

# MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

**'GLOBAL MEDIA' COVERAGE OF THE ZDF INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE**

**IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

BY

TIMOTHY KURWA

R172671H

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF SCIENCE IN MEDIA AND SOCIETY

STUDIES (MMSS)

MAY 2018

**DECLARATION BY STUDENT**

I, Timothy Kurwa do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work, has not been submitted for any degree or submitted for the degree or examination at any other University and that the sources I have used have been fully acknowledged by complete references. This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the Master of Science degree in Media and Society Studies in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Midlands University.

**Dissertation Topic:** Global media coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe: The Case of Al Jazeera and the BBC.

**Supervisor Signature:**..... **Date:**.....

**Student signature:**..... **Date:**.....

**DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR**

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

**Name of Student:** Kurwa Timothy

**Dissertation Topic:** Global media coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe: The Case of Al Jazeera and the BBC.

**Name of Supervisor:** Dr. Albert Chibuwe

**Supervisor’s Signature:** ..... **Date:**.....

DISSERTATION – MMSS (R172671H)  
**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

**DEDICATION**

This study is dedicated to my parents, wife, children, brothers, sisters, relatives and all stakeholders who find this dissertation an invaluable source of information.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Firstly, and foremost I would like to thank the Lord who has taken me this far. Secondly the author acknowledges the invaluable assistance given by the following people who supported this study in one way or another

- Dr. Albert Chibuwe for his esteemed guidance and constructive comments.
- My colleagues for motivating me.
- Media and Society Studies Lecturers who include, Professor Mhiripiri, the Chairperson, Dr. Mugari, Dr L. Ncube, Dr. O. Ureke, Dr. N. Mapuwei for guiding me throughout the studies.
- Finally, for the record continued thanks to my family for their unwavering moral support and encouragement during the course of my studies.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

**ABSTRACT**

This study sought to identify and establish the frames employed by *Al Jazeera* and the *BBC* in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. The researcher was interested in unpacking all the meanings intended in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance. Framing theory informed the study. The study employed archival research, textual analysis augmented with critical discourse analysis and prescriptive thematic analysis for data presentation. The study found out that the global media coverage of the ZDF intervention perpetuated the use of the negative frames on Africa such as political instability and conflict, war and coup. Discourses of human rights, democracy and governance were used to vindicate the intervention. *Al Jazeera* and the *BBC* portrayed the coup as an intervention aimed at removing a dictator from power. The study concluded that the global media warmed up to the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe that was anti-Mugabe thus the military intervention was a necessary evil.

## **ACRONYMS**

AJE	Al Jazeera English
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CNN	Cable News Network
GNU	Government of National Unity
SADC	Southern African Development Community
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
OFCOM	Office of Communication
UK	United Kingdom
UNSC	United nations Security Council
ZDF	Zimbabwe Defence Forces
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

DISSERTATION – MMSS (R172671H)  
**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

**LIST OF APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A: ARTICLES FROM AL JAZEERA.....Error! Bookmark not defined.**

**APPENDIX B: ARTICLES FROM BBC .....Error! Bookmark not defined.**



# GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION BY STUDENT .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>ACRONYMS .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>LIST OF APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.0 Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1 Background of the study .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2 Statement of the Problem.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>1.3 Objectives.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>1.4 Research Questions.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>1.5 Significance of the study .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1.6 Assumptions.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1.7 Delimitations.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.8 Limitations.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.9 Structure of the Study .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1.10 Chapter Summary .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>2.0 Introduction.....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>2.1 An overview of global media.....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>2.2 Sociology of News – news as social construct .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>2.3 Coverage of African Issues by the global media. ....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>2.4 Coverage of military takeover/coups by the media .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>2.5 Post 2000 Coverage of Zimbabwe issues by the Global Media.....</b>	<b>20</b>

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

<b>2.6</b>	<b>Framing Theory .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2.7</b>	<b>Chapter Summary .....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>		<b>28</b>
<b>3.0</b>	<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>3.1</b>	<b>Research Paradigm.....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>3.2</b>	<b>Research Design .....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>3.3</b>	<b>Population.....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>3.4</b>	<b>Unit of Analysis .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>3.5</b>	<b>Sampling Approach .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>3.6</b>	<b>Methods of Data Gathering.....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>3.7</b>	<b>Methods of Data Analysis.....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>3.7.1</b>	<b>Textual analysis.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>3.7.2</b>	<b>Critical Discourse Analysis .....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>3.8</b>	<b>Methods of Data Presentations .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3.9</b>	<b>Qualitative research and issues of validity, objectivity and reliability .....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>3.10</b>	<b>Ethical Considerations.....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>3.11</b>	<b>Chapter Summary .....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4: ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS .....</b>		<b>44</b>
<b>4.0</b>	<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>4.1</b>	<b>Al Jazeera historical background.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>4.1.1</b>	<b>Al Jazeera Ownership, structure and control .....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>4.1.2</b>	<b>Al Jazeera's Editorial policy .....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>4.2</b>	<b>The BBC historical background .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>4.2.2</b>	<b>BBC's Editorial policy .....</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>4.2.3</b>	<b>The role of Advertisers in the BBC .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>4.3</b>	<b>Chapter Summary .....</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION.....</b>		<b>55</b>
<b>5.0</b>	<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>55</b>

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

**5.1 Zimbabwe Military in ZANU-PF Leadership Contest (Al Jazeera and BBC) ..... 55**

**5.2 Coup or not coup? (Al Jazeera and The BBC)..... 58**

**5.3 Hero, Liberator and Father (BBC) ..... 62**

**5.4 Dictator, Villain, Despot (Al Jazeera and BBC)..... 63**

**5.5 Mugabe, humiliated and powerless (Al Jazeera and BBC)..... 65**

**5.6 Uncertainty and optimism after army takeover (BBC and Al Jazeera) ..... 68**

**5.7 A New Era of hope for Zimbabweans (Al Jazeera and BBC) ..... 69**

**5.8 Chapter Summary ..... 71**

**CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... 72**

**6.0 Introduction..... 72**

**6.1 Concluding Remarks ..... 72**

**6.2 Suggestions for further study..... 73**

**6.3 Conclusion ..... 74**

**References ..... 75**

**APPENDIX A: ARTICLES FROM AL JAZEERA..... 83**

**APPENDIX B: ARTICLES FROM BBC..... 93**

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC****CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION****1.0 Introduction**

'Global media' coverage of Africa has been a subject of scholarly debate for a long time with scholars, African journalists and politicians criticizing it for both its quality and quantity. My study seeks to examine how the 'global media' (*Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*) framed the Zimbabwe Defence Forces' (ZDF) intervention in governance in Zimbabwe in the context of change in power dynamics in governance. Mugabe was the Commander in Chief of the ZDF and his regime was viewed as dictatorial and authoritarian by the 'global media'. The intervention was code named "*Operation Restore Legacy*." Operation Restore Legacy was intended to stabilise the worsening ruling party power struggles that were pushing the economy to the wall. As a result, Mugabe resigned the presidency after a nearly four-decade rule of the country thus ushering a new era in the Zimbabwean history of governance. The ZDF is a professional army established in 1980 through the integration of the ZANLA, ZIPRA military wings and the remnant Rhodesian forces. It is mandated to "protect Zimbabwe, its people, national security and interests, and its territorial integrity and to uphold the constitution" (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013; Part II Sections 211 & 212). The study covers the period 13 November 2017 to 24 November 2017, where a series of political events unfolded, inclusive of the start and end of Operation Restore Legacy. The next section discusses the background of the study.

**1.1 Background of the study**

Drastic measures to intervene militarily in governance started from the 13<sup>th</sup> of November to the 24<sup>th</sup> November 2017. During this period, unfolding events were marked by the breaking of a standing tradition by the Zimbabwe Defense Forces (ZDF) through interfering directly in civil political affairs as a result of "instability in the ruling party". This was followed with Mugabe resigning the presidency, the inauguration of His Excellency, President Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa as the Second Executive President and Commander-in-Chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces since the country's independence in 1980, the appointment of a new Cabinet among other related events.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Internationally military interventions are sanctioned by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) with the concurrence of the continental and regional bodies (Maeresera, 2012). According to the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) Section 213(1) only the president, who is the Commander in Chief of the Defence Forces has the mandate to deploy military forces for operations. Any other military operations outside the recognized structures is considered a coup and thus cannot be recognized by the regional and international structures. The international community detests coups in general and the 'global media' is vocal about it, worse still if coming from governments who are considered undemocratic and therefore do not share the same ideology with them. This study teases out the frames and discourses used by the global media in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance juxtaposing it with the United Nations Security Council dictates.

The primary role of the media is to educate inform and educate. In this instance, the local media, in particular the state media seemed to have been skeptical in reporting the events as they occurred. It is argued by (Pigou, 2017) that there was an effective news blackout from the state media, however, social media reports of army tanks heading towards the capital City of Harare attracted the attention of the 'global media'. Mixed views were being expressed, from relief and excitement that Mugabe's long reign may be finally over, to uncertainty that what follows could be even worse. *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* reported the ZDF intervention in governance internationally thus providing perspectives through which the public made sense of the events through mediated news reports and analysis. As argued by Shemils, (2016:3) that "the media through mediating news provides frames or perspectives and discourses within which people make sense of events and experience through the contrast of inclusion and exclusion.

While, the ZDF's intervention generally seemed welcome by all and sundry, it was, however, not without controversy as the reportage was laden with contestations with regards to its legitimacy, status, and validity as a coup or not. The media is a crucial arena in which these contestations are fought (Willems, 2005). For example, *Al Jazeera's* headlined the intervention as '*Zimbabwe's Army takes control but denies coup*', (15 November 2017) while *the BBC* reported it as *Zimbabwean army takes on Mugabe – as it happened* and '*Zimbabwe media slow to cover military takeover*' on the same date. The ZDF had justified it as an operation to pacify a

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

deteriorating social, political and economic environment with Mugabe remaining the Commander-in-Chief but under house arrest. The Mugabe regime had presided over the country for 37 years, and had kept the army under control in terms of any operations outside the military sphere. In order to gain a thorough understanding of the representation of the ZDF intervention, the study will analyse the frames and discourses of the 'global media'.

The global media are institutions of elite power and dominance, with respect not only to the public at large, but also to other elite institutions (van Dijk 1993). The 'global media' is inherently political in its inclusion and exclusion of certain frames and discourses packaged as news (Ebo, 1992). As argued by (Ebo, 1992) the 'global media' often look for sensational and unusual news such as coups and natural disasters....., that when significant political events arise that relate to the international media's interest then coverage increases (p16) Thus what made the 'global media' increase coverage on Zimbabwe will be explored in order to establish the frames and the discourses presented as news.

News like other media products is subject to the internal and external forces which ultimately shape or determine what is eventually presented to the audience as authoritative and factual information. Thus news is therefore not value-free and neither is it a product of neutral parties, it is part of a more complex neo liberal capitalist machinery which seeks to reproduce and perpetuate the hegemony of white supremacy. The 'global media' reportage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe is not spared in this regard. Herman and McChesney (1997) contends that the 'global media' are the new missionaries of corporate capitalism who are deployed to generate a milieu of ideological meanings around events in a manner that questions their objectivity especially on the African continent and the developing world. The ideological power struggles are packaged as news in ways that appear naturalized as everyday common sense (Herman & McChesney, 1997). In news production, there is structural privileging of elite and institutional sources meaning that certain voices are heard more than others, while other voices are ignored and others are silenced (van Dijk 2007).

The 'global media' perpetuates negative pictures of the developing world so as to serve the needs and interests of the wealth nations that provides the revenues. This concurs with the argument

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

by Esser and Stromback, (2014:1) that “the media is a considerable source of power and influence which shapes political processes and outcomes through selecting and framing issues in a way which reflects professional priorities and values that shape the news production”. The ZDF’s intervention in governance is explored with a view to establish the image portrayed in frames and discourses in this regard. Entman (2010) contends that the media select few aspects of a perceived reality and connect them together in a narrative that promotes a particular interpretation. In this regard the study proposes a pro development coverage of African issues.

Since the turn of the millennium, Zimbabwe rarely made international news headlines unless on issues of negativity such as a failed state, bad governance among others. It was however, a result of the economic empowerment policies adopted by the Zimbabwean government such as the land redistribution programme and the indigenisation policy which stood as a threat to the whites’ hegemony and interests (Mutsvairo, 2013). The West through the global media as a political tool, vilified Mugabe and his acolytes - the military. Mugabe and the military were both placed under targeted sanctions for failure to uphold democracy, human rights abuse among other related issues. The negative reportage of events by the ‘global media’ is attributed to have contributed to the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe as argued by (Zengeni 2010). Those who own and control the ‘global media’ do not encourage free flow of news and analysis that are solely against the ends of their interests.

At the height of the Zimbabwe’s bilateral disputes with Britain. The West in solidarity with Britain mobilised for the imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe’s government including vilification of Mugabe’s government by the global media. However, tables turned and the ‘global media’ were banned from operating in the Zimbabwe with the exception of Al Jazeera. During the tenure of GNU foreign media including the CNN, BBC, Sky News CBC among others had their restrictions to operate in the country lifted. (Willems, 2005). The presence of the ‘global media’ in Zimbabwe has been as a result of the larger white population in the country (Willems, 2007). Thus the ‘global media’ then served the interest of white capitalists. While the British coverage of the Zimbabwean crisis was systematic and reported as a racial conflict between black and white. Mutsvairo (2013) highlights Mugabe’s dislike for the white man, “The only white man you can trust is a dead white man” (p6) The dislike of the white man was a

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

result of a combination of factors which includes, colonisation, failure by the British government to address the land compensation question and the sanctions. This study teases out the 'global media' coverage of the ZDF intervention in view of the change in power dynamics in governance as both Mugabe and ZDF were allies prior to the intervention.

Civil military relations have been a terrain of contestations in Zimbabwe especially after the defeat of the ZANU PF at the referendum in 2000 (Rupiya, 2011). The influence of the military over the political affairs of the country since 1980 resulted in the military attaining a defacto veto power over civilian affairs. The military were deployed in strategic government institutions thus getting involved in the economy and making their economic interests just as powerful as their fears for accountability for human rights abuses (Rupiya, 2011). While “it is unacceptable in a democracy to politicise the military as it is to militarise political and civilian affairs and institutions” (Rupiya 2011:2). The military leadership has been openly partisan over the ruling ZANU PF thus the Western governments placed Mugabe and the military under targeted sanctions for failure to uphold the rule of law, human rights abuses, among other democracy issues.

In addition, the ZDF under the Mugabe regime were used as tools of repression for democratic movements and voices through a combination of the use of laws such as Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Public Order and Security Act (POSA), and the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act under the guise of national security. (Rupiya, 2009, 2011; Matyszak 2005). A key contributory factor to the military intervention is the role of the armed forces in politics (Rupiya, 2009). My study also teases out stance taken by the 'global media' in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance with regards to civil military relations in view of change in power dynamics knowing very well that both were not subscribers of the western liberal perspective of democracy in practice.

Lastly acknowledging the influence of global media which is often indirect in the context that “Western media texts bring with them images of lifestyles, expected social relations and ways of representing the world, which go beyond verbal communication and which survive translation” (Thussu, 2000:195), This study seeks to identify and establish the frames and emergent



## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

discourses used by the 'global media' in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in view of the change in power dynamics in governance in Zimbabwe considering that both Mugabe and ZDF were allies prior to the intervention.

### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

The actions of the military brought more questions than answers. Was it a military assisted transition, or was Mugabe's resignation forced, was it a coup/soft coup or a non-coup? The breaking of a standing tradition by the Zimbabwe Defense Forces (ZDF) through interfering directly in civil political affairs as a result of "instability in the ruling party" attracted the attention of the 'global media'. The 'global media' is known for speaking loudly to reports of military takeover or coups. The global media always follows the flag, that is, it pursues the interests of the home country (Thussu 2006). The ZDF intervention saw Mugabe's resigning the presidency after a 37-year-old rule and thus brought a new era in the history of governance in Zimbabwe. Mugabe and the military were allies prior to the ZDF intervention in governance. This study, therefore seeks to ascertain the frames and the emergent discourses employed by the global media in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in the context of change in power dynamics in governance.

### 1.3 Objectives

The objectives of this study were:

- To identify the frames used by the *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* in covering the ZDF's intervention in governance in Zimbabwe.
- To establish the discourses used in the framing by the *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* on Zimbabwe.

### 1.4 Research Questions

The research seeks to answer the following questions:

- How did *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* frame the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe?

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

- What are the discourses that emerged from the *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* framing of the ZDF's intervention in Zimbabwe?

**1.5 Significance of the study**

Scientific knowledge objectively voices the need for equality on the global map even for peripheral countries like Zimbabwe. Therefore, the researcher believes that a framing study that focuses on the 'global media' coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe is timely as it deals with a recent historic event in Zimbabwe, sub Saharan Africa and the world. The study is timely to media and society studies as it brings in a fresh impetus about the domination by hegemonic powers through the use of ideological instruments such as news which are presented as authoritative and factual when in fact they are packaged to entrench the status quo through representation of certain world views as natural and commonsensical. In fact, there is a deliberate move to ideologically position one group ahead of others and therefore perpetuate domination. While studies on 'global media' coverage have been conducted, most studies on Zimbabwe focused on representation of the Zimbabwean crisis in other contexts where the military was in support of the status quo on governance matters. (Willems, 2005; Zengeni, 2010; Ogenga 2011; Moyo, 2011; Rupiya 2009). This study seeks to establish the frames and discourses perpetuated by the 'global media' in the light of change in power dynamic in governance. Thus unmasking and exposing power domination which is projected as common sense in news items this is significant especially to the journalists who originate the stories. The study is also significant as it seeks to tease out the problematic coverage of African issues by the 'global media' which commands a bigger market share in terms of audiences and reach under the guise of informing the international community.

