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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

Selection, Saliency and political identities. A constructionist approach to the political representation of ZANU-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* from May 2014 to December 2014.

Compiled by: Kurauone Masungu

Reg number: R145280G

Supervisor: Dr. W Chuma

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Science in Media and Society Studies Degree

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DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I Kurauone Masungo, (R145280G) hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work, that has not been submitted to any academic institution in pursuit of any academic qualification. Sources used have been acknowledged and in conducting research, and complied with ethical issues in the compilation of the project.

Dissertation Title: Selection, Saliency and Political identities. A constructionist approach to the political representation of Zanu-PF political disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, from May 2014 to December 2014.

Name: Kurauone Masungo

Signed:

.....

Date:

.....

DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR

I hereby certify that I personally supervised this dissertation in accordance with the Department regulation and the University general academic regulations. On that basis I confirm that this dissertation is examinable.

Student's Name:

Kurauone Masungo

Dissertation Topic: Selection, Salience and Political identities. A constructionist approach to the political representation of Zanu-PF political disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, from May 2014 to December 2014.

Name of Supervisor:

Dr. Wallace Chuma

Supervisor's Signature:

.....

Date:

.....

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DEDICATION

To my parents, siblings and everyone who has been part of the journey.

Thanks for the richness of your love

ABSTRACT

The study critically explores the representation of Zanu-PF political disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The mentioned newspapers selectively employ the discourse of ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ in ascribing political identities to those who were regarded as locking horns in the battle to succeed the president. The study also looks at how ownership, funding and control patterns of *The Herald* and *Daily News* influenced their framing of the disputes. Data for this research was obtained through critical discourse analysis of newspaper articles published from the period May 2014 to December 2014. In-depth unstructured interviews were also conducted with editors from both *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Findings established that frames adopted by both newspapers reflect on different versions of reality advanced by both newspapers. *The Herald*, adopted a frame that is pro-revolutionary, that is it viewed the disputes as weeding out counter revolutionary elements. For the *Daily News*, the disputes were a symbol that reflects on Zanu-PF’s failure to embrace democratic values and a regime gone mad. In Chuma’s, (2008) terms *The Herald* and *Daily News*, adopted the ‘patriotic’ and ‘oppositional’ journalism models respectively.

ACRONYMS

AMI	African Media Investment
ANZ	Associated Newspaper Zimbabwe
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CCZ	Crisis Coalition Zimbabwe
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
MDC-M	Movement for Democratic Change Ncube
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change Tsvangirai
MIC	Media Information Commission
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
RPPC	Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company
VMCZ	Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZARF	Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation
ZIMPAPERS	Zimbabwe Newspapers
ZMC	Zimbabwe Media Commission
ZMMT	Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust
ZUJ	Zimbabwe Union of Journalist

LIST OF APPENDICES

- Appendix 1 Interview Guide for the research
- Appendix 2 *The Herald's* Organogram
- Appendix 3 *Daily News* Organogram
- Appendix 4 Selected *Herald*, articles
- Appendix 5 Selected *Daily News* articles
- Appendix 6 Interview transcription

Contents Page

<u>ABSTRACT</u>	i
<u>ACRONYMS</u>	ii
<u>LIST OF APPENDICES</u>	iii
<u>Contents Page</u>	iv
<u>CHAPTER 1: Introduction</u>	1
<u>1.1 Introduction</u>	1
<u>1.2 Background</u>	2
<u>1.3 Statement of the Problem</u>	4
<u>1.4 Research Question</u>	5
<u>1.5 Objectives</u>	5
<u>1.6 Significance of the Study</u>	5
<u>1.7 Assumptions</u>	7
<u>1.8 Delimitations</u>	7
<u>1.9 Limitations</u>	7
<u>1.10 Definition of Terms</u>	8
<u>1.11 Structure of the study</u>	8
<u>1.12 Conclusion</u>	9
<u>Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework</u>	10
<u>2.0 Introduction</u>	10
<u>2.1 Literature Review</u>	10
<u>2.1.1 Selection and Salience: Setting the parameters in political representation</u>	10
<u>2.1.2 Representation of Zanu-PF disputes through an organised language system</u>	17
<u>2.1.3 Stereotypes and othering: A basis upon which representation construct political identities</u>	23
<u>2.2 Theoretical Framework</u>	29
<u>2.2.1 Discourse, Power and Framing</u>	30
<u>2.2.2 Patriotic versus Oppositional Journalism</u>	36
<u>2.2.3 Pragmatism of the Political Economy Approach</u>	39
<u>CHAPTER 3: Research Methods and Methodology</u>	42
<u>3.0 Introduction</u>	42
<u>3.1 Research Methodology</u>	42
<u>3.2 Research Paradigm</u>	42
<u>3.3 Unit of Analysis</u>	44

<u>3.4 Sample Size</u>	44
<u>3.5 Sampling Methods</u>	45
<u>3.5.1 Politically Important Cases</u>	45
<u>3.6 Methods of Data Gathering/Collection</u>	46
<u>3.6.1 Archival research</u>	46
<u>3.6.2 Interviews</u>	47
<u>3.7 Methods of Data Analysis</u>	47
<u>3.7.1 Qualitative Content Analysis</u>	48
<u>3.7.2 Textual analysis</u>	49
<u>3.7.3 Critical discourse analysis</u>	51
<u>3.8 Methods of Data Presentation</u>	51
<u>3.9 Ethical Considerations</u>	51
<u>3.10 Conclusion</u>	52
CHAPTER 4: Organisational Analysis.....	53
<u>4.0 Introduction</u>	53
<u>4.1 Zimpapers Historical Background</u>	53
<u>4.1.1 Colonial History</u>	53
<u>4.1.2 Zimbabwe Newspapers Post Independent Zimbabwe</u>	56
<u>4.1.3 Vision, Mission Statement and Core Values of Zimpapers</u>	58
<u>4.1.4 Shareholding Structure</u>	59
<u>4.2 The Herald</u>	59
<u>4.2.1 Historical background</u>	59
<u>4.2.2 Editorial policy</u>	60
<u>4.2.3 Content Mix</u>	61
<u>4.2.4 The Herald Organogram</u>	62
<u>4.2.5 Funding Mechanisms</u>	63
<u>4.2.6 Associations with other organisations</u>	64
<u>4.2 The Daily News</u>	66
<u>4.2.1 Historical Background</u>	66
<u>4.2.2 Management and Editorial Policy</u>	68
<u>4.2.3 Structure of the Daily News</u>	70
<u>4.2.5 Commercial Viability Aspect</u>	72
<u>4.2.6 Association with other Institutions</u>	73
<u>4.2.7 Conclusion</u>	73

<u>CHAPTER 5: Data Presentation and Analysis</u>	74
<u>5.0 Introduction</u>	74
<u>5.1 Language of factionalism a precursor to Zanu-PF political disputes</u>	74
<u>5.2 The discourse of “Weevils” and “Gamatox”:</u> <u>Political identities in the making</u>	83
<u>5.3 Grace Mugabe’s entry: A dramatic turning point in Zanu-PF politics</u>	89
<u>5.4 Conclusion</u>	95
<u>CHAPTER 6: Conclusions and Recommendations</u>	96
<u>6.0 Introduction</u>	96
<u>6.1 Concluding Discussion</u>	96
<u>6.2 Further areas of research</u>	100
<u>6.3 Conclusion</u>	100
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	101
<u>Appendix 1</u>	110
<u>Appendix 2</u>	111
<u>Appendix 3</u>	112
<u>Appendix 4</u>	113
<u>Appendix 5</u>	114
<u>Appendix 6</u>	115

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Zimbabwean political parties ZANU PF and MDC-T have been allegedly rocked by factional power struggles. Post 2013 election period became a defining moment as in ZANU PF the then Vice president, Joyce Mujuru and current VP Mnangagwa jostled to replace Mugabe as they anticipated his departure due to age and ill health. This struggle for power in ZANU PF became nasty and resulted in the sacking of Mujuru and ascendancy of Mnangagwa to the post of vice president. This study explores the representation of ZANU-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* from the period May 2014 to December 2014.

The Jamaican born British Cultural studies scholar Hall (1997), defines representation as the act of re-presenting a meaning that already exists. In essence Hall argues “representation has no fixed meaning until it has been represented” (Hall, 1997). More definitions are given by Moscovici, (1988: 214 and 1973: xii) who in his discussion on social representation defines representation as concerning “the contents of everyday thinking and the stock of ideas that give coherence to our religious beliefs, political ideas and the connections we create as spontaneously as we breathe. He goes on to argue that such representations allow us to classify persons and objects. Still meditating on representation, Moscovici, (1973: xiii) argues that representation establish an order which will enable individuals to name and classify various people and objects.

Thus we can argue that the media through representation inform and construct reality of events taking place in society. Gorke, (2001: 55) explains on the “functional system of mass media is the observation that also mass media and journalism too Construct reality *sui generis*,”, (Gorke, 2001: 55). This comes against the backdrop that “a wide variety of media messages can act as teachers of values, ideologies, and belief and that they can provide for interpreting the world” (William et al, 1992: 374). Of significant importance is the uneven landscape of power in the mediatisation and construction of reality, which the research seeks to interrogate in the construction of different versions of reality surrounding Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

Representations of ZANU-PF succession disputes by the said newspapers are of importance as in Trezn, (2006: 41) terms they “provide the raw materials from which voters form their preferences and become engaged in public opinion formation”. Apart from that the study also seeks to enquire and provide an understanding on how the media portrayed the disputes within the Zanu-PF party which is a phenomenon not common especially in *The Herald*, a state run newspaper. Thus the media as cultural institutions that shape public life occupy a crucial space as they are

“the primary medium for the development of public knowledge, values, interpretations and self-understanding for change and innovation, as well as reproduction or transmission over time in the inventory of ideas and arguments that are available in a given public sphere” – Peters, (2005:88).

Selection and attribution of salience (importance attached to a news item) are the major points of references for the study so as to generate an understanding of how *The Herald* and *Daily News* intentionally represent ZANU-PF succession disputes. It is also equally important to note that selection and salience help to explain how representations are produced and presented, (Maters, 1997).

1.2 Background

The media play a central role in politics and political communication through representation. Hall, (1997) suggests that representations are part of everyday life. It is from representation that meaning is derived as identified by Hall, (1997). In other terms representations tend to reflect on what society is like, yet it has to be argued that this reflection is not an innocent process due to power and ideological games, and they are subjected to the conclusions of the one who is involved in the production of the texts. Again it is through representation that individuals make sense of the world in which they live. It is this process of making sense that embodies elements of representation which informs and mould our perception of the world.

It is also equally important to indicate that the representation of ZANU-PF disputes by *The Herald* and *Daily News* borrowing Entman, (1989: 347) statement were “making a significant contribution to what people think – to their political preferences and evaluations – precisely by affecting what they think about.” In this case representations in *The Herald* and *Daily News* about the two warring Zanu-PF heavy weights (Joyce Mujuru and Emmerson Mnangagwa) are of importance in the generation of public discourse and opinion.

A look at a brief background of the media landscape as influenced by political forces is relevant in understanding the nature of representations that characterise the mentioned newspapers. The media in Zimbabwe can be argued to have fallen to the dictates of polarisation due to political and ideological influences, which can be traced back to the late 1990's. To borrow De Fina, (2003:352) statement the mentioned newspapers "by telling stories, they are not only able to represent social worlds and evaluate them but alsoestablish themselves as members of particular groups through interactional linguistic, rhetoric and stylistic choices". It can be argued that the research guided by this statement aims to enquire on how ideological underpinnings influenced the framing of disputes within Zanu-PF, by *The Herald* given its record of being ideologically inclined towards Zanu-PF. An account of events which characterise the early 2000's shall not be given as that has already been done somewhere.

The Herald has been explained to have "declared its full support to the ruling party, Zanu-PF", (Willems; 2004:1768). In other instances, it has been argued that *The Herald* was a propaganda tool for the Zanu-PF led government before the Government of National Unit (GNU) and during the GNU. On the other hand, the *Daily News* has identified as representing the views of the oppositional political parties MDC-T and MDC-M. A closer look at *The Herald* reveals that the newspaper much attention to disputes within both MDC camps during the GNU and after the July 2013 harmonised elections, while deliberately rejecting the presences f disputes and factions in Zanu-PF. During the same period the *Daily News* paid attention to the disputes within Zanu-PF emanating from succession disputes and constructed them within a particular discursive practice. Headlines in *Daily News* paid much focus on the economy and the newspaper did try to present and acknowledge the presence of succession disputes within the Zanu-PF led government.

Still celebrating Zanu-PF victory, which spilled into 2014 with much focus on Zim-Asset and disputes within the MDC-T party, representations of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* assumed a new discursive practice. It is against this background that the study seeks to highlight and explain the nature of representation of Zanu-PF disputes that characterised *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

In demonstrating media importance through representation Seleti, (1997:48) suggests that the media regardless of their colour, shape, size and form participate in the construction of identities through representations. Echoing the same sentiments Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) and Chiumbu, (2004) argue that cultural artefacts and significant events are important in representations that

shape and ascribe political identities. However, it has to be suggested that this whole process of representation as mentioned earlier is subjected to a rigorous process of selection. Saliency in representation aids in shaping views and perceptions that the audiences generate as they engage with the media. This enables the media to come up with a basis upon which they inform our world and societal views and public opinion.

In explaining how *The Herald* and *Daily News* reported on ZANU-PF disputes, the study will also take a closer look at the employment of language and the ideological standpoint embedded in such representations. Jovchelovitch, (2007) describes representations as having an ideological component and the presence of power is evidenced through particular frames adapted. The use of language is also explained by Willems, (2004: 1769) who suggests that “the roles or subject positions which grammar constructs for the participants have ideological meaning”. Thus ideology is embedded in language which is part and parcel of representation. In this case the study will also dwell on providing an understanding on the workings of ideology through language used in the representation of ZANU-PF disputes by the mentioned newspapers.

Articulating the importance of media representations in politics, Ranger, (2005) suggests that the media become a conduit through which political identities are ascribed. With reference to political terms such as “sell out”, “gallant son of the soil” and “running dogs of imperialism” Ranger, (2005) articulates on how media representations are a crucial component in politics and how what he terms “Patriotic Journalism” was employed in the construction of these identities. Given the knowledge that Zanu-PF is a political party that recently won the 2013 July Harmonised elections and one of the political parties that is popular and enjoys majority membership apart from MDC-T and other political parties, the research seeks to identify how disputes within the newly elected party were constructively represented in the media and the subsequent implication these representations had on society. It also has to be noted that *The Herald*, and *Daily News* all enjoy wide readership and are popular among the Zimbabwean population and one is compelled to question the implications of their contribution in terms of shaping societal views and perception through representation.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Representation as a discursive practise has been suggested to be a process characterised by selection and attribution of saliency. Such a phenomenon has driven the research to explore more

on how representation of Zanu-PF political succession disputes from May 2014 to December 2014 in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, sought to construct particular versions of the reality surrounding the disputes.

1.4 Research Question

Main Research Question

1. In what way did *The Herald* and *Daily News* represent Zanu-PF political disputes?

Sub-research Questions

1. How is selection and salience evidenced in these representations and the magnitude of their influence?
2. In what way is the ideological stand point of the newspapers revealed in their representation of Zanu-PF political disputes?
3. Were there any similarities and differences on the frames adopted by the *Daily News* and *The Herald* in representing ZANU PF internal power struggles?

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of the study are to:

1. Explain the importance of selection and vis-à-vis the constructionist approach in ascribing political identities through representation of Zanu-PF political disputes in the mentioned newspapers
2. Explain the reasons behind the representation of Zanu-PF political disputes in the media and its implication
3. Generate information on the dynamics that influenced the representation of the disputes in the media
4. Explore on the institutional, commercial and political limitations that influence the role of the media in framing politics in society

1.6 Significance of the Study

The research aims to interrogate how selection and attribution of salience contributed towards the representation towards the representation of events that in turn shape political identities in the minds of the audiences and how this is achieved by the media.

As the research progresses deeper knowledge on the power dynamics that shape construction of political identities through representations will be sought and provided by the research. In general, the research will try to provide an analysis on the various issues that inform selection and salience in the process of constructing representations that society is subjected to, and how this in turn shape society's views and perception of political figures and identities.

The research seeks to highlight and explicate on the selective use of language and diction, headlines and source selection which are part of communicative mechanisms that exist at various levels in the meaning making process. In addition, these communicative mechanisms will assist in providing an understanding of the relationship that exist between various scholarly works by Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2009); Wendy Willems, (2004); Terrance Ranger, (2005); Last Moyo, (2011); Dumisani Moyo, Wallace Chuma, (2008); Tendai Chari, (2005) and Brian Miles Tendi, (2009) among others who explore more on the post independent Zimbabwe's media landscape under the rule of Zanu-PF. In other words, the research will provide an analysis of how various communicative mechanisms are employed in *The Herald* and *Daily News* given that the newspapers are focusing on disputes within Zanu-PF itself and not between Zanu-PF and both MDC formations. Thus the study will also be guided by various scholarly works that highlight previous Zanu-PF disputes and how they were framed by various newspapers.

Through interrogating the framing of the disputes within the Zanu-PF party, the research is going to highlight on the transformation of discourse and transitional processes in media institutions when ideological and commercial pressures are at stake. Apparently the research seeks to interrogate *The Herald's* and *Daily News*, framing of the disputes as both papers are the major daily papers in the country, that command a great number of market share and readership profile. Apart from that *The Herald* and *Daily News*, have been suggested to be from different ideological standpoints, and this has enticed the research to question how these varying ideological views influenced their framing of the disputes.

Apart from that the research seeks to provide a deeper understanding of interlink and interlocking relationship that exists between a constructionist approach in representation and the kinds of images and texts that the media produce and disseminate. In addition, the research also aims to provide deeper knowledge on the workings of selection and salience in the process of producing discourse that constitutes representation. In essence the research also seeks to contextualise selection and salience in representation in the study of African, particularly Zimbabwean media and how these processes differ from the Western and other parts of the world.

1.7 Assumptions

Representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* were subjected to ideological struggles.

Selection and salience played a crucial role and greatly influenced representations of Zanu-PF political disputes.

Political identities were an outcome of ideological forces evidenced in strategically selected grammatical tools.

1.8 Delimitations

The study mainly focuses on the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* from the period May 2014 to December 2014. Such a period offers great and relevant resources given that the period is after the GNU and the July 2013 Harmonised elections, which are an integral part of the country's history. Apart from that the events were also a defining moment for the country. Coincidentally the period was also characterised by amendments to the country's constitution and precedes the 2013 Zanu-PF Annual people's conference. With much information generated from archival research and interviews with *The Herald* and *Daily News* reporters and political editors, Zanu-PF spokesperson and victims of the disputes, the research aims to gather more information on the nature and character of representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

1.9 Limitations

The study deals with the representations of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* only. Focus is narrowed down to print media and not broadcast and online which also offer another angle and contribute towards a broader understanding of the role and influence of selection

and salience in representation. In addition, the political economy of the two mentioned newspapers provides a limitation. In other words, influence of ownership and ideological standpoint is to be evidenced in the representation under study. Another area the research could have explored is the use of images and cartoons that were linked to the representation of the disputes within the party.

1.11 Structure of the study

Chapter One introduces the topic under study. Chapter Two dwells more on literature reviewed and principal theories that inform the study. Chapter Three discusses research methods and methodology, attention is given to data gathering and data analysis techniques. Chapter Four provides an organisational analysis of *The Herald* and *Daily News*. This will provide an understanding on how institutional dynamics went on to shape their coverage of Zanu-PF political disputes. Chapter Five deals with the presentation of data and provides a detailed discussion of research findings. Chapter Six concludes the research and provide recommendations.

1.12 Conclusion

The research seeks to identify the nature of representation that characterised the manner in which Zanu-PF disputes were portrayed in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, the working of selection and salience. It is against this backdrop that the chapter provided an analysis of the core arguments of the study. It has introduced the topic under study, the objectives and research questions which inform the study. The subsequent chapter presents and discusses related literature that informs the study and the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews scholarly works that are closely related to representation within the context of selection and salience. Principal theories related to the study are to be outlined and evaluated in relation to the topic under study. It is important to note that theories presented under this section will also inform and shape findings so as to provide a link between methodology and research findings.

2.1 Literature Review

The study reviews literature that is related to the concept of representation from a constructionist approach. Aspects such as selection and salience will be dealt with, with specific reference to the manner in which they were strategically used by *The Herald* and *Daily News*. In this case opinions and debates by other scholars related to the topic under study will be the major highlights of this section. A thematic approach is to be used in highlighting these scholarly debates and opinions, so as to identify key aspects that will assist in explaining the portrayal of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

2.1.1 Selection and Salience: Setting the parameters in political representation

The discussion on the portrayal of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* can be discussed in light of selection and salience. An enquiry into these aspects is to be guided by Matthes (2012: 250) view that “different news outlets frame political issues in quite different ways” under the influence of power and ideology. Thus the discussion will zero in on explaining the role of and importance of selection and attribution of salience as aids in the construction of reality by *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their representation of Zanu-PF political disputes. Through selection and attribution of salience we can discuss how these twin processes apply in studying representation and its practices, that include excluding factors that aim to naturalise and legitimise the othering of the other, (Bhabha, 1994).

Framing as defined by Entman, (1993: 52) is the “selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.”

Thus selection and salience are important aspects that aid in the construction of news items or reality, which qualifies Salwen and Mareta (1997: 329) view that selection and salience “helps to explain how representation are produced and presented.” Carter, (2013: 2) concurs with Salwen and Mareta’s (1997) view when he highlights that selection and salience “shape and construct social reality”. In this context the study seeks to examine how selection and attribution of salience was employed, given the notion that “selection and salience are “primary frameworks used to classify information and interpret it meaningfully” (Scheuffle and Tewksbury, 2007: 12).

In this case the study aims to highlight and explicate how selection and attribution of salience managed to produce a particular problem definition and moral evaluation with specific reference to disputes emanating within the Zanu-PF party post 2013 elections. Apart from that it can also be argued that selection is not a neutral process as “numerous studies have pointed to the systematic bias of news media in selecting negative news” (Trenz, 2006: 13). Thus selection and attribution of agency are processes fraught with power games and ideological battles in the race to provide an understanding through which meaning can be produced and circulated.

To begin the discussion, selection and attribution of salience can be viewed as strategies in communication. Borrowing Foucault’s (2000: 346) definition of strategy as “the means employed to attain a certain end” or as a “question of rationality functioning to arrive at an objective”, the research seeks to interrogate how selection and attribution of salience were deployed to construct a reality of Zanu-PF political disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. In his analysis of framing, Matthes, (2012: 253) suggests that “frames are thus understood as strategic issue positions that are manifest in media input”. Hanggli, (2012) also supports the view that selection is a strategic component in the construction of or framing issues. Viewing selection and attribution of salience as strategies employed by *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their representation of Zanu –PF disputes, will enable the research to establish and reveal power dynamics and political logic that influenced the two newspapers portrayal of the disputes.

Supporting the view of selection and attribution of salience as strategies, Matthes, (2012: 249) went on to argue that “Frames can be found as strategic communication of political and organisational actors”. Patterson, (1993) also contends that “strategic coverage is not just an aspect of media coverage of politics but is becoming the dominant mode of coverage.” Apart from that the idea of strategy will allow the research to highlight on the issue of how different news

outlets frame political issues in various ways and how events come to be given one dominant meaning. In this case selection and attribution of salience is to be discussed in light of selection of headlines and lead stories, editorial articles on Zanu-PF disputes, sources used, language use and choice of diction.

The discussion on the portrayal of Zanu-PF disputes by *The Herald* and *Daily News* through selection and attribution of salience as central strategic elements, can be discussed in line with Mabweazara's (2011) view that "The sourcing routines" in news rooms "are entrenched in the dynamics of the political context as journalists selectively refer to those sources that consolidate their newsroom's political positioning". In addition, Deceus, (2012:34) contends that "Representations are the results of strategic interventions, of making claims at the right time and place and adopting strategies in order to bring about their acceptance." Thus the discussion on selection and attribution of salience as strategic elements will zero in on how *The Herald* and *Daily News*, strategically employed selection and attribution of salience in their representation of Zanu-PF disputes, given that representations are subjected to power and ideological struggles.

