` zvakaenzanirana.

Donzvo hombe nderekuti madzimai azvipi munyaya dzezvematongerwo enyika achishan pamwechete nemasangano akaita seWIPSU (Wom In Politics Support Unit).

Zvirongwa zvingatsigirwa naMai Ed Madzongwe mukuru wedare reSeneti nevami vakatodza ivavo zvingasimudzira budiri muAfrica, Zimbabwe nepasi rose.

Ramangwana ramadzimai rine rujeko, simuki nebudiriro mumabasa ose zvawo.

Pasi rose madzimai mune kundiso nerarai munyaya dzekodzero dzenyu.

-ndin chisarai asi madzimai rambai makashin muchakunda.

By Nevson Mpofu

Kwaedza, 16 -22, March, 2007

Ndafunga kugara nhaka yemunin'ina

SEKURU- Ini ndiri murume ane makore 48 ekuberekwa uyewo ndakaroora ndiine vana vashanu avo ndinogara navo muno muHarare vamwewo vachigara kumusha.

Nyaya yandinetsa ndeyekuti gore rakapera paseri mumwe munin'ina wangu akashaika ndokusiya mukadzi pamwe nevana vatatu vachiri vadiki.

Zvadai, sezvo mudzimai wacho asingashande anamukoma vakanditi ndiriritire vana ava r_ arnwo namai vacho avo ndinowirirana navo.

Ndakazotaura nemuramu ndokubva tabvumirana kuti ndomugara hangu nhaka ogara pamwe nemudzimai wangu nevana. Zvino vekumhuri vari kuvava nenyaya iyi vachiti hazviite kuti ndigare mudzimai uyu nhaka sezvo iri tsika yakare uyewo mudzimai wangu ari kushora kuita uku achiti kune njodzi.

Nyaya iyi iri kundirwadza sezvo handione chakaipa kuti ndigare muramu chipari pane kuti atorwe zvake nemutorwa nezvirwere zvapararira kudai.

SEKURU VANOTI: Unoziva here chakauraya munin'ina wako u nekuti imwe nguva unogona kungoita ruchiva rwem ramu uyu asi zvichizokonzera njodzi mune ram wana.

Kunzi dzipakate handi kunzi dziridze uyewo ku chengeta vana handi kunzi chibva watora muke akasiyiwa nemunin'ina wako uyu.

Hongu vari kushora kuita kwako uku vari mucho wadi uyewo ngatisiyanei netsika dzakare dzisis mukana makore ano.

By Kenias, K.

Kwaedza, 29 March 2007

Nzanga yepfambi kuZengeza 4

IMWE imba kuNew Zengeza 4 kuChitungwiza yanetsa nekuda kwechipfambi chiri kuitwa apa. Imba yacho iri pedyo nechitoro chega chiri munzvimbo iyi uye nhamba dzepamba apa tinadzo. Pamba apa panoita mutsara wemotokari dzevarume vanenge vachida kudya nyika rutivi.

Munyori wenyaya ino akakw_ anisa kuonawo nezvechitiko ichi mumazuva ayo akashaika munzvimbo iyi. Pamba apa panogara vanhukadzi vangangosvika vashanu uye vane mukuru wavo uyo anotumidzwa zita rekuti Nlai Movo.

Mukadzi uyu akafirwa nemurume makore mashoma apfuura uye kubva kushaya kwakaita murume wacho, pamba ape, paronzi pari kuuya varume vakasiyana siyana uye vese vanofamba nedzimotokari.

"Pamba apa pave kutonzi paNoczim nekuda kwekuti hapabve vanhurume vane motokari uye vanotaridza kuti, vane mari zvikuru,"

Vamwe vagari veuku vave kutofunga ku vakadzi ava vanoita zvemishonga nekuda kW vanhurume vanouya pamba apa.

Dzimwe dzenguva vanombotukana pacban' vachiudzana hupfambi hwavo mumugwa izvo zvinotaridza kuti havatombonyari nazi Vabereki vemunharaunda iyi vari kunyuO, nekuda kwevanhukadzi vepamba apa neku! kwekuti vari kutaridza muenzaniso waka?

www.kwayedza.co.zw/index.php?

Godobori akasungwa abata-bata chembere



abata-bata chembere

neMunyori weKwayedza

N'ANGA yemukurumbira inoshandisa zita rekuti Tsikamutanda yopomerwa mhosva yekubata nhengo dzakavandika dzemumwe mudzimai ichiti yaitsvaga chikwambo.

Mashura aya akaitika kudunhu rekwaMashayamombe kunharaunda yeMhondoro munguva pfupiichangodarika. Chiremba uyu, Wilson Chinjiva ane makore 32 ekuberekwa anonzi anofamba munzvimbo yose iyi achiita basa rekutsvaga varoyi nevanobata mishonga yakaipa.

Musi waitika nyaya iyi, zvinonzi chiremba uyu akaunganidza vanhu vemumusha waNyangani achiti aida kutsvaga vanhu vaiva nehuroyi. Mutaauriri wernapurisa kudunhu reMashonaland ` ,Vest Inspector Paul Nyathi, vanoti Tsikamutanda uyu akasvika munzvimbo yaSadunhu Charles Ny(ngani ndokukokoi`odza vanhu vose pamutambo uyu. hr'anga iyi izonzi yakazotanga kufamba imba nemba ichibvisa zvayaiti zvikwambo nezvidhoana. Pakasvikwa pamba pevarnwe amai, n'anga iyi anonzi yakatanga kumhanya nedzimba dzose ichiti yainihanyisa zvikwambo zvaitya kubatwa nesimba rayo guru.

