

Bibliography

- Adamson, W. L. 1980. *Hegemony and Revolution*. Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Alexander, N. 2002. *An Ordinary Country*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press
- Andersen, E. & Oslen, R.K. 1997. *Press Freedom and Democracy in Zimbabwe*. Oslo: Department of Media and Communication, University of Oslo
- Andersen, M.B., ed. 1996. *Media and Democracy*. Oslo: Department of Media and Communication, University of Oslo
- Astrow, A. 1983. *Zimbabwe: A Revolution That Lost Its Way?* London: Zed Press
- Baker, E. C. 2002. *Media, Markets and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Banana, C.S. Ed. 1989. *Turmoil and Tenacity: Zimbabwe, 1890-1990*. Harare: The College Press.
- Barton, F. 1979. *The Press of Africa: Persecution and Perseverance*. New York: Africana Press
- Bell, A. & Garrett, P., eds. 1998. *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Massachusetts: Blackwell
- Bennet, T. 1982. Theories of the Media, Theories of Society. In Gurevitch, M. et al., Eds. *Culture, Society and the Media*. London and New York: Routledge
- Berger, A. S. 2000. *Media and Communication Research Methods: An Introduction to Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- 1991. *Media Analysis Techniques*. London: Sage
- Berger, G. 1999. Towards an analysis of South African Media Transformation, 1994-1999. *Transformation*. No. 38
- Billig, D. et al. 2005. Methods Briefing 7. Assessment and Development of New Methods for the Analysis of Media Content. Online Resource. Available at: <http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/methods/publications/documents/golding.pdf>. Accessed 22/6/2007.
- Bond, P. 2000. *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press
- & Manyanya, M. 2002. *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism*,

- Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press
- & Saunders, R. 2005. Labour, the State and the Struggle for a Democratic Zimbabwe. *Monthly Review*. 57(7)
- Boyd-Barrett, O. & Newbold, C. 1995. Eds. *Approaches to Media: A Reader*. London: Arnold
- Burke, B. 1999. Antonio Gramsci and Informal Education. In *The Encyclopedia of Informal Education*. Available: <http://www.infed.org/thinkers/etgram.html>
- Calhoun, C. 1992. Ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Massachusetts: MIT Press
- Campbell, H. 2003. *Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The Exhaustion of the Patriarchal Model of Liberation*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe & Legal Resources Foundation. 1997. *Breaking the Silence: Building True Peace. A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, 1980-1988*. Harare: CCJP & LRF.
- Chalaby, J.K. 1998. The Media and the Formation of the Public Sphere in the New Independent States. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Sciences*. 11 (1).
- Chan, S. 2003. *Robert Mugabe: A Life of Power and Violence*. London: I.B. Tauris
- Chipika, J. et al. 2000. *Effects of Structural Adjustment in Southern Africa: The Case of Zimbabwe's Manufacturing Sector during Phase 1 of ESAP, 1991-1995*. Harare: Sapes Books
- Chuma, W. 2005. Zimbabwe: The Media, Market Failure and Political Turbulence. *Ecquid Novi*. 26 (1):46-62
- , 2004. Limiting or Liberating the Public Sphere? Media Policy and the Zimbabwe Transition, 1980-2004. In: Raftopoulos, B. & Savage, T. Eds, *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
- 2000. The Private Media and Democracy in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of the *Daily News*. Unpublished MA Dissertation. University of Zimbabwe
- 2006. Emerging Debates on media and Democracy in South Africa. Unpublished Paper Presented at the 2006 Africa Social Science Conference, Johannesburg, September 2006.
- Cowling, L., Chuma, W. & Kupe, T. 2004. Measuring a Moving Target: Commercial

