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The Coverage of Cyclone Idai in Zimbabwe's The Manica Post

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Abstract

This study examines the coverage of Cyclone Idai in *The Manica Post* newspaper in Zimbabwe. Drawing upon decolonial theories, the study explores the knowledge contestations that characterised *The Manica Post*'s depiction of the natural disaster. Data were purposively selected from the news articles published by *The Manica Post*. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was employed to analyse the news stories. The study establishes that *The Manica Post* reproduced and promoted a Western-centric understanding of disasters. Local knowledge about disasters was largely ostracised. Therefore, the study concludes that Western knowledge systems about journalism and science influenced how news stories were framed. As such, there is a need to decolonise African media systems and promote Afro-centric coverage of natural disasters.

Keywords: Cyclone Idai; Manica Post; decolonial media studies; environmental reporting; natural disasters

Introduction

There are growing intellectual debates on the need for journalism studies to be de-westernised and decolonised (Moyo, 2020; Iqani and Chiumbu, 2020). Alternative knowledge systems should challenge Western paradigms that have been acknowledged as universal. However, there is little understanding of how the epistemological struggles play out in the media's coverage of natural disasters in Africa. Both Western and African media have been accused of perpetuating harmful and negative stereotypes about Africa as a hub of corruption, poverty, and disasters (Ndlovu and Nikabs, 2023). Drawing upon an analysis of news articles published by *The Manica Post* in Zimbabwe, this study explores the media representations of Cyclone Idai. Given that the media

constitute sites of knowledge production, this research analyses the epistemological struggles that underpin the coverage of Cyclone Idai by *The Manica Post. The Manica Post* is a weekly news publication which covers Manicaland province in the eastern highlands. Its inception dates to December 13, 1893. Operating under Zimpapers (1980) Ltd Company, *The Manica Post* prioritises issues affecting Manicaland. Its coverage extends its reach to national, regional, and international events of significance to the Manicaland community (Zimpapers, 1980). *The Manica Post* was selected because the disaster happened within its news coverage radius as the main newspaper based in the Manicaland Province. Cyclone Idai was a tropical depression that originated on the east coast of Mozambique and swept through into Zimbabwe. The cyclone struck parts of the Manicaland province, in particular, the Chimanimani and other parts of Chipinge town. According to IFRCS (2020), the cyclone affected more than 270 000 people leaving 314 dead with many missing, 17 608 households were left homeless, and 139 schools were affected among other causalities from agricultural land, roads destroyed by landslides, and rain.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and Southern African Research and Documentation Centre Report (SARDC) (2021) posit that media coverage of Cyclone Idai faced significant institutional and individual challenges and gaps which affected accurate and timely disaster reporting. Most of the stories on Cyclone Idai were recorded by the media in Zimbabwe in the period after the Cyclone landed in Zimbabwe, and as such, the news articles were on disaster response by the various stakeholders, rather than on preparedness and prevention (UNESCO and SARDC Report, 2021:11). There are very scarce media reports on climate change, not just in Zimbabwe but in Africa as a whole. Several factors account for why climate change remains on the fringes of mainstream journalism (Xaba, 2021:12). According to Owuor et al (2011), many editors assume climate change communication is mainly for specialised sources like peer-reviewed journals. Moreover, there is a disconnection between scientists and journalists such that reporters depend more on academic documents. Sparse environmental reporting has, to some extent, been associated with a lack of comprehension of scientific and environmental issues by reporters and editors with journalism schools giving prominence to politics, business, and sports (Xaba, 2021)). These gaps contribute to the marginalisation of environmental issues as newsworthy unless a catastrophic disaster takes place. With this

understanding, it is vital to understand how Cyclone Idai was covered by *The Manica Post* and what influenced such representation of events.