"Mukumhanyisana kwaainzi aiita nezvidhoma nezvikwambo izvi zvinonzi nachiremba uyu zvaiona kuti zvakanga zvava kubatwa zvakazonopinda munhengo dzakavandika dzaamai ava vane makore (69) ekuberekwa," vakadaro Inspector Nyathi.

Vanhu vachishamiswa zvikuru nezvakaitika apa, Chinjiva anonzi akatanga kurwisana nevamwe amai achivabatabata niuviri wese achiti aiona zvikwambo izvi kudzimara anopinza maoko ake murokwe mavo.

Pakarepo Tsikamutanda uyu anonzi akaburitsa maoko ake murokwe umu umu akabata chidende chainzi chikwambo chainge chatizira kunhawanda imomo. Amai ava vakazomhanya kunomhan'ara nyaya iyi kumapurisa ekwaMubayira zvakazoita kuti Tsikamutanda uyu asungwe. Chiremba uyu akachengetwa nemapurisa akamirira kupinda mudare redzimhosva nekuda kwemhosva yaari kupomerwa iyi. Inspector Nyathi vakayambira ruzhinji kuti vangwarire n'anga dzakadai idzi zhinji dzacho dzinova dzemanyepo dzinongomirira kutorera vanhu pft yavo uyewo nekusiya dzarwisanisa vanhu nekuvapur uroyi. Mune imwewo nyaya yerudzi urwu, kune mun chiremba wechivanhu zvakare anonzi apedza kutor vanhu zvipfuyo zvavo kuMashonaland Central.

Chiremba uyu anonzi aonesa ruzhinji ndot kumatunhu ekuMashonaland Central anosangan Chiweshe, Shamva neMt Darwin. N'anga iyi ina yakasvikira pamusha paSabhuku Rueben Chimutoa apo anochengetera zvipfuyo izvo anotora muvan achizozvitengesa. Vamwe vanhu vakatorerwa *zvipfa* zvavo vanosanganisa Herbert Kufakomukuru, uyd kune imwe chembere yakanzi ibhadhare neguniN sezvo yaisava nemari. Mutaauriri wernapurisa kudu~ reMashonaland Central akatsinhira nezvenya yemachiremba aya anotenderera umu. Vakayam~ vanhu kuti vasiyane nen'anga idzi dzi:iovabira marl ne fumi hwavo pasina chavanowaria madziniai achibal chibharo.

www.kwayedza.co.zw/index.php?

Chirwere ichi hachina mushonga unochirapa

SEKURU KWAYEDZA – Ini ndiri mukomana ane makomakumi maviri nemaviri berekwa uye handisati aroora. Dambudziko go nderinotervera.

Ndine chokwvadi chekuti kadzi wekumbonditizira Iye akandizadza chirwere ounzenza icho ndinacho. akazorambana muna budzi gore rakapera mushure mekunge ndamubata achishinha nemunin'ina wangu wekwababamudiki.

Tichangotanga kugara lose takaenda kuna chiremba ndikanoudzwa kuti chitwere chandainge ndave nacho chinonzi "genital herpes" uye hachina mushonga unouraya utachiona hwacho

hunove "virus". Maronda acho anotanga sematuzu mushure oputika oita twuronda twunozopora mushure memasvondo kana maviri. Maronda aya anozodzoka mushure memwe - dzi mishanu kana mitanhatu.

Pari zvino ndakazowana musikana uyo ndakavimbisana kuzoorana gore rinouya. Chava kundinetsa kushaya kuti ndingaite sei kuti chirwere 'chi chipere. Ko, Iye ndingamuudze here kuti ndizvo zviri pandiri? Imba yangu naye haizoparara here mushure mekunge azviziva?

Ndine urombo kuti ndimuzadze chirwere 'chi sezvo iye akambondiyambira nezvazvo. Ndine chokwadi chekuti imhandara yakakwana uye haana mumwe kunze kwangu. Ndibatsireiwo ndisati ndashinha naye.

By D.L.K., Mutoko.

www.kwayedza.co.zw/index.php?

ICHOKWADI icho wakaudzwa nachiremba kuti chitwere 'chi hachina mushonga unochirapa.

Uyezve chirwere chacho hachitane kupararira zvekuti ukangoshinha nemukadzi upi zvake usingashandise makondomu, mukadzi wacho anobva abatawo chirwere ichi. Uyezve kana kutsvodana chaiko kana uine zvironda pamuromo zvinogona kuparadzira chirwere 'chi. Nyange

zvazvo genital herpes 'sill gakonzere humwe hurwadzo kunze kwematuzu ayo unotaura asi zvinogona kukanganisa utano hwentwana wamunobervka. Ndinoona zvakakodzera kuti uzhise musikanaa wako uyu kuti ndicho chirwere chauri nacho. – SEKURU KWAYEDZA

www.kwayedza.co.zw/index.php?

The herald

Child-headed families cry out for help

Friday, 28 October 2011 00:00



IN life there are times where one cannot help but shed a tear. Unfortunately, for some people such times have become an everyday occurrence while others take life for granted because their day-to-day lives are plentiful and there are leftovers.