**1.6 Assumptions**

The study is based on the assumption that the 'global media' will maintain its stance of propagating the Western ideology in its coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe.

- *Al Jazeera* will portray Zimbabwe in the positive light thus challenging the long held notion of the North South divide in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe.

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

- *The BBC* will portray Zimbabwe in a negative light in view of the dispute in bilateral relations as a result of the land reform policy.

### 1.7 Delimitations

Parameters for the research study were articles published on *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* from November 13 to November 24, 2017. This period is particularly chosen on the basis that it is where a series of political events unfolded, inclusive of the start and end of Operation Restore Legacy, therefore any articles that were published before or after those dates are not included in the study and also articles that do not address the ZDF intervention in Zimbabwe as the primary focus of the article are also excluded from the study. The study is limited to textual analysis of the sampled articles augmented with critical discourse analysis. Textual analysis is aimed at discovering ‘the “ideology” or “systems of beliefs” underlying a message..... to find the hidden meanings and values which may not be explicit at a first reading’ (Stokes, 2003:77). The researcher is not able to do follow up interviews with the authors of the articles or focusing on whether the framing resulted in a change in public opinion.

### 1.8 Limitations

My study seeks to explore the ‘global media’ coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. In my study the ‘global media’ is too broad a context to be realistically studied within the purview of this study. *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* (two international media institutions) which are available online were selected for this study on the basis that they have a global reach as to warrant significance. The results from this study will be limited to *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* news organizations. My study is based on the qualitative approach, which makes it possible for researchers to reach different interpretations of the same articles, therefore care and diligence is taken to reduce subjectivity (Krippendorff, 2004). Thus the researcher will make a reflective appraisal of his role as argued by Mason, (2007) that in order to validate and legitimize research findings “researchers should constantly take stock of their actions and their role in the research process, and subject these to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of their data.” (Mason, 2007:7). The principle of being reflexive is applied through highlighting that the researcher being a scholar and not a politician, who is a Zimbabwean citizen the researcher also equally, affected by political developments in the country as any other concerned citizen. Hence, the

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

researcher admitted to being peeved with the Mugabe administration for steering the economy into ruin. Further, the validity of my study is based upon trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, conformability and dependability of the data.

**1.9 Structure of the Study**

The study is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the socioeconomic and political context of the study; provides the background to the study detailing the context and rationale for the study, together with research objectives and questions, statement of the problem. Significance of the study shows the knowledge gap and entails benefits to journalists, the industry and the society at large. Limitations focuses on methodology clearly showing its implications/challenges and how to overcome them. Delimitation outlines the physical boundaries and the theoretical boundaries of the study. Assumptions among other vital components were also discussed.

Chapter 2 focuses on review of related literature and studies that were done by other scholars in relation to the ongoing study. The study traces the evolution of the concept of military intervention and discussing it within the context of governance. The theoretical framework using framing theory is discussed with a view to find out how the 'global media' shapes reality through the frames and discourses presented to the reader. The role of the military in governance is discussed. The role of the media in governance is also discussed in the context of coverage of African issues.

Chapter 3 discusses the methods and methodology to be used in the study with a view to see how data is collected, analysed and presented. A qualitative approach is adopted to unravel the 'global media' coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. Chapter Four provided an organisational analysis of *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*. The organisational analysis is informed by the critical political economy thus providing an understanding on how institutional dynamics shapes the coverage of ZDF Military intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. Chapter 5 discusses the findings and the analysis of findings. Lastly Chapter 6 concludes the study and proposes recommendations based on the findings of the study.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

**1.10 Chapter Summary**

This chapter laid the foundation for the research as it introduces the study topic, what the study is about and where it is coming from, the aim and objectives, research questions, the theoretical framework and the methods and methodology which the study will follow. The chapter laid bare that the issue that military intervention provided an entry point to explore the frames and discourses employed by the global media on the coverage of African.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC****CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK****2.0 Introduction**

This Chapter seeks to place the study within the context of related scholarly work. Literature review endeavours to acknowledge academic authorities and locate the study in the existing literature pointing out what scholars in the field of media are silent about thus establishing some gaps in knowledge and reflecting on how the research intends to cover them. The aim of this study is to identify the frames and establish the emergent discourses used in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe by *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* in view of the change in power dynamics in governance. It is therefore, imperative to understand the orientation of the global media in the context of coverage of issues especially in developing countries. In relation to this, the literature will be discussed following the pattern of research objectives. The chapter is divided into two sections, the first section links the study to previous studies while the second section focuses on the theoretical framework.

**2.1 An overview of global media**

Global means getting internationally connected through interchanging world views. The major concept in the global is the transcending of time, space, and distance. Global media therefore is a term referring to digital mass media/technology. The global media came as a result of firms in developed countries moving across the globe seeking incremental expansion so as to strengthen their competitiveness amongst other powerful national corporations (McChesney, 2001). The consolidation of business through concentration in the 1990s in the media market made most of these firms to become dominant players in the media industries. Examples include Associated Press, United Press International Agence France Presse, Reuters, Disney, AOL Time Warner, BBC, Al Jazeera, News Corporation, Sky News among others (McChesney, 2001). In essence, the global media is largely driven by the capitalist mentality of profit orientation. The global media generally subscribes to the libertarian theory which calls for deregulation and minimum government intervention in their operations.

The providers of global media messages are primarily Western resulting in an imbalanced set of relationship. This imbalanced set of relationships is defined as the asymmetrical

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

interdependence where the original media flow of the world displays first world countries at the top, and third world at the bottom (Straubhaar, 1991). My study focuses on the case of *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*. *Al Jazeera* is Arabian while *the BBC* is Western. *The BBC* is a public service broadcaster funded by the government of Britain and was founded in 1922. However, it has grown in leaps and bounds, now has a commercial entity the *BBC World (BBCW)* an online news broadcaster which is the focus of my study. As argued by Thusu, (2006) the media follows the flag thus serving the interest of their respective governments. On the other hand, *Al Jazeera*, an Arabian satellite television news channel established in 1996 is owned party by the Qatar government and an Emir of Qatar thus it is a hybrid state-sponsored and private network (Tal Samuel-Azran, 2015). *Al Jazeera English (AJE)* the focus of my study also provides online news.

While both are global news sources that have international audiences; and are regarded as leaders in terms of global news coverage; both have numerous correspondents across the globe that provides international news coverage. In terms of their objectives both *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* aim for a global perspective. In addition, *Al Jazeera* and the *BBC* are based in different regions politically socially and economically, which could potentially result in interesting findings regarding the comparative analysis aspect of this study. More details on the political economy of the two media channels will be discussed in Chapter 4 which focuses on the organisational analysis.

However, the notion of the global media encourages 'opening up the world', 'sharing and exchanging' instead of 'protecting your own space' (Straubhaar, 1991). The global media in their operations engage an assortment of strategies (regional and local) to maximize their audiences and advertising revenues. The influence of international communication is often indirect in the context that "Western media texts bring with them images of lifestyles, expected social relations and ways of representing the world, which go beyond verbal communication and which survive translation" (Thusu, 2000:195), For example democracy not defined from the western liberal perspective is not considered as democracy. It is thus argued that global media is promoting a globalized, 'westernized' elite which believes in the supremacy of the market and liberal democracy, as defined by the West. (Thusu, 2000:195). In view of the above, this

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

orientation, therefore provides a basis for what informs the global media in its coverage of issues or events internationally. Accordingly, this study is meant to show how these two channels depicted and represented the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe in frames and discourses in view of the change in power dynamics in governance and whether this depiction and representations is enveloped with any ideology the channels attempts to deliver.

## **2.2 Sociology of News – news as social construct**

News like other media products is subject to the internal and external forces which ultimately shape or determine what is eventually presented to the audience as authoritative and factual information. Thus news is therefore not value-free and neither is it a product of neutral parties, it is part of a more complex neo liberal capitalist machinery which seeks to reproduce and perpetuate the hegemony of white supremacy (Reardon 2013). The ‘global media’ reportage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe is not an exception in this regard. The internal and external factors include advertisers, commercial pressures and other economic pressures (Paschal, 2009). Herman and Chomsky’s propaganda model contends that the big media are controlled by few profit-seeking owners; therefore, they do not encourage free flow of news and analysis that are solely against the end of their interest. Due to this reason, ‘realities’ are preferred to be fabricated and disseminated to the mass. This study will seek to understand how these factors that affect news production relate to the frames and discourses used in the coverage of the ZDF intervention thus exploring the connections that exist between those who have authority over the media and content produced by the media.

The ‘global media’ are the new missionaries of corporate capitalism as argued by Herman and McChesney (1997) who are deployed to generate a milieu of ideological meanings around events in a manner that questions their objectivity especially on the African continent and the developing world. This study, the research intends to identify the frames and the discourses that were employed by *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*. The frames are contained in the news story. Every news story has a theme that functions as the central organizing idea (Camson & Modigliani, 1989). A theme is not the same as a topic, which is a summary label of the domain of social experiences covered by a story. A theme is an idea that connects different semantic elements of a story (e.g., descriptions of an action or an actor, quotes of sources, and background



**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

information) into a coherent whole. In news production, there is structural privileging of elite and institutional sources meaning that certain voices are heard more than others, while other voices are ignored and others are silenced (van Dijk 2007).

The news media is often characterised in a watchdog role thus presenting 'the media as a forum for discussion, investigators of impropriety, an adversary to monopoly over power and knowledge and the defenders of truth, freedom and democracy' (Richardson, 2005:73). This function of news within a liberal democracy means that there is outside pressure to report relevant political news and criticize elites where necessary. For instance, in the global media coverage of the ZDF in governance. Despite the military being a defender of the nation, the military seems to overstep its mandate by delving itself in governance issues. The watchdog role contributes to the construction of news because it determines what information is in the 'public interest' (Richardson, 2005:73) and therefore what journalists consider more important to a news story. The ZDF intervention is in public interest because the military broke the long standing tradition or the norm which is to protect the national boundaries.

Eurocentrism has divided the world into the west and the rest (Shohat and Stam 2002). Thus the concept of eurocentrism is considered the basis of capitalism where Europe is the Centre of capital thus everything is defined from the Centre as a standard of how things ought to be. The global society created is then marked by differences in people along the two traditionally problematic areas. That is race and the control of economic resources. The global north is then privileged and is the hegemonic group. The global south on the other hand refers to countries previously marginalized on the lines of race and currently, along economic lines. This exploitation and domination has been perpetuated through the discourse of white supremacy. The discourse of white supremacy becomes the pillar upon which the doctrine of capitalism is anchored on. White supremacy is premised on the differences of people according to race where the whites are regarded as superior over other races and this ideology is subtle embedded in all ideological apparatus such as the media, religion and education. The global media's discourse in news of Africa is centered around conflicts, wars, coup, disasters, hunger and famine. These ideological power struggles are packaged as news in ways that appear naturalized as everyday common sense (Herman & McChesney, 1997).

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

In the coverage of African Issues, the global media as institutions of elite power and dominance, with respect not only to the public at large, but also to other elite institutions (van Dijk 1993). News coming from the global media is likely to be accepted as reality. However, the 'global media' is inherently political in its inclusion and exclusion of certain frames and discourses packaged as news (Ebo, 1992). As argued by (Ebo, 1992) the 'global media' often look for sensational and unusual news such as coups and natural disasters....., that when significant political events arise that relate to the international media's interest then coverage increases (p16) The relationship between politics and journalism is a factor in the construction of news. In this study the relationship between media organisations and the powerful political elites seriously hinder the criticality and independence leading of media organisations thus interfering with the news production.

The propaganda model identifies five filters to explain how money and power create news. The filters are size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth and profit orientation of the mass media. These filters are the ones which are manipulated by those with economic muscle thus determining how news stories are produced. Those who own means of production also own media organisations and these are the people who determine editorial policies of media organisations. For example, *The BBC* which represents the British interests in their coverage of issues. Media news organisations have editorial policies and it is within these policies that journalists must adhere to when producing news stories.

Another filter, advertising which is the bedrock of the media. Advertisers contributes over sixty percent of the media revenue thus media organisations sell dual products the advertisers and the audiences. He who pays the piper dictates the tune. Herman and Chomsky (1988:14) argues that advertisers influence media prosperity and survival. Thus advertisers as funders also contribute to the content of the news. They act as gate keepers determining what to include and what not to include (Kotler 2003).

Source of news is the third filter identified by Herman and Chomsky. Media organisations rely on information provided by both the government and private sources, hence the power of source

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

determines the quality and how news is framed by the media. Herman and Chomsky (1988:26) identifies 'flak' as the fourth filter of the propaganda model. These are responses to the media by audiences and are used by the media to produce follow up stories on an organisation or political party. Lastly is the ideology of anti-communism. As most media markets are owned and controlled by capitalists, they tend to suppress and spike news that influences revolt against dominant capitalist system. As argued by some scholars, power is reflected through news content and this is why state media tend to bootlick government at the expense of expected functions of the press.

**2.3 Coverage of African Issues by the global media.**

Media plays a significant role in informing, education and entertaining the general public. The global media because of its influence and power becomes an institution from which political discourses, symbols and sign are expressed, circulated and contested (Omanga, 2014). The 'global media' is inherently political in its inclusion and exclusion of certain frames and discourses. The image of Africa in the 'western mind' is key in understanding how Africa is framed by the 'global media'. This images sustain the western discourses (Fair, 1993). Embedded in the news stories from Africa is a sustained reproduction of hierarchy and domination reworked and updated.

Themes such as political instability and coups; endemic violence, conflict and civil war; hunger, famine and starvation; dark continent; disease infested, helplessness, human rights abuse and lack of democracy characterize Africa in news reports by the 'global media'. News coverage of Africa is usually sensationalized as a result; audiences only get episodic information about Africa (Moeller 1999). This view is also shared by Moyo (2011) in a study of the CNN coverage of Zimbabwe in an election context, when he concluded that its news coverage of the election was episodic and lacked context. This implies that 'global media' often look for sensational and unusual news such as coups, failed states, bad governance and natural disasters (Zengeni 2010; Moyo; 2011).

While my study seeks to ascertain which frames were used or ignored in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in the context of change in power dynamics in governance. In

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

addition, besides the economic and national interest discourses that are characteristic in the way Africa is covered or ignored by the 'global media' (Fair, 1993). Discourses of non-professional values which editors and reporters rely on to make decisions about whether African news events should be covered or ignored are noteworthy. "In the mind of Western journalists, there seems to exist a hierarchy of cultures: "primitive" cultures versus "civilised" cultures or countries of low status cultures as against countries of high status cultures" (Fair 1993:9-10). This kind of coverage, which often does not take into consideration historical and local contexts of events, supports the concepts of Western superiority, and ultimately supports racial and cultural stereotypes (Fair, 1996).

Africa is generally considered as not having any political incentive to the global media, hence it is only when the politics in Africa benefits or threatens to affect the Western countries' interests that it becomes newsworthy. A view shared by Ebo, (1992) who concurs that when significant political events arise that relate to the 'global media's interest then coverage increases. Further, news from the 'global media' does not present an objective reality, but competing versions of a given situation (Allan, 2004; McNair, 2000). The competing representations of reality are generally seen as not neutral, but as directly or indirectly linked to the 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control' (Wodak, 2001:2).

Global media portrays the African continent as one country thus lumping 'third world' countries as one homogenized entity. This is a result of failure to draw a balanced picture of the realities in Africa by the global media (Nothias, 2016: 2) In his study he highlights, three areas that dominate African news as scarce coverage; negativity as well as stereotypes and distortion of facts. Guest (2004) highlighted that this kind of news still reflects the reality in Africa and is "the reason journalists report that Africa is plagued by war, famine and pestilence.....global media will stop reporting this when it stops being true" (Guest, 2004: 254). In relation to this finding, scholars such as Berger (2010), De B'Berri and Louw (2011), Nothias (2012) came up the concept of "Afro-pessimism" which is a sense of pessimism about the continent's ability to overcome pressing challenges related to poverty, health, development or governance".

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

The global media follows a “crisis-driven news agenda” (Nothias, 2016: 5). He only differed with other scholars on that the issues of negativity in African issues on that it is not limited to Africa alone but generally applies to all media coverage (Nothias, 2016:5). The significance of the above in my study is to ascertain if the *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* manipulate the events through frames and discourses and depict them in a way serving their underlying ideologies and objectives. Another study by Adetokunbo-Edmund (2016) which combined framing content and discourse analysis found out that news coverage by the global media on Nigeria had sporadic, negative and crisis centered frames. The colonial images continue to attribute to the coverage of events in African to the extent of overshadowing any positive developments. My study seeks to identify and establish the frames used in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe in the context of change in power dynamics.

A study by Alshareif, (2016) on how the Arab and western media affected the staff and students of one Libyan university, Sebha University, through the representation of the major Arab Spring uprisings in Tunisian, Egyptian, and Libyan. In this study the researcher sought to examine the possibilities that such channels and media are ideological driven and a mere reflection of the events, linking it with the potential impacts on the staff and students of Sebha University who were considered as stepping stones towards convincing the locals. (Alshareif, 2016). The study found that the two channels were, indeed, different in terms of their reporting of the events of the Arab Spring uprisings. *The BBC* was trusted for its dispassionate observations, whereas *Al-Jazeera* was considered to be ideologically driven.