- Shifts in South African Media. Unpublished Paper.
- Croteau, D. & Hoynes, W. 2003. *Media Society: Industries, Images, Audiences* (3rd edition). London: Pine Forge Press
- Curran, J. 1996; 2000. Rethinking Media and Democracy. In Curran, J. & Gurevitch, M., Eds. *Mass Media and Society*. London: Arnold (2nd ed. 1996; 3rd ed. 2000)
- & Gurevitch, M., Eds. 2000. *Mass Media and Society*. London: Arnold
- & Jin-Park, M., Eds. 2000. *Dewesternising Media Studies*. London: Routledge
- Dahlgren, P. & Sparks, C. 1991. *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and The Public Sphere*. London: Routledge
- Darboon, D. 1992. Fluctuat Nec Mergitur: Keeping Afloat. In Baynham, Ed. *Zimbabwe in Transition*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International
- Dell'Orto, G., Dong, D., Moore, J., & Schneeweis, A. 2004. The Impact of Framing on Perception of Foreign Countries. In *Ecquid Novi*. 25 (2): 294-312.
- Duncan, J. 2002. Talk Left, Act Right: What Constitutes Transformation in Southern African Media?. In Tomaselli, K & Dunn, H. Eds. *Media, Democracy and Renewal in Southern Africa*. Colorado: International Academic Publishers.
- Durham, M. G. and Kellner, D.M. Eds. 2001. *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Eley, G. 1992. Nations, Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century. In Calhoun, C. Ed. 1992. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Massachusetts: MIT Press
- Entman, R. M. 1993. Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*. 43, 51-58.
- Evans, P. 1995. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Fairclough, N. 1995. *Media Discourse*. London, New York, Sydney, Auckland: Edward Arnold
- Faringer, G. L. 1991. *Press Freedom in Africa*. New York: Praeger
- Fraser, N. 1992. Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. In Calhoun, C. 1992. Ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Massachusetts: MIT Press
- Gandy, O.H Jr. 2000. Race, Ethnicity and the Segmentation of Media Markets. In

- Curran, J. & Gurevitch, M. op.cit
- Garnham, N. 1992. The Media and the Public Sphere. In Calhoun, C. 1992. Ed.
Habermas and the Public Sphere. Massachusetts: MIT Press
- 1995. The Media and the Public Sphere. In Boyd-Barrett, O. &
 Newbold, C., Eds. *Approaches to Media: A Reader*. London: Arnold
- Gitlin, T. 1980. *The Whole World is Watching: Mass media in the Making and
 Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of
 California Press.
- Gledhill, C. 1997. Genre and Gender: The Case of Soap Opera. In: Hall, S., Ed.
Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. London:
 Sage
- Golding P. & Murdock, G. 2000. Culture, Communications and Political Economy.
 In: Curran, J. & Gurevitch, M., Eds. *Mass Media and Society*, London: Arnold
- Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Edited
 and translated by Hoare, Q. & Nowell Smith, G. London: Lawrence and
 Wishart
- Gunther, R., Montero, J.R., & Wert, J.I. 2000. The Media and Politics in Spain: From
 Dictatorship to Democracy. In Gunther, R. & Mughan, A. Eds. *Democracy
 and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge
 University Press.
- Habermas, J. 1992. *The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere: An Inquiry
 into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- 1996. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of
 Law and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Hall, S. 1980. Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance. In:
 O'Callaghan, M., Ed. *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism*. Paris:
 Unesco.
- et al. 1980. *Culture, Media, Language*. London: Hutchison
- Hamelink, C.J.& Linne, O. *Mass Communication Research: On Problems and
 Policies*. London: Sage
- Hammar, A., Raftopoulos, B. & Jensen, S., Eds. 2003. *Zimbabwe's Unfinished
 Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*. Harare:
 Weaver Press
- Halloran, J, D. 1998. Mass Communication Research: Asking the Right Questions. In

- Hansen, A. et al. 1998. *Mass Communication Research Methods*. London: Macmillan
- Hansen, A. et al. 1998. *Mass Communication Research Methods*. London: Macmillan
- Hardt, H. 1989. *Critical Communication Studies: Communication History and Theory in America*. London: Routledge
- Hawk, B, G. 2002. African Politics and American Reporting. In Hyden, G, Leslie, M & Ogundimu, F. Eds. *Media and Democracy in Africa*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Herbst, J. 1990. *State Politics in Zimbabwe*. Harare: UZ Publications
- Herman, E. W. & Chomsky, N. 2002. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books
- Hesmondhalgh, D. 2006. Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis. In Gillespie, M. and Toynbee, J. Eds. *Analysing Media Texts*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Hill, G. 2003. *The Battle for Zimbabwe*. Cape Town: Zebra.
- Horwitz, R. B. 2001. *Communication and Democratic Reform in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hyden, G., Leslie, M. & Ogundimu, F., eds. 2002. *Media and Democracy in Africa*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Hyden, G. and Okigbo, C. 2002. The Media and the Two Waves of Democracy. In Hyden, G., Leslie, M. & Ogundimu, F., eds. 2002. *Media and Democracy in Africa*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Jacobs, S. 2003. How Good is the South African Media for Democracy? Mapping the South African Public Sphere after Apartheid. In Zegeye, A, & Harris, R.L. Eds. *Media, Identity and the Public Sphere in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Boston: Brill.
- Jenkins, C, & Knight, J., 2002. *The Economic Decline of Zimbabwe*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Jensen, K. 2002. The Qualitative Research Process. In Jensen, K. Ed. *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*. London: Routledge.
- Jensen, K. & Jankowski, N. 1991. *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*. London: Routledge
- Johnson-Cartee, K. S. 2005. *News Narratives and News Framing. Constructing*