A discussion on selection and attribution of salience facilitating meaningful communication at various strategic levels, leads us to another aspect, which is that of inclusion and exclusion in strategic political communication. Inclusion and exclusion can be examined in light of Pickering, (2001) view that "questions on inclusion and exclusion are subject to issues of power, domination and discrimination." Analysing media salience and the process of framing Chyi and McCombs, (2004: 24) suggest that "when covering a news event, journalist decide which elements to include or exclude in a story." In this case the research seeks to explore how inclusion and exclusion were subjected to political logic given Matthes' (2012: 252) view that in political communication "there is a struggle over meaning, a battle to define a dominant interpretation of an issue...."

In addition, the study will interrogate the aspect of inclusion and exclusion in the context of sources used, frames adopted, language use, subject categorisation, editor's comments and lead selection as these aspects assist in explaining whether representations we are to obtain in the mentioned newspapers were subjected to power struggles and struggles over definitions of meanings. Still discussing inclusion and exclusion Kamps, (2002: 103) asserts that "media set the rules and standards for the distribution of legitimacy" thus inclusion and exclusion are selection strategies that assist in the organisation of facts. Again Trenz, (2006: 13) argues that "journalist

select information, suggest particular interpretations and opinions, give instructions about what is relevant and what is not, who is important and influential and who is not.”

Still on the aspect of inclusion and exclusion as facilitated by selection and attribution of salience, exclusion of certain facts, sources and frames of references in the portrayal of Zanu-PF succession disputes can be a subject of enquiry. In this case the research aims to investigate why particular frames of references, sources and facts were excluded in the portrayal of the succession disputes. Informed by Spivak’s (1988: 81) view that “what is important in a work is what it does not say” the discussion will adopt Foucault’s (1978: 27) view on silence (that which is not revealed) that “silence itself, the things one decides to say or is forbidden to name, the discretion that is required between different speakers – is less the absolute limit of discourse the other side from which it is separated by a strict boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said with them and in relation to them within overall strategies”. Thus qualifying Schudson’s (1989: 263) view that “there is occasional bias, occasional sensationalisation, occasional inaccuracy” in the process of news making.

The research then seeks to scrutinise the shaping of reality by *The Herald* and *Daily News* of Zanu-PF succession disputes, through exclusion or omission of certain facts. Entman, (1989: 3607) asserts that “one-way media wield influence is by omission or deemphasising information, by excluding data about an altered reality that might otherwise disrupt existing support.” This assertion assists in providing an understanding of the position occupied by silence in representation and its implication. Silence can be argued to be a phenomenon that characterises media representations as it aids in the “classification of information and its meaningful interpretation”, (Scheuffle and Tewksbury, 2007: 12).

Such a scenario provides a basis upon which the research seeks to interrogate silence as a contributing factor in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. In essence the research seeks to establish whether silence was deployed intentionally in a way that aimed to achieve a particular dominant interpretation of events or it was just omission by coincidence.

Our next subject of discussion is on the manipulation of language through selection and attribution of salience. A look at the definition of representation by various scholars’ points to the centrality of

language in the production of meaning. Hall, (1997: 15) argues that “representation means using language to say something meaningful about or to represent the world meaningfully to other people.” Hall’s (1997: 17) definition reads “representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language.” A second definition that states the centrality of language in representation is provided by Moscovici, (1961: xiii) and he argues that

“representations systems of values, ideas and practices which enables communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group identity” – (Moscovici, 1961: xiii)

Basing on an understanding of the centrality of language, the research seeks to highlight how *The Herald* and *Daily News* manipulated language through selection and salience in their portrayal of Zanu-PF succession disputes between May 2014 and December 2014. Exploring language use Habermas and McCarthy, (1983: 124) argue that “language is a medium of domination and social force. It seems to legitimise relations of organized power.” Concurring with Habermas and McCarthy, is Berger and Luckman, (1966) when they address the importance of language as serving the purpose of social organisation.

Apart from that selection of particular language schemata can be argued to be ploys that aim to attribute salience in the representation of particular social issues. Describing the role of language in attributing salience to specific issues Carter, (2013) notes that language assists in the organisation of society and “serves as a defining aspect of humanity.” Emphasis on the importance of language in attributing salience is again provided by Carter, (2013: 10) who further states that “..... readers are given cues that signify a story’s importance, word placement provide references for a story’s level of importance.” Given that public opinion “grows out of an interaction between media messages and what audiences make of them” (Entman, 1989: 349), the research seeks to identify how language was used in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes to attribute salience to disputes emanating within the Zanu-PF political party after the 2013 July harmonised elections. Apart from that the research seeks to identify how the media promoted particular angles through which the audience could interpret the disputes meaningfully as facilitated by attribution of salience.

A study of the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, can be argued in line with the aspect of salience and the process of attributing salience to the succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Salience can be defined as the importance attached to a particular

issue, (Moyo, 2010: 134; Salven and Matera, 1997: 329; Carter, 2013). The research seeks to investigate how salience was attributed to Zanu-PF succession disputes in a bid to promote a particular event interpretation and production of discourse that ascribed political identities. In their analysis on salience, Chyi and McCombs, (2004) argue that the media can “build a news event salience by emphasising different aspects of an event during its life span.” A focus on news item space allocation, editorial articles commenting on that specific issue, headline, lead stories and language use are some of the elements the study seeks to interrogate in terms of their use by *The Herald* and *Daily News*. These aspects will assist in reflecting on various specific aspects of the disputes which the two newspapers gave more emphasis.

This entails identifying whether these elements were strategically manipulated and deployed to achieve salience of Zanu-PF succession disputes. Various discussions on salience reveal how salience frames events, which in turn shapes and provides a “reference point for viewers in which all subsequent information is judged upon” (Carter, 2013: 1). Thus in this case the research is going to discuss and explicate on the attribution of salience in the mentioned newspapers. Again the research seeks to investigate how *The Herald* and *Daily News* managed to achieve this through the workings of representation. A discussion on salience then leads us to our next topic that of construction or reality and the dynamics that shape the meaning making process.

Matthes, (2012: 252) describes how the media “struggle over meaning” and how this has implications on the kind of representations we get from the media. In his analysis of frames Goffman, (1974) reveals how frames classify phenomena, which in turn allow audiences to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences. In this case the research seeks to examine how reality was constructed by the media, and how *The Herald* and *Daily News* contributed towards the meaning making process. In other words, the research seeks to highlight on how the mentioned newspapers managed to strategically shape what the readers were to make of the political disputes within the Zanu-PF party through selection and salience.

In analysing framing Carter, (2013) suggests that “focusing on one aspect of an event and presenting it to an audience, media outlets construct reality.” Concurring with Carter, (2013) Ericson, (1998) argues that communication participates in the formalisation and change of reality. Basing on such arguments the research seeks to interrogate how selection and attribution of salience were aids in ascribing political identities and the meaning making process, through

strategic representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in the media. Thus the concept of hegemonic representations is to be a reference point in this discussion.

In addition, the meaning making process and presentation of reality is subjected to “frames of reference or it is located in the “identity matrix of our culture”, (Moscovici, 2000: 46; Hoijer, 2011; Carter, 2013). Reese, (2001: 15) argues that “in order to be useful and noteworthy organising devices” frames must be analysed in terms of the degree to which they are shared in any given society. At this point the research examines the importance of points of references and shared meanings provided in *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their portrayal of Zanu-PF succession disputes. Importance of the identified points of reference lies in their ability to provide coherence in our ability to make sense of what the media presents.

Apart from that frames of reference or shared meanings “allow the user to locate, perceive, identify and label a potentially informational number of occurrences” as noted by Goffman, (1974). As a subject of enquiry frames of references according to the research will be dealt with as they assist in explicating how the media deployed them in their bid to shape reality and contribute towards the meaning making process.

After having highlighted some important aspects of selection and attribution of salience it is equally important to note that selection and attribution of salience can be witnessed in source selection by various news outlets (Mabweazara, 2011; Schudson, 1989). In this case the research seeks to explore how source selection managed to attribute salience and aid in the meaning making process as well in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Mabweazara, (2011: 108) argues that for the media to achieve politically correct story ideas, they “carefully select and cultivate news sources whose political orientation rubber stamp the newspaper’s editorial slant”. Such a scenario entails the media falling under the dictates of ideological and power struggle games. Thus the research seeks to explore and highlight whether source selection was a deliberate ploy to intentionally structure reality, shape the meaning making process and attribute salience to the succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

It is against this background that the research seeks to interrogate the role and importance of selection and attribution of salience in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in Zimbabwe’s most popular two daily newspapers, *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The research aims

to provide an understanding of how selection and attribution of salience were strategically used to provide and promote a specific interpretation of events within a particular framework. Having highlighted selection and attribution of salience the discussion moves on the next theme in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in the media through an organised language system.

2.1.2 Representation of Zanu-PF disputes through an organised language system

Representation of Zanu-PF political disputes cannot be discussed outside the context of language. Language as described by Hall, (1997) is an important component of representation. In his discussion on representation, Hall, (1997:15) suggests that “representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people”. This provides a basis upon which the study is to identify how representations of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* were subjected to certain grammatical conventions.

In providing an analysis on the role language plays in representation, Willems, (2004: 1769) notes that “the choice of vocabulary also constructs particular ideological representations of events.” Language also functions as an indicator to journalists’ opinions, beliefs and attitudes, as its strategic use have ideological implications, (Willems, 2004). It is against this backdrop that the research aims to provide an understanding of the impact of selection and salience in the language that characterised the representations to be studied. The study also seeks to identify how language was of relevance in the construction of political identities through the working of representation.

Representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes cannot be discussed outside the context of language. Language as described by Hall, (1997) is an important component of representation. Making this a point of reference the research seeks to interrogate and provide an understanding of how *The Herald* and *Daily News* deployed language strategically in their portrayal of Zanu-PF succession disputes. Apart from that the research again seeks to investigate and identify similarities and deviations in such representations as guided by language use.

To begin the discussion on language and how language is organised to provide a meaningful interpretation of events a definition of language is to be provided. Saussure, (1979: 16) defines “language as a system of signs that express ideas, and is therefore comparable to a system of writing...” Concurring with Saussure, (1979), Hall, (1997: 16) argues that things derive their meaning through language and it enables us to “make sense of the world of people, objects and

events...” Various scholars have described and discussed the centrality of language in representation and the construction of reality. The discussion explores more on how language was systematically organised to assist in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in the mentioned newspapers. It is also equally important at this point to refer to Foucault’s (1972) argument that “nothing has any meaning outside of discourse” Hall, (1997: 42) concurs with Foucault’s sentiments when he argues that “physical things and actions exist, but they only take on meaning and become objects of knowledge within discourse.”

In exploring language use in representation as an organised language system, the study seeks to highlight on linguistic, rhetorical and stylistic choices strategically employed in a way that seeks to advance a particular interpretation of events and meaning. Exploring language use in representation Silverblatt, (2009: 3) argues that “language precedes thought” and on word choice he clearly states that “words are not neutral” in their selection and deployment. In her discussion on the representation of land in the Zimbabwean press, Willems (2004: 1769) argues that “the choice of vocabulary also constructs partial or ideological representation of events words express views and attitudes.” Willems, (2004) went on to state that “participants can be grammatically constructed”.

In this case the study seeks to explore on the deployment of various linguistic elements in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes. Such an analysis will enable the research to reveal the institutional dynamics that shaped various discursive formations adapted by *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their representations of Zanu-PF disputes. Apart from that a study of language as an organised system will enable the study to establish how political identities were constructed in *The Herald* and *Daily News* through their representation of the disputes that characterised post 2013 elections Zanu-PF.

In his discussion on language Hall, (1997: 17) contends that language is employed in the “production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds.” Thinking along such lines, O’Sullivan, (1998) argues that ideas are reflected in language. In view of these sentiments the research seeks to explore on how language as a carrier of ideas or concepts in our minds was manipulated and deployed in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes. At this point the discussion borrows Mead’s, theory of symbolic interactionism, to explain how language through symbols seeks to negotiate meaning. In other words, the study poses the question, what meanings were

being conveyed by the ideas carried in the language of *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their representation? The discussion on ideas leads on to our next subject of enquiry which is ideology in relation to language and representation.

The concept of ideology being credited to the works of scholars such as Karl Marx and Althusser, has been incorporated in the studies of representation. Having attracted a lot of attention and becoming a major area of academic inquiry, ideology according to Strinati, (1995) as defined by Marx offers a deterministic and simplistic explanation in understanding relations of production and production of meaning. For Althusser, (1969:231) ideology is “a system of representation (images, myths, ideas or concepts) it is a practice through which men and women live their relations to the real condition of their existence.”

Developing the concept of ideology further as a set of “ideas which produce a partial and selective view of reality”, (O’Sullivan, 1994: 70), asks the question whose ideological perspective is being privileged and how? For Spivak, (1988: 68) ideology is “a theory which is necessary for an understanding of interests.” Organising language through headline selection, vocabulary and source selection, the media can be argued to be promoting a particular ideological presentation and interpretation of events and ideas. It is against this background that the research seeks to interrogate how ideological inclination were conveyed, evidenced and were promoted through various discourses appropriated by *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes.

Ideological standpoints as explained by De Fina, (2003: 352) can be revealed in the media as “by telling stories narrators are not only able to represent social worlds and to evaluate them but also establish themselves as members of particular group through interactional, linguistic, rhetorical and stylistic choices.” Thus an analysis of language within the dictates of ideology will enable the research to decipher meanings embedded in the nature of representation that is in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

Contrary to the notion of ideology, Foucault, (1972: 102) reflecting on ideology contends that, “I do not believe what has taken place can be said to be ideological. It is both much more and much less than ideology. It is the production of effective instruments for the formation and accumulation of knowledge.” What is apparent is Foucault’s rejection of ideology. Thus we can look at some of

the weakness surrounding the concept of ideology. Foucault's rejection of ideology has a bearing on the research, as it entails the research having to argue the framing of the disputes bearing in mind arguments from Foucault. To do justice to the, the research shall explore on the representations of the disputes in light of Foucault arguments which are to be explored latter in this discussion.

A discussion on ideology and its manifestation in representation leads us to Barthes, (1972) concept of myth. The research intends to interrogate how language as a signifier of myth was employed in *The Herald* and *Daily News* in the construction of political identities and mythical meanings. Explained by Barthes, (1972) myth implies the promotion of a particular through the use of language to attain the appearance of "being 'natural', inevitable and 'common sense' so that it is not questioned", (O'Sullivan, 1994:71). Unpacking language as an organised system in the working of representation to promote particular myth, entails gaining an understanding of how "news stories often present information from the point of view of reporters". This is evidenced in the manner in which reporters select what to include and what to exclude, (Silverblatt et al 2009).

Making a distinction between denotative and connotative levels of meaning and advancing Freud's concept of socialisation process, Barthes, (1973) suggests that "media communicators depend on connotative meaning to influence our thinking". Basing on this argument the research intends to investigate and explicate on myths advanced by *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes. Bearing in mind that connotative meanings are the major focus points relied upon by the media, the research seeks to establish how *The Herald* and *Daily News* manipulated connotative meanings that exist within the minds of the views so as to advance the production of meaning in particular ways they desired.

Interrogating the use of language as a signifier entails exploring the concept of difference. Differences in this case will enable the research to identify the meanings *The Herald* and *Daily News* promoted in their representation of Zanu-PF disputes. Gripsrud, (2010:291) describes language as a system of and how meaning is constituted by differences. O'Sullivan, et al (1994: 41) concurs with Gripsrud, (2010) when they argue that "texts are structured by a series of binary conflicts between two qualities or groups and that meaning is generated out their opposition to each other and the differences between them." Exploring differences in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* will enable the research to interrogate and

understand how framing of the disputes was done in order to construct political identities and production of meaning.

Differences will also be explored in the language used by *The Herald* and *Daily News* to ascertain their appropriation of certain discourse and framing in the promotion of particular ideological readings. Hall, (1997: 31) also contends that “the making of differences within language is fundamental to the production of meaning” Thus the study seeks to explore on what Gripsrud, (2010: 107) meant when he states that “different language imply significantly different perception of the world.” In another way the study seeks to understand how differences were emphasised in *The Herald* and *Daily News* to promote different readings and perception of the disputes within the Zanu-PF political party. Thus the research will also refer to the aspect of shared culture/values in the production of meanings. Exploring differences in the representation Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* will entail providing an understanding of the ideological standpoint and its implication on their news stories.

The topic on differences leads us to the aspect of representation of events, ideas and people through an organised language system as a violent practice. Meditating on violence Foucault, (1972) the manner in which “what was invisible is now offered to gaze”. For Frazer (2011: 3) violence exist in “language, reality, society and authority” at various levels. It is through violence that Foucault, (1972) argues that “categories of normal and deviant and classifications of forms of deviance go hand in hand with forms of treatment and control.” Thus language in its violent nature explains how certain types of discourse reach levels of attain truth status. Contrary to this Derrida, views language as a form of representation in its originary status is a violation of integrity. The act of identifying differences, classifying, naming and drawing distinctions according to Frazer, (2011) is violence in its originary state. It is against this backdrop that the research seeks to highlight and discuss violence in different discourses appropriated by *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their representation of Zanu-PF disputes. It is this difference that the research seeks to explore and reveal intend magnitude in terms of constructing political identities, given that the violent nature of language seeks to organise meaning and construct reality.

Exploring language as a communicating element Foucault, (1972) identifies language as discourse. In his analysis of discourse Foucault, (1972) defines discourse as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about a way of representing the knowledge about..... a

particular topic at a particular historical moment.” Thus in this case the research seeks to identify various discourses appropriated by *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes and their intended ideological meanings. In addition, discourse according to Foucault is about the production of knowledge through language. Faubion, (2000: 330) argues that closer attention has to be paid especially on the manner or “way in which knowledge circulates and function in relation to power”.

Exploring discourse leads us to another element that of the discursive practice and discursive formation. It is against the notions of discursive practices and formation that the research seeks to interrogate how language/discourse was employed and which discursive practices and formations were of importance in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. These elements are important as they will assist in providing a framework to be used in establishing the nature of representation in *The Herald* and *Daily News* as influenced by various institutional dynamics. Adding on to that Whisnant, (2012: 4) argues that discourse enables us to identify institutional ideologies the writers are standing for and promoting. It is also equally important to note that such an enquiry will lead the research to question the aspect of power being implicated with language.

Further enquiry on discourse as a language practice directs us to a discussion on context. In this case the study seeks to interrogate how discourse provides a context within which specific topics could be discussed, (Foucault, 1980). Hall, (1997: 46) contends that “Things meant something and were true only within a specific historical context.” In Foucault, (1980) terms knowledge meaningfully exists or is produced within specific historical and cultural specifics. For the mentioned newspapers to meaningfully produce a reality of the succession disputes within the Zanu-PF party, an interrogation of the context within which discourse of the disputes was produced is to be explored. Apart from that the research will also question and explore more on the context within which the disputes could be discussed as presented in the nature of portrayal of the disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

It is against this background that the research seeks to interrogate language use in the framing of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Of interest is the aspect of and ideological struggles which characterise the use of language in the representation of the disputes. Through dissecting language use, the research seeks to reflect on how reality is framed and political

identities attain a certain level of truth or myth. Understanding language use in the framing of the disputes is critical following the view by Entman, (1989: 349) that “public opinion grows out of an interaction between media messages and what the audiences make of them.” Thus interrogating how both papers framed the disputes in the context of language as their messages in a way contributes towards public opinion formation.

2.1.3 Stereotypes and othering: A basis upon which representation construct political identities

In discussing the representation of Zanu-PF disputes stereotypes and othering are concepts that will inform the study. In this case the study makes a reference to BorTel, (1996: 342) who describes stereotypes as part and parcel of representation as well as assisting in the production of meaning and construction of cultural identities. For Hall, (1997) stereotyping entails differences that lead to the construction of the other. Concurring with Hall, Hannerz, (1999: 87) describes stereotypes as, allowing “individuals to construct sameness and differences and to affirm their own identities.” The other becomes a crucial point of reference in the construction of meaning through representation, thus the study seeks to establish how stereotypes and othering are evidenced in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. In essence the study will provide an analysis on the contribution of stereotypes and othering in the construction of political identities through the working of representation, as stereotypes and othering are concepts which are also identified with ideological battles and tend to reveal the ideological standpoint of the media.

Through explaining stereotyping and othering the discussion seeks to highlight how stereotypes order things or categorises in the production of meaning or reality. In this case the research seeks to explore more on whether stereotypes are evidenced in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. In providing such an understanding the research intends to identify ideological and power games in the construction of stereotypes, definition and interests served by these stereotypes.

The discussion on stereotyping shall begin with a brief definition of stereotype as a signifying practice, so as to map a ground upon which the discussion is to build upon BarTel, (1996:342) defines a stereotype as “a set of beliefs, about the characteristics of a social category of a social

category of people.” O’Sullivan et al, (1994:78) defines a stereotype as a “label which involves a process of categorisation and evaluation”. For Bhabha, (1983: 18) a stereotype is a “form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always ‘in place’ already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated” Attributed to the works of Lippman, stereotypes have been argued to be both positive and negative implications. From these definitions one can argue that stereotypes in media representations are used to enhance realism, through ordering, essentialising and naturalisation. It has to be noted that the practice of stereotyping is not a neutral one but subjected to ideological and power dictates, (Hall, 1997; Dyer, 1977; Douglas, 1966; Perkins, 1979).

The term has also been subjected to issues of identity and representation. It is against this backdrop that the research intends to explore on stereotypes so as to reflect on the notion of political identities. In other words, the research seeks to interrogate the role played by stereotypes in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The discussion will centre on how stereotypes were constructed and power games involved in their construction and the magnitude attributed to them as a signifying practice in the production of meaning or construction of reality.

Exploring stereotypes as a signifying practice Hall, (1997) suggests that stereotyping offers a way in which we order and categorise information about various events, people and ideas. Thinking along such lines Halbrgus, (1997:257) suggests that “we understand the world by referring, individual objects, people or events in our heads to the general classificatory schemes into which according to our culture they fit”. In a way stereotyping inform the manner in which we decode codes and make sense of the world around us.

Arguing in line with Hall, (1997), Dyer, (1999: 4) also suggests that “stereotypes provide a framework which we use in ordering and categorising information we receive to make sense” of events, people and ideas that circulate in the media “through generalities, patternings and typification.” For the research stereotypes as a phenomenon which provide a framework for ordering and classification entails interrogating their use in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The study seeks to question and provide an understanding on how they were applied in the construction of political identities and explaining

events in the political realm. Similarities and differences in the application of stereotypes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* will be another focal point the research seeks to highlight on.

Stereotyping as part of modern representations can be discussed in the context of power and power relations. Power as explained by Foucault, (1972) is never static and circulates and is implicated in the production of knowledge/truth regimes. Discussing on the centrality of power Berger and Luckmann, (1967: 127) contend that “he who has the bigger stick has the better chance of imposing his definition of reality.” Ordering as an important aspect in representation “is implicated in the power relations in society” as argued by Dyer, (1999: 6). For Hall, (1997: 259) stereotyping “is what Foucault called a ‘power/knowledge’ sort of game”. Viewing and exploring stereotypes in relation to power and as embedded in the power matrix will enable the research to decipher the mode of power relations enmeshed in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes.

Apart from that this will also enable the research to determine whether representations of the disputes acted as a hegemonic game loaded with ideological battles in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The research can be viewed to be arguing in line with Dyer, (1999: 11) view that “stereotypes express particular development of reality which in turn relate to the disposition of power within society.”