A framing analysis on the Egyptian revolution the case of Al Jazeera English and the BBC Fornaciari (2011) found out that both networks focused on the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames in their coverage, while downplaying other frames such as human interest, economic and morality frames. The study also found out that Aljazeera English did not take sides in its reportage thereby not providing solutions to the unfolding events or highlight instances of power differentials. Whereas the BBC’s reportage distinguished between winners and losers in the conflict thereby providing solutions to the problems reported (Fornaciari, 2011). Barkho (2011) concurs with the findings of Fornaciari on his study on war on Gaza on the BBC

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

he reported that power struggles by both parties was evidenced in the presentation of the two sides at war (Palestine and Israel).

A study by Loomis, 2009 contends that the coverage of events by AJE was similar to other global media networks such as BBC and CNN contrary to claims that Al Jazeera offers a counter-hegemonic discourse to the western media. However, most of the studies on AJE and the BBC focused on the ideological battle of the two media channels in the northern hemisphere of Africa and the Arabian world in general. The point of departure with my study is that it is focusing on the sub-Saharan Africa in particular Zimbabwe, where peace generally reigns and the actors involved, Mugabe and the military contingency have turned tables against each other without the involvement of the opposition voices thus a change in power dynamics in governance.

#### **2.4 Coverage of military takeover/coups by the media**

The global media coverage of coup attempt in Turkey is argued to be based on orientalism and one sided. Orientalism is the term propounded by Said (1978; 2003:3) to mean “the basic distinction between East and West (Bayrakli, 2016), social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, ‘mind,’ destiny and so on.”. The global media employs the concept of orientalism is used to justify the frames they employ since everything which is not from their point of view is regarded as inferior and in need of the western intervention. The coverage of the attempted coup in Turkey was described as desperate and one sided (Bayrakli, 2016).

A comparison with the coverage of the France during that time gives a picture of France being represented as a civilized and democratic country where the rule of is respected whereas in the case of Turkey, the events/issues were focused on personality thus propping up the image against the one who has been a subject of media vilification. The headlines in the coverage of Turkey “suggests to the reader that in Turkey, Erdogan would use his power to reduce basic freedoms, while in France, a state of emergency only means that necessary steps are being taken against radical people” (Bayrakli, 2016:2). The global media in essence ignores human right violations on ordinary civilians in Turkey opting to focus on Erdogan’s rule, portraying him as despotic

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

ruler. Thus the orientalism view clearly shows that democracy in the global media is a western value that cannot be practiced and lived in a Muslim society or radical society. While the study by Bayraki, (2016:2) focused on a continent outside Africa, my study focuses on Africa specifically Zimbabwe hence comparisons will be drawn.

**2.5 Post 2000 Coverage of Zimbabwe issues by the Global Media**

The coverage of Zimbabwean issues in the global media focused on contestations of land reforms and elections (Ndhlela, 2005, Willems, 2005). Most of the issues are presented in the context of human rights, struggles for democracy, the rule of law, freedom of the press and economic development. The representation of African issues by the global media only reinforces the entrenched images of disaster associated with Africa thus reducing the African story to a story of despair and tragedy. The coverage of Africa by these global media outlets questions issues of objectivity and balance as required on news coverage, however, what seems clear is that the global media seeks to fit into the dominant paradigms associated with the representation of Africa (Ndhlela, 2005). While this researcher is in agreement with the findings of the above studies, this study explores the coverage of Zimbabwean issues in a different context and time where Mugabe is no longer in charge. The socio-political situation in Zimbabwe at this material time has changed significantly, the current government's policies have shifted from the era of non-engagement with the west to a pro west philosophy under the new dispensation. My study aims to establish the frames and the discourses emerging from the global media under this change in power dynamics.

As highlighted by Willems, (2005), the British media because of its kith and kin in Zimbabwe. The country, Zimbabwe was a newsworthy as compared to countries like DRC who had little white population. However, with the coming in of the then Minister of Information and Publicity, Professor Jonathan Moyo around 2000. Word on the street has it that his mission was to manage the country's perception with regards to negative global media vilification of the country and its interests. Perception management is critical in information welfare by way of shaping people attitudes in relation to the matter at hand (Robinson, 2015). Images impacts profoundly on the battle of hearts and minds of audiences thus playing a part on how a society

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

remembers past events thus buttressing an ideology of inferiority and dependency on the 'global media' for news by Africa (Robinson, 2015).

In an attempt to manage perception, Professor Moyo, introduced regulations that sought to restrict the flow of foreign media correspondents in the country. The following year, 2001 saw a complete ban of foreign media in the country with the exception of Al Jazeera (Willems, 2005). During the GNU era foreign media were allowed to operate again in the country, courtesy of media law reforms undertaken that time. In light of the foregoing my study aims to establish if the frames by the BBC still buttress the ideology of bilateral dispute angle for news on Zimbabwe. On the other hand, Al Jazeera's that was left to operate in the country on condition that they maintain objectivity will be examined to find out if their reportage and discourses still reflects the objectivity, it was purported to represent. All this is examined in light of the change in power dynamics in governance in Zimbabwe as a result of the ZDF intervention.

## **2.6 Framing Theory**

The framing theory informs this study in its quest to identify the frames and establish the emergent discourses used by Al Jazeera and the BBC in covering the ZDF's intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. The theory provides a theoretical foundation for the interpretation of the findings. The concept of media framing, has its roots in sociological approach as it sought to offer insights into the forces that shape media interpretations of reality and their potential influence on audiences (Goffman, 1974).

In his work Goffman outlines frames as 'schemata of interpretation' that enable individuals to understand certain events and 'to locate, perceive, identify and label' occurrences, turning the meaningless aspects into something meaningful (p. 21-22). Goffman based his framing analysis on symbolic interactionism and social constructionism concepts. He argues symbolic interactionist asserts that meaning or reality is created through every day interactions where individuals play a role, while social constructionists postulates that individuals have little or no control over meaning, rather social institutions surrounding them dominated in meaning production. (Barin & Davis, 2012). In essence Goffman's Frame analysis combines the two notions implying that both individuals and institutions contribute to the creation of reality. This



**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

study identifies the frames used by the global media in the ZDF intervention in governance through the combination of both notions that individuals and the institutions contribute to the creation of reality and further examines the intentions behind the use of such frames, whether they help to educate and inform the audiences.

Framing as argued by Entman (1993:52) an American political scientist is the selection of “some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral judgments and the proposal of appropriate solutions and actions” (Entman, 1993). This definition was criticized as lacking clear conceptualization by scholars such as Weaver, (2007); Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007 and Scheufele and Iyengar (2011) highlighting that it encompassed attributes of the agenda setting and priming thereby making the messages influence perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of the public. It is important to highlight the distinctions since this study employs the framing theory and not agenda setting or priming.

As alluded to above, my study is not focused on the salience of issues that is the prominence given to the event; or how many times it was reported but is focused on the issues presented in the ZDF intervention such as the change in power dynamics in governance. McCombs et al, (1997) argues that framing is equivalent to the second level of the agenda-setting theory and considers it a natural extension of the agenda-setting model. The distinction between agenda setting and framing is important for this study since my study dwells on how the ZDF intervention is described as well as the interpretive schema activated to process it thus framing is focused on applicability and not accessibility as in agenda setting. (Scheufele, 1999). The study unpacks how the event is packaged by the two media houses thus establishing the frames used in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe.

This concurs with scholars such as Price, Tewksbury and Powers, (1997) and Scheufele and Iyengar, (2011) who clears the confusion between agenda setting and priming through asserting that agenda setting focuses on story selection as the basis of public perceptions of issue importance and, ultimately through priming, assessment of political leaders whereas framing focuses not only on topics or issues to be covered but on ways in which issues are presented.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

This concurs with De Vreese (2005) who contends that while agenda setting deals with salience of issues, framing is concerned with the presentation of issues.

While a frame facilitates in understanding of the messages contained therein it allows contextualization of the messages. This significance of a frame comes in handy in this study because of its collective nature in understanding the frames and discourse employed through putting things in the perspective of the global media. That is how the reportage fits into the general understanding, attitudes and values about the military intervention world over through the selection of what is reported and how it is reported. The ZDF intervention which brought a new era in the history of governance in Zimbabwe came after the army had been instrumental in silencing dissenting voices to the Mugabe regime.

A frame as propounded by Bateson (1972) aids in trying to understand a message within a casing. He uses analogies of a picture frame and a Venn diagram, where the Venn diagram had a double function of including elements within its borders and excluding those outside it. A picture frame organises people's perception by urging people to attend what is within and ignore what is outside of it. The same analogy is applied in this study where the global media's perspective is examined. This is in agreement with Gitlin (1980), who argues that a frame is built through selection, emphasis, and exclusion. A particular frame makes people to focus their attention on messages which are included in it while ignoring messages which are excluded from it.

As “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent”, frames are part of the symbolic universe and allow us to “meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese 2001: 11). In this context, the media are partly involved in the creation and transmission of frames, however, the audiences are also involved in the meaning making process, the text and culture. For instance, journalists when reporting a story have to do so within a given time and space and make it accessible to the broader public. Thus the receiver as established by Entman (1993) may make conclusions about a communication which may not reflect the frames in the text.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

It is therefore possible that an idea underlined in a text can prove difficult for receivers to notice, interpret or remember because of existing schemata (Entman 1993). The ZDF intervention is not a special case in this regard, what audiences may understand is may not be what was intended by the global media. Scientific literature often distinguishes between media frames and audience frames (e.g. Scheufele, 1999). The frames used by the media are macro-constructs, necessary to reduce the complexity of the issues and to adapt it to the needs and constraints of the media and the audiences, as well as to the interpretive schemas they were used to (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Once in the minds of individuals, frames become micro-constructs that allow audiences to use the received information to form their own impressions and images of the world.

Media frames are attributes of the news themselves for example the images, written /spoken words and sounds, while individual frames are information and cognitive schemas which do not have physical manifestations but are capable of influencing the attitudes and behaviour of individuals like culture. Thus Journalists, in order to report an understandable and attractive story and are conditioned by news making routines, time, and space limitations, when deciding what is and what is not news. These frames that are built by the media can be defined as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them” (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987: 143). The framing process is continuous with the inherent politics of inclusion and exclusion of certain frames and discourses.

Communication is “a dynamic process that involves frame building (how frames emerge) and frame-setting (the interplay between media frames and audience predispositions)”. Frame-building refers to factors influencing the structural qualities of news frames De Vreese (2005). The global media have an inclination of portraying the African continent as unstable, underdeveloped and often in conflict (Ndlela, 2005; Willems, 2005). The representations of Africa have been, stereotyping, which is generally negative (Ndlela, 2005). Thus this study, ascertains how the political economy of *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* contributed to frame building and setting through the reportage of the ZDF intervention in view of the change in power dynamics in governance. De Vreese, (2005) highlighted that, factors internal to journalists and

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

news organisations determine the framing of issues in addition to external factors such as journalists' interaction with elites and social movements. Frame-setting refers to “the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions” (De Vreese 2005:52).

Frames can be either independent or dependent variables (De Vreese 2005, Entman, 2007). Dependent variables frames are defined by political economy issues. Which include among others organisational pressures, journalistic routines and elite discourses. In this study this is important because the frames that I seek to establish as having been employed by the two 'global media' organisations relate to production processes. The global media tends to homogenise the African continent thus relying on descriptions of 'savagery, conflict, and dark continent (Ndlela, 2005). Independent variables frames are subject to prior audience interpretations. This study does not intent to investigate whether the framing managed to influence public opinion, however, the researcher assumes that the particular framing was influenced by existing schemas in the audiences and that the producers of the frames were aware of about Zimbabwe.

Apart from the influence of various forces on frames, frames can either be strong or weak. Chong and Druckman (2007) argues that if frames can be dependent and independent variables, one cannot refuse the idea that frames are not equal in strength. Thus the relative strength of a frame depends on factors such as frequency, accessibility and relevance. Where frequency is the number of times and in which a frame is repeated thus the greater the force the greater the force. Accessibility it is great on considerations to individuals who have been exposed to it before thus accessibility is associated with repetition. Chong and Druckman (2007) Another factor that is related to the strength of a frame is its relevance that is its ability to speak to the main issues than addressing peripheral issues (Chong and Druckman, 2007).

A distinctive feature of framing is between the issue specific frame and generic news frame. The specific frames can only be applied to a specific topic or event, while generic frames can be applied with greater flexibility to different events, and sometimes even in different physical, temporal and cultural spaces. Neuman, et al (1992) identified the most common generic frames used by both the media and the public as follows 'human impact', 'powerlessness' 'economics',

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

'moral values' and 'conflict'. The generic frame facilitates the comparison of the results of different research works carried out in different places and on different topics in essence it allows for the generalisation needed to thicken the theoretical body of the framing. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), employed Neuman et al. generic frames and developed a scale to measure the frames known as 'attribution of responsibility', 'conflict', 'human interest', 'morality' and 'economic consequences'. While the use of establish frames enables a fairly systematic analysis of news content. This study employs both the issue-specific frame and generic frame so as to allow flexibility and cater for emerging frames This study identifies the frames used in the coverage of the case study *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* during the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance.

Frames are not defined before the study my study will identify frames from the sample of articles purposively chosen in attempting to answer the research questions. Most studies focused on the identification of media frames use news reports and, occasionally, their visual components as material of analysis. To identify these frames, communication researchers have traditionally used inductive and deductive methods. The deductive method is based on predefined frames, which are subsequently quantified in the sample of analysis. This method is more replicable and, therefore, can be used for comparative analyses (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). The inductive method, on the other hand, requires an open approach to the sample of analysis in order to detect the frames it contains. This study uses the inductive method so that the power struggles in the ZDF intervention are clearly explored. (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000 & Patterson, 1993) are agreed that in the coverage of political news the conflict frame is mostly applicable as it clearly highlights tensions and disagreement between parties.

The 'global media' coverage of issues or events such as the ZDF intervention in governance need to be understood in the political context looking at issues such as the regime type, the degree of political uncertainty the degree of elite consensus, domestic of international perspectives and the stage of democratization. Thus media framing influences political outcomes (Vladislavljević, 2015). Since global media is generally opposition or anti-Mugabe regime, it is likely that people power frame which works in solidarity with those affected will be applied to help in securing international support coupled with the civil society discourses of systematic violations of human

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

rights by the repressive state (see Glenn, 2001, p.50-51) The 'people power' frame centres on non-violence as a way to establish democracy and is reflected in (both international and domestic) media's colourful labelling of popular mobilisation against non-democratic rule to clearly distinguish it from old-style revolutionary violence (Vladisavljević, 2015). While high news values are associated with the 'the drama of democratic transitions' in regime change the media representation reflects deep seated conflict between the warring parties.

**2.7 Chapter Summary**

This chapter reviewed literature related to the study as well as laying out the theoretical framework that informs the study. The literature reviewed gave an overview of the global media, the coverage of African issues by the global media and the coverage of military takeovers by the global media. The 'global media' framing of issues and events in developing countries is episodic and generally ideologically driven. The framing theory in which this study is placed reflects how issues are packaged and presented by the media for public consumption. The next chapter discusses the methodology.

**CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY****3.0 Introduction**

The chapter introduces and outlines the rationale for the research methods employed in this study that is the research methodology. Research methodology gives an account of how the research is carried out. Research methodology outlines the procedures undertaken by the researcher in seeking to describe, explain and predict phenomena. (Rajasekar et al, 2013). Research methodology also refers to the methods, techniques and procedures that are employed in the process of implementing a research design (Mouton, 2008). This chapter starts with providing a philosophical positioning of qualitative research and the description of a research design. It outlines issues such as the research instruments, population, sampling approach, methods of data gathering; data analysis; data presentation. The chapter concludes with a summary.

**3.1 Research Paradigm**

The study is based purely on the qualitative paradigm due to the fact that the researcher judged it to be the best to answer questions which the researcher posed. In research, there are three paradigms based on the epistemologies of interpretivism, positivism, and pragmatism. Traditionally, research paradigms make certain assumptions about the world. The ontological position and the epistemology taken by this researcher is that of social constructionism/interpretivism. The philosophical positioning of qualitative research from other forms of research is critical since such a positioning entails what one believes about the nature of reality (ontology) and the nature of knowledge (epistemology) (Merriam, 2009). Social constructionists/interpretivists believe that reality is multiple, relative and dependent on one's perspective (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Thus what the global media presents in the coverage of the ZDF intervention as reality is based on their own perspective and underlying ideologies. Furthermore, social constructionism/interpretivism research, assumes that reality is socially constructed, there is no single, observable reality (Merriam, 2009). Rather, there are multiple realities or interpretations of a single event, thus recognising the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning, though it does not reject objectivity. (Merriam, 2009)

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

The problem which the researcher is exploring, 'the 'global media' coverage of ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe' has various subjective answers hence a qualitative approach is more relevant as it is concerned with meaning and interpretation, (Stokes, 2013). In addition, the qualitative approach suits well in this study since it aims to explore the 'what', 'how' and 'why' of a trend or phenomenon and also the findings are to be expressed in words and not figures as is the focus of the quantitative research paradigm (Stokes, 2013).