- Political Reality*. Lanham. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Johnson, P. & Martin, D. 1981. *The Struggle for Zimbabwe*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.
- Kareithi, P. and Kariithi, N. Eds. 2005. *Untold Stories: Economics and Business Journalism in African Media*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press
- Kareithi, P. 2005. Rethinking the African Press: Journalism and the Democratic Process. In Kareithi, P. and Kariithi, N. Eds. 2005. *Untold Stories: Economics and Business Journalism in African Media*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press
- Keane, J. 1991. *The Media and Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- 1996. Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere. In Andersen, M.B., Ed. *Media and Democracy*. Oslo: Department of Media and Communication, University of Oslo
- 1988. *Civil Society and the State*. London and New York: Verso
- Klaehn, J. 2002. A Critical Review and Assessment of Herman and Chomsky's 'Propaganda Model'. In *European Journal of Communication*. Vol. 17 (2):147-182.
- Knight, V.C. 1991. Growing Opposition in Zimbabwe. *Issue: A Journal of Opinion*. 10(1):23-30
- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 1996 *Towards Press Freedom*. Harare: Willie Musarurwa Memorial Trust
- Krippendorff, K. 2004. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. 2nd Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Kumbula, T.S. 1997. Press Freedom in Zimbabwe. In: Eribo, F. & Jong-Ebot, W., Eds. *Press Freedom and Communication in Africa*. Asmara: Africa World Press
- Kupe, T. 1997. *Voices of The Voiceless: Popular Magazines in a Changing Zimbabwe, 1990-1996*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oslo
- 1999. The Role of the Media in the Democratisation Process in Africa. Unpublished Paper.
- 2003. Introduction. In Kupe, T. 2003. Ed. *Broadcasting Policy and Practice in Africa*. Johannesburg: Article 19.
- 2005. A New Dawn for Africa? NEPAD, the African Union and the Challenges for the African Media. In Kareithi, P. and Kariithi, N. Eds. 2005. *Untold*

- Stories: Economics and Business Journalism in African Media*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press
- Lance Bennet, W. & Entman, R. M. 2001. *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Larsen, P. 1991. Textual Analysis of Fictional Media Content. In: Jensen, K. & Jankowski, N. 1991. *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*. London: Routledge
- Lee, C.C. 2000. State, Capital and Media: The Case of Taiwan. In Curran, J. & Jin-Park, M., Eds. *Dewesternising Media Studies*. London: Routledge
- Lemon, J. 2001. Media and Culture. In Fourie, P.J. Ed. *Media Studies: Institutions, Theories and Issues*. Vol. 1. Lansdowne: Juta
- Lindloff, T. 1995. *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications
- Makamure, K. 1991. The Struggle for Democracy and Democratisation. In Mandaza, I. & Sachikonye, L., Eds. *The One Party State and Democracy: The Zimbabwe Debate*. Harare: Sapes Books.
- Mak'Ochieng, M. 1996. The African and Kenyan Media as the Political Public Sphere. *Communicatio*, Vol. 22 (2). 1-13.
- Mandaza, I. Ed. 1987. *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition 1980-1986*. Harare: Codesria
- 1991. The One-Party State and Democracy in Southern Africa: Towards a Conceptual Framework. In: Mandaza, I, & Sachikonye, L. Eds. 1991. *The One Party State and Democracy: the Zimbabwe Debate*. Harare: Sapes Books
- Makumbe, J. & Compagnon, D. 2000. *Behind the Smokescreen: The Politics of Zimbabwe's 1995 General Elections*. Harare: UZ Publications
- Manning, P. 2001. *News and News Sources: A Critical Introduction*. London: Sage
- Mano, W. 2005. Press freedom, Professionalism and Proprietorship: Behind the Zimbabwean Media Divide. In *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*. Special Issue. November, 2005: 56-70
- Mararike, C. 1997. A Historical Overview of Media and Political Change in Rhodesia. In Zhuwarara, R., Gecau, K. & Drag, M., Eds. *Media, Democratisation and Identity*. Harare: UZ English Dept
- Martin-Barbero, J. 1993. *Communication, Culture and Hegemony: From Media to*