When a 10-year-old girl leaves school for two months to look after an ailing grandfather at a local clinic, then those of us who are fortunate not to undergo such painful experiences, have to count our blessings.

Many times we take life's blessings - a house, a car, food, clothing and good health - for granted. It should not be like that.

Some people go to extreme ends just to have a meal a day. Some take porridge or mahewu without sugar just to keep body and soul together.

Mambidzeni Jaya does not remember the year she was born.

She looks over 75-years-old. Her husband Zemba Masiyaza Muzungu looks even five or more years older and ailing.

The couple has seen their roles taken back 50 years when they were parents. Today that parental role has been thrust again onto their hands and with no financial muscle and energy to do so, it becomes a mammoth task, if not mission impossible.

The couple was blessed with 14 children. Of these, 10 have died.

Of the remaining four, the only girl left the village four years ago to work as a domestic worker in Harare and for three years now she has not returned to see the old parents.

They heard she is married and has a child but the going is tough for her so she has not been able to come and show them her husband or the baby.

They have since forgotten about the lobola issue, all they need is to see their daughter, son-in-law and the new baby before they too make peace with their maker.

Of the three males alive, one is aged 24 and single. He helps them with farming and firewood hewing at their homestead at Mutumha in Buhera north.

The other two are married and do odd jobs in the small town of Mvuma.

They rarely visit since they are cash-constrained too. Mbuya and Sekuru Muzungu have 10 orphans under their care. These are all minors ranging from five to 12 years and still in primary school which is quite some distance from their homestead.

Mbuya Muzungu remembers that her sons and daughters-in-law all perished due to TB.

She said at times the husbands got ill first with the wives shortly falling ill too.

She said all she knows is that they never responded well to medication even though TB is treatable.

Since she cannot read or write, she does not know if the deaths were HIV-related or not. All she knows is that they all lost so much weight, got bed-ridden and failed even to eat. By the time they breathed their last, they had suffered so much and it was better that the pain was over.

"All my children and their wives got TB and failed to respond to medication. It was such a sorry sight to see them leave their jobs and come home to die leaving these orphans alone," said the old woman. The two anthills which serve as the family burial shrines are full and she looks up to the Lord to give her strength to look after her grandchildren.

"As you can see, we are both old. Sekuru currently finished TB medication but has not gotten any better," said Mbuya Muzungu. Sekuru Muzungu enquired if anyone had brought him some painkillers since he is under immense pain and has difficulty in breathing.

His feet are swollen and he walks barefooted because of the swelling. Despite the fact that at one time he stayed in a clinic receiving some TB treatment for two months, he still is ill. Could it be he now has multi-drug resistant TB or that he maybe suffering from some other illnesses associated with old age? "Sekuru was once admitted at Mudanda Clinic and the 11-year-old girl stopped going to school for two months as she prepared his meals at the clinic.

"The clinic has no kitchen so someone has to do the cooking for you if you are admitted there," said Ambuya Muzungu, who had to remain behind at home with the rest of the orphans.

Since the cause of death for the 10 children and their spouses was TB, Sekuru and everyone in the family ought to have been screened for TB. This has not been the case, even the little ones staying with Sekuru have not been screened owing to the distance to the nearest health centre and the strain on the health delivery system. The children also need to have HIV tests carried out as they stand a chance of having been exposed.

Children under 16 need a guardian or parent to get an HIV test and with such old grandparents it's asking for too much. Ambuya Muzungu said one of her late sons kept her national identity card and when he died, she failed to locate it. This then means she is not able to access some donor aid as she has no identity papers. Ambuya Muzungu was identified by Dananai, a Trust registered in the area as she picked up maize grain after lucky recipients had received their share. "We were touched by Ambuya Muzungu's plight .She was picking up maize grains from the centre where registered recipients had got their share," said a spokesman for Dananai, Mr Mudondo.

The old woman is grateful as Dananai has come to her rescue in the hour of need. Ambuya Muzungu said were it not for Dananai, she would have starved together with her family long back. "Dananai is my saviour. They have given me clothing when the kids were in tatters. They have given me seed, maize-meal and blankets and they are helping with the education of three of the children," said Ambuya Mazungu who spoke most of the time since Sekuru had difficulty even with breathing.

The old woman looked up to the sky and prayed that the rains would fall. "These children have had nothing to eat. We ran out of mealie-meal three days ago and the miller has flatly refused some trade in. I wanted to give him three cocks but he said he wanted some money," she added. On the day in question three of the children had not

gone to school. "Those writing Grade 7 examinations have gone to school. These three said they could not go to school on empty stomachs so you can see them like monkeys high up the mulberry tree," she said.

This is the day-to-day life for the old woman. The mulberries were still green but the little ones were perched high up on the branches eating anything that resembled ripening stage.

Ambuya was also concerned because three of the orphans have no birth certificates and she was afraid they would not be able to write the Grade 7 examination in the coming years. "These three have no birth certificates and they may fail to write their exams.

"What is the future of a child with no education?" she asked with great concern. Dananai Care and Support Trust has been providing home-based care programmes, livelihoods projects to empower communities, raise awareness in prevention of new HIV infections and support to orphaned and vulnerable children in Buhera district.