Through interrogating the existence or non-existence of stereotypes as a naturalising force in representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes, the research seeks to establish interests served through their strategic inclusion or exclusion in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Stereotypes have been argued to be employed so as to naturalise phenomena, (Hall, 1997; Pickering, 2001; Hoijer, 2011; O’Sullivan, 1994; Silverblatt et al, 2009), which in turn lead representations to attain a mythical status. Characterising stereotypical naming as fraudulent and deceptive Hoijer, (2009: 8) notes that stereotypes provides attributes of the ‘other’ as “taken for granted.....as naturalised.” Pickering, (1979) provides a link between stereotyping and ideology as “reinforcing the naturalness” through intentional omission of any contradiction or inequalities in representation.

In Hall’s (1997: 258) terms “stereotypes reduces, essentialises, naturalises and fixes” identities and events. It is against this background that the research aims to explore and interrogate the level of naturalness the stereotypes in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* intended to achieve. In this case the research seeks to provide an understanding on the

relevance of stereotypes in the process of naturalising phenomena through representation. As ideological and power game stereotypes will provide a framework within which the research can conceptualise the differing and similarities in the representation Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Simply put stereotypes will provide an ideological guideline in dissecting the representation of Zanu-PF in the mentioned newspapers.

Further interrogation of stereotypes will reveal the role of differences in stereotypical representations. Exploring differences Hall, (1997: 234-236) argues that difference is “essential to meaning, without it, meaning could not exist difference signifies, it carries a message. Difference, binary opposition are crucial for all classification.” This implies that differences classify or difference allow for the establishment of positions leading to classification. For Dyer, (1979: 28) information we accumulate facilitates for the categorisation of events or people “within different order of typification.” Exploring differences has resulted in scholars such as Klapp, (1962) coming up with a distinction between stereotypes and social types. O’Sullivan et al (1994: 78) argues that in ideological “terms stereotyping is a means by which support is produced for one group’s differential treatment of another.” It is only through differences that meaning is produced and certain types of representations attain mythical status.

The centrality of differences is to be explored in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, so as to identify how differences are of importance in the production of meaning and in the construction of political identities and reality. In addition, questioning the aspect of differences in stereotypical representation will enable the research to provide an understanding of the process of categorisation and evaluation of events, people and ideas by the media.

A discussion on differences leads us to the aspect of boundaries as facilitated by stereotyping. Dyer, (1999: 17-18) argues that stereotypes “maintain sharp boundary definition map out the boundaries of acceptable and illegitimate behaviour.” Hall, (1997: 258) further argues that “stereotyping deploys a strategy of splitting; it divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable.” It is this aspect of boundary which enables us to make sense of the world. In this case the research seeks to interrogate the portrayal of Zanu-PF disputes within the lenses of differences so as to aid in the production of ideological meanings designed to shape audiences’ perception on Zanu-PF succession disputes. In Douglass terms “when things turn up in

the wrong category symbolic boundaries keep the categories pure, giving culture their unique meaning and identity”. Thus one can argue that boundaries as an element of stereotypes borrowing from Foucault analysis of power and discipline, facilitates the regulation of how a topic can be meaningfully discussed and how meaning are to be produced.

In light of this the research seeks to establish the role of boundaries that the media set and how they had the intended goal of regulating or providing a context within which Zanu-PF succession disputes can be discussed. In addition, the discussion on boundaries in a way provides an understanding on how the research is to explore on the ideological or imaginary boundaries adapted by *The Herald* and *Daily News* in their construction of political identities and framing of political events. In other words, the research questions the differences and similarities in the two newspapers appropriation of boundaries in framing political events and construction of political identities.

An understanding of boundaries develops the discussion on stereotypes as providing a basis upon which practices of inclusion and exclusion are rooted. As alluded to earlier in Hall’s, (1997: 258) sentiments stereotypes “develop a strategy of splitting” which “excludes or expels everything which does not fit, which is different.” In this case the research seeks to interrogate elements of inclusion and exclusion as a basis upon which meaning is constructed and political identities are constructed. Meditating on stereotypes Douglas, (1966) argues that “whatever is ‘out of place’ is considered as polluted, dangerous, taboo. Negative feelings cluster around it” and therefore it has to be symbolically excluded to restore the purity of the culture or the ‘self’, (Hall, 1997: 258).

Discussing on elements of inclusion and exclusion imply thinking along Weir, (2009: 536) view of how Foucault describes “the history of ideas as externally imposed normalising classification or social category.” Thus practices of inclusion and exclusion can be argued along Willems’, (2004: 18) sentiments that “newspapers reinforce stereotypes of the good and evil.... Portraying the agenda of certain stakeholders as credible and others illegitimate.” In this case the research explore more on how inclusion and exclusion seeks to promote and privilege ideological views of particular interests in their representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Apart from that exploring on inclusion and exclusion assists in providing an understanding of how *The Herald* and *Daily News* differed ideologically in their representation of the disputes.

It is in the context of inclusion and exclusion that one can highlight on the aspect of social types and stereotypes. For Klapp, (1962) social types are those who belong, that is those who can be included and stereotypes are those who do not belong, those who are outside that is those who can be excluded. For Dyer, (1977: 28) types are those who survive within the expected norms of society and those who the expected norms are designed to exclude are the stereotypes. Hall, (1997: 258) further suggest that

“stereotypes get hold of the few ‘simple, vivid, memorable’ easily grasped and widely recognised characteristics about a person, reduce everything about the person to these traits, exaggerate and simplify them and fix them without change or develop to eternity”, (Hall, 1997: 258)

This leads to Hall, (1997) to a conclusion which explains on the rigidity of stereotypes than social types. Such a discussion can lead us to Lippman’s discussion on ideological implication of stereotypes through questioning the author of the stereotype and the one who defines and controls the stereotype and the ideological interests the stereotype serves. It is under the context of social types and stereotypes that the research seeks to interrogate power games in the construction of social types and stereotypes and individual, events and ideas allocated such types. Given that stereotypes are rigid the research seeks to establish characters ascribed the status of stereotypes (that is the outcast, the excluded) and how they achieved that through the portrayal of Zanu-PF disputes in the media.

In addition, stereotypes can be viewed in light of the concept of ‘othering’. In this case the study poses the question “how othering is evidenced in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* and through which means ‘othering’ is attained in these newspapers? Othering can be argued to consist of “objectification of another person or group or creating the other which puts aside and ignores the complexity and subjectivity of the individual” (Abdallah-Preteiller, 2003). Exploring stereotypes Silverblatt et al, (2009: 191) contends that “an archetype corresponds to various sides of the self in human beings.” Through the lenses of these views one can argue that discussions on othering are centred on the concept of binary opposition and the construction of the self through imaginary differences which provide an imaginary boundary.

Borrowing the Lacanian concept of the mirror, Melsenhelder, (2003: 110) suggests that “the process of constructing the ‘other’ is part and parcel of the process of constructing the ‘self’.” According to Hall, (1997: 237) “the ‘other’ is fundamental to the constitution of the self, to us as subjects...” and to identities. Hall, (1997: 258) further went to argue that ‘other’ can be referred to as “the unacceptable, and what does not.” The concept of ‘othering’ can be understood as existing within the confines of differences and similarities. Bringing into play the notion of differences and similarities, one can argue that an analysis of the ‘other’ provides the parameters within which discussions on the ideological and symbolic power can be discussed as wielding power in the construction of reality.

In this case the research seeks to identify and establish how ‘othering’ as an ideological and symbolic practice is appropriated in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. It is also equally important to point out that through dissecting the concept of ‘othering’, an understanding of ambivalences and how the media can be involved in ideological battles is sought. A focus on *The Herald’s* portrayal of disputes within Zanu-PF gives the research enough ground upon which to understand the role of the media in ideological battles through their framing of reality. It is against the background of the record *The Herald* has set as a paper that supports the ruling party, Zanu-PF and its proven record of refuting succession disputes within the Zanu-PF political party.

On the other hand, the research also seeks to establish changes in the nature of portrayal of the disputes in the *Daily News* given that a new dimension has emerged to challenge its representation of Zanu-PF disputes in the form of *The Herald*. Concurring with Gilman, (1985: 12) view that “stereotypical conceptions of the ‘other’ are expressions of anxiety over the inability to control the world”, the research seeks to provide an analysis of how the two newspapers had to employ stereotypes in order to win the ideological battle in the construction of reality. In this case the study seeks to establish whether the stereotypical ‘other’ in *The Herald* and *Daily News* reveal failures by both papers to fully comprehend and provide an accurate representation of the disputes within the Zanu-PF party in the post 2013 presidential elections which it won.

Through exploring more on stereotyping and othering the research, intends to reflect on the ideological and power games that characterised the representation of the succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Such an analysis will also provide an understanding on how political

identities and reality is meaningfully constructed through the working of discourse in the mentioned newspapers.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The research problem advanced in the study is that representations through selection and salience can be evidenced in the construction of reality and political identities. Focusing on *The Herald* and *Daily News* the study will make use of Discourse, Power and Framing, Patriotic and Hate journalism and Political Economy theories. Corbin, and Strauss, (2008:39) suggest that theoretical framework “provide a conceptual guide for choosing the concepts to be investigated, for suggesting research questions, and for framing the research findings.” For Kellner, (1995: 24) posits that “Theories illuminate social realities and help individuals to make sense of their world.” These theories will provide an understanding of the nature of representation that characterised *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

2.2.1 Discourse, Power and Framing

Discourse, power and framing are concepts which are interlinked and mutually feed into each other. These concepts in essence reinforce each other in the social practise of representation. The application of these concepts in representation justifies the assertion by Hall, (1997:4) that media representations are “constructed within not outside discourse”. The link between these concepts can be argued to be as a result of discourse having the power and ability to generate knowledge, truth and power. These concepts however, have to be look at separately in the research so as to highlight the relationship that exists and how they all can be employed in the production of representative artefacts by the media. It is from these concepts that the research aims to identify how the media were instrumental in the production and stratification of information through representation. More emphasis will be placed on how these concepts were employed and are evidenced in the kinds of representations that pervade the mentioned newspapers when they were reporting on the ZANU-PF political disputes from May 2014 to December 2014. Such a discussion will also provide an understanding of how discourse, power and framing can be employed in the production of representative artefacts in the media.

Discourse as a social practise can be argued to be a social construct, (Pedersen, 2009) the concept of discourse is credited to the works of the French scholar Michael Foucault, who sought to provide a broad understanding of relations within society and social processes. The term has been identified by Hall, (1997:37) as a “system of representation” that has the ultimate goal of producing knowledge and structure the process of meaning production. Basing on Pedersen, (2009) sentiments that discourse is a social construct, [the research seeks to interrogate how discourse has been employed in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

Discourse is defined by Hall, (1997: 44) as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about.....a way of representing knowledge the knowledge about a particular topic at a particular historical moment.” Foucault, (1980: 49) argues that discourses are “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak”. In this case the researcher advances the argument that discourse is about the construction of political identities and shape reality through the generation and circulation of knowledge and truth. An understanding of discourse and its practices implies questioning the modalities within which interpretation, meaning, identities and reality are constructed. In this case the research seeks to interrogate how discourse as a –regulatory practice contributed to the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

Such a task requires the research to explore more on the concept of discourse and reach a conclusion on how its application can be a subject of analysis, which provide an understanding on the framework through which we can understand the portrayal of Zanu-PF disputes. Apart from that an analysis of discourse as a social practice or social construct seeks to provide an understanding of the framework within which the topic on Zanu-PF succession squabbles can be discussed. An understanding of such contestations is necessary, given that the newspapers are coming from two distinct ideological backgrounds.

As a social signifying construct, discourse has been argued to be actively involved in the construction of topics. With the construction of topics, comes the aspect of regulation as to how such topics can be meaningfully discussed, (Foucault, 1977; Hall, 1997; Tryson, 1999; Faubian, 2000; Whisnant, 2012). Hall, (1997: 44) argues that discourse “governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about”. The regulatory power of discourse can be said to offer a platform though which the act of enabling and constructing come into play. Storey, (2012:

128) argues that “language, for example is a discourse, it enables me to speak, and it constrains what I say.....” This suggests that representation of reality, construction of meaning and identities, which in general we can refer to as our understanding of the symbolic world, are constructed within the modalities of discourse.

In exploring more on discourse the research seeks establish how the regulatory nature of discourse is revealed and reflected in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, in their portrayal of Zanu-PF succession disputes. Rather the research interrogates the regulatory frameworks which the media employs in their construction of reality and the topic on the succession disputes. In Whisnant, 2012: 5) terms, the study seeks to reveal how discourse as a “set of rules that governs a specific style of language” shapes the construction of reality and the social processes within the political field.

The production of meaning and construction of reality through discourse cannot be discoursed outside the confines of specific historical context. Hall, (1997: 46) states that “things meant something and were true, ... only within a specific historical context.” Carter, (2013: 2) also concurs with Hall, (1997) when he argues that “time and immediacy affect the construction of news” and “how stories are (or are not) placed within a historical context.” What is apparent here is the idea that discourse achieves intend goal within specific historical context. The research seeks to explore on how *The Herald* and *Daily News* made use of this aspect in their production of cultural artefacts that reflected on the disputes within the Zanu-PF party. It is through exploring more on the specific historical context that the research seeks to gain an understanding into the differing and similarities in the portrayal of Zanu-PF internal disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Apart from that an interrogation of historical context will offer an understanding on their ideological implications in the construction and representation of the disputes.

The discussion on Zanu-PF representation in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, as a social practice, requires the research to incorporate the aspect of how discourse construct subjects. In this case we can talk of individuals in these representations as constitutional subjects, (Storey, 2012). Hall, (1997:80) argues that “discourse itself produces ‘subjects’ – figures who personify the particular forms of knowledge which the discourse produces.” The intention of the research is to map how discourse as a language system and a social construct constitutes subjects through its operations. Simply put the research seeks to explore on how individuals were constructed as subjects of particular discursive practices. Apart from that the research being informed by Hall, (1997)

conception of identity which he views as fluid and never static, the research seeks to reveal how discourse facilitates the fluidity and transformation of identities. This fluidity has to be viewed in light of the representations in the media which shape and transform reality according to certain precepts.

As a social practice discourse has also been argued to lead to the construction of knowledge that will go on to attain truth status, through what Foucault terms the discursive formation. The discursive formation is when cultural artefacts “appear across a range of texts, and as forms of conduct, at a number of different institutional sites within society, share the same style and support a strategy....” (Cousin and Hussain, 1984: 84-85). It can be argued that this facilitates for the generation of knowledge and truth. The purpose of the research is to question and explore how *The Herald* and *Daily News*, facilitates the appearance and discussion of Zanu-PF internal struggle, in a manner that resemble the discursive formation.

Discourse as a social practice that produces knowledge has also been discussed in relation to regimes of truth. Hall, (1997: 49) argues that the “discursive formation sustain a regime of truth”. Foucault, (1980: 131) clearly outlines how the discursive formation results in particular discourses appear to or attain a truth status. Foucault, (1980: 131) argues that “the types of discourse which, it accepts....” function to attain a truth status in society. In another way Whisnant, (2012: 6) suggests that “... all knowledge is organised through the structures, interconnections, and associations that built into language.” He goes on argue that “certain discourses in certain contexts have the power to convince people to accept statements as true.” In fact, it is the discursive support that generates knowledge and truth.

Based on these outlines, the research argues that the generation of knowledge and truth is subjected to ideological struggles. This is premised on the notion that discourse is a social construct that circulates in order to achieve certain desired goals. The research in another way seeks to generate an understanding of knowledge and truth generation as resulting in processes of political change and political identity formation. Apparently the research seeks to interrogate how *The Herald* and *Daily News* relate to the aspects discussed above and their contribution to developmental processes in the society.

Transformation of discourse is also another aspect the research seeks to interrogate. By transformation of discourse, Whisnant, (2012: 8) outlined how according to Foucault discourse is never static but is always in a transformative mode, assuming different forms at different times. In this case the research seeks to question transformation of discourse in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in the mentioned newspapers, and its importance in the construction of reality. Following Whisnant, (2012: 8) assumption that “once transformation in a given discourse happen, the new rules can spread, infiltrate their way into new areas of life and even transform older discourses or forcing them out of practice”, the research intends to reflect on how the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* transformed already existing discourses in a bid to generate new forms of knowledge and truth.

Power has been incorporated in the study of discourse. Questions of power have been raised and it has been explained as “implicated in the questions of whether and in what circumstances knowledge is to be applied or not.” (Hall, 1997: 48) According to Whisnant, (2012: 7) “discourse is intimately involved with social networks of power...” which leads to “certain types of discourse enabling specific types of individuals to speak the truth which individuals’ degrees of social, cultural and possibly political power.” Such a scenario calls for the research to interrogate how power can be evidenced and whether it can be witnessed in representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. In this case the research again aims to provide an understanding of how power shapes or reinforce language use in the representation of the succession disputes.

Power has been linked to discussions on knowledge and has been understood as assuming “the authority of the truth” and as having the capacity to make itself true”, (Hall, 1997: 49). It is this power linked with knowledge that organises and Foucault, (1980) defines power as politics. For the research this implies exploring on how power is implicated in the use of language to generate knowledge through their portrayal of the succession disputes within the Zanu-PF party. In explaining power Foucault, (1976: 88) posits that “we are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth”. Not only will the research interrogate the “effects of truth that this power produces and transmits”. In this case the research aim is to reflect on how this truth is constructed through the workings of power. Power is also understood as “politics acting on power” by Sluga, (2011: 72). Bringing into the

discussion, the centrality of power in understanding politics. The centrality of power in representation leads the research to a discussion on relations of power which is to be our next subject of discussion.

Relations of power as outlined by Faubion, (2009: 332) entails power “bringing into play relations between individuals”. It is also equally important to point out that relations of power are a social construct, which come into existence as a result of the workings of discourse. The intended effects of these power relations can be argued to be the production of meaning through the production and exchange of signs. In essence power relations produce power structures which subject individuals to its own demands, and politics is understood as “the array of strategic relations”, (Sluga, 2011: 78). Sluga, (2011: 74) in describing the interlink between politics and power relations suggests that “politics has to be understood, in other words as a system of nested strategic relationships”, (Sluga, 2011: 74). Through an analysis of the subjects we can reflect on how knowledge circulates in society and functions and its relations to power. (Faubion, 2000). The link between knowledge and power has in most cases resulted in the shaping of modern identities, as argued by Weir, (2009).

It is through power relations that we say identities are the effects of a deepening and strengthening of domination. In this case the study seeks to reflect on how relations of power can be reflected in *The Herald* and *Daily News* representation of succession disputes. It is also through such an understanding that the research intends to establish how political identities characterising the disputes within Zanu-PF were constructed within relations of power in the mentioned newspapers. Another important aspect that has to be considered in the discussion of power and power relations is the regulatory nature of power and power relations. In this case the research seeks to explore on how Zanu-PF disputes can be understood within the boundaries of the regulatory nature of power and power relations.

Framing as a theoretical base will offer a grounded understanding in how we are to reflect on the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Selection and salience being the major components of framing (Entman, 1992), the research seeks to provide a framework in which we understand how information was ordered in attaining relevance and importance. This is to be achieved through exploring how discourse is manipulated in the portrayal of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* to generate knowledge and truth.

According to Entman, (1993: 52) “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” In other word framing serves four main purposes. These include problem identification, diagnose of cause, a judgement based on moral grounds and possible/alternative solutions. For the research this implies exploring on how representations of the Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* were constructed within the context of the four framing purposes identified above. Simply put the four mentioned aspects can be argued to be offering a regulatory framework within which the succession disputes were to be portrayed and later on discussed. Such a scenario requires the research to interrogate how power relations can be evidenced in the framing of Zanu-PF squabbles in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

In his analysis on framing, Reese, (2001:11) suggests that “frames are organising principles that symbolically work to structure the social world”. For Carter, (2013: 4) this implies that frames “add up to something bigger than an individual story, because previous reports of events are usually in reference to previous or similar episodes”. As representations of social events are done within certain historical contexts, one can link this to Foucault’s concept of discourse producing regimes of truth within specific historical contexts and being subjected to transformation. The centrality of the above issue, can be reflected through highlighting how representation of the disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* within specific discursive practices. In addition to that the framing as an important aspect in news stories production, the research also seeks to highlight how the adaption of particular frames can be understood within the context of them offering a regulatory framework to construct reality. Again the aspect of specific historical context provides an understanding on how particular frames transformed discourse in the representation of the disputes.

It is against this background that the research seeks to reflect on how discourse, power and framing interlink and interlock to reinforce each other in their operations in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The notion that they are socially constructed implies that they play a crucial role in as social practices in the production of meaning. Thus the research will interrogate how discourse, power and framing as social practices provided a context within which the language on the disputes in the Zanu-PF party was to be used.

2.2.2 Patriotic versus Oppositional Journalism

Patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism can be argued to have become constitutive of representation in Zimbabwe's media with specific reference to the Zanu-PF disputes. The discussion is to focus on the centrality of patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism from Ranger's (2005) point of view. Crediting the work of Patriotic journalism to the works of Ranger, (2005), the research seeks to interrogate how patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism have in their ideological construction have resulted in the formation of political identities and construction of some version of truth through appropriation of certain discourses. Focus will be on how such types of journalism strategically employed language in their representation of Zanu-PF internal squabbles.

In his discussion on patriotic journalism in Zimbabwe, Ranger, (2005) argues that patriotic journalism is a "narrowly defined and destructive" form of journalism, which stand in opposite of "better and responsible journalism". Rather Ranger, (2005) identified patriotic journalism as a substitute of ideology. It is against this backdrop that the research seeks to explore more on the nature of representation that characterised *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Apart from the research also seek to establish in what sense one can categorise it as responsible, patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism. In providing such an understanding the research will refer to Foucault's (1980) view that discourse through the working power implicated with knowledge regulates our understanding of social event, political identities and how we relate to each other.

Developing the concept of patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism, the discussion will offer an analysis on how *The Herald* and *Daily News* institutional set up had an influence in their coverage of the disputes. Given the notion that the two newspapers are from different ideological standpoints, with "*The Herald* declaring its full support to the Zanu-PF party", and the *Daily News* standing in for the MDC (Willems, 2004; Chuma, 2008; Wandahl, 2005), an analysis of these institutional set up is of importance. Again an analysis of such settings aims to provide an understanding of how the media engaged patriotic, hate and positional journalism in their representation of the succession disputes.

Another aspect that characterise patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism is the aspect of identity construction. Through its narrowness and destructiveness as alluded to by Ranger, (2005), patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism can be viewed in light of Tendi, (2008: 380) that

patriotic history, “divide Zimbabweans into ‘patriots’ and ‘sell outs’.” With such a reference to identities from a binary logical perspective, one can refer to exclusion, differences and the regulatory nature of patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism. Alluding to the notion of identities, Chiumbu, (2004), highlight how post 2000 Zimbabwe was characterised by collective identities that are based on exclusion rather than inclusion. For Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2009) concurs with Chiumbu, (2004) when he points out that identities were a social construct based on ideological linings with the media especially state media being a conduit through which these identities were ascribed. This provokes the research to interrogate the extent to which patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism excludes, regulates and ascribes political identities with specific reference to Zanu-PF disputes.

In his discussion on ‘hate’ journalism, Ranger, (2005: 13) argues that “hate journalism has flourished” and with negative end results. The flourishing of hate journalism can be summed up in works of scholars such as Willems, (2004); Wandahl, (2005); Bratton et al, (2005) Tendi, (2008); Chuma, (2008) and Chari, (2010), who argued that hate journalism premised on regulated discourse resulted in the division of the media into two warring parties. This division which was between state run media and privately run media was along competing ideological forces between Zanu-PF and MDC. This saw the state run media pitting Zanu-PF, while the privately owned media pit the MDC. This argument has a bearing on the research, as the researcher has to situate the research in the context of hate journalism so as to reveal whether it had any influence in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in the mentioned newspapers.

Patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism can be reflected in the selection of sources and official sources used. Tendi, (2008: 392) asserts that “each newspaper had chosen public intellectuals to reinforce its news stories with ‘expert knowledge’”. Use of public intellectuals in political mind games has also been chronicled by Raftopoulos, (2007) who also reflects on how aligned and critical public intellectuals waged a war against each other that they could not engage constructively in national issues, (Tendi, 2008). The use of intellectuals in ideological battles has also been discussed and reflected upon by Althusser, (1969) when he categorised intellectuals as organic and traditional intellectual. Each group of scholars according to Althusser, (1969) wages a war either for the state or against the state. Thinking along these same lines the research seeks to

interrogate the input of intellectuals and intended objectives as presented in the portrayal of Zanu-PF succession disputes in media.

Patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism as a social construct can be discussed in light of patriotic history. For Tendi, (2008: 380) ‘patriotic history divides Zimbabwean into ‘patriots’ and sell outs’ such that a direct opponent to the ruling Zanu-PF and Robert Mugabe are automatically type cast as ‘sell outs’, puppets, un-African, ‘pro-colonial’ and stooges, (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2009); Chiumbu, (2004); Ranger, 2005). According to Chuma, (2008: 27) patriotic history resulted in the emergence of patriotic journalism, which was in defence of the state during the 2000 elections. Chuma, (2008: 27) went to point out that “oppositional journalism sought to delegitimize Zanu-PF and the state.” viewing the research in the lenses of patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism perspective will enable the research to highlight on how representation of the disputes can be narrated within the historical processes and developments in the political sphere.

According to Chuma, (2008) oppositional journalism is argued to have become stronger in the late 1990’s and early 2000’s as a response to shrinking democratic spaces, (Chuma, 2008: 27). In his concluding remarks Chuma, (2008) highlights on how both *The Herald* and *Daily News*, framed the 2000 elections in binary terms, and how they sought to advance and promote their own particular definitions of the elections in patriotic and oppositional terms respectively. It is against this background that the research seeks to establish how the mentioned newspapers framed Zanu-PF disputes in an objective and fair manner given their track record of protecting the state and opposition to the Zanu-PF led government.

The study will be informed by the theory of Patriotic, Hate and Oppositional journalism. These theories can be traced to the works of Ranger, (2004), Ranger, (2005), Tendi, (2008) and Chuma, (2008). The study seeks to establish how we can identify and describe the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in the context of patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism. In other words, the theories will offer an understanding as to how the mentioned newspapers framed Zanu-PF disputes. In analysing the research problem, patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism is to offer an understanding on the workings of ideological frameworks that informed and generated knowledge and truth on the disputes within the Zanu-PF party in the mentioned newspapers.

2.2.3 Pragmatism of the Political Economy Approach

The research will make use of the critical political economy approach theory, in providing an understanding on the institutional dynamics that characterise *The Herald* and *Daily News* and its implication on the symbolic environment. An adaption of the critical political economy theory by the research is to “analyse how texts are produced within the context of political economy ... and systems of production of culture”, (Kellner, 1995: 37). In this case as the research analyses production of texts by the two mentioned institutions a critical political economy approach will enable the research to highlight on social relations and institutional dynamics that shaped the framing of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The research also takes cognisance of the importance of the cultural studies approach, which focuses on the text, but in order to provide an understanding on the “question of action and structure, in an attempt to discern the real constraints that shape the lives and opportunities of real actors in the real world” (Golding and Murdock, 2000: 72) the critical political economy offers such an opportunity. In this case the research seeks to analyse the implications of institutional dynamics and power games on the nature of the symbolic environment.

Reflecting on the political economy of the media, the research seeks to interrogate how power organises social relations, (Mosco, 2009: 24). As alluded to earlier power is central in knowledge production and circulation and construction of reality. In this case the research seeks to interrogate power as an organising agent and how it is reflected in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes. Interrogating power will enable the research to highlight on how language/discourse as a social product is subjected to power matrix during production and distribution of news stories that dealt with the disputes within the Zanu-PF party.

An important aspect of interest in the study of political economy is the study of constraints. As Golding and Murdock, (2000:72) point out that “critical analysis is centrally concerned with questions of action and structure, in an attempt to discern the real constraints that shape the lives and opportunities of real actors in the real world.” For the study this implies relating this aspect to the analysis of how media in Zimbabwe with particular reference to *The Herald* and *Daily News*, were subjected to the matrix of constraints. Borrowing Foucault’s, concept of discourse as being a constraining force and Saussure and Culler, (1976) concept of langue and parole, the research

seeks to explore more on the role of both political and economic constraints in the portrayal of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

An investigation into the political economy theory offers another dimension in explaining the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. In their analysis on political economy Golding and Murdock, (2000: 78) argue that “political economy seeks to investigate how changes in the array of forces that exercise control over cultural production and distribution limit or liberate the public sphere.” It is against these sentiments that the research borrows from Whisnant, (2012) when he highlights on how discourse transform and Foucault reveals on how power circulates in society. In this case the study seeks to reveal how processes and changes in the Zanu-PF with regards to power were reflected in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Thus the research seeks to highlight on how power and discourse transformation in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, was a reflection on ideological and power shifts within the Zanu-PF party.

In order to construct reality that conforms to desired ideological interpretations, political economy offers an explanation on how “contending discourses, offering different ways of looking and speaking struggle for visibility and legitimacy.” (Golding and Murdock, 2000: 84). This implies on how various discourses struggle to provide a problem definition, cause of problem and treatment proposal. Again this demonstrates the aspect of how ideology as a social construct in Habermas terms of hegemony aims to take control of definition of meanings in society. A look at and relating the research to the hegemony as facilitated by contending discourses entails the research detailing whether representations of Zanu-PF succession disputes reveal the struggle for hegemonic interpretation of the disputes and in which framework was this done.

Additionally, studies of political economy have hinted on the element of different “range of discourses particular forms allow into play,” (Golding and Murdock, 2000: 85). Through a thorough discussion of institutional dynamics, an understanding on whether they have a bearing on the “range of discourses and representations in the public domain and for audience consumption” (Golding and Murdock, 200: 84) is sought. Golding and Murdock, (2000: 84) went on to argue that “discourses are seldom available for public consumption in their raw state. They are reorganised and recontextualised to fit the particular expressive form being used.” This lead the study to explore more on how this reorganisation and recontextualisation can be evidenced in the range of discourse available in the public domain through exploring similarities and differences in the

nature of portrayal of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Additionally, the research aims to locate the ideological perspectives of these reorganisation and recontextualisation.

The political economy theory is to guide the study and provide an understanding in the institutional operations of *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Explained by Golding and Murdock, (2000: 70) critical political economy “shows how different ways of financing and organising cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of discourse and representation in the public domain and for audiences’ access to them.” Political economy thus offers a basis upon which one can understand institutional dynamics that manifest themselves in the nature of representation that characterises *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

2.4 Conclusion

This section has highlighted and reviewed literature that is relevant in providing a critical appraisal of the framing of the Zanu-PF disputes to succeed president Mugabe in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Major theories that inform the research were also discussed vis-à-vis the framing of Zanu-PF succession disputes in both newspapers. The following chapter will successively highlight on the research methods and methodologies.

CHAPTER 3: Research Methods and Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the methods and methodology used in the research. The chapter is going to explain on methods of data gathering, analysis and presentation.

3.1 Research Methodology

This chapter explains on the methods and methodology used to interrogate the representation of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. According to Hammersley, (2011: 32) methodology is “concerned with studying the methods employed in carrying out some of form of enquiry”. Research methodology can be argued to be assisting in reflecting how the research seeks to address research questions raised in the study. As the research interrogates the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, data required to provide such an analysis prescribes the qualitative approach. Thus the research is going to be qualitative in nature. Methods to be used will allow for a more refined understanding of the topic understudy. Headlines, choice of vocabulary, frames adopted, article pagination, sources used, article length and editorial comments are some of the elements the study will make reference to. Methodology is understood by Krauss, (2005: 758) as involving the “particular practices used in attaining knowledge.”, it is also relevant to point out that selection of news articles was based on accessibility and their potential to offer a broader understanding of how *The Herald* and *Daily News* framed the squabbles within the Zanu-PF party. As the research focuses on the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, methods of sampling to be used require the research to select texts closely related to the research.

3.2 Research Paradigm

The research falls under the qualitative paradigm and assumes a qualitative approach in gathering, analysing and presentation of data. As the research interrogates the framing of Zanu-PF succession disputes in the media, a qualitative approach is more relevant as it “is concerned with meaning and interpretation”, (Stokes, 2003: 3). Even though the labels qualitative and quantitative paradigm have been argued to be unnecessary distinctions in research and stereotypical, (Stokes, 2003; Krauss, 2005; Bryman, 2005; Blanche, 2006), the research is more interested in explaining and describing experiences in human terms rather than quantification. Under the qualitative research paradigm, the research assumes a constructionist ontological approach which Blanche, (2006:

278) describes as an approach that “seeks to analyse how signs and images have power to create particular representations of people and objects...” Embedded in the constructionist approach is a concern over meaning and to “show how understandings and experiences are derived from larger discourses”, (Blanche, 2006: 278).

For the research a constructionist approach is relevant and useful as it will allow the research to explore more on language use as not neutral and transparent. The approach is described by Blanche, (2006: 278) as concerned with how “human life world is fundamentally constituted in language and that language itself should be therefore be the object of study.” A constructionist ontological view will enable the research to provide a broader understanding of how the media appropriate certain discourses in their framing of reality. The qualitative paradigm offers the research an opportunity to examine the ideological underpinnings that characterise framing of the disputes within the Zanu-PF political party in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Apart from that the qualitative approach offers a more grounded base upon which the research is to understand the various perspectives, opinions and interpretations of the disputes within the context of *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

The research also takes into consideration criticism of employing qualitative methods in research. Some of these criticisms include the notion that results from qualitative research methods can be subjected to the influence of the researcher’s personal bias and idiosyncrasies. In addition, qualitative methods have been noted to be time consuming. To combat these weaknesses, the research shall do its utmost best to provide credible findings based on neutral analysis and evaluations on the manner in which the identified newspapers framed the disputes within the Zanu-PF party.

The qualitative approach is an approach that will enable the research to discuss on how the media are a conduit through which reality is constructed and they are an active participant in the identity politics (political identities) as argued by Seleti, (1997). In addition, a qualitative paradigm will allow the research to discuss and provide an understanding of how the media frame and construct reality.

3.3 Unit of Analysis

The research unit of analysis is the “most basic element of a research”, (Long, 2004). The research population comprises of all political articles that appeared in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, between

May 2014 and December 2014, which dealt with disputes within the Zanu-PF party. Such an approach can be credited to the Punch's (2011:293) that the research population "is the target group, usually large, which the research would want to develop knowledge." According to Bryman, (2004: 87) research population is "the universe of units from which the sample is to be selected." It is from this population that the research derives its sample articles. In addition to that political editors from *The Herald* and *Daily News* are also going to be part of the research population. This is so because they will illuminate more on how they framed the disputes enhance the understanding to be provided by the research through their perspectives and articulation of the disputes. Having the entire political articles will enable the research to select its ample size from a large pool articles. This will ensure that focus is to be directed on articles that offer relevant information. Such articles are crucial for the research as they will also enable the research to gain a broader understanding of the nature of framing that characterised *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

3.4 Sample Size

The study made use of 60 articles that represented political disputes within the Zanu –PF party. These articles will be drawn from *The Herald* and *Daily News*. What is to be taken into consideration is that *The Herald* and *Daily News* are two dailies and as such not all the articles were about the political disputes within the Zanu-PF political party. The mentioned 60 articles then become my sample size. Dominick and Wimmer, (1994) define sample size as the number of elements found in a sample (provided everything is equal) the more comfortable one is with the idea that it represents the whole population. In order to limit generalisation of finds the sample size of the articles has to be large so as to obtain results that are consistent with what is found in the articles. Such a large sample size will enable the research to identify consistence in frames adopted by *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

Large samples will allow the research to avoid errors in establishing characteristics of the population, (O'Leary, 2010). In addition, the sample size is to be 30 articles for each newspaper so as to have a clearly representative of the nature of portrayal of the disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The desired sample size will also assist in establishing credibility for the study, basing on a wide range of articles from which findings are to be derived. For the research to offer a broader understanding on the framing of Zanu-PF succession disputes, the research also had to make use of larger sample size so as to reflect on the embedded ideological and power games that characterised the representation of the disputes. Apart from that the large sample size will assist the research in

reaching saturation levels which are necessary in any research so as to produce credible results based on an in-depth analysis, (Morse, 2000)

3.5 Sampling Methods

Sampling techniques to be utilised by study are going to fall under the category of non-probability. This has been necessitated by the idea that the research falls under the qualitative paradigm. A definition of sampling is provided by Krippendorf, (2004) who views it as the selection of a portion to directly study in a research. O’Leary, (2010; 162) defines sampling as the “process of selecting elements of a population for inclusion in a research study.” Sampling techniques to be used in the study will be discussed below and a justification of the inclusion in the study will be given. The use of non-probability sampling entails the research avoiding errors of generalising findings, (Warren, 2011) on how the media framed Zanu-PF succession disputes. Cochran, (1953: 5) also suggests that non-probability sampling provide greater accuracy in research.

The research also took into consideration disadvantages of non-probability sampling, which includes its inability to provide a representative sample. Another weakness identified by Henry, (1990: 7) is that “probability samples can be rigorously analysed to determine possible bias and likely error.” To manoeuvre its way through this weakness the research had to make use of a large sample size which to a certain extent act as a representative of the views, opinions, ideological and power games that shaped the framing of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Described below are the techniques which the study employed and justification of their inclusion in the research.

3.5.1 Politically Important Cases

This technique also falls under the qualitative research paradigm. Politically important cases sampling entails the selection of politically sensitive unit of analysis. Nastosi, (nd: 3) suggests that politically important cases sampling seeks to include “cases that will increase the usefulness and relevance of information gained based on the politics of the moment.” The advantage that the technique offers is that it provides the ability to attract attention for the study or avoids attracting undesired attention by purposefully eliminating some units of analysis. In this case politically important cases are being employed so as to allow the study to work with articles in *The Herald* and *Daily News* that will generate more information about the nature of representation of Zanu-PF disputes. The research made use of 60 articles from both newspapers. The number was arrived at

after considering the period under study and to gain a broader understanding of the nature of framing that can be evidenced in the mentioned newspapers through identifying consistence in reportage. Such an analysis will give rise to the idea that the 60 articles will provide a basis upon which the research can safely conclude on its findings. Apart from that the research also had to specifically use politically important cases sampling method to enhance reliability and validity of the research

3.6 Methods of Data Gathering/Collection

3.6.1 Archival research

Archival research involves the selection and use of original texts from sources and making them the subject of a study. Stokes, (2003: 109) suggests that “archival research involves accessing original documents and using these as the basis” for research. In another definition Stokes, (2014: 84) suggests that archival research, “refers to any project in which the contents of an archive constitute your primary source or your object of analysis.” This technique will be employed so as to identify articles that specifically deal with Zanu-PF political disputes so as to come up with concrete findings and avoid generalisation. Archival research will provide a basis upon which the research can gather relevant information on the framing of the Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

In mapping up, how the framing of the disputes can be linked to their historical context, archival research provides that opportunity. This is to be achieved through getting a glimpse of early representation of the disputes in the party in the mentioned newspapers and identify whether there are any notable changes in the manner in which the newspapers framed the political disputes. In essence archival research offers the research an opportunity for the research to compare and contrast, trace and provide a link on how the succession disputes were earlier framed in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Archival research as argued by Lentz, (2012) offers a broader view of trends, thus allowing the research to interrogate and analyse the developments in the framing of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* from May 2014 to December 2014. This can be identified as one example that characterise archival research as a qualitative method of gathering data. Challenges have also been noted in the application of archival research in conducting research. Some of these weaknesses include the aspect of its failure to indicate on causality, (Kothari, 2001; Hageman, 2015). To overcome this weakness, the research is to engage interviews as another form of data gathering.

3.6.2 Interviews

Interviews as a method of gathering data will be used in conducting the research. An interview can best be defined as a question and answer session, which seeks to provide answers to support the arguments of the research. Interviews are to be conducted with political editors of *The Herald* and *Daily News*, as they are the ones responsible for editing and regulating the nature of content to be published. Journalists are also to be interviewed so as to establish various forces that guided them in their reportage. In this case reference to the sociology of news production will be made where possible. Stokes, (2014: 92) posit that “The interview as a method in media and cultural research enables us to find out about people’s ideas, opinions and attitudes.” Such an observation by Stokes, (2014) is important as it will enable the research to interrogate the various ideological opinions held by the editors from *The Herald* and *Daily News* and how these perceptions went on to shape the manner in which they were to frame the succession disputes within Zanu-PF.

The study will also interview characters represented in the mentioned newspapers. These characters will include victims and sources as well, so as to generate more information on how articles were structured. It also has to be noted that the research will make use of unstructured interviews as they are a good method to acquire respondents, “perception, meanings and definitions of situations and construction of reality” as noted by Punch, (2011: 168). The importance of interviews is documented by Stokes, (2003: 114) who argues that interviews are “primary means by which we use people as sources of evidence in our research.” In addition to that interviews are also a form of primary data gathering which will provide validity of opinions to be generated through such a method. Before conducting the interviews, the researcher will ensure that enough research on the interviewees is done. Apart from that the researcher will make it a point that reflections on the interview session is done so as to ensure that the interviews produce fruitful information on how the political editors adopted particular frames in the representation of Zanu-PF disputes. This follows Stokes, (2014) assertion that interviews elicit rich and complex information which can enrich one’s research.

3.7 Methods of Data Analysis

This section explains on the methods to be used in analysing data. In essence the discussion is to focus on methods to be used in explaining, understanding and interpreting data that was gathered. According to Babbie, (2004: 284) “data analysis involves discovering patterns among collected data, so as to identify trends that point to theoretical understanding”. Interviews were conducted,

and during these interviews the researcher had to take down notes. In conducting archival research of political articles that framed the disputes within Zanu-PF, the researcher had to cite relevant points for the research. All this had to be interpreted so as to produce a coherent argument. Methods of data analysis used include qualitative content analysis and textual analysis.

3.7.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

In analysing data qualitative content analysis will be used. The method will be employed as it enables the research to focus on the relevant data gathered. This approach assumes that importance and relevance of data lies in the actual words from the text themselves. In essence the research will employ qualitative content analysis as it will enable the research to identify the occurrence pattern of particular phenomenon in the representation of ZANU-PF political disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Maying, et al (2000) also suggests that content analysis contributes towards providing an understanding of the workings of ideology through the production of meaning as facilitated by the process of representation.

According to Krippendoff, (2004: 18) content analysis is a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the context of their use.” In order to come up with a solid judgement on how the media framed succession disputes within the Zanu-PF party the research had to make use of qualitative content analysis. This was done so as qualitative content analysis also encompasses aspects of rhetoric analysis and discourse analysis. In this case the research has to identify themes or occurrence patterns of the nature of portrayal of the Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

As a method of data analysis qualitative content analysis provides a framework for the research to analyse data and interpret its meaning, (Downe-Wambaldt, 1992; Schreier, 2012). In this case the research has to interrogate the framing of Zanu-PF succession disputes and interpret why the newspapers understudy adopted particular frames. In essence the research will provide an explanation on the similarities and differences in the frames adopted by *The Herald* and *Daily News*, and offer an explanation on the apparent meanings in such frames. In other words, qualitative content analysis can be argued to have a goal to provide a detailed and in-depth analysis of the subject understudy, which is of the representation of the Zanu-PF disputes.

One of the aspects of qualitative content analysis is noted by Sandelowski, (1991: 162), who suggests that qualitative content analysis adopts a hermeneutical approach that emphasises

interpretation and context, focuses on “the telling (of stories) themselves and the devices individuals use to make meaning in stories”. The research seeks to highlight on issues that surround the framing of Zanu-PF succession disputes and how the construction of the disputes as reality was done. The use of content analysis will enable the research to identify the context and the devices that *The Herald* and *Daily News*, employed in their representation of the disputes, in other words in their construction of the reality that surround the disputes.

Reflecting on content analysis Maying, et al (2000) contends that content analysis allows the researcher to highlight on how meanings are related to ideology. For the research this implies interrogating the ideological underpinnings of particular frames used in portraying the succession disputes. In other words, the research aims to highlight on how particular meanings advanced by *The Herald* and *Daily News*, are embedded with particular ideological overtones. Such an analysis is to be done taking into consideration the use of certain discourses and socio-cultural and political context within which the disputes are framed.

For Bryman, (2004: 392) qualitative content analysis “comprises a searching-out of underlying themes in the materials being analysed”. In addition, Bryman, (2005: 179) also points out that “content analysis has been the main research approach, particularly when the researcher wishes to measure the accuracy or bias or objectivity of news.” Such sentiments are also echoed by other scholars who also attribute a certain level of sophistication imbedded in qualitative content analysis. Ritsert, (1972: 19 – 31) points out that things that do not appear in quantitative content analysis, but are revealed in qualitative content analysis. These elements have been highlighted above which include latent structures, context of text components, latent structure of sense and things that do not appear in the text. These are some of the strengths which led to the adoption of qualitative content analysis by the research.

3.7.2 Textual analysis

Textual analysis was another method employed in analysing data gathered on the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes. According to Deacon, et al (2007) textual analysis involves interrogating ways in which language is employed in any media output. This implies that the research has to question and explore on how language is used in the representation of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. To achieve this, the research has to go through selected articles so as to establish ways in which the disputes were framed and the various forces

that shaped such frames. In other words, by using textual analysis, the research seeks to establish how various frames selected and adopted by the mentioned newspapers came into being.

In exploring textual analysis, Deacon, et al (2007) also points out that textual analysis involves questioning prominence given to a concept. In this case the research seeks to identify and discuss on issues accorded prominence in the framing of Zanu-PF succession disputes. Simply put the research employs content analysis to provide a broader understanding on how identified themes can be categorised as the basis underlying *The Herald* and *Daily News*, framing of the succession disputes.

Through interrogating texts, the research had to take into consideration that texts are constructed within the confines of institutional dynamics which include historical, administrative and social contexts. In other words, this points to the notion that texts and the framing of texts is not an independent process nor texts are neutral in their representations. For the research this meant identifying and exploring on the influence of institutional dynamics within a broader context of socio-political and economic factors. These aspects can be argued to have a bearing on the manner in which Zanu-PF succession disputes were framed. Such an understanding can only be provided through the use of textual analysis in interrogating how *The Herald* and *Daily News*, framed the succession disputes.

In his description of textual analysis Hopkins, (2012: 15 - 19) suggests that “what is left out is as important as what is in”. Thus we can talk of how textual analysis raises questions on structured absence in texts. This idea can be argued to emanate from the notion that production of texts is a process characterised by choices and selection. It is this aspect that the research had to employ textual analysis in order to establish latent meanings *The Herald* and *Daily News* convey in the manner in which they framed Zanu-PF succession disputes. Structured absence which can be understood through the use of textual analysis, can be understood in Bainbridge, (2008: 224) view that “it is a toolkit for media practitioners who want to convey a certain message or try to convince audiences to think in a certain way.” Thus one can justify the inclusion of textual analysis in conducting research.

Another important aspect that the use of textual analysis presents is intertextuality. As the research seeks to interrogate how *The Herald* and *Daily News*, frame Zanu-PF succession disputes, the use of textual analysis will enable the research to reflect on how the mentioned newspapers used

intertextuality in their framing of the disputes. In other words, the research has to reflect on how *The Herald* and *Daily News* make reference to other discourses in their construction of reality on the disputes.

3.7.3 Critical discourse analysis

Discourse analysis looks at how language is used and deployed in relation to cultural and social produced set of ideas and values O'Sullivan, (2003). Punch, (2011) argues that discourse analysis looks above the words, sentences and linguistic features of a text. It focuses attention on how language in a text is used, what it is used for and the social context in which it was created and used.