- Mediations*. London: Sage
- Mattelart, A. & Mattelart, M. 1998. *Theories of Communication: A Short Introduction*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications
- Mayring, P. 2000. Qualitative Content Analysis. In: *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum:Qualitative Social Research*. [Online Journal], 1 (2). Available at: <http://qualitative-research.net/fqs/fqs-e/2-00inhalt-e.htm> [Accessed 23/6/2007].
- McCarthy, T. 1992. Introduction. In Habermas, J. 1992. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- McChesney, R. 2000. *Rich media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times*. New York: The New Press
- McCombs, M. & Shaw, D. 1995. The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. In Boyd-Barrett, O., & Newbold, C., eds. *Approaches to Media: A Reader*. London: Edward Arnold.
- McNair, B. 2003. *An Introduction to Political Communication*. 3rd Edition. London: Routledge.
- 2002. *The Sociology of Journalism*. London: Arnold.
- McQuail, D. 2000. *Mass Communication theory: An Introduction*. 4th edition London: Sage
- Mlambo, A.S. 1997. *The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme: The Case of Zimbabwe, 1990-1995*. Harare: UZ Publications
- Moyo, D. 2004. From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: Change Without Change? *Broadcasting Policy Reform and Political Control*. In *Media, Public Discourse and Political Contestation in Zimbabwe*. Eds., Melber, H., Moyo, D and Chiumbu, S. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute
- 2006. Alternative Media, Diasporas and the Mediation of the Zimbabwe Crisis. Unpublished Paper.
- Moyo, J. 1992. *The Politics of Administration: Understanding Bureaucracy in Africa*. Harare: Sapes Books
- 1992. *Voting for Democracy: Electoral politics in Zimbabwe*. Harare: UZ Publications
- 2005. *The Third Way: Zimbabwe's Last Chimurenga*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/pages/thirdforce7.12895.html>. Accessed 25/11/2005.

- Moyo, S., Makumbe, J., & Raftopoulos, B. 2000. NGOs, the State and Politics in Zimbabwe. Harare: Sapes Books.
- Moyo, S. 1995. *The Land Question in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Sapes Books
- Mosco, V. 1996. *The Political Economy of Communication: Rethinking and Renewal*. London: Sage
- Mukasa, S. 2000. Press and Politics in Zimbabwe. In M'bayo, R.T. et al., Eds. *Press and Politics in Africa*. New York: Edwin Mellon Press
- Muponde, R. 2004. The Worm and the Hoe: Cultural Politics and Reconciliation after the Third Chimurenga. In Raftopoulos, B. & Savage, T. Eds, *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
- Murdock, G. 2000. Reconstructing the Ruined Tower: Contemporary Communications and the Question of Class. In Curran, J. & Gurevitch, M., Eds. *Mass Media and Society*, 3rd Edition. London: Arnold
- Mytton, G. 1983. *Mass Communication in Africa*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Ndlela, N. 2003. *Challenges and prospects for Press Freedom: Comparative Perspectives on Media Laws in Zimbabwe and South Africa*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. University of Oslo.
- Nhema, A. 2002. *Democracy in Zimbabwe: From Liberation to Liberalisation*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Nicolle, W.H.H. 1971. The Development of the Subsistence Sector in Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*. 5 (4):1-8.
- Norris, P., Montague K. & Just. M., Eds. 2003. *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government and the Public*. New York and London: Routledge
- Nyamnjoh, F. B. 2005a. Media and the State in Africa: Continuities and Discontinuities. In Kareithi, P. and Kariithi, N. Eds. *Untold Stories: Economics and Business Journalism in African Media*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press
- 2005b. *Africa's Media: Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Nyarota, G. 2006. *Against the Grain: Memoirs of a Zimbabwean Newsman*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.
- Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G.M. 1993. Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse. In *Political Communication*. Vol. 10, 55-75.