Literature review

In some African societies, environmental changes are interpreted using spiritual lenses (Chapungu, 2020; Chiminya, 2015). Natural disasters such as cyclones and droughts are understood as punishment from divine spirits. Existing literature shows that the media can shape the discourses on climate change in Zimbabwe (Ndhlovu, 2021; Makwanya, 2021). However, science journalism has been facing challenges in Africa due to the complexity of scientific stories in the continent (Afadhali, 2024; Matsilele, Msimanga, Tshuma and Jamil, 2024). Challenges such as skills gaps, lack of funding, limited collaboration and interactions between journalists and scientists are undermining the growth of science journalism (Afadhali, 2024). There is a lack of collaborative working relations between the media and climate scientists in Zimbabwe (Makwanya, 2021). This has affected how news is reported, whose voices are given prominence and the perspectives that dominate in the media. Xaba (2021) argues that society is ignorant of how climate change is a process, not an event which impacts environmental developments symptomatic of climate change. Makwanta (2021:50) adds that:

The relationship between the climate change scientists, media houses and the government, including international donors and NGOs is not always evident unless there is funding or donations involved.

In Southern Africa, climate change has manifested itself through cyclones which have left many displaced and in devastating situations (Chapungu, 2020). In times of disasters, the media have to raise awareness, and provide the public with accurate (Deuze, 2005), and objective information from disaster experts and managers (Plance, 2012). Reese (2001) adds that these values are connected to how meaning is constructed in the service of power. The media can disseminate false information leading to public panic and anxiety, therefore posing a negative threat during a crisis (Ghassibi and Zare-Farashbandi, 2015). News organisations must work hand in hand with emergency managers to share accurate information to the public (Plance, 2012). Nitsmer's (2013) work on the tsunami in Thailand in 2004 pointed out that the journalists' lack of knowledge about tsunamis was a setback in disaster management.

In newspapers such as *The Sun* and *The Vanguard*, most of the Ebola stories contributed 11 percent which showed how news about Ebola was given less prominence as other issues were contending for more attention such as insecurity and politics (Belo-Osagie, 2015). This acknowledges how Western news values of what is newsworthy affected Ebola coverage by the media. In Nigeria during the Ebola outbreak, there was a challenge to the capacity of the media and journalists in reporting on the health issues (Ibebuilo, 2009). This reflects why there is heavy dependence on Western media to cover disasters, whether climatic or health, because of the lack of appropriate skills and material to cover events.

According to Kunguma and Skinner (2017), the response to hurricanes generally lacks a wellorganized community policy. Barnes et al (2008) stated that the media has an agenda-setting role and, therefore, tends to emphasise different priorities according to the type of disaster and individual affected. Through analyses of newspapers such as *The Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, Barnes et al (2008) argued that the media in reporting Hurricane Katrina placed prominence on governmental accountability as a means to advance their organisational platform to attract a specific audience. The government's response to Hurricane Katrina was described with a negative tone and highlighted as poor (Barnes et al, 2008). The media followed the traditional news values in reporting Hurricane Katrina by focusing on the conflict, and loss of life, whereas, from a public health view, the news should have shed a positive tone.

In Southern Africa, the destruction due to cyclones has been blamed on poor coverage by the African media. McChesney (2012) argues that the media is in a crisis due to the downsizing of journalists, political economy issues, commercialisation, ill-equipment, and digitalisation. Financial constraints caused the media in Southern Africa to give poor coverage of Cyclone Idai (Daniels, 2019). The media in Southern Africa were ill-equipped and ill-prepared to cover the cyclone. Madagascar on an annual basis is struck by cyclones of varying intensity (Francken et al, 2007). The country uses mainly radio as a means of communicating with the public when disaster strikes but many of its rural communities do not receive any public radio signals (Francken, et al, 2007). Moreover, the transition to digitalisation has been handled with clumsiness by media organisations resulting in content that is not informative to the public (Daniels, 2019).

Makwanya (2021) posits that one of the challenges facing media houses and climate scientists with strong links with the government is that they must seek approval from the government in order to work with international NGOs. This has been compounded by the polarised political and media environment in the country. Editorial policies and political inclinations of media houses have implications on the news coverage on natural disasters. Due to the poor coverage by the African media, the public had to rely more on Western news agencies for information on Cyclone Idai (Daniels, 2019). African media coverage of Cyclone Idai became means of impacting pledge amounts and international aid for donors (Sedensky, 2019). This further perpetuated the negative stereotypes enforced by Western media's view of African countries.