Foucault, (1970) points out that discourse creates knowledge and truth. By this he meant that discourse used is a move towards the establishment of knowledge a truth regime. How then does this apply to the framing of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*? This is the question the researcher will answer in the research. In O'Sullivan's words he posed the question 'what 'truth claims' does the text make and how'

Gunter, (2000) notes that discourse is a form of critical linguistics as it attempts to assess the meaning of language in terms of its implicit ideology. This draws in the concept of ideology by Althusser in the context of discourse. Focusing on the framing of Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News* the research will have to point out how the element of ideology can be evidenced in the framing of the disputes in the mentioned newspapers.

3.8 Methods of Data Presentation

Data will be presented in a qualitative thematic manner. This is to be done so, as the research is a qualitative one. Qualitative data presentation implies identifying latent issues which are to be categorised as themes. Identified theme from the gathered data are to be treated as aiming to address the research questions and aid in achieving research objectives. This method also implies the use of quotations or field notes in presenting data as noted by Dancin and Lincoln, (2003). In such a scenario themes are to be supported by quotations from the unit of analysis and interviews conducted with respondents on how *The Herald* and *Daily News* framed the succession disputes. Research objectives and the theoretical framework will provide the guideline in formulating themes for the purpose data presentation.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethics imply the research abiding by a set of moral principles that are aimed at guiding the researcher in conducting a particular study. Ethical issues are important and a critical part of any research as research involves the process of collecting information from people and about people as noted by Punch, (2011). The researcher will try to do his utmost best in observing the following ethical considerations; avoiding plagiarism, providing information that might harm or prejudice respondents and seeking consent before conducting interviews with the respondents. It also equally important to note that abiding to ethical standards the research also acknowledges and values the input of its sources.

3.10 Conclusion

The chapter presented an account of the research methodology adopted by the research. Aspects such as the research population and sampling techniques used have been highlighted in the chapter. Methods used in the gathering, analysis and presentation of data have been analysed. The subsequent chapter is on the organisational analysis of *The Herald* and *Daily News*.

CHAPTER 4: Organisational Analysis

4.0 Introduction

This chapter explains on the organisational structure of *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Prominence will be given to aspects such as the historical background, mission statements, values, and funding mechanisms of the two newspapers. Informing the discussion on the organisational analysis of the two newspapers is the critical political economy approach. By adopting the critical political economy in organisational analysis, the research seeks to explore on latent issues such as institutional dynamics and their influence in how these newspapers framed the disputes within the Zanu-PF party from May 2014 to December 2014. The discussion shall start by analysing the organisational structure of *The Herald* and then move on to the *Daily News*.

4.1 Zimpapers Historical Background

Zimbabwe Newspapers (1980) is a listed company on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange, implying that it is a public company any individual can buy shares from. The company was inherited by the Zanu-PF led government in 1980 when the country attained independence. Zimpapers was inherited from the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company.

4.1.1 Colonial History

In 1927 the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company (RPPC), was established, (Saunders, 1999). The company was floated on March 8 1927 to become a public company. The newly listed company was tasked to oversee the production of newspapers in Southern Rhodesia. In essence RPPC was tasked with taking control of the production of *The Rhodesian Herald*, *Umtali Post* and *Sunday News*. It is equally important to note that the first newspaper to be published in the then colony Rhodesia was *The Mashonaland and Zambesian Times*. The newspaper was started in June 1891, (Gale, 1962). *The Mashonaland and Zambesian Times*, was started by William Fairbridge and it was a hand written newspaper. According to Gale, (1962) *The Mashonaland and Zambesian Times*, changed its name to *The Rhodesian Herald*, in September 1892. The change in name also came changes in ownership. This saw the newspaper being published on newsprint and its old publisher that is Fairbridge, being given the post of local managing director and editor. *The Rhodesian Herald*, had to relocate its offices to Salisbury, which was the then capital of Rhodesia. Content wise, the newspaper was neutral and relied on events taking place in the metropolis.

However, settlers thought *The Rhodesian Herald's*, content served the interests of the British South Africa Company, (BSAC).

The Argus company latter on launched the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, after launching *The Rhodesian Herald*. In terms of content, *Bulawayo Chronicle*, was to serve the southern region of the colony, (Saunders, 1999). To mark its presence in the colony as a reliable content provider for both the settlers and the colony's administrators the Argus company launched *The Sunday News*, in 1930, *The Umtali Post* and *The Sunday Mail*, in 1935. Gale, (1962) suggest that the *Umtali Post*, started as *The Umtali Advertiser*, which first appeared in 1893. The press reference website suggests that the papers supported the BSA Company in its quest to continue ruling Rhodesia. In terms of content, content is argued to have been catering for the interests of the white settlers and ignoring news of interests to the native African majority. News articles reflected on events that were occurring in the metropolis, ignoring events that were occurring on the African continent, (pressreference website). Listed below are the newspaper that were under the RPPC's jurisdiction.

Gale, (1962) suggests that by the beginning of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1947, Southern Rhodesia had two daily newspapers and 3 weekly newspapers. Below is a list of newspapers that were publishing in Rhodesia before the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Rhodesian Herald

The Bulawayo Chronicles

The Sunday News

The Umtali Post

The Sunday Mail

In terms of funding, *The Rhodesian Herald*, relied on advertising revenue as a source of revenue. Gale, (1962) posits that *The Rhodesian Herald* devoted its front page to advertising. Economic wise all the newspapers under the RPPC, to some extent relied on advertising revenue. This view can be supported by the assertion that advertising is the letter day licensing authority and it is indeed the lifeblood of the mass media, (Picard, 1989; Curran, 2002; Albarran, 2002; Doyle 2002;

Mosco, 2006). The aspect of relying on advertising revenue brings out the element of the ‘media being big business’, that is apart from informing, educating and entertaining, the media do operate in a dual product market place, (Doyle, 2002). In more abstract terms we can talk of the media serving the interests of the funders, as suggested by Golding and Murdock, (2000).

Golding and Murdock, (2000) in their analysis of critical political economy reflect on how funding has traceable consequences on the range of discourse circulating in the public domain. Thus we can reflect on how the media in colonial times was used to serve the interests of the settler administration and economy. Adverts that appeared in the newspaper during the era were to do with auctions, meetings and notices from the colonial government. Such relationships between the Rhodesian government and the press can be viewed in light of how the press became a conduit through which the colonial government maintained its dominance. In other words, the RPPC publications were strongly aligned with the colonial capitalist white class ideology, which thrived on ignoring the native African. Apparently one can argue along Grosfoguel, (2006) view on how the reproduction of coloniality in the post independent states can be traced to the developments of such kind of relations between the state and the media.

For Mukasa, (2006) the press during the colonial period was a conduit through which colonial discourse was spread. It is equally important to note that colonial discourse was a weapon through which the colonial masters employed to psychologically disarm the native African. In this case one can reflect on Althusser’s concept of ideology and Gramsci’s (2006) concept of hegemony. In this case the media are a cite of ideological and power struggle. This ideological battle can be witnessed in the manner in which content was tailor made to suit the interest of the BSA Company and denigration of the native population, (Mukasa, 2006; Gale, 1996). Thus one can allude to Foucault, (1980) view on discourse as a game of power. Apparently the media especially *The Rhodesian Herald*. was a tool which the Rhodesian government set to gain, maintain and negotiate its hegemonic status in controlling the newly acquired colony.

Reflecting on this, the study seeks to interrogate how post independent Zimbabwe’s media can be argued to be a mirror of the colonial era, through its selection and attribution of salience in representing Zanu-PF succession disputes. Framing of the disputes can be argued to be a reflection on how one group sought to gain hegemonic status through the use of discourse that other the

'other'. Given the fact that *The Herald*, is a state run media, the question that arise is how the newspaper framed the disputes in light of hegemonic and power struggles that manifest in the ascribing political identities through framing and frames adopted in the construction of reality.

Highlighting on the historical background of the Zimpapers it is also relevant to include the liberation war era. According to Saunders, (1999) the RPPC was under tight surveillance from the Rhodesian Front. Laws were introduced that sought to censor the media and its personnel in their operations. Some of these laws include the Law and Order Maintenance Act. In its ideological battle the Rhodesian Front, had to employ the services of the media and in order to avert censoring of content the media had to closely align its content to the Rhodesian Front ideological stand point. Such drastic measures resulted in *The Sunday Mail*, editor John Parker being at loggerheads with the Rhodesian government, (Wason, 1976; Saunders, 1999). Reflecting on such aspects the research seeks to establish how *The Herald*, coming from such a tumult experience has maintained its objective reporting which was a characteristic of the paper during the years of the liberation struggle. During this period Meier, (.....) submits that newspapers under the RPPC adopted a strategy of leaving other columns blank, revealing columns that have articles censored.

4.1.2 Zimbabwe Newspapers Post Independent Zimbabwe

RPPC later changed its name to Zimbabwe Limited in 1980 when the country gained its independence. Ownership was still in the hands of Argus Media Group, (Saunders, 1999). However, ownership changed when the newly formed government under Zanu-PF leadership bought the majority shares in Argus Media Group, (Sunders, 1999). This was through a 6 million loan facility advanced to the newly formed government by the Nigerian government, (Munyuki, 2005; Zimpapers website). The shares were later handed over to the newly formed Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT). The intend of the ZMMT was to “protect the papers from political interference”, (Munyuki, 2005: 39). This move can be viewed as a noble idea undertaken by the government in its reconciliation efforts. However, it is also equally important to note the massive exodus of trained staff from Zimpapers which had negative repercussions on how the newspaper were to operate. This saw the papers being staffed with ex-combatants some who had little knowledge in print media. After changes in controlling ownership, a new board of directors was appointed to oversee the operations of the Zimpapers.

Zimpapers and newspapers under its umbrella has over the years attracted controversy. This has been due to its newspapers sympathising with the Zanu-PF led government and side lining opposition parties. News coverage has been noted to be biased in favour of Zanu-PF and against the MDC party, (Chuma, 2000; Tendi, 2010; Willems, 2004; Ranger, 2004). This has seen newspapers under Zimpapers being at odd with other private owned newspapers and being closely aligned with Zanu-PF ideology which became explicit during the land reform programme and even during the Government of National Unity (GNU).

Over the past 35 years Zimpapers has managed to add 5 more newspapers to its stable. Below is a list of papers under the Zimpapers stable

The Herald, The Manica Post, Sunday News, The Sunday Mail, Kwayedza, New Farmer, Trends, Zim Travel, Umthunywa, H-Metro, B-Metro, Bulawayo24 and Star FM (which is a radio station broadcasting countrywide).

In addition to that Zimpapers has managed to secure a radio license, which it was offered in 2011 under controversial circumstances. The radio station *Star FM* was launched in 2012 and has become the biggest revenue earner in terms of advertising revenue according to the Zimpapers website. Websites for various newspapers owned by Zimpapers were also set up in the early 2000s marking its presence on the internet. Thus qualifying Zimpapers as an integrated media company.

A change in board of directors coupled with the flight of white experienced journalists saw the appointment of black editors and journalists to fill the vacuum create by the exodus of white journalists, (Mukasa, 2006, Saunders, 1999). According to Saunders, (1999) the following were appointed editors for the various newspapers under the Zimpapers stable:

Tommy Sithole – *The Chronicle*

Farayi Munyuki – *The Herald*

Geoffrey Nyarota – *The Manica Post*

Bill Saidi – *The Sunday News*

Willie Musarurwa – *The Sunday Mail*

As a listed company, Zimpapers, outlined its mission statement, core values and visions that are set to guide its operations in terms of content production. These organisational operation frameworks are shared across all the newspapers that are under the Zimpapers stable.

4.1.3 Vision, Mission Statement and Core Values of Zimpapers

Vision

To be the leading newspaper, publishing, printing and packaging company in Zimbabwe and beyond

Mission

To produce newspapers, print and package products and offer publishing services that add values to our customer's employees and shareholders.

Core Values

- Zimpapers ascribe to the following core values: Customer satisfaction, Good Corporate Governance, Equal opportunity Employer, Profitability and Quality products and Services.

4.1.4 Shareholding Structure

In terms of ownership, Zimpapers has various shareholders, with the government of Zimbabwe under Zanu-PF through the ZMMT being the major shareholder. Borrowing Golding and Murdock, (2000) assertion that ownership and control has traceable consequences on the range of discourses available in the public domain, this section seeks to highlight how this reflected in the ownership structure of Zimpapers. Chiumbu, et al (2009: 7) state that “the government of Zimbabwe owns the majority shares of 51,09%” in Zimpapers limited. The Zimbabwe Stock Exchange website indicates that Old Mutual Life Assurance owns 10, 24% shares, Hamilton and Hamilton Trustees limited –NNS owns 6,76% with the remaining 31, 91% owned by other private institutions.

4.2 *The Herald*

4.2.1 Historical background

The Herald started as ‘*The Mashonaland and Zambesian Times*’ owned by William Fairbridge, (Gale, 1962; pressreference website; Herald Reporters, 2015). Started in June 1891, the first copies of the paper were printed using a makeshift cyclostyle press, “in a hut in what is now Africa Unity Square”, (Herald Reporters, 2015). Its first editor was William Fairbridge. Being the only major daily newspaper, the paper later changed its title on 20 October 1892, to *The Rhodesian Herald*, (Gale, 1962). Soon after independence the newspaper changed its title to *The Herald*. The newspaper post-independence has attracted a lot of criticism due to its explicit alliance with the Zanu-PF led government.

According to Chuma, (2008); Willems, (2004); Chiumbu, (2004), *The Herald*, has been identified as a newspaper that has linked itself with the Zanu-PF party in supporting the party’s ideological stance. Such a scenario has seen the newspaper taking sides with the Zanu-PF led government in the land reform programme that was done controversially during the years after 1999, (Willem, 2004; Chari, 2005). In essence this has seen the paper practicing what Ranger, (2005) refers to as patriotic journalism. Despite the coming into existence of the GNU, *The Herald*, still maintained its stance in supporting the Zanu-PF party, which can be viewed as going against the tenets of the Global Political Agreement signed between Zanu-PF and MDC, which saw the formation of the GNU. Even up to the run up to the 2013 July elections *The Herald*, maintained close links with the Zanu-PF party painting a bad image of the MDC party.

4.2.2 Editorial policy

This section will highlight on the editorial policy of *The Herald*. In his analysis on policy Freedman, (2008: 1) argues that “it is the systematic attempt to foster certain types of media structure and behaviour and to suppress alternative modes of structure and behaviour. It is a deeply political phenomenon.” This essentially imply that media policy is about power and control. For the research, an understanding of *The Herald’s*, editorial policy entails highlighting on how this can be reflected in its framing of the political disputes within the Zanu-PF party. Given that the paper openly declared its support for the ruling party through its editors, (Tendi, 2010; Willems, 2004). It is equally important to note that the Zimpapers editorial policy is synonymous with all its strategic business units. The following is the editorial policy of *The Herald*,

Editorial Policy

- Newspaper must be credible, giving information that is as accurate as possible.
- Newspaper must be as complete as possible, publishing reports of the major local, national, regional and international events, whether news, sports or cultural.
- Newspapers must be fit reading for all, requiring sensitivity in the handling of sensational and lurid stories.
- Newspapers will be supportive of the elected government of the day.

A look at the fourth element in the editorial policy reveals how the paper's policy explicitly relates its operations to be ideologically in line with the elected government. This last aspect is a true reflection on how one can argue for Golding and Murdock, (2000) view that funding has a bearing on content. Moyo, (2010) is of the view that *The Herald* has become a mouthpiece of the government of Zimbabwe under Zanu-PF for the spreading of its propaganda which is true. The editorial policy can also be viewed in light of how the paper has fallen in favour with advertisers, despite its explicit links and support of Zanu-PF led government. According to Zimbabwe All Mass Media Surveys results released in October 2013, *The Herald*, has 24% market share making it dominating daily newspaper ahead of *Daily News* and *News Day*, (Kubata.net).

This reveals how the paper enjoys wide readership among daily newspapers, even though much credit for the wide readership it enjoys can be credited to its Sports, Art and Culture, Adverts and Cultural sections. It is this wide readership status that draws attention of the research, in investigating how it has framed succession disputes in the Zanu-PF party. In other words, it is against the backdrop of popularity that the research seeks to interrogate how *The Herald*, revealed and framed the disputes within the Zanu-PF party.

4.2.3 Content Mix

Focusing on the content mix of *The Herald*, from June 2015 to August 2015 revealed that the newspaper has as average of 14 printed pages with the sport section having the highest number of pages. Such a number can be argued to be revealing a remarkable increase compared to its early

days during the colonial era. Listed below are sections that make up the newspaper and number of pages they occupy:

National News – 4 pages

Crime and courts – 1 page

Business – 8 pages

Leader and comments – 1 page

Features, Opinions and Analysis – 2 pages

World News – 1 page

Sports – 5 pages

Entertainment – 2 pages

Bloggers section for the online version

News stories that reflected on the succession disputes within the Zanu-PF falls under the top stories, politics, feature and editor's comments sections. As a daily newspaper these sections are the most important sections of the newspaper. These sections are important as they are the one responsible for providing critical political economy content that democratically empower political citizens. As such the task of the research is to interrogate how news stories on Zanu-PF succession disputes were framed and how these frames manipulated or strategically used discourse.

4.2.4 *The Herald* Organogram

Paying particular attention at the organisational chart is important as the organogram reveals the organisations structure in terms of who reports to who and who delegates duties when it comes to content gathering and processing. According to Albarran, (1996) management in various media institutions is at various stages of production. Thus a discussion on the organogram is important as it reflects on issues of editor's appointments and how this has a bearing on the newspapers output in terms of content.

a) Editor

The current Editor of *The Herald*, is Caesar Zvayi. He is the one who controls and manages the production of the newspaper on daily basis. Management powers are vested on the Editor in the absence of directors and shareholders who are not directly involved in the production process of the newspaper. Management of the space and ensuring that strict adherence to the editorial policy and ideological standpoint of the newspaper is followed is in the onus of the editor. As *The Herald*, is a strategic business unit of Zimpapers, which has the government of Zimbabwe as the major shareholder, has seen the government through the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, interfering in the day to day running of the paper. Appointment to the post of editor can be argued to be along the dictates of the government of Zimbabwe through its representative, the Minister of Information. Saunders, (1999) also argue that links between Zimpapers and the government of Zimbabwe has led to the government being involved in the hiring and firing of editors and journalist. This can be evidenced in how the then Minister of Information, Jonathan Moyo, was criticised by president Mugabe at Nathan Shamuyarira's funeral for appointing those who previously criticised the Zanu-PF led government into senior positions in state run media institutions.

b) Deputy Editor

The deputy editor seconds the editor in hierarchical terms. He just like the editor is appointed on political grounds. Currently the deputy editor of *The Herald*, is Joram Nyathi. The deputy editor is also key in the day to day running of the newspaper as he has to ensure that the newspaper has to go for publishing on time. He also ensures that content published is in line with the editorial policy of the newspaper and its ideological perspective is not in jeopardy from his juniors. The deputy editor can also be argued to be an ideological appendage to the institution as he is appointed on the basis of his/her being able to deliver content that is in line with the major shareholder's ideological standpoint.

c) News Editor

The news editor is responsible for proof reading articles to be published. Views, opinions and sources used in the gathering process are to be checked by the news editor to ensure their suitability in “consolidating the newsrooms political position”.

d) Cartoonist

The cartoonist is one of the most influential person in the newsroom. His work can be argued to be a reflection of the newspapers ideological perspective. In most newspaper, the cartoon section is found on the Editorial page, which can be said to be a strategic positioning.

4.2.5 Funding Mechanisms

As observed by Picard, (1987) media are big business and they fall under the economic dictum. In order to efficiently conduct its day to day operations of gathering and disseminating information, media institutions need resources. Advertising being the major source of revenue for the media, implies that advertising is the latter day licensing authority and occupies a crucial role in the operations of the media, (Albarran, 1996; Picard, 1987; Doyle, 2002). A critical appraisal of *The Herald's*, source of funding is important as it reflects on the size of audience the media institution reach out to. A physical look at *The Herald*, will reveal that the newspaper carries a lot of adverts ranging from full page to classifieds. Adverts that regularly appear in the newspaper are those from government linked institutions such as ZETDC, Netone, Telone, NSSA and other private institutions such as Econet which happen to be the biggest advertiser, Rainbow Tourism Group, Telecel, Dairy Board, Delta and Edgars among others.

As the newspaper is packed with daily adverts, it attracts a lot of readers who will be in search of various adverts. Through their analysis on advertising, scholars such as Herman and Chomsky, (1988), Golding and Murdock, (2000) argue that funding has traceable consequences on the range of discourse in public domain and for public consumption. However, *The Herald's*, case proves otherwise, as major advertisers such as Econet, Edgars and Telecel do not interfere with the day to day operations of the newspaper. Apparently it has been the government of Zimbabwe as the major shareholder, through its Ministry of Information and Broadcast that interferes with the day to day operations of *The Herald*. This scenario of the government being the major shareholder has

resulted in the research investigating how *The Herald*, framed the succession disputes within the Zanu-PF party. Commercial viability of *The Herald*, can be witnessed in how it has used its first page as a reminder of its success as a commercial entity. Just below the masthead the paper has a tag that contain the following credits; Number One 2014, Brand of the Year – MEGAFEST; Newspaper of the Year – ZBAC; Brand of the year – ZBAC; Golden arrow 2014 – PMR AFRICA; Super Brand of the Year – MA; Zim’s leading Daily paper – ZAMPS.

4.2.6 Associations with other organisations

Strong links with various organisations are crucial and important for any media institution to survive in a profit oriented market, (McQuail, 1996; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Curran and Gurevitch, 2000). This section will highlight on how *The Herald*, through Zimpapers associate with other institutions, with the government of Zimbabwe being the first and lastly other key stakeholders.

Government of Zimbabwe

The government of Zimbabwe led by Zanu-PF happens to be the major shareholder in Zimpapers. The institution enjoys cordial relations with the government. It has to be noted that such relations were explicitly revealed after the emergence of MDC and the *Daily News*, to challenge Zanu-PF monopoly. Such relations can be traced back to the early days of colonial rule with the decades of the Chimurenga war being exceptional cases as the paper was at loggerheads with the then government under Rhodesian Front. Borrowing from Herman and Chomsky, (1988) these relations can be viewed in terms of bureaucratic affinity, as the government is the major source of news, that gives authentic and credible voices. Thus the gate keeping notion can be linked to the cordial relations enjoyed by the government and Zimpapers. Apart from that cordial relations with the government of Zimbabwe has also seen *Herald* affiliated journalists getting preferential treatment at government functions ahead of other of journalist affiliated with private owned newspapers labelled as unpatriotic.

Other key institutions

Chief among *The Herald*, key stakeholders are the Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation (ZARF) and the Postal Authority. ZARF, which officiates ZAMPS surveys, which provide newspaper ratings is a crucial stakeholder *The Herald*, enjoys cordial relations with. *The Herald*, operations are also justified by its registration with the Postal Authority as a newspaper. These major institutions provide the much leverage the newspaper needs in its operations and search for advertising revenue. Apart from that the paper is also registered with the Zimbabwe Media Commission, (ZMC) an institution which regulates the media landscape in terms of licensing.

Apart from these institutions *The Herald*, has managed to establish enduring relations various institutions. Among these institutions, Delta, Zimbabwe online (ZOL), Innscor, OK Bazaar, TM now Pick 'n' Pay, NSSA, Zimbabwe Stock Exchange and Econet. These institutions can be said to be the major advertisers that advertise in *The Herald*. Specialist content is also offered by various institutions which also include NSSA with its *Talking Social Security* section. Tertiary institutions are also some of the institutions *The Herald*, has managed to establish cordial relations with. Some of these tertiary institutions offer analysts, interns, adverts and news stories for the newspaper.

4.2 The *Daily News*

The *Daily News*, is a privately owned tabloid newspaper, published by the Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe, (ANZ). ANZ according to Munyuki, (2005) was registered in 1998, and started publishing on the 31st of March 1999, (pendula website). Its entrance into the media market marked the end of *The Herald's* monopoly in terms of providing content on a daily basis. The paper has also fallen foes with the government of Zimbabwe due to its content and editorial stance which reads '*Telling it as it is. Without Fear. Without Favour*'.