In addition, to enable the researcher to try and unpack all the meanings intended in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe the case of Al Jazeera and the BBC. The choice of the qualitative research was handy as it is naturalistic and open to whatever emerges and does not impose prior constraints on findings as argued by Patton, (1990). This also has an advantage of giving room to explore all the possibilities without any set conditions. Further, when analysing the different factors of involved in news production different meanings are likely to emerge from the news. So the absence of preconditions enables the study to critically explore the wide array of meanings that emerged from the 'global media' coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. The next section discusses the research design.

### **3.2 Research Design**

This study employed the qualitative case study research design. While case studies can be used in both quantitative and qualitative research studies. The choice of the qualitative case study is based on the constructivist/interpretivist paradigm which augurs well with the assumption of qualitative research that access to reality is given through social constructions, such as language and shared meanings (Guba and Lincoln 2005; Merriam, 1998; Schwandt 1994). Thus meaning making issues are central to social constructivists who focus on specific actions, in specific places and at specific times. The study seeks to gain an in depth understanding into the frames and discourses employed by Al Jazeera and the BBC on their coverage of the ZDF's intervention in Zimbabwe. Qualitative case study is "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process or a social unit" (Merriam, 1998: xiii). The data gathered will be in the form of words thus enabling the researcher to search and explore with a variety of methods, until a deep understanding is achieved.



**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Research design is the overall framework for collecting data consisting of a series of guidelines for systematic data gathering (Leedy, 2004). In this instance the study was the 'global media' coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. The researcher chose the case *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* as one unit of analysis on the basis that both media organisations are regarded as leaders in terms of global news coverage. While both *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* aim for a global perspective, each organisation interprets a similar philosophy in different ways because they are located in different continents politically, socially and economically which could potentially result in interesting findings of the study. In addition, both *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* had local correspondents covering the events in the country; they have international audiences' and numerous correspondents across the globe that provides international news coverage. The interpretation of the coverage of the ZDF intervention offers thick descriptions and illuminates the readers understanding of the phenomenon under study. As argued by Merriam (1998) the characteristic of the qualitative case study is that it is particularistic (focuses on a particular situation, event, program or phenomenon); it is descriptive (it yields a rich thick description of the phenomenon under study) and it is heuristic (it illuminates the reader's understanding of a phenomenon under study) Merriam (1998:202).

The flexibility of the qualitative case study design enabled the researcher to determine and define the research questions. Thus teasing out issues through sieving studies that have been carried out before (literature review) so as to compare the findings and also to refine my research questions accordingly. The research questions for this study were as follows:

- How did *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* frame the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe?
- What are the discourses that emerged from the *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* framing of the ZDF's intervention in Zimbabwe?

The implication of the above questions is that the researcher will tease out what informed the frames and the emergent discourses as employed by the *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* in the coverage of ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. Further, case study addresses the how and what questions thus drawing the research to tease out, the problems of the case, the conflictual

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

outpourings, and the complex backgrounds of human concern” (Stake 1995:16-17). The foregoing concurs with De Vaus, (2001:9) who asserts that the “purpose of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible”.

The case study proved vital for studying the local in the global through a detailed analysis of the theoretical framework. Thus the framing of the ZDF in governance in Zimbabwe by *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* revealed insights into how the global perceive the local. (Punch, 2005). The case study explores in detail the framing theory thus a detailed and focused analysis of a particular case. The global media’s view of Zimbabwe and Africa will be laid bare.

The qualitative case study suits well in situations where the researcher has little or no control over events or where little is known about the phenomenon under investigation. In this case, The ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe was relatively a rare and unique event in the Zimbabwean context. Since the ZDF intervention in governance was a rare and unique event in the Zimbabwean perspective, it is interesting to explore how the ‘global media’ will report it in the context of change of power dynamics between Mugabe and the military. The case study design was particularly useful for exploring new or unfamiliar research topics of which little is known. As argued by Bryman, (2004) a case study is said to have unique features, thus it gives a more detailed description of the event.

Qualitative case study can be either intrinsic or instrumental. This study consisted of both. It is of interest to the researcher who is a Zimbabwean citizen thus making it intrinsic to individual experience. It was instrumental because the study aimed to answer the questions of how did Al Jazeera and the BBC framed the ZDF intervention thus contributing to a wider theoretical understanding of the framing theory. In the intrinsic sense, the researcher has a genuine interest in the case aiming at understanding it whereas on the instrumental part, case study provides insight into the issue through purposive sampling (Stake, 2005). Further, he contends that “the case is looked at in depth, its contents scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed and because the researcher pursues the external interest” (Stake, 1995, as cited in Baxter and Jack, 2008:548-549).

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

The researcher regarded this particular case study as a learning experience which would later make him an expert in that area in media and society studies. The qualitative case study provided me with enough space to work on my research questions through exploring all possibilities without pre-set conditions and modify them if there was need for me to do so. It also enabled me to be main research instrument in my study. It gave me the chance to critically explore my study area which is the 'global media' coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe through archival research, textual analysis augmented with critical discourse analysis. The case study of *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* helped the researcher to capture the ideology of the 'global media' since he relied on textual analysis augmented with discourse analysis of the sampled articles on the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. While knowledge is contributed, my main interest is to establish how the power struggles are framed by the 'global media' and the emergent discourses in the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe in view of the dynamics in the power game.

The case study methodology has had numerous critics. The major criticism of the case study is its lack of generality. Other criticisms are that it is subjective such that researcher bias may interfere with the results and that it cannot be used for a fully-fledged research and it is time consuming. For example, Flyvbjerg, (2006) contends that the term has been used so loosely as to mean most things to most people. In this study the researcher works with a small sample of five stories per media house. The researcher seeks to get an in-depth understanding of the frames and discourses employed by the 'global media' in the coverage off the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe in the context of change in power dynamics. The researcher is not interested in generalisations but to establish the meaning of the frames employed on Africa and the developing world in this global village and make contributions on the debate. Focus is on the 'interesting' and the 'surprising' in social situations that existing theory cannot adequately explain considering that framing theory is a western founded theory which is difficult to apply in the African settings. The methodological basis of the case study research is often criticised on account of its validity and reliability (Creswell 2009). As argued by Flyvbjerg (2006) that a case study is just as valid as other studies The next section, discusses the population.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC****3.3 Population**

The study population is a total of 130 new stories from which 40 stories were from *Al Jazeera* and 90 stories were from *the BBC*. The stories were published between November 13 to November 24, 2017 the period when the ZDF announced its intention to intervene, the actual intervention through to the day Mugabe resigned the presidency, the inauguration of the next president among other series of political events. The selection of these dates as parameters ensured that no pertinent articles were excluded. All pertinent articles are purposively selected because frames are usually constituted in the entire story. Wimmer and Dominick, (2011) asserts that population is the aggregate of all elements where information is to be collected and these consists of events, human products, organisations, groups or individuals on conditions to which they are exposed. The next section discussed the unit of analysis

**3.4 Unit of Analysis**

The study made use of more than one unit of analysis in search of answers to research questions and objectives. *Al Jazeera* and *The BBC* the two online media organisation constitutes one set of unit of analysis which reported on the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. The other unit of analysis are entire articles that reported the ZDF intervention in governance. Entire articles are used because preferred frames are usually constituted in the entire story. Gunter (2000) describes a unit of analysis as the entity that is used in an analysis. It is the 'what' or 'who' that is being studied. It can be a word, a symbol, a theme or an entire article or story. The unit of analysis is the entity that is being studied, it is the main focus of the study. The period of concern to the study was from 13 November 2017 to 24 November 2017, where a series of political events unfolded, inclusive of the start and end of Operation Restore Legacy. The next section discusses the sampling approach.

**3.5 Sampling Approach**

This section discusses sampling and what it entails. Purposive sampling is chosen as it fits the qualitative research. Purposive sampling entails hand picking the sample for the study. In view of the foregoing, the researcher chose five articles per media organisation which focused on the military intervention in Zimbabwe during the period 13 November to 24 November 2017. While *Al Jazeera* had 40 articles and *the BBC* had 90 articles during the period under review. The five

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

articles chosen per media organisation best suits the purpose of the research. The advantage of purposive sampling is that it allowed the researcher to zero in on articles which the researcher believed to provide the best information, in short the sample is chosen with a purpose in mind which reflects relevance to the topic under study (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). Instead of going for the typical instances of probability sampling, purposive sampling which is subjective and allows the researcher to focus on articles which best answers the study at hand thus being economical and informative as compared to the probability sampling technique (Crossman, 2016). This is in agreement with Yin (2010:88) who contends that in purposive sampling, "sampling [is] chosen in a deliberate manner... the purpose for selecting the specific study units [is] to have those that will yield the most relevant and plentiful data". Further, while the articles might not represent the whole population in its entirety, the articles chosen are however composed of political stories, opinion and analyst stories. Qualitative research calls for small samples, thus the choice of five articles per each media organisation fits the study well. The selection of a small sample size is supported by Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, (2003 as cited in Mason, 2010) asserts that:

Samples for qualitative studies are generally much smaller than those used in quantitative studies... There is a point of diminishing return to a qualitative sample—as the study goes on more data does not necessarily lead to more information. This is because one occurrence of a piece of data, or a code, is all that is necessary to ensure that it becomes part of the analysis framework. Frequencies are rarely important in qualitative research, as one occurrence of the data is potentially as useful as many in understanding the process behind a topic. This is because qualitative research is concerned with meaning and not making generalised hypothesis statements. Finally, because qualitative research is very labour intensive, analysing a large sample can be time consuming and often simply impractical.

My data is coming from articles written by only two sources *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*, thus the sample sizes suggested sufficed. The concept of data saturation is an important consideration in qualitative research, (Mason, 2010). Thus the call for a smaller sample. Data saturation is defined as data adequacy and operationalised as the collection of data until no new information can be gathered (Morse, 1995, Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The number of articles depends on 'data saturation' in repeating themes that focuses on the topic under review (Bates, 1995, Beck, 1994). The next section focuses on methods of data gathering.

### **3.6 Methods of Data Gathering**

This study adopts archival research as a method of data gathering. Archival research involves the selection and use of original texts from sources and making them the subject of a study. Archival research was chosen on the feasibility basis that *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* are 'global media' organisations that have websites where the stories are archived for future reference. In addition, issues of accessibility were taken into consideration. In view of the foregoing, news articles published on the websites of *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* are to be accessed on the website/online and used as source documents for the study taking cognizance of the research questions. The news articles to be used will be from 13 November 2017 to 24 November 2017 marking the beginning and end of Operation Restore Legacy. The researcher used key words related the ZDF intervention in governance such as Mugabe/military intervention/takeover/coup in the search section and filters of the two media outlets to retrieve pertinent articles from the archives. Stokes, (2003:109) contends that "archival research involves accessing original documents and using these as the basis" for research. This is in agreement with Marshall (2006:107) who opines that "archival data involves skimming recent newspapers editorials or obtaining information from a website and is suitable for portraying values and beliefs of the participants." In addition, he further contends that one must bear in mind the research questions when choosing documents for analysis. The next section discusses methods of data analysis.

### **3.7 Methods of Data Analysis**

The study employed textual analysis and critical discourse as methods of analysing data. Textual analysis was the overarching method while critical discourse analysis was augmenting. Augmenting methods allows the researcher methodological freedom and creativity in search of answers to research questions (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Data analysis in general terms is making sense of data through noting patterns, themes and categories. Data analysis in qualitative research is done for two purposes that is to understand the participants' perspectives and to answer the research questions (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Data analysis involves sorting, organising, conceptualising, refining and interpreting data (Thorne, 2000). Critical discourse analysis will be discussed first followed by textual analysis.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC****3.7.1 Textual analysis**

The study employed textual analysis in analysing data gathered on the ‘global media’ coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. As contended by 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 framing of ZDF intervention in governance: the case of *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*. To achieve this, the research has to go through the purposively sampled articles so as to establish ways in which the ZDF intervention in governance was 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 ‘global media’ came into being.

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 this study, this meant identifying and exploring on the influences 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 ZDF intervention was framed. Such an understanding can only be provided through the use of textual analysis in interrogating how *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*, framed the intervention in governance.

Another important aspect that the use of textual analysis presents is intertextuality. As the study seeks to explore how *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*, frame the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe, the use of textual analysis will enable the study to reflect on how the ‘global media’ used intertextuality in their framing of the intervention. In other words, the study had to reflect on how *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* make reference to other discourses in their construction of reality on the coverage of the ZDF intervention.

In his description of textual analysis Hopkins, (2012: 15 - 19) suggests that “what is excluded is as important as what is included”. Thus textual analysis raises questions on the structured absence in texts. This idea can be argued to emanate from the notion that production of texts is a

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

process characterised by choices and selection. In this respect, the study employed textual analysis in order to establish latent meanings conveyed in the way in which the ‘global media’ framed the ZDF intervention in governance. Structured absence which can be understood through the use of textual analysis, as argued by Bainbridge, (2008: 224) 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.” The next section discussed the critical discourse analysis.

### **3.7.2 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to augment textual analysis. The principles of discourses analysis are worthy in the sense that the words in a discourse reflects the reason for their production and the conditions of context in which they were produced (Deacon et al, 2007). In this study this is key because the study seeks to identify and establish the frames and discourses used in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance. CDA centres on the social domains including ideology, racism, media discourse, gender, institutional discourse, political discourse, bureaucracy-related discourse and education. Thus it has become a well-established field in social sciences (Fairclough et al., 2011:358). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) aims at making transparent the connections between discourse practices and social practices and social structures. Thus manifesting dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language which might be opaque or unclear to the lay person. It investigates the relationship between language and society, and the relationship between analysis and the practices analyzed (Wodak, 1997). As argued by Van Dijk (1988) CDA is a field concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias.

CDA examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. In the same vein, Fairclough (1993:135) defines CDA as discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to



**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p. 135)

There are three prominent scholars who have developed CDA over the years thus contributing to its development. These developments are linked with particular scholars thus contributing to the CDA as a whole (Van Dijk, 1993; 1995; 2001; Wodak, 2011; Fairclough, 1996). This study combines all the three scholars who adequately addresses the themes of power, ideology and hegemony that have an effect on production, consumption and understanding of discourse. CDA is majorly interested in the issue of power as a crucial constituent of analysing discourse and the ways in which linguistic forms are utilized in various expressions and manipulations of power Blommaert (2005). This study seeks to identify frames and the emergent discourse used in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance by the global media (*Al Jazeera and BBC*) in the context of change in power dynamics in Zimbabwe.

The concept “critic” in critical discourse analysis has its roots in critical theory as founded by the Frankfurt school based on Max Horkheimer’s proposition that social theory should have social transformation agenda on society as a whole rather than to mere endorse and sustain the status quo like traditional theory which simply sought to understand and explain society. As argued by Bryman (2012) critical discourse analysis looks at the role of language as a power resource for the articulation of ideology and socio-cultural change. The context of language use is therefore very crucial in an analysis of language. As argued by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) language and discourse shape society and they are in turn influenced by the same society.

In this regard, language helps produce and reproduce the status quo and thus help maintain unequal relations of power in a society (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Wodak 2008). The ‘global media’ coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe was a discursive event which the study analysed within the wider and cultural context where ideological power struggles of dominance bias and inequality were prevalent. The production of ideological domination and power in news is something that can be very smooth and intangible. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a method basically debunks the work of ideology and power. It aids in understanding and critiquing how dominant ideologies and power are reproduced and

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

maintained in society. Thus the frames and discourses that were constituted in the 'global media' coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance followed a specific narrative pattern as postulated by Van Dijk (1988) which the study seek to establish.

While the study adopted "a more informal discourse analysis which is prevalent in media and journalism studies as opposed to the more linguistic form of CDA" (Chibuwe, 2017: 22). It however, acknowledged the scholars involved in the development of CDA. Critical Discourse Analysis involves a discursive analysis of different texts that is what data is selected, how it is collected and analyzed is determined by the objects of the research. As argued by Fairclough (2002), language must also be understood in light of new capitalism, that is, in terms of how contemporary transformations of capitalism such as neoliberalism, and globalization have brought about a new form of economic transformation in the era of post-cold war where the social and economic fabric have changed. Thus in this study the language and discourse employed by the 'global media' in the coverage of the ZDF intervention will be examined in the context of the new capitalism.

Critical Discourse Analysis is characterized by a common interest to demystify ideologies and power through a systematic investigation of textual data (Wodak 2008). Hence, as argued by Fairclough (1993); Van Dijk (1993:254) CDA focuses on the discursive strategies that legitimate, control and naturalize the social order especially relations of inequality. News is generally believed to be informative and based on facts moreso, if coming from institutions such as Al Jazeera and the BBC that were considered to be authoritative in terms of their ability to bring news to the global audiences. In this study a critical discourse analysis of the 'global media' framing of Africa was considered necessary and useful as a way of examining the reproduction of ideological domination and power in news about Africa and Africans in the context of the of political instability and coups, and lack of democracy among others. This is in agreement with Fair (1993) who concurs that these images sustain the western discourses. Thus embedded in the news stories from Africa is a sustained reproduction of hierarchy and domination reworked and updated.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

In this study critical discourse analysis was vital in analyzing media texts, thus examining the reproduction of ideological domination and power which appears commonsensical in news until it is challenged Van Dijk (1993). The dominance of the 'global media' appeared to be hegemonic as a result of the shut out of local media in the initial stages of the coverage of the ZDF intervention. The major function of dominant discourse therefore is to manufacture such consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance (Herman and Chomsky 1988). CDA therefore seeks to expose power and dominance that is organized and institutionalized socially, politically, culturally or economically. CDA pay attention to hierarchical forms of power and thus expose the powerful elites (Van Dijk 1993; Wodak 2007). The next section discusses methods of data presentation.