Dananai works in 20 wards in Buhera North mainly as volunteer caregivers. There are 365 volunteers and each caregiver visits 10 homes.

"It works well in rural the set up. Despite the fact that it's voluntary the sense of belonging gives people the impetus to help their fellow villagers. "When incentives are available they receive these small donations but most of the time it's voluntary," said Mr John Tivaone who is one of the programme officers with Dananai. "We do not have the figures offhand, but many households are child-headed and these need special recognition and the caregivers do that," he said.

He added: "Some, like the Muzungu orphans, are still lucky and live with grandparents who are too old even to work, but that is still a consolation as the family unit is kept intact.

"We provide livelihoods projects because it is not always that we have food aid, so families must be in a position to provide for themselves. "We have a few poultry projects running on some child-headed homesteads and from this they manage to earn a living, although it is tough being a parent when still a child."

Mr Tivaone pointed out that Dananai had run out of funding. "We cannot close doors because we have run out of funding. We are housed here at Murambinda Hospital

which is free and accessible so we keep coming to work hoping someone will come to our rescue," said Mr Tivaone.

Dananai has helped 300 orphans with educational grants. "Right now we have sent proposals to CARA and the Oak Foundation for funding and we are appealing to any other well-wishers to help," he said. The makeshift primary school the Muzungu orphans attend has 150 pupils.

The school headmaster was away as he had accompanied those writing the Grade 7 examination to the nearest exam centre since their school does not offer this. The teacher in charge said there was a staff complement of four and everyone - the headmaster included - taught.

For the Muzungu orphans and others in the area attending such a school, which barely has desks let alone books, the future looks bleak if nothing is done to arrest the sad situation on time. Two of the teachers at the school share a two-roomed house while two others walk daily to and fro their homes dotted in the villages.

In 1980, education became a basic right offered to all primary school level children in the country freely, but today many struggle to go to school. May we strive to have zero new HIV infections as we struggle to take the effects of HIV in today's living manageable by also providing education which is an empowering tool.

In all you get, may you get correct understanding.

- **cathrine.mwauyakufa@zimpapers.co.zw**

The tragedy of wife-swapping

Friday, 30 December 2011 00:00

Cathrine Murombedzi HIV Walk

Jairos has settled a score with Miros, his long-time friend and drinking pal. Today he is a "hero" among his drinking mates in Mount Hampden area. Jairos grew up in the family community of Banket and has been a resident in the province all his life. His childhood friend Miros is viewed in bad light by most in the community as they do not want him near their daughters and wives.

The story of the two men is as old as they are. Both men are aged 30. Their fathers worked on the same farms, in Banket and their mothers were friends too. As in all farming communities everyone goes to the fields and the two boys have weeded the fields side by side and who ever was faster used to come to the aid of the other. In the farming communities this is known as mugwazo (work partitioned out). They have even

shared clothing and have seen one sleeping over at the other's house on several occasions as they grew up. So Miros and Jairos' friendship can be called watertight, but as they say there are no permanent friends, only common dreams. Miros fell in love with a compound beauty, Naomi. As one who was not satisfied with the meagre earnings he got from the labourer's wages, he cast his net wider and got a job at a fishery in Darwendale.

In no time he packed his bags and in the first six months he returned to show off his new-found wealth and spoil the love of his life. As time went on the visits became fewer and fewer and in no time completely stopped.

Miros was now involved with the girls who ticked in Darwendale and soon he forgot about Naomi as he got married to Rusia, who was a mother of two but a hit in the fishing community.

Naomi leaned on her lover's friend Jairos for support and in no time Jairos became the new man in Naomi's life. The two got married and now have two minor children. As would be the demands of Miros' new wife and his unsatisfied taste, he got himself in the habit of nicking bagfuls of fish which some traders got through the back door. One day he got into a heated argument with his wife who accused him of spending money on a new-found love.

The wife threatened to report him to his superiors and he laughed it off. "Ooo that will be the end of the good life which you like so much," he scoffed. As he did not mend his ways, the wife reported to the masters that her husband was stealing from them and she had heard him arrange with "clients" that they would pick up their fish from the bush.

A trap was set and Miros was caught red-handed. Hell hath no fury like a scorned wife. Miros admitted to stealing other missing gadgets at work and these were recovered at his house. He did not waste the police's time and went to court where he admitted to all the theft charges. As a first offender he was given community service and lost his job. He thus found himself and wife trekking to Mount Hampden where he had left four years ago. Miros now in the hood, the two friends got back to their drinking ways. Miros did not like the back-breaking work on the farms so he resorted to fish poaching from the neighbouring dams. He had ready cash as he lent fish and collected his loot when people get paid. He told all who cared to listen that he was monied and could afford to have all women in the area leave their husbands for his home.

Miros enticed Naomi with the greenback and some fish for the pot which she should pay for at the end of the month. Naomi's debt ballooned and now owed over US\$20 for fish. The sly Miros pestered Naomi to pay in kind. She flatly refused but as the hunger pangs bit deeper she got back to the fish supplier who agreed to give her some "free" fish on his conditions. The debt was cancelled and Naomi got more fish and paid in private as agreed.

Meanwhile, Jairos is mocked by his friends at all beer drinks that he was gaining weight from having fish "bought" by the wife. Jairos' neighbours told him that his friend Miros was drinking from the same well with him. He set up his surveillance cameras and got some leads.