Theory

This study is informed by decolonial theories as a way of understanding the debates on the representation of Cyclone Idai by The Manica Post. Mignolo (2007) and Comaroff and Comaroff (2012) argue that modernity is a Euro-centric philosophy that positions the West at the centre of the world. However, these Western notions are not contextualised within African realities but rather dictate where power is centralised (Mignolo, 2007). Decoloniality scholars (Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 2007) call for a need to delink from Eurocentric philosophies. At the same time, there is a call for decolonising the knowledge systems produced by African media. Decoloniality is an epistemological and political project that seeks to liberate knowledge, power, and being and entails producing radical and alternative knowledge outside the bands of Eurocentrism (Grosfoguel, 2007). It is an argument that states that colonial forms of domination still exist even after the independence of the colonised due to modernity and totality (Mignolo, 2011). The dominant understanding of the media has been shaped by Western epistemologies, and experiences from the Global North have influenced research in the field (Iqani and Chiumbu, 2020; Ndlovu, Tshuma and Ngwenya, 2019). Garman (2015) adds that media theories and frameworks were developed in the North, for the North, and by the North. The media are some of the institutions where epistemological struggles are waged. As sites of ideological struggles, the media are used to legitimise, and challenge dominant power relations. Decolonial perspectives provide a framework for not only analysing how local voices have been silenced by the dominant Euro-centric knowledges but exploring the possibilities of foregrounding these excluded narratives. This is a

struggle for recognition of sovereignty (Tuck and Yang, 2012) and the agency to tell one's own story.

Methodology

Using purposive sampling, the researchers selected stories that were written, specifically, on Cyclone Idai, and were published by *The Manica Post* from the period March 15, 2019, to April 15, 2019. This was the period the cyclone hit the area. The stories were 42 in total. From the selected stories, 6 themes were identified.

THEME	Donations	Theft	Death	Education	Health	Survival
						(aftermath)
NUMBER	11	4	8	5	2	12
OF						
STORIES						

The researchers then sampled 15 stories from the 42 stories that had been analysed and they were selected from all the identified themes. Four (4) stories were purposively selected from the theme of Donations and one (1) on Health. Two (2) stories were selected from the theme of Theft, and three (3) related to Death. From the stories related to Education, two (2) were selected. The other three (3) stories were related to Survival. The news articles were analysed using Norman Fairclough's CDA method (Richardson, 2007).

Using CDA, the study offers interpretations of the meanings of texts, situates texts in their context, and argues how meaning was constructed through an interaction between the producer, text, and consumer (Richardson, 2007). According to Prinsloo (2009:205), "decisions are made on what to include and how to construct the text within their specific context, and in so doing they mediate the events and ideas". CDA critically analyses language used by those in power how it builds systems of inequalities, and how it serves power through examining underlying ideologies and discourse in media texts (Richardson, 2007). Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model of CDA was employed to analyse news articles on Cyclone Idai. Using Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA, the analysis is centred on the relationships between language use and wider social-cultural structures (Titscher et al, 2000). The analysis is conducted according to three

dimensions which include text, discursive practice, and social practice. Fairclough (1995) proposed that in analysing a text, one needs to draw out the form and function of the text, the ways that this text relates to the way it is produced and consumed with the wider society in which it takes place (Richardson, 2007: 37).

The first dimension focuses on vocabulary, semantics, the grammar of sentences, the writing system, and how sentences are connected (Fairclough, 1995). In discursive practices, the focus is on analysing texts as "they are embedded within and relate to social conditions of production and consumption" (Richardson, 2007:39). The third dimension is concerned with the social practice, that is, a text's socio-cultural practice (Fairclough, 1995). Richardson (2007) explains that it concentrates on understanding what a text means about the society that it was produced for and the impact the text might have on socio-relations. Using CDA, the researcher examined what influenced the knowledge system reconstructed, the "voice" in the stories, and the narration of events.