### **3.8 Methods of Data Presentations**

Prescriptive thematic analysis is chosen as a method to present data on the basis that as I will be analysing the global media coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance. Qualitative data presentation implies identifying latent issues which are to be categorised as themes. Through analysing frames and emergent discourses, in the context of the social and institutional practices influencing it, patterns (themes) begin to emerge which I will then use to present my findings. Prescriptive thematic analysis as argued by (Zhang & Wildermuth, 2009) allows the researcher “to impose themes generated from the review of related literature on the data gathered, in order to find out what is similar and what is different. The process of generating themes from theory or related literature is significant at the beginning of textual analysis” (Zhang & Wildermuth, 2009 in Chibwe 2017:108).

Prescriptive thematic analysis is flexible, systematic, relatively easy and quick method to learn, it can highlight similarities and differences and more so it offers a “thick description” of the data set. (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This is in concurrence with Anderson (2007) who asserts that thematic content analysis is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data. Themes will be supported with quotations from the unit of analysis on how *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* framed the ZDF's intervention in governance issues in Zimbabwe in the sampled articles. While the process is time consuming, the researcher worked with small samples. Thematic analysis has 6 stages of which the first three stages are to be covered through textual and critical discourse

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The purposively selected articles are to be thoroughly read in search of meaning and recurring patterns viz-a-viz the social and institutional practices influencing the patterns. The data is then coded using highlighters and coloured pens after which themes are grouped together and reviewed for coherence purposes then an overall theme is identified which answers the research questions and objectives.

**3.9 Qualitative research and issues of validity, objectivity and reliability**

The focus for qualitative research is on the interpretation of the data and whether the results are consistent with the data collected. This is referred to as trustworthiness of the data. Rather, qualitative researchers seek to describe and explain the world as those in the world experience it (Merriam, 2009). Data validity and reliability issues are not of concern in qualitative research. There are multiple realities of what is happening hence there is no standard means by which to establish reliability in the traditional sense. While quantitative research relies on validity, in qualitative research, validity is based upon trustworthiness thus credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). Where there is internal validity in quantitative research, in qualitative research, there is credibility. External validity is replaced by transferability in qualitative research. Reliability in quantitative research becomes dependability in qualitative research. Objectivity is replaced by confirmability (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008).

Trustworthiness of data, is obtained when the researcher scrutinises the sampled archived news articles over and over again through triangulation of the data analysis tools. The researcher intends to ensure that the results in this study are credible by relying on the media organisation's perspectives through the sample articles. The media houses report events based on how close they are to reality as suggested by Trochim & Donnelly, (2008), Merriam (2002:2). Also (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) asserts that credibility is supported by prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation. Rich data is obtained through textual and critical discourse analyses. Transferability, confirmability and dependability are the factors used to increase the credibility of the study since these indicates "the correctness or credibility of a description, explanation, interpretation, or conclusion" Maxwell (1996:87).

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Transferability which is external validity relies on thick description of data and is meant to show whether or not the study could be used elsewhere in a study similar to this one (Merriam, 2004). This is also meant to show the extent to which judgements could be made on “how sensible the transfer is” (Trochim & Donnelly, (2008). Dependability involves showing all the steps followed by the researcher in the study to ensure that the data collected is clear enough. Dependability is addressed through whether or not the results that the researcher produces could be replicated to suit a similar study. Further, the researcher made a reflective appraisal, where some evaluations of the study were made (Shenton, 2004). This is in agreement with Mason, (2007) who contends that in order to validate and legitimize research findings “researchers should constantly take stock of their actions and their role in the research process, and subject these to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of their data.” (Mason, 2007:7) The principle of being reflexive is applied through highlighting the role and standing of the researcher in relation to the study. The next section examines the research design.

**3.10 Ethical Considerations**

The researcher intends to give an honest and accurate presentation of the findings. In view of the foregoing, the following ethical considerations were valued in this study. The researcher will strive to minimize subjectivity by being reflexive. The researcher is not a politician but a scholar and a Zimbabwean citizen who is also affected by political developments in the country. I must admit that I was peeved with how the Mugabe administration steered the economy into ruin. Therefore, this view could affect my interpretation of the coverage of ZDF intervention by the ‘global media’ (Pillow, 2003). The above statement was made in order to validate and legitimize my findings as argued by Mason (2007:7) that “researchers should constantly take stock of their actions and their role in the research process, and subject these to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of their data.” In addition, this study will acknowledge all the sources and cites where information would have been obtained.

**3.11 Chapter Summary**

The chapter presented the research methodology adopted by the study which was underpinned by the social constructivism/interpretivism framework. Social constructivism/interpretivism believes that reality is multiple, relative and dependent on one’s perspective. The qualitative

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

method is chosen on the basis that the study is concerned with meaning and interpretation thus is bound to have subjective answers. The qualitative case study research design is discussed in detail. Aspects such as the unit of analysis, research population and sampling techniques used are also highlighted in the chapter. Methods of data gathering and analysis are discussed. Lastly ethical considerations are highlighted. The next chapter focuses on the organisational analysis of *Al Jazeera* and *The BBC*.

**CHAPTER 4: ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS****4.0 Introduction**

This chapter briefly examines and analyses the *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* media institutions to get a clear sense of their history, structure and modus operandi within the global media landscape and socio-economic and political context. Informing the discussion on the organisational analysis of the two global media institutions is the political economy perspective. Political economy as argued by Golding and Murdock (2005) examines patterns of ownership and control of media organisations and the consequences of such ownership and control on the activities of the media organisations. Thus exploring the relationship between capital and the range of discourses and other latent issues such as institutional dynamics and their influences on the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe from the 13<sup>th</sup> November 2017 to the 24<sup>th</sup> November 2017. The discussion begins with the organisational analysis of *Al Jazeera* and then move to *the BBC*.

**4.1 Al Jazeera historical background**

Al Jazeera's history is intimately tied to the development of Qatar. Thus the name Al-Jazeera means 'The Island' or 'The Peninsula' (Youmans, 2012). *Al Jazeera* Satellite Channel, was launched in 1996 in Qatar following the closure of the BBC's Arabic language television station, which was a joint venture with Orbit Communication Company. Orbit Communication Company was a privately owned pay TV network based in Egypt, and operating in the Middle East and North Africa. This development made *Al Jazeera* to be able to compete with the other satellite channels, as it was common in the Arab world to own a satellite dish and to watch the news on television because of the high rates of illiteracy that existed in the region (Youmans, 2012).

*Al Jazeera*, was established as a result of two major political developments. The first was that Qatar's new ruler wanted a counter-weight to the regional media power of Saudi Arabia. A Qatari media giant was used, therefore, to give the smaller, weaker country some leverage in the form of greater influence over public and elite opinion. A second reason was that the new Emir embarked on an accelerated developmental plan, which included limited liberalization, such as the abolition of the institution charged with media censorship, the Minister of Information, as

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

well as a national referendum on a new constitution (Youmans, 2012). The political context gave *Al Jazeera* room to develop and the leeway to report critically and holding accountable its leaders.

Historically, Qatar had a record of restriction on press freedom and harsh censorship especially on the coverage of state issues as much as in Africa (Fiske de Gouveia, 2005). The BBC's Arabic language television channel had closed as a result of being critical of the Saudi Arabian government (Hurriyet Daily News, 2012). The closure of the BBC Arabic service in 1996 left 250 BBC-trained professionals jobless. While many of those employees shared a vision of creating a unique Arab media landscape (Miles, 2005). This incident presented an opportunity for *Al Jazeera* to hire qualified and competent journalists, broadcasters and media administrators (Miles, 2005). *Al-Jazeera* began broadcasting 6 hours a day via the Arabsat satellite. By February 1999, *Al-Jazeera* was broadcasting 24 hours a day on three different satellites.

The Chanel is credited for being the first media conglomerate based in the global south to challenge the long held notion of the North South divide. *Al Jazeera* is both geographic and topical hence it did not position itself as a channel representing a particular national lens on the world, as the BBC and CNN International do (Youmans, 2012). In the process it made profound impact not only in the middle east but all throughout the world earning accolades and awards in the process (Kathrina Oh, 2012). Geographically it stands as the “world's first English language news channel to have its headquarters in the Middle East,” focused “globally” and outward outlook (Youmans 2012:34). Topically, it associates with the subalterns, the voiceless, meaning the people of the world whose views are not well represented by dominant global media such as CNN International and the BBC.

This objective is fulfilled through establishing over nearly seventy bureaus around the world, most of them in developing nations all over the world, Zimbabwe included. Thus it has a decentralized editorial power which produces a multi-perspective news product. Its staff complement boasts of more than one thousand represented in over fifty national backgrounds. Competing on the global front requires international journalistic infrastructure as well as the



**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

global audience. AJE reaches upwards of 260 million households in more than one hundred countries all over the world (Youmans, 2012).

*Al Jazeera English* (AJE) the focus of my study was launched in 2006 under the same broadcaster. The English Channel was meant to offer an alternative, non-western-centric world view. The first English version of the network, *Al Jazeera International*, hired non-Arab professionals so as to build a global image (Powers, 2012). However, tension arose as a result of disparities in earnings between Arabs and non-Arab professionals thus initiating reforms which led to the establishment of *Al Jazeera English* (AJE) in 2006 (Powers, 2012). The emergence of AJE is linked to a shift in “the political, economic and technological contexts in which media are produced and consumed” in “an increasingly global” infrastructure enabling an “international flow of images and ideas” (Thussu, 2007a, p. 3).

In agreement with Thussu, (2007), Fiske de Gouveia, (2005) concurs that there is strong evidence that the station’s political coverage has made the region’s political regimes more accountable. On the same note, its mode of coverage has made other state media to improve their own coverage. *Al Jazeera* has arguably had significant cultural impact as its coverage has improved non-Arab’s societies understanding of the Arab world and increased understanding between different Arab societies and acted as a network for the Arab diaspora, affording people living outside the region the greater contact both with their various ‘homelands’ and each other (Fiske de Gouveia, 2005). These cultural effects may have genuine political and economic implications, encouraging greater regional relations and trade - *Al-Jazeera’s* political, economic and cultural impact has been real, and largely positive, across the Middle East (Fiske de Gouveia, 2005).

‘Free from the shackles of censorship and government control’ claims the station’s website, ‘*Al-Jazeera* has offered its audiences in the Arab world much needed freedom of thought, independence, and room for debate. In the rest of the world, often dominated by the stereotypical thinking of news “heavyweights”, *Al Jazeera* offers a different and a new perspective’. Audiences across the Arab world have consequently had little access to reliable news. In this context *Al-Jazeera* has been something of a revelation. (Fiske de Gouveia, 2005:10)

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

These claims are not just empty rhetoric. Its journalism standard made it a force to reckon with on the region's politics. This type of journalism created a mediating space for criticizing governments, giving voice to the subalterns, which includes the dissidents and counter-publics (Youmans 2012). Issues regarded as taboo were discussed openly Lynch, (2006) termed it an Arab public sphere where there was free exchange and deliberation of issues regarded taboo. This made it deeply unpopular with the governments of the region as it was a hurricane thus it was seen as a force of reform by all sundry including the west (Youmans, 2012).

However, the 'CNN effect' a 24-hour broadcasting during the Arab spring was christened and popularized as the 'Al Jazeera effect' (Youmans, 2012). The "Al Jazeera Effect" and "CNN Effect" phenomena refer to the influence of the new media on global politics. It describes the influence that new global media have on global society. The *Al Jazeera Effect theory* states that the new media has been able to reduce the government and mainstream media monopoly on information and have empowered groups that previously have lacked a global voice (Pallosi, 2015).

The CNN effect origins is traced to the establishment of the CNN in 1980 by Ted Turner as the first news network broadcasting news around the world 24/7. The CNN effect impacted on western government's foreign policies (Hulme 1996). For *Al Jazeera* the Arab spring provided a spring board for creating its own effect to the extent that its coverage of the Arab spring attracted the interest of the Americans who had previously opposed the news network. In agreement Howard and Hussain (2013, p. 99) concurred that "it is *Al Jazeera English* (AJE) that played a significant role in amplifying the distributed and diverse voices of the Arab Spring through generating, accelerating impediments effects on governments and impact on the international political discourse.

*Al Jazeera English* has gained a place as a global player in mediating both trans regional and international politics. Thus learning from past challenges and beta-tested strategies for covering dangerous areas (Youmans 2012). Taking a cue from its Arab spring experience this study seeks to identify and establish the frames and the emergent discourses employed in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in Zimbabwe in the context of change in power dynamics in governance.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC****4.1.1 Al Jazeera Ownership, structure and control**

On the launch of *Al Jazeera*, The Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa provided a loan of QAR 500 million equivalent to US\$137 million to sustain Al Jazeera through its first five years, (Fiske de Gouveia, 2005). Shares were held by private investors as well as the Qatar government thus it is a hybrid state-sponsored and private network (Tal Samuel-Azran, 2015). Its goal & financial support allowed the channel to attract viewers with something new (Powers, 2012). Qatar is rich in terms of resources hence the channel is a direct outgrowth of a petro-economy.

Bountiful resources gave the network license to function as a journalists' playground in a sense. Over time of course, many grew to question both the over-dependence on state funding and what that meant for its independence. However, the Qatar government claims a distant control of the channel. As a result of failing to attract advertisers because of political pressure *Al Jazeera* got a supplementary grant of \$29 million in 2003. Saudi Arabia is claimed to have initiated a "de facto" advertiser boycott, thereby limiting the channel's source of revenue (Kinninmont, 2005). *Al Jazeera* fails to capture advertisers because of its association with the so called bad guys such as Osama Bin Laden. Advertising is about brand identity but Qatar seem not to care as Greenfield, (2013) submits that it seeks to extend its power and influence hence it is not about making money but gaining soft power (Greenfield, 2013).

However, the network, derives most of its revenues from its other products, that's is movies, sports and children's channels (Helman, 2009). With Al Jazeera's sport channel aggressively vying for exclusive broadcast rights to Europe's top football leagues in early 2012, its revenues could grow exponentially. It is argued that the network could be independent, if it resembles the American broadcast networks that gets profits from entertainment, sports programs and funded news as a loss-leader as a public service – a dynamic that led to lower news budgets over time.

**4.1.2 Al Jazeera's Editorial policy**

The founding editorial philosophy of *Al Jazeera* is to provide coverage to underreported parts of the world known as the 'global south' which includes among others Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East (Stroud, 2014). Its editorial policy gave journalist a leeway on as these staff

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

were hired from the closure of the BBC Arabic TV channel (Powers, 2012). While the station, claims to have risen as an alternative and objective voice in the global arena its mission as argued by Da Lage (2005), is two pronged. It includes maintaining economic and diplomatic ties with the United States and Israel while using the same front to criticize these countries. In concurrence with the above contention (Fandy, 2007; Zayani, 2008) submits that the real aim of the Qatari Emir's decision to launch *Al-Jazeera* was to have leverage against rival Gulf countries, particularly Saudi Arabia. This is evidenced by Qatar's moves to consolidate its control over the channel in seeking political influence in the Gulf. A 2010 WikiLeaks report claims that the Qatar government manipulates Al Jazeera coverage to suit political interests.

#### **4.2 The BBC historical background**

*The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)* one of the oldest and influential broadcasting organisation founded in 1922 as (British Broadcasting Company) is a public service broadcaster funded by the government of Britain. *BBC* is one of the most popular media organizations that invested heavily on the online expansion, as the British Broadcaster remains until today one of the most sophisticated company in its field and operates unique services like the department that watches on a daily basis the news (Westcott & Mukherjee, 2011). However, it has grown in leaps and bounds, now has a commercial entity the *BBC World (BBCW)* an online news broadcaster which is the focus of my study.

The BBC pride itself on presenting a mature, balanced, winning argument rather it is this balance that gave the BBC more international credibility than any other broadcasting organisation in the world (Thussu, 2000). Further, what distinguishes *the BBC* is its capacity to criticize its own government, however, indirectly (Thussu, 2000). *The BBC* was formed out of a joint venture of six companies viz The Marconi Company, The Metropolitan Vickers Company, The Western Electric Company, The Radio Communications Company, The General Electric Company, and The British Thompson Houston Company) that were to finance the organization for up to two years (Ellen & Shacklady, 2003:1).

J.C.W. Reith, the first General Manager is credited for providing professional guidance that was key to the establishment of the brand of *BBC*. During his first two years, under his watch the

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

company managed to raise an income of about £500,000. Growing audience interest and public demand of the programs by audiences who were willing to pay license fees for the programs made the government to change the status of the company into a public authority free from political and commercial pressures (Ellen & Shacklady, 2003). Thus the birth of the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1927.

During the World Wars, *BBC* faced challenges related to maintaining the its coverage and the security of its transmitters which were at times switched off (Ellen & Shacklady, 2003). In order to overcome the challenges, *BBC* installed low power transmitters, that could not easily be seen by the enemies thus providing news to their audience efficiently (Ellen & Shacklady, 2003). This solution proved to be a breakthrough as the signals could be broadcast over vast distances. In 1932 the BBC World Service was created under the name Empire Service that King George V used annually to address the Empire and send his Royal Christmas message.