One day Miros passed through Jairos' home and asked to take his longtime friend for a beer binge for which the two left laughing. Miros had ulterior motives, he intended to get his friend drunk and slip off to his wife. Jairos played to the tune. Everytime he was bought a pint of beer he staggered to the toilet where he poured the contents into the pit. So by the 10th bottle he appeared sloshed and Miros gave Jairos US\$3 as he had to go to the next beerhall where a local disc jockey was playing. In Jairos condition, he was told that he could not make the long way to the next stop. He agreed to remain behind and Miros left the supposed drunkard behind. He went straight to Jairos bedroom where Naomi was told that the coast was clear. The two engaged in unprotected sex and in the heat of the game Jairos stormed and caught the two red-handed. Miros escaped in his birthday suit. Jairos took Miros clothes to the beerhall court as an exhibit. The "prosecutors" and cum "magistrates" there unanimously agreed that Jairos must take Miros wife.

The case was settled and the "messengers of court" escorted their friend to serve justice the kangaroo court way. They call it tit for tat in the compound and now Jairos can walk with is head high after "dignity is restored". Jairos brings home Rusia as a second wife. Justice is delivered according to them. This does not go down well with Naomi who packs her bags and heads straight to Miros' home accusing him of having wrecked her marriage. It appears Rusia is unfazed by the whole episode as she comfortably settles in the new home but occasionally goes back to demand groceries for the little girls she took along with her. She has Jairos' blessing to go and turn the

household upside down if they do not bow to her demands. Wife swap has taken place, it appears so easy but difficult to stomach to the normal person.

Rusia laughs off telling Naomi that she should visit the nearest health centre to get tested for HIV. Today as I write, Rusia is expecting and she says Miros is responsible because she was already pregnant when she left for Jairos' home. It becomes comical reading but in the face of HIV and Aids, such happenings in communities show a different level of understanding of the dangers of HIV and Aids. Multiple concurrent partners are the major drivers of HIV and the farming communities seem to engage in wife swap with ease.

There appears to be an information gap and programmers need to visit and map these areas in earnest. Mr Shadreck Mutinhi, a plot owner in the area, said that wife swaps and early marriages are the order of the day. "Children as young as 12 years are forced into marriage. In fact, it's not a marriage because they are too young to understand what they are getting into," said Mr Mutinhi. "Most of the girls die before they even reach the age of 20 years either during the multiple child births or through HIV-related illnesses, which is unfortunate," he said.

Mr Mutinhi said it does not make sense to have those involved in early marriages arrested because they do not understand they have broken the law. "Intense education on all spheres, HIV, reproductive health, education and basic human rights need to be inculcated so that they understand what is a crime and what is not," he added. He pointed out that even where a spouse died from an Aids-related disease people still flocked there and it was a shock.

"Disclosure or not, there are cases where one would have lost a wife or husband. In the case of a woman losing a husband and she still looks healthy, men flock and take turns to date her. In most instances they brag that they are using no protection," he said.

Mr Mutinhi said a lot of community awareness to do with health and disease prevention needs to be done on farms. He also said that condom distribution was limited in the concerned areas.

"We have risky behaviour in farming communities and condoms are not easily available. To me it does not make sense not to deny people these condoms which are cheaper than ARVs," he added.

He asked the authorities and the stakeholders to take health education to the farming communities on Sundays since during the week they would be busy in the fields.

As of now, life goes on. Naomi is now Miros' wife and Rusia is "happily married" to Jairos in the script which makes reality stranger than fiction. As we strive to get zero new infections, many farming communities should be targeted as they are in a world of their own.

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Why men shy away from clinics

Thursday, 16 February 2012 20:28



Fear of stigma keeps patients, particularly men, from accessing ARVs at public hospitals or their local clinics

In my many visits to one of the big referral hospitals in Zimbabwe, Harare Central Hospital, since 2009, I was surprised to find that very few men access ART as compared to women and children. The Opportunistic Clinic is a hive of activity from Monday to Thursday when pre-ART counselling sessions are conducted, blood for various tests is taken, wellness clinic sessions are held and ART is dispensed. The majority of people visiting the OI clinic have already tested HIV positive hence are on ART. Those not yet on ARVs may be on cotrimoxazole as they have their health monitored.

With a long waiting list, not everyone in need of ARVs is able to access them as expected. Speaking to several people who access ARVs from the centre one peculiar aspect stood out. The hospital, which acts as a referral centre, transfers a patient (if one has no complications) after a year to access ARVs from their nearest health centre but some people keep coming back. Could it be the good service they get that they opt to use the hospital rather than their nearest health facilities? The sister-in-charge of the OI clinic is very efficient and warm hearted that in spite of the other bottlenecks, one is inclined to keep using the centre. The first woman I asked (Mai Samantha from Mufakose) said she would never dream of being transferred to her local clinic as she