- Peters, J.D. 1993. Distrust of Representation: Habermas on the Public Sphere.
Media, Culture and Society, 15 (1):541-571
- Pillay, D. 2003a. Media Diversity and the Contested Character of the Post-Apartheid State. Unpublished paper.
- 2003b. The Challenge of Partnerships Between the State, Capital and Civil Society: The Case of the Media Development and Diversity Agency in South Africa. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations*. 14 (4):401-420
- 1996. Social Movements, Development and Democracy in Post-Apartheid South Africa. In: Coetzee, J.K & Graaf, J. Eds. *Reconstruction, Development and People*. Johannesburg: International Thompson Publishing (Southern Africa).
- Price, M.E., Rozumilowicz, B. & Verhulst, S.G., Eds. 2002. *Media Reform: Democratising the Media, Democratising the State*. London: Routledge
- Raftopoulos, B. 1997. The State and Civil Society in Zimbabwe: Some Theoretical and Political Considerations. *Southern African Political and Economic Monthly*. 10 (12): 23-26.
- & Phimister, I. 1997. *Keep On Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1900-1997*. Harare: Baobab Books
- & Hammar, A. 2003. Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation. In Hammar, A., Raftopoulos, B. & Jensen, S., Eds. 2003. *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*. Harare: Weaver Press
- & Savage, T. 2004. Eds, *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
- & Compagnon, D. 2003. Indigenisation, the State Bourgeoisie and Neo-Authoritarian Politics. In Darnhof, S. & Laakso, L., Eds. *Twenty Years of Independence in Zimbabwe: From Liberation to Authoritarianism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Randall, V. 1993. The Media and Democratisation of the Third World. *Third World Quarterly*, 14 (3): 625-46
- ed. 1998. *Democratization and the Media*. London/Portland: Frank Cass
- Ranger, T. 2004. Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The

- Struggle over the past in Zimbabwe. Paper presented at WISER seminar series, Wits University, 15 March 2004.
- 2005. The Rise of Patriotic Journalism in Zimbabwe and Its Possible Implications. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*. Special Issue, November 2005: 8-17
- Reynolds, A. 1999. *Electoral Systems and Democratisation in Southern Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Ronning, H. 1995. Democratisation Processes in Southern Africa and the Role of the Media. In: Waldahl, R., Ed. *Perspectives on Media, Culture and Democracy in Zimbabwe*. Oslo: Dept. of Media and Communication
- , 2003. The Media in Zimbabwe: The Struggle between State and Civil Society. In Darnhof, S. & Laakso, L., Eds. *Twenty Years of Independence in Zimbabwe: From Liberation to Authoritarianism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- & Kupe, T. 2000. The Dual Legacy of Democracy and Authoritarianism: The Media and the State in Zimbabwe. In Curran, J. & Jin-Park, M., Eds. *Dewesternising Media Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Rozumilowicz, B. 2002. Democratic Change: A Theoretical Perspective. In Price, M. et al., Eds. *Media Reform: Democratizing the Media, Democratizing the State*. London: Routledge
- Rusike, E. 1990. *The Politics of the Mass Media: A Personal Experience*. Harare: Roblaw Publishers
- Sachikonye, L. 1995. Democracy, Civil Society and Social Movements: An Analytical Framework. In Sachikonye, L., Ed. 1995. *Democracy, Civil Society and the State: Social Movements in Southern Africa*. Harare: Sapes Books
- Sandbrook, R. 1996. Transitions without Consolidation: Democratisation in six African Cases. *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 17 (1): 69-87.
- Saunders, R. 1997. The Press and Popular Organisations in Zimbabwe: A frayed Alliance. *Southern Africa Report*. Vol.12 (3): 13-17
- 1999. *Dancing Out of Tune: A History of The Media in Zimbabwe*. Harare: ESP
- 1991. *Information in the Interregnum: The Press, State and Civil Society in Struggles for Hegemony, Zimbabwe 1980-1990*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Carleton University, Canada