By the end of 1940, the *BBC* was broadcasting in 34 languages. Each day 78 news bulletins were broadcast, amounting to 250,000 words (BBC, 2012, p. 9). Besides the above successes, *BBC* was also instrumental in delivering secret messages across Europe for the sake of Entente Cordiale, as well as providing accurate information with its war correspondents, who were risking their lives on the battle front. A renowned journalist George Orwell once worked for BBC Eastern Service from 1941 to 1943. Thus globally it broadcasted from all angles covering every possible conflict and news for the eastern bloc (Ellen & Shacklady, 2003).

The *BBC* provides news in English and foreign languages, offering a unique global perspective on news around the world, characterised by the *BBC*'s impartiality, independence and accuracy. In addition to TV, radio and online, the *BBC* also offers other digital services, as well as various consumer products like music, books and games (BBC, 2013). *BBC Worldwide* is the *BBC*'s main commercial arm of the corporation. Its objective is to support the *BBC*'s public service mission and to maximise profits on its behalf. This is achieved through commercialization and showcasing content from the *BBC* around the world. The business also helps to build the reach and reputation of the *BBC* brand. The *BBC* world service addresses the global gap in the provision of trusted international news.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC****4.2.1 BBC Ownership structure and control**

The *BBC* was established in December 1926, its governance and funding arrangements are set out in a Royal Charter ([www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk)). In order to consolidate its position globally, the *BBC* went online in 1977 seeking to meet the demands of its international audience. The focus of my study the *BBC World (BBCW)* an online news broadcaster has two components in terms of funding mechanisms. The online component is commercially funded, Ellen and Shacklady, (2003) argues that the commercially funded section is related to e-commerce and not international news. However, all departments contribute to the content of *BBC Online*.

Within the public service, there are two channels of funding. The first comes from the license fee and the second, which comes directly to the World Service, is called 'grant' and comes from the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The World Service is funded differently from the rest of the *BBC*, because its mission is to provide world news (Westcott & Mukherjee, 2011).

The current ownership structure and control of the *BBC* is complicated as there are three key parties involved: the *BBC Executive*, The *BBC Trust* and Ofcom. This current charter was awarded on 1 January 2017 for a period of ten years following a wide ranging review by Government. The new governance and regulatory arrangements put in place, established a single *BBC* board and the regulatory responsibility given to Ofcom. Ofcom is the Office of Communication, a UK broadcasting, telecommunication and postal regulatory body. The Ofcom is responsible for the operating framework and setting a license for the *BBC* in which the conditions are embedded (Clementi, 2016)

The new board which is unitary is led by non-executive Chairman, Sir David Clementi and consists of a majority of non-executive directors alongside executive directors who includes the Director General and Editor in Chief, Tony Hall. The board's responsibility as set out in the Charters includes ensuring the fulfilling of the *BBC's* mission and public purposes. Thus setting the strategic direction, setting the budget, establishing the creative remit and determining the framework for assessing performance.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

The board has a number of committees made up of non-executive directors as required by the Charter. The committees include Audit and Risk Committee; A Nominations Committee, Remuneration Committee, the Editorial Guidelines and Standards, Fair Trading and the Nations. The Director-General, Tony Hall, Chairs the Executive Committee, which his responsible for the day to day running of the *BBC* and consists of senior directors managing large operational areas of the *BBC*. The Executive Committee is responsible for delivering the *BBC*'s services in accordance with Strategy and delegations framework agreed by the board.

The *BBC* owns commercial organisations because it is not permitted to provide commercial services directly and, instead, does so through commercial subsidiaries in order to generate a return which can be reinvested in public service activities, ultimately to the benefit of licence fee payers. (Oliver & Ohlbaum Associates Ltd, 2015)

**4.2.2 BBC's Editorial policy**

On its inception in 1926, its first Director General Sir John Reith stated impartiality and objectivity as key in achieving professionalism in broadcasting. Impartiality means that coverage should be unbiased, balanced, objective, open-minded and not taking sides (Cushion, 2011). Ensuring impartiality, ideally entails the provision of a broad view of the range and weight of opinion on a particular topic. Journalists are to play an active role in constructing the narrative surrounding the range of opinion on a particular topic, thus reflecting the diversity of the public(s) represented, and at the same time attempting to 'bind the nation and nurture a collective climate of rational opinion formation' (Hendy, 2013: 38).

While impartiality is related to the professional practices and ideals of balance and objectivity, during a former political editor Marr, (2006) argued that the liberal bias of the *BBC* is the product of the caliber of people employed by the corporation hence it is cultural not political. The *BBC* is dominated by trendy left leaning liberals who are biased against Christianity and in favour of Multiculturalism (Walters, 2006). The general sentiment is that the *BBC* is part of the establishment as one former Director General criticized the *BBC* for being part of the 'Westminister conspiracy' to maintain the British political system (Wheeler, 2009). The former

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Director General revealed this when he was forced to step down in 2004 due to political pressure. This augurs well with Thussu, (2000) who argued that the media follows the flag.

The *BBC's* editorial guidelines, state a commitment to reflecting a breadth and diversity of opinion across its output as a whole, over an appropriate period, so that no significant strand of thought is knowingly unreflected or under-represented. We will be fair and open-minded when examining evidence and weighing material acts. (BBC, 2014). The statement highlight how, given the time and space constraints of broadcasting, decisions about which voices and positions to represent necessarily involves selectivity and significant curatorial responsibility on behalf of the journalist. It also entails a careful judgement of the different articulations of impartiality across genre and content types, including distinctions between domestic and international content (e.g. BBC Trust, 2012: 12–13). Implicit in these conceptions is a belief that, just as journalists have a 'gut feeling' for news (Schultz, 2007), they also have specially developed skills for picking up the range of views and voices on a particular issue, and an empirical approach to 'examining evidence and weighing material acts'.

The *BBC* has been acutely aware of these issues and has strict editorial guidelines concerning the coverage of controversial issues and the inclusion of a range of views and voices (BBC, 2014). It has a tradition of being highly self-critical in examining its own editorial policy and content. The BBC is politically exposed because much of its funding comes from licence-fee income, directly paid by its audience. It is a frequent target for critics of the licence fee. These include voices in the right-wing press (Aitken, 2013), as well as right-leaning lobbying groups and think tanks such as the Conservative Party-funded Civitas and Newswatch, an organisation whose main aim it is to check the 'BBC for EU bias' (<http://news-watch.co.uk/> 2014).

### **4.2.3 The role of Advertisers in the BBC**

Advertising and sponsorship are important to any commercial service. If executed well, they provide funding and can enhance a consumer's experience by adding to the editorial proposition. However, if executed badly, they can be a reputational risk and cause future commercial relationships to be put in jeopardy. One of the filters of the propaganda model argues, "the dominant media are firmly imbedded in the market system" (Herman, 2003: 2). This aspect



**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

crucially speaks to the one filter of media operations that has to do with the role of advertisers in influencing media content. Chomsky (1989:8) contends that media content reflects “the perspectives and interests of the sellers, the buyers and the product”. Herman (2003: 2) argues that by virtue of their financial prowess, non-media big businesses are thus able to influence media operations and content “with threats of withdrawal of advertising”.

The *BBC* is not permitted to carry advertising or sponsorship on its public services. The licence fee system tries to keep the broadcaster away from direct commercial interests and government interference. This keeps them independent of commercial interests and ensures they can be run purely to serve the general public interest thus it has guidelines that seek to protect its global reputation. As for its commercial services these are run separately from the *BBC*'s public services and the profits are used to help keep the licence fee low ([www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk)).

### **4.3 Chapter Summary**

This chapter outlined the historical background, ownership structure and control; editorial policies and the role of advertisers for *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*. Ownership and control patterns of the organisations have possible implications to the way the two media organisations framed the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. The chapter argued that discourses available in the two media organisations can be influenced by those who fund their operations. Through shareholding and funding elites can exercise some power over the content and output of the global media. The next chapter focuses on data analysis and presentation.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC****CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION****5.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents and discusses data gathered during the research. The data is to be presented and analysed using prescriptive thematic analysis which combines themes derived from literature review and theoretical framework to come up with unique themes that provides an array of meaning of a phenomenon (Chibuwe, 2017). The study explores the global media coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe: the case of *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*. The discussion on data gathered explores how the mentioned two global media organisations framed the intervention in relation to discourses that promoted such frames. The themes are trying to capture the answers to the research objectives and questions.

**5.1 Zimbabwe Military in ZANU-PF Leadership Contest (Al Jazeera and BBC)**

The study established that the global media coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance can be described in the language of power contestations and struggles. In their reportage of the ZDF intervention both *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC*, made use of the term “ZANU PF purge”. While both media houses acknowledged the existence of “succession battles within ZANU PF” the distinction or difference in view of the ruling party purge by both global media organisation is worth highlighting. The various frames, terms, discourses used by *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* in explaining the ZANU PF purge in a bid to promote and construct a particular view or meaning of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe is paramount at this stage.

In framing the Zimbabwe military in ZANU PF leadership contest, *Al Jazeera* in its stories titled “Zimbabwe army ready to step in to end ZANU PF purge” 13 November 2017; “Zimbabwe: ZANU Youth wing “Ready to die” for Mugabe” 14 November 2017; ordinary Zimbabweans. The leadership contest was described using words phrases and metaphors such as a rare statement...., a ‘coup plotter’ and a ‘coward’...; protecting our revolution....; calls for stop to current purges targeting those with a liberation background.....; the army will not support someone who did not fight 1970s independence; instability causing anxiety; Mnangagwa a potential successor removed; Mnangagwa dismissal clears way for grace...; poisoning saga a cause of serious rift. The allies of Mugabe were described as ready to die for Mugabe if army

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

threatens to step in ... army should not be allowed to choose the country's leaders; army as the creature of the constitution and will not be allowed to subvert the constitution, treasonable conduct ....; the youth declared to defend the revolution and their leader....; opposition voiced on the need to defend civilian rule...; one opposition supporter heightened his support for the army on the intervention as they were fighting a common enemy...' ordinary citizens feared the clashes between Mugabe loyalist and the army could turn bloody.

*The BBC* stories headlined “Zimbabwe military Chief Chiwenga in ZANU-PF purge warning” 13 November 2017 and “Mugabe allies hit out at Zimbabwe Army Chief”; 14 November 2017 and Zimbabwe Takeover seems like a coup, African Union says; 15 November 2017. In framing ‘the military in ZANU PF leadership contest, the media house used language such as “the rare intervention...; the military will not hesitate to step in...; power struggle over who might replace Mugabe ....; a snake which “must be hit on the head”...; the removal of people involved in the independence struggle is not tolerated...; protecting our revolution; the current treacherous shenanigans...; squabbling between politicians; army chief to stay in barracks the military does not support of the entire defense forces...; will no fold hands for threats against a legitimately elected leader Chiwenga and Mnangagwa allies of the 1970s wars...; armoured vehicles from military barracks roaming the city streets....; Mnangagwa is highly regard within military circles”.

From the foregoing, the global media employed the conflict and political instability frame which portrayed ZANU PF as a party headed for self-implosion. As argued by *the BBC* the warning by the military chief, Chiwenga came as a result of the sacking of Mnangagwa, who was Mugabe's deputy in both government and party on allegations of showing unbridled ambition to take over the presidency from Mugabe. Worth noting is Grace Mugabe, Mnangagwa's nemesis who described him as a snake which “must be hit on the head” (*BBC, 13 November 2017*). Grace was also alleged to be the favourite in succeeding her husband by virtue of her position as wife to Mugabe and her position in the party as Women's League Secretary, a powerful politburo position. On contrast the generals wanted someone with a liberation struggle background to take over from Mugabe, hence were against the rise of Grace Mugabe in favour of Mnangagwa. On

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

his sacking Mnangagwa rebuked Mugabe “not to take the party as a personal property for him and his wife to do as he please” (*BBC, 13 November 2017*).

A day before Mnangagwa’s removal, Grace Mugabe labelled the vice president a ‘coup plotter’ and a ‘coward’ in a speech that shook ZANU PF. Mnangagwa was considered a naturally heir to the throne of ZANU PF and had the backing of the military (*Al Jazeera, 13 November 2017*). *Al Jazeera* attributed the purge to the deposing of those with a revolutionary background in favour of the younger generation known as G40. The powerful army generals wanted someone with a liberation war history to take over from Mugabe. In agreement with Rupiya, (2009:257; 2011) the military establishment pronounced repeatedly that presidential office “was a straight-jacket office whose incumbent” had to meet defined criteria. The *Al Jazeera’s* coverage reflected political and conflict frame in the form of a leadership contest – a two horse race. *The BBC* in the articles highlighted Mnangagwa’s war credentials in a bid portray him as the natural successor to the top post, mentioning his role during the liberation struggle, and in post-independence Zimbabwe especially related to the leadership of the Defence and intelligence portfolio particularly his role on the formation of the army in 1980. (*BBC, 15 November 2017*).

*The BBC’s* articles revealed that the tone of the Army General’s sounding of a warning about the purges reflects conflict over party matters while ignoring the bread and butter issues of the day, for instance in one of the article cited above he highlighted that the "squabbling" between politicians, had led to "no meaningful development in the country for the past five years" making references to cash shortages and rising commodity prices. ([bbc.com/news/world-africa](http://bbc.com/news/world-africa), 13 November 2017). In another article *the BBC* highlighted that the allies of Mugabe subverted Chiwenga’s warning through warning him instead to stop meddling in politics and stay put in barracks. Further to that the army chief was asked to account for the alleged missing \$15 billion diamond revenue since the army was at one time in a partnership with the Chinese firm that was prospecting the rich Marange diamond fields. The ZANU PF youth leader claimed in the same article that he was ready to die defending Mugabe, "We will not sit and fold hands while threats are made against a legitimately elected government," (*BBC, 14 November 2017*). The portrayal of issues by *the BBC* is indicative of an unaccountable government that is bend on self-

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

enrichment, self-aggrandizement at the expense of its citizens thus perpetuating the discourses of Africa's lack of democracy.

While *Al Jazeera* assumes a well-informed position in its reportage “ZANU-PF youth wing 'ready to die' for Mugabe” (*Al Jazeera*, 14 November 2017). *Al Jazeera* contends that the youth league categorically stated that it will not allow the army to choose the country's leaders. In his words at the press conference Chipanga the youth leader argues that "We will not fold our hands to allow a creature of the constitution to subvert the very constitution which establishes it....., defending the revolution and our leader and president is an ideal we live for and if need be it is a principle we are prepared to die for ". In essence the framing of *Al Jazeera* attributed the responsibility of the crisis to the army who were meddling in the political affairs of the country (*Al Jazeera*, 14 November 2017).

The conflict and political instability theme as mentioned by Fair, (1993) dogged the global media coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance. Africa is again portrayed as a place of conflict and political instability as compared to the global north or the west where democracy in their own terms is the order of the day. Democracy not defined from the western liberal perspective is not considered as democracy (Thussu, 2000:195). The ZDF intervention provided a window for perpetuation of the dominant paradigm in the reportage of African issues which is sensationalized and episodic. The coverage that does not give analysis and traces the root of the problem to offer solutions but focuses on scandalizing the issues.

### 5.2 Coup or not coup? (Al Jazeera and The BBC)

The study revealed that in framing the coup/not coup both Al Jazeera and the BBC justified this frame using description from various people an organisation whom they interviewed as experts or sources. In the articles titled “Zimbabwe media slow to cover military takeover, 15 November 2017”; “Zimbabwe army takes control but denies coup, 15 November 2017”; “in Harare uncertainty and optimism after army takeover, 15 November 2017”; “Zimbabwe who is saying what? 15 November 2017”; “Zimbabwe Latest: How can you tell if a coup is happening?”, 15 November 2017). Descriptions such as “the smoothest coup.... Army takeover of state broadcaster confirmation of a coup...; African Union Head says Zimbabwean takeover seems

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

like a coup....; Zimbabwe soldiers attempted to takeover power...; not a coup d'état in name but appears to be in action...; constitution not suspended...; military not showing signs of assuming a governing role but have someone it would prefer....; silent coup...; everyone involved is desperate to preserve a veneer of constitutionality about the whole process.....army take control but denies coup..., Mugabe and his family safe and sound .....News editors slept on duty...a broadcast by Army spokesperson announcing army's seizure of power Army seized national television and blocked government administrative offices...; Military not keen to portray action as coup ... action speaks louder than words ... military should be in barracks...; military supposed to defend external enemies or opposition..... internal affairs should be handled by police and not military ...; ZANU PF unfazed by Chiwenga...; 'reasonable conduct'...; palace revolution...; unusual military activity ...; a limited military intervention with political purposes. The coup is against G-40 reads the description among others.”