risked having the community awash with the news that she was on ARVs. "I have used this hospital for three reasons. I am assured of getting two months' supply on each visit. I can also get some ARVs for my husband. He dares not visit, he does not like the congestion. I pick up his medication," said Mai Samantha. On being asked if her husband did not risk compromising his health since he did not see the doctor after six months as required, she said he was not bothered. "Baba Samantha only visited this hospital on three occasions when I was expecting. I tested HIV positive in 2009 during routine testing at the antenatal clinic. I informed him and told him that the hospital required that we visit as a couple. "He was tested at the antenatal unit just a stone's throw away and he too tested HIV positive. Both our CD4 counts were very low - around 180, but we were not sick and since I was expecting I was commenced on ART without going through the waiting list," she said. "My husband was accorded the same privilege and we started ART before the birth of our baby in June the same year. The baby is HIV negative, thanks to the prevention of mother to child transmission programme. My husband has been here for counselling and when he had his CD4 count done, the last time was when he saw the doctor and was commenced on ART," she said. "My husband has vowed that he would never set foot here again so I have to collect his medication when I am collecting my mine. Luckily, he is well and has no complications so I collect on his behalf," she said. Asked why he detested visiting the hospital so much, she said he did not like the congestion and lack of privacy. "He did not like sitting outside in public by that shed as we waited to have our files called out. He said it all smacked of discrimination. He did not like the attitude of some junior nurses who treated everyone at the OI with rudeness. He therefore vowed that when he was over with the necessary tests and was on ARVs he would never set foot at the OI again," she said. The OI clinic at Harare Hospital is housed at the old children's physiotherapy centre next to the mortuary. Olive Mtabeni, the founder of Life Empowerment Support Organisation, also castigated the location of OI clinics in most hospitals. Speaking at World Aids Day in Mufakose last year, she said hospital administrators needed to treat HIV patients with the dignity they deserved and move OI clinics from the dilapidated buildings they occupy.

"The OI clinic is either in a dilapidated building or is next to a mortuary which surely speaks volumes of the way HIV is viewed. As people living positively, we have to fight

this discrimination and have OIs moved to respectable units," said Mtabeni. Another woman who said her husband works as a truck driver was also collecting ARVs for him. "My husband does not like coming here. In fact, he is busy as he works as a truck driver and most of the time he is out of the country. He cannot afford to spend the whole morning accessing ARVs so I collect on his behalf," said the woman. The system at the hospital's OI clinic functions well. It is when one is through and has to wait for the OI pharmacy to open at 11am that one feels the delay. "It really does not make any difference whether I come at 8 or 10am. Those who have been served at the OI clinic still have to wait as the OI pharmacy only opens at 11am. I do not know why we have to wait while other patients served at the main pharmacy do not have to wait as the pharmacy opens on time," queried the woman.

Sure, the OI pharmacy at the hospital also serves the main hospital hence it delays opening times, as it has to meet the needs of those admitted first. Could it be that men are financially secure as compared to women and so one would not find many of them at public institutions, accessing ARVs? Is it to do with stigma that they would rather remain silent and die rather than queue in a public place like lambs to the slaughter? Men find accessing ARVs not as easy when compared to their women counterparts. Mr Frank Guni of Zimbabwe Network of People Living Positively said the issue of accessibility is a cause of concern.

"Even accessing condoms is not easy, they are available in a supermarket but are they inaccessible. The moment I pick up some condoms everyone gives me a look, but I am buying them because I have a wife," he once said.

It appears availability and accessibility are two different components which need to be addressed.

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Private newspapers

The standard

ARVs Give Gweru Folk new Lease of Life

<http://www.thestandard.co.zw/>

Saturday, 17 October 2009 18:05

GWERU - Since the death of her husband in 1995, 46-year-old Euphrasia Chawuruka's health has been very poor. "For years since my husband died I was always in and out of hospital," Chawuruka who is from Ascot told Standardhealth in a recent interview.

"I had no idea what was causing my illness. I used to get headaches that would last for days, chest pains and at times I would just feel weak." Following advice from a friend, Chawuruka who had lost a lot of weight decided to test for HIV in August last year and the results were positive.

Her life was on the edge with a CD4 count of just 79, which is dangerously below the normal levels of more than 200. "I was shocked with the result and it was only then that I realised what had killed my husband and what had been making me ill all these years," Chawuruka said.

"I felt really pained that all these years I had been ignorant about HIV and had wasted a lot of money going to hospitals, doctors, prophets and traditional healers.

"If only I had known earlier."

In May this year Chawuruka was lucky enough to benefit from the Global Fund to fight Tuberculosis, Aids and Malaria-supported Antiretroviral Therapy programme at Mutapa Clinic. Speaking during one of her visits to the clinic two weeks ago she said her immune system had become stronger.

Her CD4 count has gone up to 265 since she started taking the life-prolonging drugs. "I feel very strong, healthy and energetic and I just don't know why I spent all those years struggling with ill-health.

"As you can see I am very big person but my weight had gone down to 50kg. Now I am my normal 75kg," Chawuruka said.

"When I see someone walking on the streets struggling with their health my heart bleeds.

"I feel like stopping them and telling them about the ART programme at the clinic but it's not right to diagnose someone on the streets.

"All I do is pray that they get to hear about this programme in good time like I did."

Chawuruka is not the only one who has spent years in and out of hospital and wasting time visiting prophets and traditional healers. Doricha Moyo also from Ascot spent years struggling with poor health.

"At night I couldn't sleep. I used to feel very hot and restless and my legs used to swell," said Moyo.

"When I went to the hospital the medication failed to work.

"There is nowhere I haven't been to restore my health, to the prophets, the traditional healers because all this time I was ill I thought I had been bewitched."

But after the witch-hunt failed to restore her health, Moyo went back to Mkoba Clinic in May 2006 where she tested positive to HIV.