- & Saul, J. S. 2005. Mugabe, Gramsci and Zimbabwe at 25. Unpublished paper.
- Scheufele, D.A., 2000. Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication. In *Mass Communication & Society*. 3 (2 & 3), 297-316.
- Schudson, M. 2000. The Sociology of New Production Revisited (Again). In Curran, J. & Gurevitch, M., Eds. *Mass Media and Society*. London: Sage
- Severin, W. & Tankard, J. 1992. Agenda Setting. In *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods and Uses in the Mass Media*. New York: Longman.
- Shamuyarira, N. 1981. Foreword. In Windrich, E. *The Mass Media in the Struggle for Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press
- Shoemaker, P. 1991. *Gatekeeping*. London: Sage
- Showstack-Sassoon, A. 1982. *Approaches to Gramsci*. London: Writers & Readers Publishing Cooperative Society Ltd.
- Sithole, M. 1987. The General Elections: 1979-1985. In Mandaza, I. Ed. *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition: 1980-1986*. Dakar: Codesria
- Skinner, K. 2005. Contested Spaces: An Analysis of the ANC Government's Approach to the Promotion of Media Development and Diversity in South Africa, with a Particular Focus on the Policy Process that led to the Formation of the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA). Unpublished MA Dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. May, 2005.
- Sparks, C. & Reading, A. 1998. *Communism, Capitalism and the Mass Media*. London: Sage
- Stewart, Sheelagh. 1997. Happy Ever After in the Marketplace: Non-government Organisations and Uncivil Society. *Review of African Political Economy*. 24 (71):11-34.
- Street, J. 2001. *Mass Media, Politics and Democracy*. New York: Palgrave.
- Sylvester, C. 2003. Remembering and Forgetting 'Zimbabwe': Towards a Third Transition. In Gready, P., Ed. *Political Transition: Politics and Cultures*. London: Pluto Press
- Tettey, W. J. 2001. The Media and Democratisation in Africa: Contributions, Constraints and Concerns of the Private Press. In: *Media, Culture and Society* Vol. 23 (1):5-31
- Thompson, J.B. 1995. *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*.

- Oxford and Cambridge: Polity Press
- Tomaselli, K. & Dunn, H., Eds. 2001. *Media, Democracy and Renewal in Southern Africa*. Colorado: International Academic Publishers
- 2002. Media Ownership and Democratisation. In Hyden, G., Leslie, M., & Ogundimu, F. Eds. *Media and Democracy in Africa*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers
- Ugbondah, C.W. 2002. Media Laws in Political Transition. In Hyden, G., Leslie, M. & Ogundimu, F., eds. 2002. *Media and Democracy in Africa*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Underwood, D. 1993. *When MBAs Rule the Newsroom: How Marketers and Managers are Shaping Today's Media*. Columbia: Columbia University Press
- Van de Veur, P.R. 2002. Broadcasting and Political Reform. In Hyden, G., Leslie, M. & Ogundimu, F., eds. 2002. *Media and Democracy in Africa*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 1991. *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge
- Waisbord, S. 2000. Media in South America: Between the Rock of the State and the Hard Place of the Market. In Curran, J. & Jin-Park, M., Eds. *Dewesternising Media Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Waldahl, R. 1998. Ed. *Perspectives on Media, Culture and Democracy in Zimbabwe*. Oslo: Dept. of Media and Communication
- 2004. *Politics and Persuasion: Media Coverage of Zimbabwe's 2000 Election*. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Webster, E. & Adler, G. 1999. Toward a Class Compromise in South Africa's "Double Transition": Bargained Liberalization and the Consolidation of Democracy. *Politics and Society*. 27 (3): 347-385.
- Willems, W. 2003. Peaceful Demonstrators, Violent Invaders: Representations of the Land Question in the Zimbabwean Press. Unpublished paper presented at the International Conference on *Media in Africa, Current Realities, Future Challenges*, Stellenbosch University, 11-12 September 2003.
- Williams, K. 1998. *Get Me A Murder A Day! A History of Mass Communication in Britain*. London: Arnold.
- Windrich, E. 1981. *The Mass Media in the Struggle for Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.
- Wober, M. 2002. Agenda Cutting—The Hidden Twin of Agenda Setting. *Media*

Tenor Quarterly Journal. 3/2002:64-67.

Zaffiro, J. 2001. Mass Media and Democratisation of Politics and Society: Lessons from Zimbabwe, 1990-2000. In Tomaselli, K. & Dunn, H., Eds. 2001. *Media, Democracy and Renewal in Southern Africa*. Colorado: International Academic Publishers.