Contestation of the status and legitimacy of a coup/not coup were evident in the global media coverage of the ZDF intervention. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in concurrence with the regional bodies sanctions the military intervention. (Maeresera, 2012). The president is the only one mandated by the Constitution of Zimbabwe to sanction military interventions. *The BBC* in this study revealed that the Zimbabwe's Military's actions were puzzling as they referred to Mugabe as the Commander-in-Chief of the Zimbabwe's Defence Forces. This is supported by the description military not showing signs of assuming a governing role but have someone it would prefer. The army takeover of power was a way of protecting the self-serving interests of a ZANU PF hegemony over the electoral field as what happened in 2002; 2005; & 2008 (Rupiya, 2011). As a result of the military having a voice in the economy of the country they had every reason to intervene to put someone in power they trust and who is likely to protect their interests. BBC contends that the actions by the military is a way by the old guard to assert its authority as Mugabe's powers had faltered and was supporting his wife for the top job. It was not a coup in name but in action. However, while others referred to it as the 'smoothest coup'. It got a smoothest tag in the sense that there were no or little casualties reported as a result of the military intervention. The unfolding of the events seemed choreographed. The telephone conversation between Mugabe and Zuma, is key because Mugabe pronounced his safety an indication that Mugabe did not want external interference much in this issue. According to news reports, by the

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

global media, there was evidence of a military takeover, however, it seems that both Mugabe and the military did not want to attract international glare. Jacob Zuma, South African President and SADC Chairperson and neighbour to Zimbabwe send envoys to check on the situation and report on findings. What the media excluded in its reportage was whether Mugabe's response to Zuma was given under duress or was it normal. To make matters worse Mugabe on the day he made a speech on national television under the watchful eyes of the military bosses, where he was expected to resign cleared the army of any wrong doing instead highlighting that he had taken note of their grievances.

In an article titled "Zimbabwe Latest: How can you tell if a coup is happening?", 15 November 2017). BBC noted that the Zimbabwean military takeover had a lot of hallmarks of a coup since the signs that a coup is underway are always the same across the world. The article provided a checklist to identify if it is a coup or not. The list includes a statement that nobody ever says it's a coup, however it is justified their action using semantic wriggling, the location of the head of state is another hallmark of a coup in this study while Mugabe was under house arrest the fate of his wife was not mentioned with speculation on whether she had flown out to safety, foreign embassies can be places of refuge; the waves of popular protest and gunfire on the streets is another indicator of a coup, in this study popular protest was not evident in the early days, until when Mugabe began to show signs of defiance to resign wanting to buy time and wait at least for his party's conference (BBC, 20 November 2017), however armoured military vehicles were patrolling the streets of Harare.

Foreign powers warn their nationals in this study the UK foreign office advised its nationals to stay at home waiting for the situation to calm down; The US embassy closed, the Dutch embassy advised its citizens to stay indoors and the Spanish embassy asked its citizens to be cautious; the seizing of the state media is important in this instance ZBC was taken by the men in uniform., the last hallmark is the closure of borders, bridges and airports in this instance the army did not close all but warned people to limit unnecessary movements. One human rights activist was quoted saying there is heavy military presence at the Robert Mugabe Airport. Others saw it as party coup a palace revolution were G40 was being arrested by team Lacoste. The amnesty international called for the safety and security to all citizens regardless of political allegiance.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Mliswa an independent legislator argues that the military takeover was constitutional and blamed the then first lady grace that she had usurped the presidential powers he made it clear that the people of Zimbabwe elected Robert Mugabe and not Grace Mugabe hence the military were justified in restoring order

While, *Al Jazeera* decided to portray the coup as a political crisis in much of its news reports, the main issues in the coverage is the war between Grace Mugabe and Mnangagwa had reached a boiling point. Party power struggles on who to succeed Mugabe were portrayed as a national crisis because Mugabe was synonymous with the party and the country. The reference of a treasonable conduct effect also played a key role in the determination by the military to see Mugabe out and replace him with one they could now trust for fear of being jailed. The army commanders wanted someone with a liberation history to take over from Mugabe. On the other hand, Grace Mugabe had risen politically landing a powerful women's league secretary in the party and by virtue of being wife to Mugabe had unlimited influence on the affairs of the country courtesy of her position. Allowing Mugabe to officiate at a graduation ceremony was a way by the army to show the world that a coup had not taken place practically the army were calling the shots while Mugabe was under house arrest under the guise of pacifying a degenerating, social and economic situation. The players involved in the crisis are Mugabe, Grace, Mnangagwa, the ZDF and The War veterans. From the list of players involved it is clear that what triggered the ZDF intervention is the rivalry between Grace and Mnangagwa.

The global media also employed the sanitization frame where it chooses to ignore the reality and makes it look palatable rather it justified the military takeover. The coup was portrayed as a necessary evil to remove Mugabe from power who for long had been a stumbling block in the interests of the British and the global community. In seeking to buttress its sanitization fame, the description by the African Union Head that the military takeover “seems like a coup” bring questions on the capacity of the African Union to handle issues of this magnitude. However, a BBC reporter Anne Soy noted that the military was aware of what befell Egypt in 2013 and could not be seen to be rewriting the same script. While, the reports noted that Mugabe was under house arrest and had spoken to Zuma, the Chairperson of SADC a regional body that he was safe. Envoys were also send to iron out the issues. In the same context it is also worth to



## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

highlight that the BBC reporter pointed out that the extra ordinary gamble taken by the army was important in the context that it was not the western government, or the opposition calling shorts but a mass uprising against economic hardship being faced by the people. Importantly it was an internal power struggle within ZANU PF for the top position (BBC, 15 November 2017).

### 5.3 Hero, Liberator and Father (BBC)

The *BBC* in framing Mugabe as a hero, liberator and father described him in the following articles “Robert Mugabe: Is Zimbabwe’s ex-president a hero or villain”, 21 November 2017 and “Mugabe a hero in his village, 17 November 2017”. Mugabe was credited for having brought independence and an end to white minority rule....; he was a liberation icon who remained steadfast as a patriotic socialist fighting capitalism and colonialism....; he fought for one man one vote...; he was a hero poised to step down only when the revolution was complete... in terms of economic problems he blamed the western countries for imposing sanction and Britain for not honoring the land compensation pledge...; he was a staunch catholic.

The concept of hero stems from the west to depict someone of great courage and bravery who does not run away in the face of danger or calamity. In this study the BBC framed Mugabe as a hero, liberator and father who was revered and celebrated. Joseph Winter a journalist who was once deported at the height of the land question highlighted that “Mugabe will always remain a hero who brought independence and an end to white minority rule, to the extent that those who forced him out blamed his wife” (BBC, 21 November 2017). In the same context Archbishop Desmond Tutu argues that despite vilification by the West he is still regarded as a liberation hero on the African continent. The BBC also traced his steps to his village where he was still regarded as a hero, liberator and father despite his shortcomings. In Mugabe’s village the roads are maintained, and he is regarded as a God fearing man a devout Catholic. Most importantly he is highly regarded for constantly visiting his village to check on the welfare of his people. Mugabe was a hero of the liberation who could even stand in the territory and face of his rivals and tell them his mind in their face. The hero, liberator and father discourse confirms Mkandawire’s argument that African politics is personalized and characterised (Mkandawire, 2013). The global media in this regard framed the coverage in a symbolic and cultural context where long time relationships had been torn apart as a result of greed or self-tendencies. The

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

buck used to stop with Mugabe who had become the party and policy. African politics is personal as argued by Mkandawire, (2013). By distancing the opposition and the western from the picture, this then portrays the fall of the hero and liberator turned dictator as a result of focusing on sharing the national cake rather than increasing the national cake.

*The BBC* also highlighted a cultural angle to the coverage, a symbolic creation of reality by both the individual and institution is evidenced where Oladipo the BBC monitoring security correspondent argues that while the military denies a coup in principle, practically Mugabe was not in charge as his authority had been usurped. While indications on the ground pointed to a military takeover, the military was quick to still refer to Mugabe as the Commander-in-chief and not suspending the constitution. The BBC further alluded to the opinion that Mugabe might have gone too far in his quest for a family dynasty (BBC, 15 November 2017). The army general and Mugabe were part of the liberation struggle, and over the years had served Mugabe governments and supported his interest even when he decided to purge Mujuru but this time it seemed like he had gone too far. However, the military was bent on forcing Mugabe to resign than humiliate him because of their shared history. This concurs with (Rupiya, 2009; 2011; Matyszak 2005), who argues that the military had been part of the establishment and had been a useful tool of oppression especially with regards to any threats of Mugabe's power.

In addition, to the moral and cultural angle, the BBC noted that Mugabe during his time under house arrest was allowed to officiate at a graduation ceremony and the army's continued reference to him as the Commander in Chief of the Defense Forces. This is because of their bonds from the liberation struggle and also there was need to preserve a sense of constitutionality between the parties involved in the conflict. The issue of treating Mugabe as a father is deeply ingrained in the African culture. One cannot be seen to be disrespecting his father thus the military commanders had that in mind and wanted to dignify Mugabe to keep his legacy. Thus despite his defiance they continued to have patience with him until he gave in.

#### **5.4 Dictator, Villain, Despot (Al Jazeera and BBC)**

The study revealed that Mugabe was a Dictator, villain and a despot. In the articles "Who are the key players, Al Jazeera, 15 November 2017"; "Uncertainty and Optimism after army takeover,

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

Al Jazeera, 15 November 2017”; “Robert Mugabe: Is Zimbabwe’s ex-president a hero or villain”, BBC, 21 November 2017 “Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe Resigns, ending 37-year rule, BBC, 21 November 2017”; “A city sings, BBC, 21 November 2017”. In the above articles Mugabe’s dictatorship was described in various ways which include among other related descriptions. “.... the man who dominated Zimbabwe for long has already began to fade into history....; independence become tyranny....; UK Prime minister Theresa May said Mr. Mugabe’s resignation “provides Zimbabwe an opportunity to forge a new path free from oppression that characterised his rule”...; Zimbabwe on a “new trajectory” that would include free and fair elections; .....; “historic moment”... “Mr. Mugabe turned from liberator to dictator”...; “We have removed a tyrant but not yet a tyranny”....; Mugabe won elections for the past 37 years but ... these were marred by violence against political opponents...;Mugabe was a dictator who surrendered his court to a gang of thieves around his wife; “carton figure of archetypal African dictator....;” “destroyed and entire country in order to keep his job”; the military’s surprise takeover ..... gave a new impetus to free speech on the streets of Harare; ... “political repression and economic mismanagement”; .....won a series of controversial elections; ... accusations of vote rigging, political violence....; authoritarian....; selective ruler ship....; dismissal of perceived threats/reassigning...; treating party as personal property...; use of army to quell internal affairs...; dynasty ambitions.

The study revealed that the two media houses framed Mugabe as a dictator, villain and despot in their news articles. Description by the UK Prime Minister, Theresa May is a pointer to the dictatorial tendencies that hinged on Mugabe’s rule. Theresa May in her capacity as the British Head saw fall of Mugabe as an opportunity for Zimbabwe to come out of oppression and forge a new path. As a result of his long stay in power Mugabe had turned from being a liberator to a dictator. The US viewed the takeover as a historic moment for the country and the global community at large. What this means is that while the West do not support military takeovers or coups but in this instance they kept a blind eye as a way of justifying the move taking cognizance of the fact that they are generally anti Mugabe. Thus his departure was celebrated, Mugabe had gone to the extent of treating the country and the party ZANU PF as a personal property. He even harbored dynasty ambitions by way of supporting his wife and dumping his allies from the liberation war struggle. Another pointer to the dictatorial tendencies is the perpetration of

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

violence against his political opponents, selective application of law those deemed to be against his ruler ship were either dismissed or assigned to Ministries of less value.

Freedom of speech and assembly was limited through the application of repressive laws that were inherited from the colonial era, cosmetic changes were made to the name and not the contents for example from LOMA to POSA. His fall then gave a new impetus to free speech as people were now able to discuss political issues without the fear of spy agencies. As a dictator Mugabe was known for unleashing the army to innocent citizens to quell any form of uprising against his rule. He was authoritarian in nature Professor Stephen Chan of Oriental and African Studies argues that despite his defiance and long rule Mugabe was no longer able to continue with the reigns of the party this is a sign of a villain. How could he preside over a party congress when he was dismissed. The origins of a villain came from the word villa which meant a large country dwelling however with time it took a moral angle to refer to uncouth or unpolished character (merriam-webster.com, 2018).

### **5.5 Mugabe, humiliated and powerless (Al Jazeera and BBC)**

In coming up with the theme ‘Mugabe, humiliated and powerless’ the researcher took note of the language descriptions, metaphors and phrases used in the articles by both media houses under the following titles and dates. “Zimbabwe’s president Mugabe ‘confined to his home’, Al Jazeera, 15 November 2017”; “Mass, Harare rally planned as pressure mount on Mugabe, Al Jazeera, 17 November 2017”; “Zimbabweans demand Mugabe resignation at Harare Rally, Al Jazeera, 19 November 2017”; “Analysts: Mugabe’s political support was a ‘façade’, Al Jazeera, 19 November 2017”; “Mugabe confers degree on General’s wife, BBC, 17 November 2017”; “An emperor without clothes, BBC 17 November 2017”; “Military solidarity rally planned, BBC, 17 November 2017”.

Some of the description reads “placed under house arrest...; Army takes control of presidential and parliamentary buildings state TV and Airport; Army turned against Mugabe....; anti-Mugabe rally in Harare, as top officials withdraw confidence on embattled leader; .... Armed forces seized power and placed Mugabe under house arrest; ...top ZANU PF officials looks determined to remove him from power; ... influential war veterans issuing a stark warning; ..... If he

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

doesn't leave, we are going to settle the score Mutsvangwa; Mugabe lost control of party ...ZANU PF provincial structure passes a motion of no confidence; central committee to pass a vote of no confidence;.....appearance at the graduation without usual presidential security; rally backed by army; leadership is not sexually transmitted; rally a show of people's force; Mugabe in office but not in power.....; an emperor without clothes; Mugabe confer degree on generals wife; military solidarity rally planned”.

The study revealed that the confinement of Mugabe to his home by his subordinates is indicative of him humiliation and powerless. The telephone conversation between Mugabe and his counterpart Zuma, the South African shows that though he said he was fine he stated that he was not allowed to leave his home. In this instance Mugabe was clearly humiliated and powerless given his penchant for travelling to the extent of not spending a week in the country attending various international conferences and workshops. Mugabe support which had made him stay in power for nearly four decades was a façade, and this was clearly indicated in the articles when the ZANU PF top official withdrew his confidence through planning an anti-Mugabe rally. Arise Zimbabwe in a solidarity rally planned clearly articulated that “the army had cleared the way for people so it was time to make known their grievances and chart the way forward for the country. One of the demands was a leadership that could take away the suffering people had endured for long.

The army had a tough time in trying to present the situation as normal hence Mugabe's first appearance after the military takeover, officiating the graduation at a local university. He went without the usual Presidential security which the *BBC* dubbed an emperor without clothes and in one of their live coverages they indicated in a caption ‘Mugabe in office but not in power’. Al Jazeera, highlighted that Mugabe's attendance at the graduation was the army's way of saying to the world "this is not a coup". BBC quoted Coltart the opposition legislator who concurred that by allowing Mugabe to attend the graduation, it was in essence signaling to the SADC that Mugabe was safe. Constitutionally it was Mugabe who was supposed to authorize the military intervention. However, Mugabe in his speech on the day, he was expected to resign but failed cleared the army of any wrong doing instead he choose to highlight that their concerns were noted and will be addressed at the party congress (BBC, 17 November 2017). Al Jazeera on the

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

other hand portrayed Mugabe as a victim of his wife and her allies. All blame points to Mugabe's wife who taken control over the party and state.

Mugabe had lost control of both the party and government business – a cabinet meeting he had called for failed to take off and both the provincial and central committee were busy passing a vote of no confidence on him a sign that he was now powerless. It was revealed that ten provincial structures of the ZANU PF had passed a vote of no confidence on him as the ruling party's secretary as a result of him losing control of both government and party business due to incapacitation from his advanced age. *Al Jazeera* reported that Mugabe was fired as a party leader and replaced by Mnangagwa, this was a humiliation considering that he was in charge for the past 37 years and had earlier fired Mnangagwa from both party and government (*Al Jazeera*, 19 November 2017). What is clear is that because of his continued hold on power, his party was also planning to impeach him in parliament a move they once rejected when it was raised by the opposition party. An analysis by Magaisa, who was once an advisor to the late opposition leader Tsvangirai quoted by *Al Jazeera* revealed that Mugabe political support was a façade. Contextualizing the unfolding developments, he argues that Mugabe was made to believe that he still has people support when in actual fact those around him were doing so for their own interests. Magaisa asserts that "Everybody else outside the party was warning them it was terrible to have a 94-year-old in 2018 as a candidate, but all these people were supporting him for their own interests". What actually led to Mugabe being powerless was his sacking of Mnangagwa, who had the blessing of the army to succeed him. The rare solidarity of the people with the soldiers on the streets points to Mugabe lack of support.

*Al Jazeera* quoting Stephen Chan, professor and author of *Robert Mugabe: A Life of Power and Violence* contends that he will be surprised if Mugabe survives a week without resigning. What Chan was revealing was that Mugabe's students were now applying what he taught them but the unfortunate thing was that it was being tested on him, he was testing his own medicine. Mugabe wanted to buy time by flagging the congress card which was due in a few weeks to follow but his party was quick to dismiss him from the party thus rendering him powerless. In a move to counter any moves of the impeachment process Mugabe called for a Cabinet meeting where no

## **GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

one turned up. The BBC in the article “an extra gamble” points out that Mugabe’s mistake was to assume that he was still powerful enough to build a dynasty to back his wife to succeed him.