Her CD4 count was found to be 150 and she was immediately given Antiretroviral Drugs (ARVs).

A few months ago Moyo was moved together with many others to collect their drugs at Mutapa Clinic to ease pressure at Mkoba Clinic.

"When my CD4 count was taken in September last year it had gone up from 150 to 605.

"This means I am as fit as someone who is HIV-negative and this gives me so much joy.

"I can't believe that at some point people said I was a walking coffin," Moyo said. "The greatest joy for me is that my husband has accepted me as I am and we are living positively with HIV, we use protection each time we have sex as I was counselled.

"He is not yet ready to get tested."

Chawuruka and Moyo are some of the many people in Zimbabwe who have been fortunate enough to access life-prolonging ARVs through the support of donors such as the Global Fund.

At least 1,1 million people are living with HIV in Zimbabwe, according to new statistics released by government.

Of the 1,1 million people living with HIV, 100 000 of these have access to ARVs and more than 300 000 are waiting to be enrolled for the programme.

The Global Fund is supporting ART programmes in 16 districts. In Midlands alone the fund has managed to put at least 24 027 on ARVs.

The National Aids Council (NAC) projects that through the support of the donors at least 210 000 people will be on ART by the end of this year.

The number of ART initiating sites has risen to around 290 throughout the country from just two in 2004 when the country began rolling out ART, says NAC.

Emmanuel Rubaya, the NAC provincial Aids co-ordinator told journalists during a media tour that more people will have access to life-saving ARVs after resource mobilisation.

"What you see here at Mutapa clinic is evidence of how through increased support and more resources we can change the lives of many people living with HIV," Rubaya said.

BY BERTHA SHOKO

Borrowdale squatters desperate after raid

Saturday, 28 August 2010 19:21

CHOKING smoke- filled air greets you as you enter a squatter settlement at Borrowdale Race Course in Harare. Dark burn marks are the only tell-tale signs of the places where shacks once stood, while the owners roam about probably pondering what the future holds for them. An elderly lady, too weary to walk or show emotion, sits near a destroyed shack occasionally shaking her head, but not once does she say anything.

The structure, it was later learned, was once a church where the squatters gathered every Sunday to offer their devotions to God. Nearby, a man is reconstructing his shack and the material of choice is thatch grass.

He says he slept in the open for three nights and his young family can no longer take it. A young man watches and does not look interested in rebuilding his own "house" although his bedding is in the open. He seems to have left his future to an unknown destiny.

This group and probably a hundred more are part of a group of squatters who reside at the racecourse and were victims of a brutal early morning police raid.

Armed police, clad in riot gear, estimated to be about 50, descended on the camp in the early hours of Wednesday, razing to the ground all the structures in the vicinity.

“They came at 1.30am and without warning they ordered us out of the area, while at the same time burning our houses,” said Shingai Nota, an illegal settler. He complained that they were harassed by the police, who did not bother to explain what they were doing. “We lost everything; our food, bedding and clothes,” Nota added. “We were not even given a chance to salvage the little property we had.”

He said they were fortunate that there were no casualties in the numerous infernos lit up by the rampaging police, but feared there could be disease outbreaks.

During the raid, Tendai Marazva another settler claimed that police kept shouting that they should return to their rural homes as they were making Harare dirty.

Marazva said he had been living in the area for more than a year and this was his first brush with law enforcement agencies.

About 100 metres away another group gathered and a pastor led them in prayer. The squatters were restless but obviously excited.

A group of priests had just finished distributing blankets, soap and some food rations.

“We gave an average of two blankets to each family, but obviously that is not enough,” one pastor said.

As he was speaking his colleague pulled him by the jacket sleeve ordering him not to say anything further.

“Just call us a group of pastors. You want to get us arrested. No, we will not tell you our names,” he said, as he dragged his colleague away. As the pastors move away, a quarrel erupts over stolen blankets. A man, probably in his 30s, claims that his blankets have been stolen. He runs after the pastors hoping to be given extras, but he finds no joy and he returns fuming.

“I know you stole my blankets because you want my wife. I have seen the way you look at her,” the man shouts, but seemingly to no one in particular. The fracas soon dissolves but not before he screams expletives, threatening that he will bewitch whoever stole his bedding.

The women on the other hand seem disinterested and most are tending to fires. Most have babies on their backs, while others roam about aimlessly. Police spokesperson, Oliver Mandipaka professed ignorance on the issue. "I didn't hear anything of that sort," he said.

Despite the raid, the illegal settlers maintained that the area was their home and they would not budge.

About 55 squatters were reportedly arrested during the raid and they spent more than 15 hours at the Harare Central police station.

The raid brought fresh memories of the brutal slum clearance known as Operation Murambatsvina, which left more than 700 000 people homeless. The operation also affected thousands of informal business people who had their structures destroyed.

BY NQABA MATSHAZI

<http://www.thestandard.co.zw/local/26217-borrowdale-squatters-desperate-after-raid.html>

Colleges ill-equipped to deal with students' health needs

<http://www.thestandard.co.zw/>

Sunday, 06 November 2011 14:25

BY MOSES CHIBAYA

Most clinics at colleges are operating without essential drugs and lack comprehensive systems for the treatment and management of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), a health official said last week. Beatrice Savadye, Advocacy Officer for Student and Youth Working on Sexual Reproductive Health Action Team (Saywhat), said there is no college that offers Anti-retroviral Therapy (ART) or comprehensive treatment and management of STIs.