Zaret, D. 1992. Religion, Science and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-Century England. In Calhoun, C. 1992. Ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Zhuwarara, R., Gecau, K. & Drag, M., Eds. 1997. *Media, Democratisation and Identity*. Harare: UZ English Department.

Ziegler, D. & Asante, M. K. 1992. *Thunder and Silence: The Media in Africa*. Trenton, N.J: Africa World Press.

Newspapers Cited

[A] Primary newspaper resources

The Daily News

The Zimbabwe Mirror

The Herald

The Sunday Mail

Financial Gazette

Zimbabwe Independent

[B] Secondary newspaper resources

Green, P. 2006. Fear and favour at SABC. In *Sunday Times*. 25/6/2006.

Haffajee, F. 2006. What's in the canned Mbeki Doccie? In *Mail & Guardian*. 19/6/2006

Harber, A. 2005. Commercial pressure as insidious as political. In *Business Day*, 4/5/2005

Kadalie, R. 2005. Here's the News...Minus What May Offend ANC. In *Business Day*, 18/8/2005

Cited Internet Sites & News Agencies.

The Insider news site. Available: <http://www.insiderzim.com>

Newzimbabwe. Com news site. Available: <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>

Sapa news agency. Available: <http://www.sapa.co.za>

Government Documents/Other Reports/Correspondence

Chakaodza, B. Letter to ZMC, 17 August, 1995.

Government of Zimbabwe.1988. The Democratisation of the Media in Independent Zimbabwe. Policy Statement No. 21.

Manyarara, J. ZMC Chairman's report, December, 1995

Mamutse, E.O. 1986. Rural Newspaper Development in Zimbabwe. Unpublished Report prepared for the ZMMT.

Mnangagwa, E.D.(Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary affairs)

Proposals for Reform of the Laws Governing Press Freedom in Zimbabwe.

Letter to J.T. Mujuru, Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications. 27 September, 1996.

Rusike, E., 1989. Letter of Resignation from Zimpapers.

ZESN Election Reports, 2000 & 2002.

MMPZ Reports, 2000 & 2002

ZimRights Report, 1995.

ESC Reports, 1995, 2000, 2002.

Constitution of Zimbabwe

MISA Annual Reports

Interviews

Thomas Deve, former News Editor, *The Zimbabwe Mirror* and IT manager, the *Daily News*

William Chikoto, editor, *Sunday Mail*

Elias Rusike, former Publisher, *Financial Gazette*, former General Manager and Chief Executive Officer, Zimpapers.

William (Bill) Saidi, editor, *Daily News on Sunday*, former editor, *Sunday News*

Liz Linsell, founder and former CEO, Linsell Saatchi & Saatchi, Zimbabwe
Simba Chabarika, former journalist, *The Daily News*, *Ziana*, *Daily Gazette*,
Chaminuka News.

Geoff Nyarota, former editor, *The Chronicle*, *Financial Gazette* and *Daily News*
Sarah Chiumbu, former National Director, Media Institute of Southern Africa
(Zimbabwe Chapter)

Brian Raftopoulos, associate professor, Institute of Development Studies (IDS),
Zimbabwe

Innocent Chofamba-Sithole, editor, *The Sunday Mirror*.

Mathew Takaona, president, Zimbabwe Union of Journalists (ZUJ).

Knox Zengeni, principal press secretary, Department of Information and Publicity.

Edward Mamutse, former Deputy Director of Information, Ministry of Information.

Happison Muchechetere, editor in chief, *New Ziana*.

Hatred Zenenga, assistant editor, *The Herald*.

Iden Wetherell, special projects editor, *Zimbabwe Independent*

Davison Maruziva, editor, *The Standard*, and former deputy editor of the *Daily
News*

*NB: I also held interviews with some respondents from government and the media
who requested anonymity because of the sensitive nature of the information they
provided. The names of the interviewees listed below are therefore pseudonyms.*

Amos Moyo, junior official, Department of Information and Publicity in the
President's Office

Walter Shumba, senior official, *New Ziana*

Sam Dube, junior official, US Public Affairs Section, Harare

Chipo Moyo, junior official, Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries

Clement Shava, senior official, Zimpapers Advertising Department

Tendai Shumba, former law officer, Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary
Affairs

Simba Gava, former finance officer, Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (ANZ)

Dumi Shoko, former account manager, Ammirati Puris Lintas Advertising Agencies.