4.2.1 Historical Background

African Daily News of the Colonial Era

A look at the current *Daily News*, will not be good enough without providing a brief synopsis of the *African Daily News*, which can be argued to be sharing the same characteristics with the current *Daily News*, in various aspects. The fore runner of *The Daily News*, *The African Daily News*, was under heavy attack from the Rhodesian Front due to its content which was deemed unfit for public consumption, (Wason, 1976). *The African Daily News*, was finally banned in 1964, as it was a pain for the Rhodesian Front led government. Due to its popularity among black Africans, *The African Daily News*, was at odds with the Rhodesian government, which viewed the paper as supporting the cause of the nationalists. Just like the current *Daily News*, *The African Daily News*, was contributing to the broadening of democratic spaces in Rhodesia. The closure of *The African Daily News*, and the post independent *Daily News*, can be viewed as an indicator of how democratic spaces in authoritarian regimes are limited and tend to shrink due to frustrations caused by various laws.

Post Independent Daily News

According to Munyuki, (2005) the first copy of the *Daily News*, hit the streets on the 31st of March 1999. Its first editor was Geoffrey Nyarota, a veteran journalist. Geoffrey Nyarota and Wilf Mbanga are noted by Munyuki, (2005), to be the founding editors of the *Daily News*, and establishing the ANZ. The two veteran journalists together with African Media Investment (AMI) launched the *Daily News*, and four other provincial newspapers. The paper which is a tabloid can be argued to be a paper that captures the attention of the public through its headlines which

emphasis scandals and news articles that were neglected and never included in broadsheet *The Herald*.

At its launch Moyo Dumisani, (2005: 112) suggests that the paper was well resourced and it also broke Zimpapers monopoly in the daily newspaper market, in terms of dissemination of news. Due to the papers ability to focus and articulate critical issues or issues of critical political economy affecting the general public, the newspaper's circulation and print run increased remarkably within a few months. *Daily News*, sales and circulation increased from 35 000 to 90 000 and it was "commanding up to 30, 6 per cent of the total readership", (Moyo, 2005: 113; Willems, 2004; pressreference website). Due to its ability to critically expose rampant corruption, mismanagement and rising inflation among other things led to the paper being at odds with the Zanu-PF led government. In a democratic society the paper can be understood as a platform that was designed to offer a voice to the voiceless and promote meaningful development, both democratically and economically. Tension between the *Daily News*, and the Zanu-PF led government let the paper being labelled an unpatriotic newspaper and a purveyor of western regime change agenda.

Not only did the paper had to deal with negative criticism from the government of Zimbabwe and its rival *The Herald*, but it had its paper art gallery bombed in 2000, (pendula website). Moyo, (2005: 118, Mutanda, (2012: 265) argue that on January 28 2001 the *Daily News*, printing press was bombed, due to its politically incorrect content as argued by Zanu-PF. After reopening events turned for the worse as the *Daily News*, was forced to shut down on September 12 2003 due to MIC refusal to issue the paper a licence to operate, (Maruziva. 2009: 109; Mutanda, 2012: 265; Moyo, 2005). In his analysis on the framing of the 2000 elections Chuma, (2008) points out how polarisation in the print media manifested itself in how the *Daily News*, viewed '*The State as Villain and The Opposition as Victims*'. This was apparently the opposite of how the state run *Herald*, framed the same issues.

After its closure in 2003, *Daily News*, latter on resumed publication in March 2011, during the GNU era, (Mutanda 2012). Its comeback never brought joy to the Zanu-PF party as it was under constant attack from the Zanu-PF party and *The Herald*, and labelled an unpatriotic paper. In terms of readership ZAMPS results for 2014 rated the *Daily News*, second from *The Herald*. For the

research this entails interrogating how the paper framed disputes within the Zanu-PF party given its record of being at odd with the party and Zanu-PF led government. Frustration on the part of the paper also saw the paper being linked with the former vice president Joyce Mujuru, who was claimed by the first lady Grace Mugabe, to be owning 10 per cent stake in the newspaper, (pendula website).

4.2.2 Management and Editorial Policy

Daily News Charter

The *Daily News*, is an institution that is run using a charter. According the *Daily News*, website the Charter “embodies the spirit, policies and principles upon which the group’s titles are edited and manged”. Below is part of the Charter that guides the way the *Daily News*, as a public space that is aimed at fostering a well-informed citizen, is to operate:

Declarations:

1. The Board of Directors and management affirm their commitment to the principle of a free media and editorial independence.
2. Directors and management acknowledge the responsibility of editorial to report and comment on the affairs of Zimbabwe and the rest of the world fairly, accurately and regardless of any commercial, personal or political interests - including those of shareholders, directors, management and staff.
3. The right to appoint and dismiss editors resides with the Board of Directors and its appointed management. Subject to this, full control of newspapers is vested in the hands of editors – who, alone shall determine all content, including advertising, and appoint, dismiss, deploy and direct editorial staff.
4. Editors will, at all times, carry out their duties in a way that ensures the independence and integrity of the group’s titles.
5. In the event that any party, including but not limited to shareholders, directors, management and editors of the company cannot agree on the interpretation or implementation of this Charter, the following dispute-resolution mechanisms shall apply:
 - The parties must, without prejudice to any other rights they may have, explore

whether the dispute cannot be resolved informally using techniques such as discussion or agreement to arbitration.

- If the matter is not resolved informally, the executive committee of the Board will attempt to deal with it.
- If the matter is still not resolved, it must be referred to a full meeting of the Board of Directors to deal with it.
- If the matter is not resolved by the Board of Directors, external arbitration and mediation should kick in, and the decision there from will be final and binding on all parties concerned.

Editors further commit to the following:

1. Upholding the highest standards of professional, independent, honest and responsible journalism.
2. Adhering to the constitution of Zimbabwe and working to deepen the country's democracy, as well as engendering a culture of respect for human rights and clean governance in both the public and private sectors.
3. Recognising that editorial independence and commercial viability are closely linked.
4. Abiding by the Press Code and adhering to the highest ethical standards.

(Source: *Daily News* website; www.dailynews.co.zw/about)

A closer analysis of the Charter reveals how the *Daily News*, is a newspaper designed to promote a well-informed political and economic citizen. In view of Moyo, (2011) the *Daily News*, in light of its Charter, can be argued to be an ideal public sphere that does not bow down to commercial and political pressures. Additionally, the charter provides for an environment in which the editor's take "full control of the newspaper", (*Daily News* Charter). Such a stance can be linked to Doyle, (2013: 38) discussion on managerial theories in the media industry. To ensure a commercially viable media institution but at the same time serving the cultural – political relevance of the media Doyle's (2013) discussion points out on the role of managers in this case editors who have the desire to promote profitability of the media institution yet at the same time serving the public in terms of content provision. Such a scenario reveals how media institutions are not always at the

mercy of owners and funder who wish to advance their own agenda as advanced by scholars such as Herman and Chomsky, (1988); Mosco, (1996); Golding and Murdock, (2000). Apart from that the Charter also calls for the editor's to "uphold the highest standards of professional, independent, honest and responsible journalism."

The *Daily News*, editorial policy can be viewed in its statement which reads, "*TELLING IT LIKE IT IS.... WITHOUT FEAR. WITHOUT FAVOUR.*" Such sentiments reflect on how the *Daily News*, is to be viewed as a balanced paper, that strives to offer a balanced reportage on daily events. In other words, the paper does not consider any outside interference in the discharge of its duties. It is against this background that the research seeks to interrogate how the *Daily News*, framed the Zanu-PF disputes, given that it strives to inform the audience without fear and favour and providing an honest account of events.

4.2.3 Structure of the *Daily News*

The *Daily News*, has an average of 24 pages on a daily basis, with various sections making up the whole paper. Such a significant number reveals that the newspaper is voluminous as compared to other tabloids and for a daily newspaper. In terms of content mix, below is a list of the major sections of the *Daily News*:

News – 6 pages

Opinion – 1 page

Editorial – 1 page

Letters to the Editor – 1 page

Dailyhealth – 1 page

Business Daily – 3 pages

Entertainment – 6 pages

Sports – 4 pages

The research interrogates the framing of the Zanu-PF political disputes in the *Daily News*, as such the research is to focus on the News, Opinion and Editorial pages which make up the first pages of the newspaper. It is also equally important that these sections are the most important sections of the newspaper as they provide critical political economy stories that equip citizens with information. Apart from that the Opinion and Editorial Section of the newspaper also speaks volumes of the newspapers stance in terms of how its represents issues. Apparently, these sections reflect on the newspaper ideological standpoint with regards to various issues that it covers. As such the research will make use of these sections to question and provide an understanding on how the *Daily News*, socially constructed a particular view on the disputes within Zanu-PF.

4.2.4 Daily News Organogram

The *Daily News*, organogram reveals the relationship that exist at the institution with regards to who reports to who and who is responsible for delegating duties. The following is the organisational hierarchy of the *Daily News*:

4.2.4 a) Group Editor

The current Group Editor of the *Daily News*, is Stanley Gama. Responsibilities of the group editor includes leading the various editorial departments of a newspaper. In other words, he is the one who is responsible for overseeing and taking charge of the operations of any media institutions, (IOD website). In this case the group editor is responsible with the coordination of all departments that make up the newspaper, conducting thorough research on the performance of the institution and maintaining relations within the institution.

b) Executive Deputy Editor

The executive deputy editor of the newspaper is Chris Goko. In essence the executive deputy editor seconds the group editor. He is the one who is responsible with maintaining a close link between the groups other editors and the group editor. The executive deputy editor in most cases is responsible for ensuring that the newspapers output is in line with the organisational gals and aspiration.

c) Senior Assistant Editor

Guthrie Munyuki, is the senior assistant editor of the *Daily News*. He in most cases is close to the group editor and the executive deputy editor. In terms of responsibilities the senior assistant editor assists the executive editor in running the institution and overseeing that the institution maintains its cultural – political relevance in society.

d) Managing Editor

Eric Chiriga occupies the role of the managing editor of the newspaper. To ensure the commercial viability of the newspaper, the managing director directly supervise the day to day operations of the institution. Delegation of duties in terms of assigning articles and keeping the staff on schedule are some of the responsibilities the managing editor is tasked with.

e) News Editor

The news editor of the *Daily News*, is Gift Phiri. He is the one tasked with preparing, rewriting and editing news articles so as to improve readability. In other words, he is responsible with proof reading news articles before the newspaper goes for publishing. Allocation of space for story that is headline selection is done by the news editor. To successfully carry out such a daunting task, the news editor, has to be well versed in the institutions policy and aspirations. The news editor also has to verify facts and develop story ideas for the publication so as to maintain relevance of the institution in the society.

f) Cartoonist

The *Daily News*, cartoon section is also found on the Editorial Page. Just like any other newspaper the cartoon section of the paper, can be argued to be reflecting on the political perspective of the newspaper.

4.2.5 Commercial Viability Aspect

Just like any other institution engaged in the provision of services and goods, the *Daily News*, also thrives to be a commercially viable institution. Media industries are argued by scholars such as Albarran, (1996); Fourie, (2001); Doyle, (2013) among others to be relying on advertising revenue to continue operating. Advertising revenue provides the much needed revenue in the operations of any media organisation. It also accounts for over 60 per cent of revenue generated by many various

media institutions, (Albarran, 1996). Among adverts the *Daily News*, publish include adverts from institutions such as Delta beverages, Econet Wireless, netcash, OK and Barclays Bank among others. Adverts by these institutions vary as some are full pages will others are quota page adverts. The newspaper also generate revenue through selling classified adverts and print circulation though print circulation provides a relatively significant amount.

4.2.6 Association with other Institutions

Despite the frosty relations the *Daily News*, has with the Zanu-PF led government, the newspaper enjoys cordial relations with various institutions. Among these are institutions such as OK, Delta beverages and Econet Wireless. It has to be noted that at one point Econet founder Strive Masiyiwa had shares in ANZ through his company, Meditation Investments, (Munyuki, 2005). Civil society institutions such as the VMCZ, MISA, Crisis Coalition Zimbabwe and MMPZ are some of the institutions that the paper enjoys cordial relations with. such relations were cultivated on the basis of the paper's ability to articulate democratic and human rights issues, which some newspapers deliberately chose to omit. To reveal its commitment to promoting democracy the newspaper "submits to a Code of Conduct that promotes truthful, accurate, fair and balanced news reporting." (*DAILY News*, 2015). Under its Letters to the Editor section the paper openly declares its support for the promotion of audience views and comments. The newspaper went on to provide conduct details of VMCZ in case audiences are not satisfied with its content.

4.2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the organisational structure of *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Emphasis has been given to historical backgrounds, editorial policies and the commercial viability aspect of the newspapers understudy. These aspects can be argued to be providing a framework within which the mentioned newspapers discharge their duties as public spaces. The subsequent chapter will focus on the presentation of data gathered during the research.

CHAPTER 5: Data Presentation and Analysis

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses data gathered during the research. As the research interrogates the framing of Zanu-PF, political disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, the discussion on data gathered will explore on how the mentioned newspapers portrayed the disputes in relation to factors that shaped such representations. Findings are to be discussed in a thematic manner.

5.1 Language of factionalism a precursor to Zanu-PF political disputes

The research established that an understanding of the disputes within the Zanu-PF party can be described in the language of factionalism. In their portrayal of the Zanu-PF infighting both *The Herald* and *Daily News*, made use of the term factionalism. Both papers acknowledge the existence of factionalism in the party but a distinction or difference in the view on factionalism in both papers is worth highlighting. At this stage it is important to highlight that various terms, sources and frames were adopted by *The Herald* and *Daily News*, in explaining factionalism in a bid to promote of particular view and construct a particular meaning of the disputes within the Zanu-PF Party.

In framing factionalism, the *Daily News*, can be identified to be the first newspaper to hint on the existence of two rival factions inside Zanu-PF and their respective leaders as early as June 2014. In an article date 7 June 2014, the *Daily News*, hinted that, “Zanu-PF heavyweights ... openly accused Jonathan Moyo, of using his stranglehold on the state media to dig into the Mujuru faction which is repeatedly battling with the other group allegedly led by Emmerson Mnangagwa, in the battle to succeed Mugabe”, (*Daily News*, 7 June 2014: 2). The paper is its framing blatantly made no reference to speculations or gossips but assumed a well-informed position on what was transpiring in the Zanu-PF party. In its latter articles the paper made reference to the existence of factions within the Zanu-PF in relation to various events that were unfolding within the party, media industry and the country at large. The paper in its 1 October 2014 front page editorial states that “And exactly six months after the *Daily News*, perceptively warned in another front page editorial that anarchy was looming in the ruling party, it is now abundantly clear even to Zanu-PF fanatics and apparatchiks alike that”. (*Daily News*, 1 October 2014: pg. 1). The title of the front page editorial is “*Things fall apart in Zanu-PF*”. Such straight talk by the paper can be viewed in

light of Willems, (2004); Ranger, (2005); Tendi, (2009), arguments on how the *Daily News*, had fallen foes with the Zanu-PF led government.

The framing of Zanu-PF disputes in the *Daily News*, in the language of factionalism can be viewed in light of how the *Daily News*, gave a historical account of the factions in relation to past events that took place within the party. In this case one can borrow from Chiumbu, (2004); Gatsheni-Ndlovu, (2009) who discuss on how historical accounts in crucial in the framing of issue so as to promote particular interpretations of events. The *Daily News*, traces the development of factionalism to the Tsholotsho Declaration of 2004, which saw Jonathan Moyo being cast into the political wilderness after Joyce Mujuru was elevated to the post of vice president. According to the *Daily News*, of 7 June 2014, “The 90-year-old leader seemed to regret ever bringing Jonathan Moyo back in the party after he was sacked for fanning factionalism following the infamous Tsholotsho Declaration in 2004.” The *Daily News*, latter on make reference to the Tsholotsho Declaration in its 19 October 2014 issue when it rightly states that, “Yet other officials said the current events echoed the 2004 botched palace coup that sought to block Joyce Mujuru’s ascendancy to the vice presidency..... Emmerson Mnangagwa and his allies were then accused of plotting a ‘coup’ in what came to be known as the Tsholotsho Declaration.” (*Daily News*, 19 October 2014).

Framing of factional fighting in the Zanu-PF party by the *Daily News*, also made reference to another historical event known as the “2008 *Bhora Musango*”. The inclusion of discourse on *Bhora Musango* and the Tsholotsho Declaration by the *Daily News*, in its framing of the disputes within the Zanu-PF can be argued to be a strategy that aimed to promote a particular interpretation of what was taking place within the Zanu-PF party within a broader historical context. Such a scenario provides a framework within which the readers can get a broader understanding of the reality the paper was constructing. This can be viewed in light of Ranger, (2005) sentiments, who argue that, with reference to the state run media, history has been appropriated by the media as part of its propaganda machinery. In the *Daily News* case, as the paper was trying to provide an account of what was actually happening in relation to historical accounts of what transpired in the past, the paper assumed a particular bias in how it framed the disputes within the party as its reportage mainly made reference to the Tsholotsho Declaration in particular.

The *Daily News*, framing of the disputes within Zanu-PF in the language of factionalism saw the paper describing factionalism as a Mugabe creation. In its editorial's titled "*Its Mugabe's fault*" (*Daily News*, 11 August 2014); *Mugabe must rise above factionalism*, (*Daily News*, 31 August 2014) and *Mugabe must act now*, (*Daily News*, 9 November 2014), blame on the deteriorating conditions within the party was levelled on president Mugabe, for his failure to abate the situation in the party. For the *Daily News*, blame was on Mugabe who either adopted a wait and see attitude or took sides. This evidenced in in one of the articles which state that "... and Mugabe instead of doused out the fire in his house, has appeared to side with one faction.", (*Daily News*, 9 November, 2014). In another article the *Daily News*, apparently blames Mugabe for siding his "wife Grace and hard-line supporters of the defence minister Emmerson Mnangagwa, who lead another faction for being on a violent propaganda crusade against embattled vice president Joyce Mujuru and her allies." (*Daily News*, 25 November 2014).

For the *Daily News*, factionalism within the Zanu-PF party can be viewed in light of the party's lack of respect for human rights and democratic values. In an opinion article by Itai Dzamara, who has gone missing under controversial circumstances, he argues that "There is no more room for masking the reality of papering the cracks – the house that Mugabe built for 36 years through blocks of iron fists and sheer brutality" (*Daily News*, 18 August 2014: pg. 8). In another opinion article that appeared in the paper's editorial page the writer states that "Mugabe should therefore take the blame. Had he wanted his party to survive, he would have ceded power and promoted internal democracy." These articles can be argued to reflect on how the *Daily News*, viewed factionalism in the Zanu-PF party as a pointer to the party's failure to embrace democratic principles.

The latter article, quoted in the discussion, went on to provide a comparison of how some revolutionary parties in the SADC region have embraced the "values of leadership change for their survival". Some of the identified parties include FRELIMO in Mozambique and ANC in South Africa, which have managed to survive for longer periods due to their ability to embrace and practice internal democracy. A sharp contrast of the previous mentioned parties is in the case of MCP in Malawi and UNIP, which disintegrated due to their prolonged internal undemocratic practises and their unwillingness to nurture internal democracy. In more articles that make reference to the aspect of factionalism within the Zanu-PF party, *Daily News*, kept on reminding

the audience on how factionalism was bred in Zanu-PF due to Mugabe's hunger for power and failure to give others a chance for the past 34 years. Apparently the *Daily News*, framing of the disputes is hinged on the aspect of the party's and its leader's failure to embrace democratic principles.

Apparently the disputes in *Daily News*, along factional lines assumed an oppositional stance which is highlighted by Chuma, (2008) and Ranger, (2005) as a counter-hegemonic strategy against the Zanu-PF led government over the past 2 decades. The model is noted by Chuma, (2008: 27) to have flourished "in response to the closure of democratic spaces for the press and civil society..." and it "sought to delegitimize Zanu-PF and the state, and foregrounded almost exclusively the economic and political blunders associated with Zanu-PF rule." In this case we can refer to how the *Daily News*, has framed the disputes as an attack on the Zanu-PF party, in its failure to solve its mounting succession woes.

A focus on *The Herald*, reveals how factionalism was not given prominence in the paper from May to September 2014, as the paper adopted the Zanu-PF stance of denying the ever existence of the two warring factions within the party. For *The Herald*, factionalism as defined by two warring factions was non existing and not of relevant up to Grace Mugabe's "Meet the People Tour". In one of its headline titled "President Mugabe condemns indiscipline" (*The Herald*, 2 October 2014), the paper quote the president "President Mugabe yesterday condemned the high levels of indiscipline characterising Zanu-PF and warned leaders sowing seeds of division". The newspaper deliberately chose not to use the word factionalism, but emphasizes on indiscipline, thereby refusing to acknowledge the existence of factionalism within the party. In this case one can make reference to how the media select information, and suggest particular interpretations of events through deliberately omitting certain facts, (Willems, 2004; McNair, 2000; Trenz, 2006; Foucault, 1978). In terms of its framing *The Herald*, assumed a patriotic stance as it aligned itself with the revolutionary perspective of the Zanu-PF party.

Even when *The Herald*, choose to use the term factionalism, its headlines read, "Shun factionalism, refuse to be used", (*The Herald*, 15 August 2014); "First lady's elevation to quell factionalism", (*The Herald*, 19 August 2014). In *The Herald*, terms, factionalism was framed as having unknown individuals jostling for top positions. In one of its stories the paper states that "..... people are sick and tired of the struggle for positions gripping higher echelons of the ruling

party”, (*The Herald*, 14 August 2014, pg. 1). No reference is made to characters who are vying for the top positions, which leaves one wondering whether the paper thoroughly carried investigations on who were these individuals struggling for positions. In comparison to the *Daily News*, *The Herald*, can be argued to have deliberately chose not to include certain information. This indicates how the paper refused to acknowledge the existence of the Mujuru faction locking horns with the Mnangagwa faction in the race to succeed president Mugabe.

The Herald, again refused to acknowledge factionalism is also supported by the then Minister of Justice, Emmerson Mnangagwa. He is quoted by the *Daily News*, which states that “The Chirumhanzu-Zibagwe lawmaker also defended Mujuru, saying nobody has ever heard her saying she led a faction, Mnangagwa said the purported factional fights in his Zanu-PF party were a creation of greenhorn journalist.” (*Daily News*, 15 August 2014, pg. 1-2). Such sentiments by the former minister can also be argued to be supporting and buttressing *The Herald's*, deliberate silence on the existence of warring factions within the Zanu-PF party, thus the *Daily News*, regularly referred to state run newspaper as the “faithful paper” and “lickspittle” in reference to *The Herald's*, questionable objective reportage position.

As things took a new twist, at the onset of the “Meet the people tour” by Grace Mugabe. *The Herald*, strategically began to make use of the term factionalism in a not so innocent fashion. For *The Herald*, factionalism was only identified with Mujuru and her colleagues, who were apparently singled out as the ones fanning factionalism and had to take full responsibility of its existence.

In its 24 October 2014 article titled, ‘*Let’s unite against factionalism*’, *The Herald*, published a full speech delivered by the first lady Grace Mugabe, which pointed to Mujuru and her cabal consisting of the likes of Ray Kaukonde, as the founders of factionalism. The speech went on to praise Mnangagwa for being a humble person. In essence this entails how the newspaper can be argued to be aligned to the Mnangagwa faction as it chose to dedicate the whole page to attacks levelled against Mujuru and her colleagues and the appraisal of Mnangagwa by the first lady.