Data analysis

This study is concerned with the knowledge system reproduced by *The Manica Post* in its representation of Cyclone Idai. The analysis of the news stories is divided into six thematic issues, namely, donations, theft, survival, death, education, and health. News articles on Cyclone Idai were centred on these thematic issues.

Donations

The Manica Post produced stories that were focused on charity and non-governmental organizations and individuals who contributed relief aid to those who were affected by Cyclone Idai. However, concerning non-governmental organisations, Comaroff and Comaroff (2012) contest that these organisations focus on the "dirty crisis, poverty, wars" in Africa to prove that Africa is in deficit, therefore, it needs to be assisted to move towards development. The stories were: "Donations pour in for Chimanimani victims", "Zimpapers, partners donate to Cyclone Idai", "FOTE pledges to rehabilitate Cyclone Idai damaged environment" and "Artists join relief efforts to aid cyclone victims". The focus on specific organisations as playing a vital role in assisting the Chimanimani people did not echo the African philosophy of Ubuntu. Ramose (1999) states that African philosophy is centred on "we" instead of the "I" within Western philosophy. The stories promoted an individualistic position as such narratives on

donations tend to deny affected communities the agency to address their problems Thus, stories of the reliance of the people of Manicaland province were lacking. This is one reason why scholars such as Banda (2008), and Fourie (2008) have reflected on the possibilities of African media to be influenced by Ubuntuism.

The aftermath of Cyclone Idai was described in terms of the villagers at the mercy of donors and foreign governments. The story "China offers to rebuild Chimanimani" gave a picture of the Third World country are at the periphery and in need of aid, a donor-dependent syndrome in Africa (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012). *The Manica Post* represented people affected as victims who could not assist themselves. The metaphor of the victim is the giant engine that drives the human rights and humanitarian movement (Mutua, 2002: 27). Reference to scientific knowledge of rehabilitating the environment was made in the stories. There was a lack of interest in the local epistemes of restoring the environment which underpins African knowledge and spirituality.

Theft

The concept of Ubuntu in African philosophy requires an understanding of what it means to be human and to be part of the community (Bruchac, 2014). Indigenous communities foster the values of unity and self-reliance that do not support theft or laziness (Mbogoma, 2018). The tone that was projected in these stories: "*Stolen Idai donations: Official weeps in court*" and "*Cyclone Idai: Bogus fundraisers warned*" was sarcastic. Jacobs and van der Linden (2018) state that tone matters in news stories as it can give positive or negative perceptions to the audience. A negative tone was used to ridicule African leaders as incompetent and to justify Western intervention to rescue "victims" from the "savage" state (Mutua, 2002). The woman in one of the stories allegedly looted donations that were meant to assist those who had been affected by the natural disaster. Africa as a motherland is discredited as incapable of taking care of children due to constant war, poverty, and corruption, therefore, needs the masculine Western countries' aid and rescue (Lao-Montes, 2007).

Death

In the African culture, death is of vital importance as it ensures the continuity of religion as the death of a person leads to the capacity of referring to one as the ancestor of the family who protects and blesses the family (Ekore and Lanre- Abass, 2016, and Nwokoha, 2020).

Journalism in Africa tends to appreciate African realities through the lenses of those who believe that their ideas of humanity are grander and, therefore, Africans should adopt these ideas as the idea guide towards modernity (Nyamnjoh, 2005). However, these superior values clash with African philosophy (Nyamnjoh, 2005). In "72 AFRM members perish in Chimanimani" the focus of the news story was more on the donations contributed as compared to the meaning of death in African society. Representation is the use of language to communicate meaning to other people, hence the need to understand the significance and the mystery of the deaths and cyclones and understand what it represented from an indigenous viewpoint. Another story titled "Mother's harrowing tale of losing son to Cyclone Idai" reflected on how Africa as a motherland has lost its children due to instant wars, hunger, and corrupt government whilst others are running after greener pastures in the diaspora. Lao-Montes (2007) notes that Africans in the diaspora are regarded as trans nationalists in search of sovereignty.