Speaking at a Southern Africa HIV and Aids Dissemination Information Service (SafAids) media briefing session recently, Savadye called for a health budget that addresses the plight of students.

Savadye also noted that there was limited access to HIV counselling and testing facilities at universities with only Africa University, Bindura University and University of Zimbabwe offering such facilities.

She said most colleges only offered basic drugs such as paracetamol and MMT at their clinics. "There is limited access to HIV- testing and counselling (HTC) services and psycho-social support for students living with HIV," said Savadye.

"Most teenagers are under pressure to keep their status a secret, especially those in colleges and universities because they worry about what their peers will think of them." She said government policies and their implementation were not friendly to all youths citing an example of those with disability.

"Sadly, young people with disabilities are often left out of such programmes," she said. The Opportunity in Crisis, a report on preventing HIV during early adolescence to young adulthood released in June this year by UN agencies says young people worldwide face a significant risk of HIV infection every day.

It says reducing levels of incidence requires not a single intervention but a continuum of HIV prevention programmes that provides information and support services to adolescents and young people throughout the life cycle, from very young adolescents (aged 10 -14) through older adolescents (aged 15-19) to young adults (aged 20-24).

Savadye said despite the sharp drop in prevalence rate at national level new infections among the youth were still high.

B. http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/nov7a_2011.html

C. Epworth Ladies Show Positive Stamina

<http://www.thestandard.co.zw>

Saturday, 31 October 2009 17:20

TIRED of the stigma and discrimination in their community, a group of HIV positive women from Epworth, came together and decided they would play soccer to show those around them that their condition is not in any way limiting.

Their unorthodox method to fight stigma set even more tongues wagging, but it was only for a short while.

They have now won the hearts and admiration of not only their community but the whole country.

Recently the Epworth team known as the ARV Swallows emerged champions in the Positive Women's Soccer League at Gwanzura Stadium, making headlines in the country and around the world.

The idea to start this league came from football administrator Chris Sambo.

Some of the team members told Standardhealth last week that they are excited about their newly-acquired respect and appreciation by their community that there is life after being diagnosed with HIV.

"I heard about the women's soccer while attending a workshop by Christian Care and I was immediately interested and I put down my name," said Annafields Phiri who helped setting up ARV Swallows.

"After a while I was invited to the launch of the league at Jameson Hotel where I was given a team name.

"I was then asked to go to Epworth and set up a team comprising of HIV positive women of whatever age who were interested. "

Phiri said at first she did not take the launch seriously.

It was only after she went home "and slept over it" that she realised the initiative's potential to change people's attitudes.

"I realised that by playing soccer, a game believed to be for men only this might help society to respect us as women first who are capable of doing anything and then as people living with HIV.

"The next day after the launch I was knocking on people's doors and sounding them out about the idea. This is how the ARV Swallows was formed."

Team captain Janet Mupalume said when she first heard about the idea of a soccer club from Phiri she dismissed it.

"The idea of women playing soccer was a huge joke to me and we had good a laugh with Annafields when she came to my home. Even my son laughed," Mupalume remembers.

"But after some serious thought I knew there was nothing we couldn't do as women living with HIV if we set our minds to it.

"When we started people, especially men were laughing at us saying look at these crazy women but today it's these same people who have respect for us.

"They don't frown upon us like before."

Another team member Neria Kabudura recalled how they were jeered at their first practice session.

"Most of us had to learn how to kick the ball from scratch. We were all kicking the ball in different and wrong directions.

"Others were touching the ball with their hands and others going in the wrong direction with the ball and the people who had come to watch us had quite a show," Kabudura said.

"Our coach was screaming at us throughout the session and we really thought he was going to give up after that crazy first day of training but he saw in us our will to learn and learnt to be patient with us.

"When we won the championship at Gwanzura he was very proud."

To the three women, this victory is not due to their newly acquired football skills but their different experiences living positively with HIV.

Mupalume said she decided to get tested after having been ill for sometime.

"I was sick for a long time I was so thin and worn out. Each time people came to see me they would say, its only a matter of time but I got tested and sought treatment and here I am today - very strong and captaining the ARV Swallows!

"Those people wanted to play God and he showed them he is the only God," Mupalume said.

Kabudura said she got tested in 2001 a year after she suffered from tuberculosis.

"When my result came back positive I couldn't believe it because I felt very healthy. It was only in 2004 when I fell ill that I accepted I was really not well," Kabudura said.

"In 2008 I began taking Antiretroviral Drugs at the MSF clinic in Epworth and today I am even healthy enough to play soccer.

"Some of the people who used to laugh at me when I was ill died because they were afraid of getting tested."

Phiri also got tested under the same circumstances as Mupalume.

Relatives used to come and tell her son to prepare to stay with them because it was only a matter of time before she died while neighbours were afraid to come near her in case they became "infected".

But Phiri's spirit like all her other team mates who have had similar experiences of stigma and discrimination was not broken.

"God gave us the opportunity to live and be living testimonies to everyone that there is life after testing HIV positive."

ARV Swallows' story has already inspired an aid worker Joanna Stavropoulou to make a film The Positive Ladies Soccer Club to celebrate their fighting spirit.

BY BERTHA SHOKO