The Herald, 10 December 2014 issue also blasts Mujuru and her colleagues for fanning factionalism. Titled ‘*My turn with Tichaona Zindoga*’ a column under the headline ‘*When the hunter’s rod strikes hard*’ squarely put the blame on Joyce Mujuru, Webster Shamu, Didymus Mutasa, Nicholas Goche and Francis Nhema, through a chronicled account of their history with an

intended pun. The column describes Shamu in the following words, “And that is ironic that Shamu, whose name depicts this deadly instrument, becomes a victim of a higher power administering full-bodied punishment on him, well deserved punishment. At a time that he as commissar, should have been working to unite and strengthen the party he was busy dabbling in factionalism” (*The Herald*, 10 December 2014, pg. 10). Sub headlines such as *Spilling the wrong blood* – dedicated to Joyce Mujuru with reference to her full name Joyce Teurai Ropa Mujuru, *Ironic ‘Weevil’* dedicated to Didymus Mutasa of the ‘Gamatox’ fame, *Out to roost*, dedicated to Nicholas Goche and *Boiling over, out* dedicated to Dzikamai Mavhaire. The opinion apparently lays blame on Mujuru and her team for fanning factionalism in the Zanu-PF party and being power hungry. What is of significant importance is how the article went to describe their actions and fate is written in their actual names.

The *Daily News*, also hints on how *The Herald*, squarely blames Mujuru for fanning factionalism in the party, deliberately choosing to turn a blind eye on Mnangagwa’s faction role in the whole mess. Again framing of factionalism in *The Herald*, adopts a frame that blames Mujuru and her group, through linking them to the so called *2008 Bhora Musango* and ignoring the Tsholotsho Declaration. This can be witnessed in the following extract from *The Herald’s* sister paper *The Sunday Mail*, which reads “The 2008 elections, which saw a clique aligned to vice president Mujuru campaigning against president Mugabe under the slogan ‘*Bhora Musango*’ resulting in Zanu-PF losing control of parliament for the first time since 1980.....”. (*The Sunday Mail*, 23 November 2014: pg. 1).

The language of counter-revolutionary also saw its way in the framing of factionalism within the Zanu-PF in the media. The research contends that the language of anti-revolutionary was strategically used by Zanu-PF to refer to those identified with the Mujuru led faction. *The Herald*, has been identified by various scholars as being a sympathiser of the revolutionary party Zanu-PF, through its Analysis and Opinion section implored on how some elements especially those aligned to the Mujuru faction have betrayed the revolution and as such, such elements have to be flashed out. Such characters are identified as threatening the revolution which the Zanu-PF led government was waging, with the so called enemies of the state.

Through the use of discourse such as ‘anti-revolution’ and ‘counter-revolutionary elements’ the column also features contribution by the controversial character, Reason Wafawarova, has

thematise Zanu-PF factional fights along revolutionary and counter revolutionary spectacles. Thus in its framing *The Herald*, promote a view of how the accusations levelled against the Mujuru faction can be justified as necessary for the continued existence of the party, “If the Zimbabwean revolution is going to continue to be a genuinely popular one, it must of necessity pass the test, not only of destroying the neo-colonial state machinery capable of”, (*The Herald*, 6 November 2014: 11). Such framing of factionalism in the party draws attention to how the media in Zimbabwe has been dragged in the ideological battles to gain political hegemonic status in the Zanu-PF party one faction which is under the leadership of Mnangagwa. The article and its second instalment are both framed in the discourse of counter revolutionary, provides a reflection of how one can view the purging of Mujuru and her allies can be understood in the spectacles of revolution and counter revolutionary.

In this discourse of counter revolutionary is the aspect of the Zanu-PF party hostility towards oppositional parties and the western countries which is revealed when the articles make reference to terms such as ‘moderates’ and ‘imperial world’. Rather these counter revolutionaries are labelled as ‘moderates’ who are reactionary. These moderates are again understood to be sought after by the imperialist western countries, “imperialism seek moderates among us”, (*The Herald*, 13 November 2014: 11). In describing these moderates, the article state that “while the forces of these reactionary people have largely remained concealed over the years, their alleged colleagues in opposition parties and also diplomats from the imperial world”, (*The Herald*, 6 November 2014: 11). This name calling (moderates and counter revolutionaries), can be viewed in light of the concept of stereotyping based on differences and othering. Indeed, those aligned to the Mujuru faction have been stereotypically labelled and othered as ‘moderates’ and ‘counter revolutionaries’ who deserve no place in the Zanu-PF party. In the *Daily News*, framing of counter/anti-revolutionaries, was not prominent, but the terms were used in sympathy with those labelled in *The Herald*, as such.

After highlighting how both papers framed factionalism, it is important at this point to reflect on how both newspapers can be argued to be adopting similar lines in their frames. A look at the *Daily News* and *The Herald*, reveals that both papers understood the consequences of Zanu-PF factional wars in the broader context of the country’s economic performance and relations with the outside world. In its Analysis and Opinion section, under an article titled, ‘*Factionalism, the revolution*

part 11’ by Reason Wafawarova, the writer argues that “... the current preoccupation with factional wars is a very good illustration of how our political hierarchy lack the collective will for national progress”, (*The Herald*, 6 November 2014: pg. 11). Factional wars are noted by *The Herald*, to have created a state of near paralysis in the party, which goes on to affect the country’s performance and implementation of the Zim-Asset. One can still refer to how the paper is linked to one faction and a faithful messenger of the Zanu-PF led government.

For the *Daily News*, factionalism can be argued to have dire consequences for the economy. In its 25 November 2014 issue the paper states that “The well-choreographed bloodbath, masterminded by the party bigwigs is raising serious concerns about its impact on the ever deteriorating government services and Zimbabwe’s ailing economy.”, (*Daily News*, 25 November 2014: 2). Earlier on the *Daily News*, in its Editorial Comment states that “As the ruling party, the rift in Zanu-PF is contagious to the already ailing economy and the lives of ordinary Zimbabweans”, (*Daily News*, 29 September 2014: 8). Both papers can be argued to have framed the disputes in Zanu-PF in the context of their negative implication on the economy. Such a scenario can reveal how the papers assumed a collective will in demonstrating the effects of the disputes within the party, with regards to the economic performance of the country.

Both newspapers also acknowledge and frame factionalism along signs of selfish and destructive deeds bordering on corruption on the part of faction leaders. Even though *The Herald*, attributed greediness to one faction only, deliberately choosing to be silent on the other faction, both papers can be said to have adopted the same line with regards to the aspect of selfishness on the part of faction leaders. The *Daily News*, argues that “In Zanu-PF the warring party members are aware of the serious ramifications of their selfish and destructive deeds which have now reached boiling points.”, (*Daily News*, 29 September 2014, 8). *The Herald*, also states that, “self-centred and power hungry factionists within Zanu-PF”, (*The Herald*, 6 November 2014: 11).

In another article the paper also hints on how those involved in factionalism “were accused of using intimidation, vote buying and outright vote manipulation to influence the outcome of the provincial youth and women’s league conference elections”. Even though both papers framed factionalism within the framework of corruption, greediness and selfishness, *The Herald*, attributed these characteristics to the Mujuru led faction alone, and is silent on the underhand

dealings of the Mnangagwa led faction, which the *Daily News*, explicitly reveals right from the framing of the Baba Jukwa saga in June 2014.

Another aspect which both papers identified as having influenced their framing Zanu-PF factionalism is the element of commercial aspect. Both papers *The Herald* and *Daily News*, acknowledge that their framing of the disputes was influenced by external factors which they both identify as commercial interests. In an interview with representation from both newspapers, framing of factionalism was argued to be done for commercial purposes. The *Daily News*, indicated that news about factional fights within the Zanu-PF party “sold the paper”. The disputes were framed within “commercial consideration” for the paper as the paper had to look at “the retail value of news stories”, (Interview with Gift Phiri, *Daily News*, News Editor, 6 October 2015).

For *The Herald*, the group senior editor pointed out that “the paper covered the stories as they were of commercial interest, as the paper survives on selling news”, (Interview with Zimpapers Senior editor, 5 October 2015). The commercial aspect of the framing, can be said to be justifying Picard’s (1992) view of the media being “big business” that operate just like any other commercial firms. In this case one can discuss how news on factionalism had “all the essential news” that would sell the paper. Additionally, the *Daily News*, news editor also hinted that it is the actions of the elite that makes news, thus actions of Zanu-PF leaders were worth covering.

Differences in the two papers framing of factionalism can be noticed, in news sources used by both papers. Sourcing as explained by Mabweazara, (2011: 108) is “entrenched in the dynamics of the political context as journalist selectively refer to only to those sources that consolidate their newsroom political positioning”. In this case the research established that *The Herald*, relied on very few sources, rather a limited number of sources who were sympathetic to the Mugabe regime. One of the prominent sources used by *The Herald*, is Dr. Charity Manyeruke a head in the political science department at the University of Zimbabwe. No voice of those accused was incorporated in *The Herald’s* framing of factionalism.

The *Daily News*, on the other hand, used various sources and tried as much to be balanced in its coverage of the disputes. Sources used by the *Daily News*, included those from the civil society and those aligned to the Mnangagwa faction and Mujuru faction. In this case one can argue that the *Daily News*, offered a balanced coverage of the disputes as it often quoted Rugare Gumbo, Mugabe and some of Zanu-PF insiders. In an interview with one of Zimpapers group Senior Editor

(name supplied but chose not to have his name included), and the *Daily News*, News Editor, both papers relied on Zanu-PF for news. *Daily News*, News Editor, Gift Phiri indicated that “Zanu-PF sources, documentation from central committee or Politburo reports and press briefings” became a reliable sources of information in their coverage of the disputes within the Zanu-PF party. For the *Daily News*, to be well ahead of *The Herald*, in revealing the disputes and providing a detailed account of the happenings in the Zanu-PF party, the News Editor indicated that they “largely depended on the skills of the *Daily News*, team” in “forging a useful partnership rooted in trust and confidence of sources in our team.” This reveals how the paper went an extra mile to develop and acquire investigative journalistic skills in a bid to promote a particular interpretation of happenings in the Zanu-PF party. On the same note *The Herald*, through the group senior editor indicated that they “relied on the utterances of –the political players for news”.

The framing of Zanu-PF disputes by both papers can be argued to have been through the language of factionalism with both papers adopting different frames but at times both papers would adopt similar frames in their framing of the disputes.

5.2 The discourse of “Weevils” and “Gamatox”: Political identities in the making

The research establish that framing of the Zanu-PF disputes was done in the context of ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ discourse, which later on assumed pseudo identities for the two warring factions. Such terms can be viewed in light of political identities being ascribed, on the basis of othering through differences in the race to succeed the president, by the warring factions. Both *The Herald* and *Daily News*, made use of the terms ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ in their framing of the Zanu-PF infighting. In an interview with both papers editors, the editors indicated that such terms have to be attributed to statements made by the political players in the Zanu-PF party itself, and not the papers themselves.

The discourse of ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ as presented in the *Daily News*, is synonymous with the two warring factions within the Zanu-PF party. In its 29 June 2014 issue the *Daily News*, states that “Kudzayi sensationally claims that Cabinet ministers caused his arrest to appease president Mugabe following his outburst that Zanu-PF had been infiltrated by ‘weevils’ that had to be rooted out.” (*Daily News*, 29 June 2014: 2). Earlier in its 21 June 2014 issue, the paper reports that,

“the nasty and sudden turn of events comes as factional fights deepen in Zanu-PF and follows on Mugabe’s recent scathing attack on Information Minister Jonathan Moyo, whom the 90-year-old described as a ‘weevil’ and ‘devil incarnate... further accusing him of causing divisions in Zanu-PF.”

– (*Daily News*, 21 June 2014).

Thus one can identify how the Mnangagwa led faction and its members who include Jonathan Moyo, came to be associated with the term ‘weevils’ and identified with the term. The paper went on to describe in its 25 July issue how “Mugabe complained that Zanu-PF had been infiltrated by ‘weevils’ (a crop pest) bent on destroying the party from within.” (*Daily News*, 25 July 2014: pg. 2).

Apparently the naming the Mnangagwa led faction as a group of ‘weevils’ led to the naming of the Mujuru led faction as the “Gamatox” following the former “Zanu-PF secretary for administration Didymus Mutasa, who later urged party youths in Mutare to use ‘Gamatox’ (a lethal pesticide) to deal the alleged ‘weevils’”, (*Daily News*, 25 July 2014 pg. 2). This apparently marked the birth of names identified with the two factions in the *Daily News*, newspaper.

Such circumstances can be argued in Hall’s, (1997: 15) terms that “representation mean using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningful, to other people.” Thus for the *Daily News*, to meaningfully represent the disputes within the Zanu-PF party the language of ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ had to be appropriated and used, even though the paper did not take part in introducing these words and ascribing them as identities to specific individuals in the Zanu-PF party. Additionally, the discussion on these synonymous identities also makes reference to Willems, (2004) argument that “the choice of vocabulary also constructs particular ideological representation of events.”, (Willems, 2004: 1769).

Infighting in the Zanu-PF, were framed by the *Daily News*, as bordering on the discourse of ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ with the term ‘weevils’ gaining prominence in the newspaper. This can be witnessed in the following papers’ headlines ‘*No surrender: Mujuru supporters chant pasi nezvipfukuto*’ (*Down with weevils*) slogan’, (*Daily News*, 26 October 2014: 2) and another headline that reads ‘*Oppah is the ‘chief weevil’: Dongo*’, (*Daily News*, 2 November 2014: pg. 4). The *Daily News*, quotes supporters of the Mujuru led faction chanting “Pasi ne zvipfukuto” (To hell with weevils) and the paper went on to indicate that her supporters “vowed that they would never let Zanu-PF be destroyed by ‘weevils’”, (*Daily News*, 26 October 2014: 2). In the article

titled ‘Oppah the ‘chief weevil’: Dongo’ the paper elaborates an interview which the paper had with Margret Dongo, a former Zanu-PF top member and CIO boss, quoting Dongo, “Zvipfukuto, (weevils), are those people who are corrupt who eat and destroy.” Even though Dongo in the interview did not directly identify Oppah Muchinguri as a ‘weevil’ the paper used its own description to label her as such (a chief weevil).

Again the *Daily News*, had to come up with an article titled “*Team Gamatox vs Team Zvipfukuto (weevils)*” (*Daily News*, 24 October 2014). The article describes how the disputes within the ZANU-PF party have generated into social media jokes. Explanation provided by the article indicate that jokes of factionalism in the Zanu-PF party in “the social media has gone viral with some going to the extent of setting imaginary football line ups”, with two teams. These teams namely the ‘Weevils’, (the Mnangagwa led faction) clash with team ‘Gamatox’ (a Mujuru led faction). The paper went on to provide the line up as it appears in the jokes as follows:

Team Gamatox

1. Joyce Mujuru
2. Simon Khaya-Moyo
3. Didymus Mutasa
4. Sydney Sekeramayi
5. Dzikamai Mavhaire
6. Webster Shamu
7. Nicholas Goche
8. Ray Kaukonde
9. Amos Midzi
10. Francis Nhema
11. Temba Mliswa

Team ‘Weevils’

1. Grace Mugabe
2. Emmerson Mnangagwa
3. Oppah Muchinguri
4. Obert Mpofu
5. Ignatius Chombo
6. Saviour Kasukuwere
7. Patrick Chinamasa
8. Josiah Hungwe
9. Jonathan Moyo
10. Phillip Chiyangwa
11. Patrick Zhuwawo

(Source *Daily News*, 24 October 2014)

For the *Daily News*, Team Weevils, comprises of people who are corrupt and greedy. This can be evidenced in the newspapers framing of how the number one character on the line up, Grace Mugabe, has a penchant taste for expensive clothing and grabs of vast tracks of land in the Mazowe district, while the likes of Mnangagwa, Obert Mpofu and Jonathan Moyo have been identified with the failed palace coup, that is the Tsholotsho Declaration of 2004.

Additionally, the *Daily News*, can also be argued to have developed a soft spot for the Team ‘Gamatox’, in its framing of the disputes. This can be evidenced in its headlines such as “*Crisis: Grace creates chaos in Zanu-PF*” (*Daily News*, 19 October 2014); ‘*Grace tour a ‘dud’’* (*Daily News*, 19 October 2014); ‘*Angry Grace goes berserk*’, (*Daily News*, 24 October 2014) and ‘*War veterans, widows abused*’, (*Daily News*, 29 October 2014). In one of its description of the ‘weevils’ leader Grace Mugabe the *Daily News*, states that “... her typical brutal and derisory style, the incoming WL boss also claimed that the embattled VP would be resented by even ‘dogs and mosquitoes’ very soon’, (*Daily News*, 18 November 2014: 2). Apparently this indicates how the paper adopted a frame that sympathised with the Gamatox team in the race to succeed the Mugabe.

In some of its issues the paper also makes use of Grace Mugabe's quotation to question her personality when it quotes her making reference to baby dumbering in describing how Mujuru is to be brought down. Such a strategy can be argued to point at how the paper framed the disputes with a soft spot for team 'Gamatox'.

For *The Herald*, discourse on weevils and Gamatox was not big news as the paper always tried to down play the existence of two rival factions, but one faction led by Joyce Mujuru. In fact, 'weevils' and 'Gamatox' were terms could be used interchangeably to discredit the Mujuru led faction. In *The Herald*, 'weevils' and 'Gamatox' became prominent during the 'Meet the people tour' spearheaded by Grace Mugabe. In essence the frame adopted by *The Herald*, is that one of the Mujuru led faction being ascribed the identity of both 'weevils' and 'Gamatox'. In one of its articles the paper states that "Minister Mnangagwa said when the president Mugabe said there were 'weevils' within Zanu-PF, he meant it and that appropriate action would be taken." (*The Herald*, 3 July 2014).

Another article that also attributed the term weevils, to the Mujuru led faction indicates that "we realised there were 'weevils' in our party that's why we decided to look for a spanner to deal with people who want to destroy the party.' Cde Muchinguri said." (*The Herald*, 15 October 2014). Such a strategic use of direct quotes from sources at rallies, reveal the "ideological and institutional limitations", (Moyo, 2011: 122) of *The Herald*. A look at its 19 June 2014 opinion section the writer states that

"The media tells us that a senior Zanu-PF official recently urged youths of the party to eliminate members of a reported rival camp 'so that we remain with only one camp'. The leader lamentably reminisced the forgotten old days of a banned pesticide by the name Gamatox, purging excitable youths to do their opponents within the party what the deadly Gamatox used to do to weevils.", (*The Herald*, 19 June 2014).

Such sentiments can be argued to be revealing the papers ideological standpoint, even though this opinion denies the existence of two rival camps, but one faction comprising of individuals with an undesirable agenda to destabilise the party from within.

Gamatox, later on took centre stage in *The Herald*, during Grace Mugabe's 'Meet the people tour'. In the framing of the 'Meet the people tour' Gamatox, who happen to be Mutasa is argued to be part and parcel of the weevils. For *The Herald*, Gamatox, is a term synonymous with Didymus Mutasa only and not the whole faction led by Joyce Mujuru. "The first lady denounces him

Gamatox, “Phansi ngeGamatox” she says” (*The Herald*, 15 October 2014). In another article the paper indicates that “Cde Shadreck Mashayamombe was cheered by the crowd when he chanted the popular slogan ‘Pasi neGamatox’ ‘Pasi namai Mujuru’... in Harare Zanu-PF has rejected the divisive leadership of Gamatox.....” (*The Herald*, 22 November 2014). Such utterances as they appear in the paper reveal how the paper has twisted the discourse of ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ to suit its ideological standpoint and its aligned faction, in the construction of the reality surrounding the factional wars within the Zanu-PF party.

At some point *The Herald*, appears to be maintaining neutrality in using the terms, ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’. this can be evidenced in statements such a “The meeting was also punctuated with slogans such as ‘Pasi ne Gamatox’ and ‘Pasi nezvipfukuto (weevils)’ that define the party along factional lines”, (*The Herald*, 27 October 2014). In the opinion section one writer argues that “the Marondera scene was probably the most melodramatic, what with all the revolutionary and neo-revolutionary slogans of ‘Gamatox’ and ‘weevils’. These are new words that have entered the political lexicon of Zimbabwe”, (*The Herald*, 22 October 2014). What is apparent is the element of biased neutrality that turns a blind eye or rather rejects that such utterances were based on the affiliation of supporters to each of the rivalling camps.

In the majority of *The Herald’s*, articles ‘Gamatox’ and ‘weevils’ are political names that are thrust on anyone who is against the Mnangagwa led faction backed by Grace Mugabe. This can be witnessed in one of its opinion article in which the writer contends that “Ironically this key person in president Mugabe’s key and inner circles became one of the secret enemies. Ironically he called for the ‘Gamatoxing’ of ‘weevils’ that president Mugabe decried were eating into Zanu-PF from within Mutasa was ironically a ‘weevil’ himself, who sought to destroy president Mugabe and the Zanu-PF party from within’.

A look at the manner in which the two papers framed the disputes within the context of ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’, reveals a clear distinction in frames the adopted. For the *Daily News*, ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ were terms that described two rivalling camps. One was led by Mujuru and the other was led by Mnangagwa. Both camps each had a name with the Mujuru led camp being identified as the ‘Gamatox’ and the Mnangagwa camp being identified as the ‘weevils’ camp. These identities can be viewed in light of the concept of differences as advanced by Hall, (1997),

which seeks to provide boundaries which are crucial in the production of meaning and construction of reality.

In addition, borrowing from Dyer, (1979: 28) differences as reflected in information we accumulate facilitates for the categorisation of events, “within different order of typification”. The research also established that such identities are also based on the concept of othering, in which both factions as portrayed by the *Daily News*, sought to delegitimise the other through underhand dealings. In this case the research concludes that the *Daily News*, employed stereotyping in the framing of the disputes and advanced the ‘othering’ of the warring parties just like *The Herald* did.

For *The Herald*, ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ are political identities which were used interchangeably to refer to individuals accused of fanning factionalism, and not referring to the two warring factions. The research can reveal that *The Herald’s*, framing borders on othering specific individuals who have been associated with the 2008 *Bhora Musango* song. Ranger, (2005) though not explicitly referring to the concept of othering, can be argued to have hinted on such practices in the state run media when he advanced his ‘Patriotic Journalism’ thesis. In this case patriotic journalism as advanced by Ranger, (2005) can be argued to be responsible for ascribing identities to those who sought to destroy the party from within as ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’.

This shows a transition from the use of terms such as ‘sell-outs’ and ‘traitors’. Terms such as sell-outs and traitors are argued by Ranger, (2004: 10) to be “traced to early days during the armed struggle” which were terms used to refer to “characters on either side of that same line” that is between ZAPU and ZANU. The ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ yesterday in *The Herald*, were hailed as gallant patriots of the revolution who deserve respect from the citizens, and in 2014’s political dictionary their name entry are now synonymous with ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ who sought to destroy the party from within. These are now individuals who have gone astray, who are now labelled as power hungry, selfish and corrupt. In essence this can be linked to Ranger’s, (2004: 11) observation of how patriotic journalism is “narrow and decisive”.

In a way both newspapers constructed a view of the disputes within the Zanu-PF party in the discourse of ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’. It can be concluded that the discourse on ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ was appropriated by both newspapers in a different fashion as both papers struggled to out-perform each other and promote a particular interpretation of the disputes. For the *Daily News*, ‘weevils’ was a term synonymous with the Mnangagwa faction, while ‘Gamatox’ was

synonymous with the Mujuru faction. In *The Herald*, both terms, ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ were synonymous with any one camp responsible for fanning factionalism, that is Mujuru and her cabal.

5.3 Grace Mugabe’s entry: A dramatic turning point in Zanu-PF politics

The research can reveal that *The Herald* and *Daily News*, adopted different frames in their coverage of Grace Mugabe’s entry into politics as the party was riled by factional wars. The discussion below is to highlight on the distinctive manner in which both papers reflect on the entry of Grace Mugabe as a blessing and a curse for the party and a broader sense of the term politics in Zimbabwe. The research established that, in *The Herald*, sense Grace, entry was a blessing, while for the *Daily News*, it marked the beginning of the night of the long knives in the Zanu-PF party.