Survival

The theme of survival was also dominant in the news stories. Some of these news stories include "Villagers do not wish to be relocated", "Residents give unforgettable accounts of cyclone Idai" and "China offers to rebuild Chimanimani". These stories highlighted the actions that were taken to relocate villagers to safe grounds. However, the news articles were framed to portray Africans in a negative light. The story "Villagers do not wish to be relocated" was framed in a manner that sought to deny the local communities a voice. Smith (1999) argues that local communities tend to be undermined as primitive people who cannot make rational decisions that can positively impact society. The fact that the villagers understood that the cyclone was a passing phase was not contextually interpreted by the reporter. Gumo et al (2012) state that African people are believed to communicate with the environment and rains, drought, and earthquakes are messages from their ancestors.

Education

In African society, knowledge is protected and ensured to assist the future generation in the development of the community. Bruchac (2014) states that indigenous communities have crafted means of encoding useful data within philosophies of thought as means to preserve and contextualize Indigenous knowledge and relationships with a specific culture. More so, there were specific knowledge keepers who preserved specialized types of information due

to deep experience with the related knowledge.; these included traditional leaders, medicine people, and ritual practitioners (Bruchac, 2014). The news articles about Cyclone Idai emphasized how education and schools had been affected by the disaster. The Education Correspondent wrote a story with a headline "*What Cyclone Idai means for schools and education*". The author focused on Western education but there was no concern for the indigenous knowledge that was lost because of the people who had perished during the cyclone. Oral tradition was disregarded as prone to bias; knowledge that could not be proved scientifically or logically (Smith, 1999). Mignolo (2007) contests that even with the end of colonialism, post colonies are still operating under colonial administration. Education inspired by Western ethics is valued rather than indigenous knowledge.

Health

Colonial matric of knowledge (Mignolo, 2007) entails how in the post-colonial era, anything informed by Western knowledge is given preponderance over indigenous knowledge. This modernity led to the "...validity of specific forms of knowledge..." (Smith, 1999: 59). The way the stories were projected stressed the significance of Western medicine over indigenous medicine. The story titled "Cholera vaccination for Cyclone Idai survivors" is one of such narratives. The story was written in a way that reinforces Western knowledge systems. However, Smith (1999) disputes that since Western medicine is scientifically proven, the West rarely mentions the contribution of indigenous knowledge in imparting this scientific research as much knowledge was stripped from indigenous people during colonialism. Smith (1999) speaks of botanical colonization about how the West stole knowledge about plants to experiment in medicinal production. There was no voice on how the use of indigenous medicines could have been effective in preventing and treating the outbreak of cholera. Banerji (1979) commented that the preference for western medicine has led to the degeneration of indigenous medicines. The news story was constructed in a way that validated the colonial mentality that the West is the savior of the African people. Smith (1999:59) posits that the knowledge gained through our colonization "has been used, in turn, to colonize us in what Ngugi wa Thiong'o calls the colonisation 'of the mind".

Conclusion

Amid calls for the decolonising of African media, findings demonstrate that *The Manica Post* reproduced Western knowledge systems during the coverage of Cyclone Idai. Mignolo (2007) argues that colonial administration still exists in the lives of the colonised. African media institutions are caught up in the global matrix of power where inequalities have led to the marginalisation of African indigenous knowledge systems. There is a need to delink African media and promote the journalism that promotes the voices of local people in society. Moreover, there is great controversy surrounding the adoption of indigenous knowledge systems in news reporting of natural disasters. Kovach (2012) acknowledges the need to empower Africans to reclaim and restore their lost identity through the reconstruction of African indigenous knowledge systems. These parodies of indigenous cultures are embedded in colonial ideologies that sort to promote modernisation (Smith, 1999). Hence, the need to rescue and restore African indigenous knowledge and culture from the traps of Western epistemologies. The media are pivotal institutions that can serve to reproduce or challenge coloniality, as demonstrated in *The Manica Post*'s coverage of Cyclone Idai

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