The Herald, framed Grace Mugabe’s entry into Zanu-PF politics as a move that was aimed at ending factionalism and deserved due credit. In one of its headlines titled ‘*Women back first lady for politburo*’, (*The Herald*, 26 July 2014), the writer makes reference to the “late First Lady Sally Mugabe who led the women’s league” as having managed to solve the same “problem of factionalism” within the Zanu-PF party by that time. Even the recent move by Grace Mugabe is also framed as designed to achieve the same results as Amai Sally Mugabe’s achieved. The same issue also carries another article titled, ‘*Amai Mugabe raps factionalism*’ (*The Herald*, 26 July 2014). The article also demonstrates or reveals how the paper supported the elevation of the first lady as a noble idea.

In its 19 August 2014 issue titled ‘*First lady’s elevation to quell factionalism*’, the paper goes on eulogy praising the first lady. She is viewed as possessing a “huge unifying effect, to the party that had been racked by division and factions.” The paper then latter on states that “Mai Mugabe has amassed political capital as a politician in her own right not least because she has visibly and actively stood by her husband over the years when others who are now making were playing *Bhora Musango*, against president Mugabe”, (*The Herald*, 19 August 2014: pg. 2). For the research *The Herald*, is trying to justify the presence of and elevation of Grace Mugabe to lead the women’s league basing on her officiating role at various function. Another notable point is the aspect of *Bhora Musango*, which the paper did not explicitly elaborate, but decided to mention in passing. In the research this indicates future events that the audiences were to expect in the following months especially in October when the *Bhora Musango*, team was finally revealed and shamed.

In *The Herald*, entry of Grace Mugabe into politics was given a positive frame and it was treated as a blessing for the party. The paper subjected Grace entry into Zanu-PF politics with headlines and articles that reflected her entry and hope for the party which was suffering from weevils bent on destroying the party from within. This can be witnessed in headlines such as ‘*Amai Mugabe raps factionalism*’ (*The Herald*, 26 July 2014); ‘*Women back first lady for politburo*’, (*The Herald*, 26 July 2014); ‘*First lady elevation to quell factionalism*’, (*The Herald*, 19 August 2014); ‘*Amai Mugabe to nip factionalism in the bud*’ (*The Herald*, 9 October 2014). Dedicated pages in the newspaper were also published that carried her speech during her ‘Meet the people tour’ under different headlines. In its framing the paper can be argued to have taken a pro Mnangagwa led faction stance which saw the paper publishing Grace Mugabe’s attacks on Mujuru and her colleagues. What is of interest is the papers word selection when addressing Grace. The paper used titles such as ‘*Amai*’ and ‘*First Lady*’. Such use of titles, implied the paper was according all due respect to Grace Mugabe and wanted the audience to interpret it as such.

Providing an analysis on the entry of Grace in Zanu-PF politics is relevant in understanding how the media especially *The Herald*, framed the disputes in the party from an ideological point of view and interrogating news values and how they are selectively employed. To achieve this the research advances the notion that *The Herald*, attributed full coverages and allocated full pages to Grace Mugabe’s, Meet the people tour speeches. All the tours that Grace Mugabe embarked became headlines in *The Herald*. A look at the papers issue on the 9th of October 2014 headline titled ‘*Live: Amai Grace Mugabe Rally in Bulawayo*’ reveals how the story in the paper had taken sides with the Mnangagwa led faction. The act of giving Grace’s speech prominent coverage and headline titles can be argued to be revealing the paper ideological stance and lack of objectivity as such prominence was embedded with pro Mnangagwa’s sentiments. Rather the tours became a major source of news for *The Herald*, as more headlines were generated out of these tours.

Among these headlines is the one reading ‘*Call to fire inept cabinet ministers*’, (*The Herald*, 17 October 2014); ‘*Kaukonde rapped over factionalism*’, (*The Herald*, 18 October 2014); ‘*Nothing wrong with minister’s presence at Amai’s rallies*’, (*The Herald*, 17 October 2014). *The Herald*, also defended what the First lady preached in these meet the people tours, as one of its headline reads, ‘*Papers twist First Lady’s Vice President words*’, (*The Herald*, 15 October 2015). Another headline that carried a story that sympathised with the Grace Mugabe reads, ‘*Rowdy Mutare*

youths disrupt Sakubva rally, (*The Herald*, 11 October 2014). The article categorised the youths who “claimed they were defending the name of Zanu-PF secretary for administration” Didymus Mutasa as “unruly youths” (*The Herald*, 11 October 2014). In terms of objectivity the paper can be said to have lacked objectivity as its selection of headline stories was biased towards pro-Mnangagwa faction meet the people tour rallies by the first lady.

Framing of Grace Mugabe role in quelling factionalism in *The Herald*, can also be evidenced in how the paper selectively used diction to explain people’s attendance at her rallies and their reaction to some of Grace Mugabe’s utterances. Terms such as “rapturous applause from the gathering” and “all of them unanimously affirmed by show of hands”, (*The Herald*, 26 July 2014). In another article describing attendance of people at Grace Mugabe’s Meet the people tour, the paper clearly states that “Addressing a bumper crowd at..... the highly subscribed rally ...”, (*The Herald*, 7 October 2014). In yet another article the paper in describing the audience response states that “First lady denounces him Gamatox, ‘Phansi ngeGamatox’, she says, much to the amusement of the crowd..... Amai Mugabe takes to the podium amid wild cheers from the crowd and youths.....”, (*The Herald*, 15 October 2014). This choice of words entails how the paper tried to sell the idea that Grace Mugabe is truly a heroine, an individual who has found favour in the people eyes through her moment of truths speech’s which denounces those aligned to the Mujuru faction.

Again the paper later on framed Grace role and involvement into politics her meet the people tour as a victory to Zanu-PF and its battle to end factionalism. The research can reveal this through headlines such as ‘*Zanu-PF supporters stage demo against Savanhu*’ (*The Herald*, 22 November 2014); ‘*Brand new signature is sealed as First Lady sets trademark*’, (*The Sunday Mail*, 19 October 2014); ‘*Anti – Kaukonde Demos in Marondera*’ (*The Herald*, 5 November 2014); ‘*Faction bigwigs confirms coup plot*’, (*The Sunday Mail*, 30 November 2014). Such headlines can be argued to be attributing agency to effects of the ‘Meet the people tours’ by Grace Mugabe. In all this *The Herald*’s, framing can be expressed in terms of myth creation and its role in constructing social reality, (Silverblatt, 2009; Barthes, 1973). This implies that *The Herald*’s, framing aimed to construct a myth of Grace Mugabe as an individual who possess unify qualities and a faction buster. This was also achieved through the use of discourse that othered Joyce Mujuru and all those who were linked to her, as responsible for the 2008 *Bhora Musango*, and corruption.

Framing of Grace Mugabe and factionalism in the *Daily News*, is in sharp contrast to *The Herald's* framing of Grace Mugabe and factionalism in the Zanu-PF. In its 31 August 2014 issue titled '*Grace Mugabe muddies Zim political scene*' the newspaper states that "But like her husband, Grace has a crunch for giving speeches with fiery and hostile language", (*Daily News*, 31 August 2014). The paper thus has already reached a conclusion on how Grace was unfit to tread into Zimbabwe's political landscape. The article can be argued to have been in support of one of its earlier article which state that "Robert Mugabe's wife is an ambitious but divisive character who would subtract more than she will add anything to Zanu-PF", (*Daily News*, 9 August 2014: 1-2).

In the 9 August 2014 article the paper also quotes a political commentator by the name Shepard Mntungwa, "somebody high up the party needs to quickly get hold of her and tell her to shut up for her sake and her husbands..... Shows her up as seemingly corrupt and drunk with power", (*Daily News*, 9 August 2014: 2). Even in its editorial opinion the paper also indicates that "Grace is sending chills within Zanu-PF For those in Zanu-PF who once crossed her path, it seems it will be pay-back time once she lands the post", (*Daily News*, 11 August 2014: 8). This the research concludes that for the *Daily News*, Grace entry into politics is not a blessing but a curse for Zanu-PF. Apparently the newspaper is expressing its disapproval Grace's involvement in Zanu-PF politics.

For the *Daily News*, Grace is a loose cannon that knows no boundary in the field of politics.in an editorial comment titled, '*Dr' Grace define factionalism*, (*Daily News*, 19 October 2014: 8), the paper rightly states that "despite recently acquiring a doctorate from the University of Zimbabwe, First Lady Grace Mugabe remains a loose cannon and should never be allowed anywhere near a microphone. Her tongue is full of hate speech and is a divisive element judging from the way she has fuelled more chaos, tension and hatred in Zanu-PF", (*Daily News*, 19 October 2014: 8). A look at such statements reflect on the papers disapproval of Grace Mugabe's role in Zanu-PF politics. For the *Daily News*, Grace Mugabe is failing to be a role model first lady women, given that she recently acquired a doctorate degree, which the *Daily News*, use to discredit her.

To reveal its disapproval, the paper also frames Grace involvement in Zanu-PF politics as providing a leverage for one faction and the demise of one faction. In its editorial the paper blames Grace for taking sides, "This simply means that the larger group here is Zanu-PF and it has two factions so why was the 'learned' Grace criticising one group led by Mujuru? What about the one

fronted by the Defence Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa?”, (*Daily News*, 19 October 2014: 8). In another article the paper also states that “Grace had addressed several rallies in the Midlands, Manicaland..... where she has clearly aligned with the Mnangagwa faction. In all rallies she has brutally attacked Mujuru.” (*Daily News*, 14 October 2014: 2).

In another headline titled *Angry Grace goes berserk She says Mujuru must be sacked, Mnangagwa a better leader*”, (*Daily News*, 24 October 2014: 1-2), the paper reflects on how the Mujuru faction is under heavy criticism from the first lady, who is now aligned to the Mnangagwa faction, in a bid to rid of Mujuru and those aligned to her faction. Thus the manner in which the paper frames Grace’s statements and tour’s, reveals how it is against Grace involvement in Zanu-PF politics and its undesirable consequences especially to the of the warring factions.

Again the paper also makes use of Grace’s statements during her meet the people tours, to criticise her entry into politics and its disapproval stance. In an article titled *Rantings of a ‘First Lady’*, (*Daily News*, 26 October 2014), the paper provides extracts from some of her utterances during her tours and provide a commentary on such statements. The article questions her choice of words with specific reference to the baby dumping one, “The Mujuru was jibe that she had to be baby dumped was viewed with a connotation that Dr Gire is a confessed lover and protector of children but her intention to dump Mujuru was ill placed”, (*Daily News*, 26 October 2014: 3). The article which is a follow up to the 17 October 2014 issue, in which the paper start by providing a defence of the paper in the face of Jonathan Moyo’s attack titled, *Grace wants Mujuru out..... Says flies and dogs would resent her*. The article state that, “The remarks made at the rally during her ongoing Meet the People tour, in Bindura are likely to further unsettle Information Minister Jonathan Moyo who criticised independent newspapers on Tuesday for correctly capturing that President Robert Mugabe’s wife had openly attacked Mujuru”, (*Daily News*, 17 October 2014: 1). Thus the research argued that the framing of Grace in the *Daily News*, to a certain extent is one that promote resentment Grace and does not support her. This is achieved through its reporting on how Grace Mugabe took sides with one faction led by Mnangagwa at the expense of one led by Mujuru, instead of playing a neutralising role.

At different intervals the *Daily News*, adopted a frame that acknowledge Grace Mugabe’s, support from her supporters and people who attended her ‘Meet the people tour’. Such a dramatic frame can be evidenced in statements such as “Cheering from the crowd, The crowd roars in approval,

Ululation and clapping from the crowd”, (*Daily News*, 26 October 2014). Not only does the paper show signs of objective reporting, but the paper also managed to reveal the jokes and jibes that are uttered by Grace. In the same article, Grace’s utterances are described as “bizarre and at the same time comic in their delivery. Her choice of words was worrisome for a first lady and she elicited outright laughter in in some instances..... people laughed and it became a talking point.” (*Daily News*, 26 October 2014: 3). Attention by the *Daily News*, on how the first lady sent people laughing provide a basis upon which the research conclude that not only was Grace’s presence in Zanu-PF politics a curse in the party but a source of comic relief as her utterances did elicit laughter in the people who attended her rallies.

A look at the manner in which *The Herald* and *Daily News*, framed Grace’s entry into Zanu-PF politics reveals how both papers adopted differing frames, and promoted different interpretations of her involvement in the disputes. *The Herald’s*, was that of the first lady as an individual capable offending factionalism in the Zanu-PF party. In promoting its frame, *The Herald*, choose to be silent on her apparent alignment to the Mnangagwa led faction through her attacks on the ‘Gamatox’ faction led by Mujuru. In revealing this *The Herald*, dedicated some of its pages to full texts of Grace’s speeches on her meet the people tour and it also represented her tours as a success for the party and her as a political figure.

For the *Daily News*, Grace’s entry into Zanu-PF politics signalled a crisis for the party, being divided and fractured by the first lady’s loose cannon. The *Daily News*, also frames also concentrate on how the first lady sought to destroy the Mujuru led faction and how she played an instrumental role in the demise of the Mujuru faction. Borrowing from Moyo, (2011) the framing of Grace Mugabe can be summarised in the following words, “political news by focusing on an individual and constructing them as the protagonists of a story where the myths of heroism, villain or tempitude are used not only to thematise the story but also to produce a sense of conflict in it.”, (Moyo, 2011: 126).

5.4 Conclusion

This section has explored on the presentation of findings of data gathered during the research. The major highlights of the chapter were the aspects of factionalism, discourse of ‘weevils’ and ‘Gamatox’ as framed in the *Daily News* and *The Herald*. The subsequent chapter is dedicated to concluding the research.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusion

6.0 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to concluding the research. The purpose of the chapter is to highlight on the major themes and issues raised in the study and offer a critical evaluation on the findings. Recommendations and further areas of research will be highlighted in this section.

6.1 Concluding Remarks

The representation of Zanu-PF political disputes in *Daily News* and *The Herald*, was the major subject interrogated in the research. The research focused on questioning how both newspapers framed the disputes as the media play a crucial role in the construction of reality, through representation, (Hall, 1997; Hoijer, 2011; Moscovici, 1961). For Hall, 1997: 7) representation entails, “using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully to other people”. In other words, the research sought to reflect on how *The Herald* and *Daily News*, strategically used language to construct a reality of the disputes that threatened the existence of Zanu-PF.

Major theories that informed the research were discourse, power and framing and patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism. As representation entails using language to inform and construct reality meaningfully, the identified theories offered a framework upon which the research had to question how language, referred to discourse by Foucault, (1979), was used in framing Zanu-PF disputes in light of institutional, commercial and political limitations. Interrogating the representation of Zanu-PF disputes within the context of discourse, power and framing, allowed the research to provide an understanding of the major themes the newspapers highlighted in their portrayal of the disputes. Again this also enabled the research to explore on the frames adopted by the newspapers within the broader context of ideological and commercial limitations.

Patriotic and oppositional journalism, offered a framework in which the research could provide an understanding of how both papers articulated issues on Zanu-PF disputes. Advanced by Ranger, (2005) and explored by various scholars, such as Chuma, (2008); Tendi, (2009) and Ncube, (2014) among others, patriotic, hate and oppositional journalism explores how the media in Zimbabwe came to be divided along different ideological standpoints that threaten aspects such as objectivity and balanced and fair coverage. In this case the research questions the aspect of objective and

how patriotic and oppositional journalism manifested itself in the framing of disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. Apparently the research established how these competing journalistic practices can be evidenced in the manner in which both papers at times adopted different frames in the representation of and interpretation of the same event. All this was can be said to have been facilitated by the need to construct a particular interpretation of the reality surrounding Zanu-PF warring factions. Thus the theories were a major guiding framework in interrogating how *The Herald* and *Daily News*, framed Zanu-PF infighting.

Information gathered in the research revealed that *The Herald* and *Daily News*, understood the disputes within the Zanu-PF party in the language of factionalism. The papers adopted different, diverging frames in their representation of the disputes. Such frames can be argued to have been within the confines of selection and attribution of salience. Both papers strategically selected information to include in their representation and also attributed salience to particular interpretations of the same events. Thus through selection and attribution of salience, the research can argue *The Herald*, framed factionalism as being fanned by a group of individuals thought to be aligned or sympathetic to the former vice president Joyce Mujuru.

A reflection on how *The Herald*, omitted the role or contributory factor of the Mnangagwa led faction in the race to succeed the president is another point of reference in the difference between its framing of the disputes and the *Daily News*'. Rather the paper deliberately chose not to acknowledge the existence of the Mnangagwa led faction for reasons best known to the paper. Disputes within the party in *The Herald*, framed in the language of factionalism saw terms such as counter revolutionary and moderates being used. Thus in Pickering, (2001) characters labelled as such were excluded on the basis of them being moderates.

For the *Daily News*, factionalism was interpreted as a 'regime gone mad'. The paper's framing of the disputes in the language of factionalism can be argued to have adopted an oppositional journalism stance, when juxtaposed to *The Herald's*, frame. In justifying this point, the research can point to how the paper promoted a view of the factional fights as a pointer to the ruling party's failure to embrace democratic value and nurture internal democracy. In this respect reference can be made to Chuma's, (2008) observation that the *Daily News*, adopted a nothing good can come out of the state, when he was meditating on the framing of the 2000 elections. The same scenario can be argued to be the case with its framing of the Zanu-PF disputes.

To prove its point true, the *Daily News*, attributed agency to the statements by Zanu-PF officials and a variety of sources who offered commentary. In most cases sources were drawn from the civil society and analysts. The *Daily News*, adopted a frame that was in total opposite to that one of its rival, *The Herald*. In contrast to *The Herald's*, view of the existence of one faction, the *Daily News*, acknowledged the existence of two rivalling factions, one led by Mnangagwa pitting the one led by Mujuru. In its coverage the *Daily News*, can be argued to have been guided journalistic ethical standards, which can be witnessed in ability to accommodate voices from both rivalling factions, and comments from various individuals, institutions and other relevant political players.

Commercial imperatives also contributed in the framing of the Zanu-PF succession disputes in both papers. As editors from both papers revealed in an interview, the framing of the disputes, the research established was subjected to commercial interests, in terms of the retail value of the stories. Such observations can be discussed in light of Albarran's, (2000) view that the media operate in a dual market place. In this market both papers were selling information to the audiences, at the same time generating revenue from advertisers through audience ratings.

The research also established that framing of the disputes was also done within the discourse of 'weevils' and 'Gamatox' which can be argued to have been political identities ascribed to certain individuals in the political sphere. Even though both paper make reference to the terms, *The Herald*, stereotypically labelled one faction only, as comprising both 'weevils' and 'Gamatox', with 'Gamatox' being identified as synonymous with Didymus Mutasa. Thus the research makes reference to the concept of stereotyping based on differences, (Hall, 1997; Dyer, 1999; Klapp, 1962). The terms signify how the "othered" (weevils and Gamatox), did not qualify to be part of the Zanu-PF party due to their counter revolutionary attributes which became a defining point.

In the *Daily News*, 'weevils' and 'Gamatox' became political identities synonymous with the two warring factions. The term 'weevils' was attributed to the Mnangagwa led faction, with the term 'Gamatox' being identified with the Mujuru faction. For the *Daily News*, the Gamatox faction was at the mercy of the 'weevils' faction and the paper at times sympathised with the Mujuru faction. At this point the research borrows from Hall's, (1996) discussion on the fluidity of identities, which implies that identities are multiple, ever changing and not fixed. For the research political identities such a counter revolutionary, moderates, 'weevils' and Gamatox were employed to other the undesirable elements within the party. In essence it can be argued that these ascribed identities

were strategically introduced, as before the disputes became public those ascribed those identities were formally referred to as the gallant sons and daughters of Zimbabwe, true patriots who fought a deserving battle.

The framing of the disputes can also be understood in how the paper gave prominence to the entry of Grace Mugabe in Zanu-PF politics. The state run newspaper, *The Herald*, portrayed the involvement of Grace Mugabe in Zanu-PF politics as a blessing party as she was framed as one capable of ending factionalism in the party. Her Meet the people tours, which were punctuated with insults on the Mujuru led faction were even defended by the newspaper, “like a bolt from the blue, the first lady Dr. Grace Mugabe hit the nail on the head tearing factionalism in Zanu-PF..... she did not mention names, but it was obvious what she was talking about and who she was talking about. The media seduced her messages and arrows were pointing at VP Mujuru.”, (*The Sunday Mail*, 19 October 2014: 9). The tours were categorised as a moment of truth for those who were fanning factionalism in the party. Full pages were allocated to her ‘Meet the people tour’ speeches.

The *Daily News*, never acknowledge Grace Mugabe entry into politics. It framed her entry as making the beginning of chaos in the factional torn party, this can be evidenced in some of its headlines which read, *Grace divides Zanu-PF*, (*Daily News*, 9 August 2014); *Grace Mugabe muddies Zim political scene*, (*Daily News*, 31 August 2014); *Crisis, Grace creates chaos in Zanu-PF.....*, (*Daily News*, 19 October 2014: 1). Such headlines among others reveals how the paper never approved Grace Mugabe’s entry into Zanu-PF politics. In fact, for the paper her entry marked the demise of the Mujuru led faction and in the paper she is also accused of taking sides, siding with the Mnangagwa faction at the expense of the Mujuru faction. Her ‘Meet the people tour’ were understood as a crusading attack on the Mujuru led faction and a worthless, *Grace tours a ‘dud’*, (*Daily News*, 19 October 2014: 6).

Representations have been argued by Hall, (1997) to be a game of power punctuated by elements of inclusion and exclusion, othering, and omission in Foucault, (1979) terms. Thus both paper’s adopted frames that sought to promote a particular interpretation of and construct specific realities of the disputes with the Zanu-PF party.

6.2 Further areas of research

Further research can be done in interrogating audiences reception of news that portrayed the disputes. In this case enquiry has to be done in ascertain how the audiences reacted to the news especially online readers as online newspapers offer unlimited space for comments and debate. Additionally, researches can also be conducted to ascertain how the disputes generated jokes and how the jokes can be understood in the broader context of socio-political status of the country.

6.3 Conclusion

The research has established that the framing of the Zanu-PF disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*, was done in the context of patriotic and oppositional journalism. *The Herald*, adopted a frame that sympathised with one faction in the Zanu-PF party, while the *Daily News*, took a frame that promoted their view of a regime that has gone insane. Thus both papers adopted frames that were in total opposite. Both papers were also driven by commercial interests as they sought to promote a constructed version of the reality that surrounded the succession disputes within the party, pitting two rival factions, one led by Emmerson Mnangagwa and the other by Joyce Mujuru.

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Appendix 1

Interview Guide for the research

My name is Kurauone Masungu, a Master of Science in Media and Society Studies student at the Midlands State University. As part of my studies I am conducting a research on the framing of Zanu-PF succession disputes in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. As such the research involves conducting interviews and I am kindly requesting for your assistance through answering the questions to be asked. Information gathered shall be strictly used for academic purposes alone and shall be regarded as confidential. Your corporation is greatly appreciated.

Interview questions (unstructured interview)

1. What motivational factors inspired you to cover the succession disputes within the Zanu-PF party?
2. How have you been able to access information on the disputes?
3. How can you characterise your reportage of the disputes?
4. Do you think the way you framed the disputes was objective and accurate?
5. Some commentators reflect on the aspect of polarisation due to differences in political or ideological views, how has this impacted on how you framed the disputes?
6. What factors were influencing your page allocation with regards to articles that dealt with the succession disputes?
7. How best can you describe your word selection and use in the framing of the disputes?
8. Reflecting on your portrayal of the disputes, how best can you describe your previous representation of the disputes before January 2014?
9. Was there any remarkable shift in terms of your portrayal of the disputes when the disputes became public talk?
10. Were there any political, commercial or any other pressures that shaped your coverage of the matter?
11. If yes may you explain?

Appendix 4
Selected *Herald*, articles

Appendix 5
Selected *Daily News* articles

Appendix 6
Interview transcription