### **5.6 Uncertainty and optimism after army takeover (BBC and Al Jazeera)**

The following articles support the uncertainty and optimism after army takeover theme: “Zimbabwe’s Robert Mugabe resigns, ending 37-year rule, BBC, 21 November 2017; A city sings, BBC, 21 November 2017; Confusion reigns in Zimbabwe, BBC, 20 November 2017; where does this leave Zimbabwe? BBC, 20 November 2017; In Harare, uncertainty and optimism after army takeover, Al Jazeera 15 November 2017”; In the above articles the following descriptions were used in line with the theme; “discussing sudden turn of events with anticipation and excitement; end of Mugabe hard to believe too good to be true; jubilant celebrations; cheers and the blaring of car horns; we have removed a tyrant but not yet a tyranny; Zimbabwe’s military leadership is now at odds; public frustration is growing; a dangerously unpredictable standoff has now been prolonged; presiding over a ZANU PF congress when you are dismissed as party leader; Zimbabweans caught between and uncertainty.

The study found out that Al Jazeera framed the coverage of the ZDF intervention with a human rights frame. In its article titled “In Harare, uncertainty, and optimism after army takeover” it quoted a human rights group Amnesty International which called on “the military to protect people’s rights, safety and security during the political uncertainty period in spite of their political allegiance ..... The military should not be used as an excuse to undermine Zimbabwe’s International and regional rights obligations and commitments (Al Jazeera, 15 November 2017). The ZDF intervention was expected to pay way for the enjoyment of human rights, such as the freedom of expression. In this study the institution of the military was addressed to respect the rights of the people as it did in the coverage of the Arab spring where the people demanded change without resorting to violence. This fits well with the Al Jazeera philosophy of covering many regions which are not represented by other global media players. Thus Al Jazeera positions itself as speaking and representing the needs of the subaltern or marginalized groups on the global arena.

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

While the *Al Jazeera* used the human rights frame, *the BBC* relied on the people power frame. Its articles highlighted that the war veterans led by Mutsvangwa were in a unison mind to stage a demonstration to force Mugabe to resign if he fails to resign on his own. The military were portrayed siding with the masses and not prepared to fight for Mugabe or be used as an instrument of oppression but were prepared to let the will of the people prevail. The articles made it clear that though the city was signing with noise of joy Mugabe's resignation opened a window for Zimbabweans to forge a new path free of oppression that characterised his rule. In essence people were celebrating about Mugabe leaving the presidency after a nearly four-decade rule. *Al Jazeera* highlighted that even opposition leaders sided with War veterans on the need to demonstrate to force him out. The people were also uncertain of the future, in a televised address by Mugabe where people expected him to hand over power or resign rather he left people confused about the future. Uncertainty also arose when the embassies advised its citizens to remain in their homes until the situation improves. Of interest on *the BBC* frame is that while, the demonstration reflected the will of the people. The frame justified their position that it was not western sanctions that triggered the intervention but economic difficulties. Moreso, the British were already looking forward to tie relations with the incoming president Mnangagwa whom they regarded as a better devil than Mugabe who wanted to look east when the East was itself looking West

### 5.7 A New Era of hope for Zimbabweans (Al Jazeera and BBC)

Mugabe in first public appearance since army takeover, 17 November 2017; Let the old man resign and go home 18 November 2017; Zimbabwe after Mugabe; Dawn of new era; historic meeting which will mark a new era; a new democratic era. The study revealed that BBC argues that Mnangagwa who was poised to take over Mugabe is likely to get support from many foreign governments. The global community saw in Mnangagwa a visionary different from Mugabe who was likely to establish a transitional government in a new dispensation. His speech when he came back and on his inauguration gave a ray of hope to many as he portrayed himself as different from Mugabe and ready to listen to the people with his hymn "the voice of people is the voice of God" (BBC, 15 November 2017). Theresa May of Britain commented favorably for Mnangagwa thus lifting a lid on the position Britain was likely to adopt in the new dispensation. The discourse of reform, credible election, liberalization of the economy suits well within the



## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

western community. The global media in the coverage of the ZDF intervention saw an opportunity to frame a new era, or Zimbabwe after Mugabe in the power matrix Mnangagwa was being portrayed as the Joshua of Zimbabwe ready to take the country into Canaan, in the process the western governments hope to get a slice of the cake for the economic ends of their home countries.

Reaction from the global community revealed that Mugabe stay in power was no longer entertained. Below are some of the reaction as reported by BBC.

- *UK Prime Minister Theresa May said Mr Mugabe's resignation "provides Zimbabwe with an opportunity to forge a new path free of the oppression that characterised his rule".*
- *She said that former colonial power Britain, "as Zimbabwe's oldest friend", will do all it can to support free and fair elections and the rebuilding of the Zimbabwean economy.*
- *The US Embassy in Harare, the capital, said it was a "historic moment" and congratulated Zimbabweans who "raised their voices and stated peacefully and clearly that the time for change was overdue"*
- *South Africa's main opposition Democratic Alliance welcomed the move, saying Mr Mugabe had turned from "liberator to dictator"*
- *Opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai told the BBC he hoped that Zimbabwe was on a "new trajectory" that would include free and fair elections. He said Mr Mugabe should be allowed to "go and rest for his last days".*
- *Prominent Zimbabwean opposition politician David Coltart tweeted: "We have removed a tyrant but not yet a tyranny"*
- *Civil society group the Platform for Concerned Citizens called for dialogue between all political parties, which it said should lead to the formation of a national transitional authority. (BBC, 21 November 2017)*
- *The deputy spokesman for Antonio Guterres, the United Nations secretary-general, has encouraged Zimbabweans to "maintain calm and restraint" after Robert Mugabe's resignation as president.*
- *Farhan Haq said "the secretary-general and his predecessors have made clear that we expect all leaders to listen to their people.*
- *"That is a cornerstone of every form of government and needs to be followed in every continent and in every nation." (Al Jazeera, 21 November 2017)*

The framing of the ZDF intervention in governance by the global media reflected a perpetuation of domination and hegemony. In their coverage the two global media organisation parroted their foreign policies and positions with regards to the intervention. It is worth to note that *Al Jazeera's* operations in Zimbabwe, were uninterrupted during the epoch when other international broadcasters' licenses were withdrawn. Its reportage was authoritatively, assuming a well-

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

informed position of what was taking place in the power corridors of the country. Its articles clearly articulate this position. While the *BBC* showed an interest in the developments in the country with a view to take a leading role in the re-engagement of relations with Zimbabwe which soured as a result of the Zimbabwe's land question; vilification of Mugabe on the international arena and the indigenisation and empowerment policies. It was during the tenure of the GNU that these relations were restored. Overall, the *BBC*'s reportage they celebrated Mugabe's departure as it wanted to play a role in the post Mugabe era. The *BBC* stance shows an acceptance of the new dispensation led by Mnangagwa whose mantra is open for business.

**5.8 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has presented the research data and dealt with the research findings. The following chapter provides the conclusion based on the findings of the study and discusses the areas of further research.

**CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS****6.0 Introduction**

This chapter concludes the study. The chapter summarises the findings, and the methods used to carry out the study as well as providing recommendations to various relevant stakeholders based on the findings of the study. Areas of further research will be highlighted in this section.

**6.1 Concluding Remarks**

Based on the framing theory, this study sought to identify and establish the frames employed by *Al Jazeera* and the *BBC* in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. The intervention came in the context of change in power dynamics within the ruling party ZANU PF. *Al Jazeera* and *BBC* were chosen on the basis that both are global news sources with international audiences. Moreso, because of their past relationship with Zimbabwe. Literature review was carried out on studies by other scholars that focused on the global media coverage of Zimbabwean, African issues and beyond. From the literature review, it was revealed that studies done on Zimbabwe focused on representation of the Zimbabwean issues in the context where the military was part of the status quo on governance matters thus Mugabe and the army were allies. The uniqueness of this study is that it was done in the context of remarkable power dynamics, the army that used to support Mugabe now demanded that he leaves office. In addition, the ZDF showed a rare solidarity with the people.

Framing theory as the theoretical framework was used in seeking to determine the frames used by the two media houses in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance. The frames used were packaged and presented as authoritative and factual when in actual fact they are influenced by production factors of news to entrench certain world views as natural and commonsensical. News is not value free but part of a complex neo liberal capitalist machinery which seeks to perpetuate the hegemony of white supremacy. The media follows the flag thus it serves the interests of its funders and governments. Philosophical the study was informed by interpretivism/constructionism thus it was qualitative in nature. The researcher was interested in unpacking all the meanings intended in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance. The research employed qualitative case study design to in order to gain an in-depth

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

understanding into the frames and discourses employed in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance. Case studies are particularistic, descriptive and heuristic. Archival research was used to obtain the articles used for analysis. The articles were obtained online that is on the websites of the two media houses and the researcher produced his own archive or repository for later use. Purposive sampling was used to choose the required articles. Textual analysis augmented with critical discourse analysis were used to analyze the data and thus present the data thematically. The study carried out an organisational analysis of the *Al Jazeera* and *BBC* anchored on political economy to find out the material impact of what is produced.

The study found out that the global media coverage of the ZDF intervention perpetuated the use of the negative frames on Africa such as political instability and conflict, war and coup. Discourses of human rights, democracy and bad governance also found space in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance by the global media. The study concluded that the global media warmed up to the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe that was anti-Mugabe. Both *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* portrayed the coup as an intervention aimed at removing a dictator from power thus the military intervention was seen as a necessary evil. *Al Jazeera* adopted frames that were sympathetic to the removal of Mugabe while the *BBC* adopted frames that justified the ZDF intervention. The *BBC* in particular celebrated the fall of Mugabe as it had a score to settle with him because of the land question. *Al Jazeera* took an informed position regarding the coverage of the ZDF intervention it represented issues from a non-western point of view the ZDF intervention was more of a crisis from their point of view. However, the overall position of the global media coverage is that the change in power dynamics opened a new era for re-engagement with the global community.

## **6.2 Suggestions for further study**

While this study focused on the global media coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe. Other studies could focus on the global media coverage of Zimbabwe post Mugabe era especially with regards to interrogating the relationship between news production and consumption or reception dynamics. An inquiry focused on ascertaining how audiences interpreted the frames and discourses that were employed by the two global media organisations

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

post Mugabe looking at the new dispensation that is the period leading to the holding of harmonized elections 2018.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

The study concluded that both *Al Jazeera* and *the BBC* portrayed the coup as an intervention aimed at removing a dictator from power thus the military intervention was seen as a necessary evil. The global media coverage of the ZDF intervention maintained the use of the negative frames on Africa such as political instability and conflict, war and coup. Discourses of human rights, democracy and bad governance also found space in the coverage of the ZDF intervention in governance. The study concluded that the global media warmed up to the ZDF intervention in governance in Zimbabwe that was anti-Mugabe. Both media houses' coverage was informed by national interests that sought to promote their versions of constructed realities. The study also summarised the methods that were used to carry out the research. It further gave recommendations for further study.

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

### References

- A Ardèvol-Abreu (2015): “Framing theory in communication research in Spain. Origins, development and current situation”. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 70, pp. 423 to 450.
- Anderson, R. (2007) “*Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) Descriptive Presentation of Qualitative Data*” Unpublished. [www.wellknowingconsulting.org/publications/articles/html](http://www.wellknowingconsulting.org/publications/articles/html)
- Aitken, R (2013) Can we still trust the BBC? The Telegraph. Accessed on 30 April 2018 at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/10390607/Can-we-still-trust-the-BBC.html>.
- Babbie, E. (2004). *The Practice of Social Research*. Tenth ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Badie, B., Berg-Schlosser, D. and Morlino, L. (2011). Military Rule. *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, 8.
- Bateson, G. A. (1955/1972). A theory of play and fantasy. In G. A. Bateson (ed.). *Steps to an ecology of mind* (reprinted by American Psychiatric Association Research Reports, 1955, II, 1939-1951). New York: Chandler.
- Bayrakli E., (2016) Orientalism Reloaded: How Western Media covered the Coup Attempt in Turkey. *Seta perspective* No. 24.
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Free Press.
- British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) (2014) Editorial guidelines. Accessed on 30 April 2018 at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/guidelines/bbc-editorial-values/editorial-values>
- Boutwell J, (1999) *Pugwash Study on Intervention, Sovereignty and International Security* 10-11, Venice, Italy.
- Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods 4<sup>th</sup> Ed*, Oxford. Oxford University Press
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) “Using thematic analysis in Psychology” *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2). pp. 77-101
- Chatora, A (2009) The Role of New Media in Fostering Democracy in Africa’s Dictatorships: Zimbabwe a Case Study
- Chibwe A. (2017) Language and the (re)production of dominance: Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) advertisements for the July 2013 elections, *Critical Arts*, 31:1, 18-33, DOI: 10.1080/02560046.2017.1300823
- Chong D and Druckman N (2007) *A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments*. *Journal of Communication* 57: 99–118.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Chomsky, N. (2004) *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance*. New York: Penguin.

Chong D and Druckman N (2007) *A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments*. *Journal of Communication* 57: 99–118.

Creswell, J. W., Vicki, L. & Plano, C. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. USA: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. & Plano Clark, V. L. (2007). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among the five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Crossman, A. (2016). Types of sampling Designs Used in Sociology: An Overview of Probability Techniques. [Sociology.about.com/od/Research/a/sampling-designs.htm](http://Sociology.about.com/od/Research/a/sampling-designs.htm) Retrieved on

Crossman, A. (2016). The difference between Deductive and Inductive Reasoning. [Sociology.about.com/od/Research/a/Deductive-Reasoning-Versus-Inductive-Reasoning.htm](http://Sociology.about.com/od/Research/a/Deductive-Reasoning-Versus-Inductive-Reasoning.htm) Retrieved on

Coyne, I. T. (1997) “*Sampling in Qualitative Research. Purposeful and Theoretical Sampling; Merging or Clear Boundaries?*” *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 26, 623-630

Corbin, J and Strauss, A. (2008) *Basics of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publication.

de Vreese, C. H. (2004). The effects of frames in political television news on issue interpretation and frame salience. *J&MC Quarterly*, 81(1), 36-52.

de Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal + Document Design*, 13(1), 52.

Du Plessis, A, (2000), “Military intervention: Nature and Scope” in Du Plessis, L, and Hough, M, (eds.), *Managing African Conflicts: The Challenge of Military Intervention*, Pretoria, HSRC Publishers.

Discussion Paper on The UN and Military Intervention ICISS, (2001), *The Responsibility to Protect; Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*, December 2001

Ebo, B. (1992) “*American Media and African Culture*” *Africa's media image*. Ed. Hawk B.G. New York: Praeger, 15-25.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Entman, R. 1991. *Framing U.S. Coverage of International News*. Journal of Communication. 41 (4):6-28.

Entman, R. M. (1993) “*Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm*” Journal of Communication 43 (4) 1993 51-58

Fair, J. E. (1993). War, famine and poverty: Race in the construction of Africa’s media image. The Journal of Communication Inquiry, 2, 5-22.

Fair, J. E. (1996). The body politic, the bodies of women, and the politics of famine in U.S. television coverage of famine in the horn of Africa. Journalism & Mass Communication Monographs, 158, 1-45.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case study research. *Qualitative Inquiry* Vol. 12 (2) pp. 219-245.

Fiske de Gouveia, P., (2005) *An African Al-Jazeera? Mass Media and the African Renaissance*. The Foreign Policy Centre, London.

Fowler, F. J. (2009). *Survey research methods*. Fourth Edition: SAGE Publications.

Gamson, W. A., and Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), 1-37.

Gamson, W.A. & Modigliana, A. 1987. The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action. *Research in Political Sociology*. 95:1-37.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Greenfield, 2013 Al Jazeera can’t find advertisers for its US propaganda channel accessed on 3 May 2018 at <https://www.frontpagemag.com/point/201185/al-jazeera-cant-find-advertisers-its-us-propaganda-daniel-greenfield>.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York, NY et al.: Harper & Row.

Hart, L. (1991), *Strategy*, (2nd edition), London, Faber and Faber Ltd.

Hendy, D (2013) *The Great War and British broadcasting: emotional life in the creation of the BBC*. New Formations, 82. pp. 82-99. ISSN 0950-2378

Herman, E. and Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books.



**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Herman, E.S. and McChesney, R.W. (1997) *The 'global media': The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism*. Cassell, London.

Huntington, S. (1956), *The Soldier and the State*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

James B (2005) ed. *Media and Good Governance*. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Leedy, P. (2004) *Practical research planning and design*. New York, Macmillan.

Likoti, F J, (2006), *African Military Interventions in African Conflicts: An Analysis of Military Interventions in Rwanda, the DRC and Lesotho*, unpublished thesis, University of the Western Cape.

Maeresera Sadiki. (2012). PhD Thesis: *Military Interventions in African Conflicts: The Southern African Development Community Coalition of the Willing's Military Intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 1998-2002*. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

Marshall, M. N. (2006) “*Sampling for Qualitative Research*” *Family Practice* 1996; 13:522525

Mason, J. (2007) *Qualitative Researching*, London. Sage Publications.

Matakaire, T (2003) *Analysis of Coverage of Women Politicians by the Print Media in Media in Zimbabwe*. Women in Politics Support Unit.

McCombs, M., Llamas, J. P., López-Escobar, E. & Rey, F. (1997). Candidate images in Spanish elections: second level agenda-setting effects. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74 (4), pp. 703-717.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Miles, H. (2005). *Al Jazeera: The inside story of the Arab news channel that is challenging the West*. New York, NY: Grove Press.

Mosco, V. (2009) *The Political Economy of Communication*; London: Sage Publishers.

Mosco, V. (2011) *Communication and cultural labour*. In the renewal of cultural studies e.d. Paul Smith, 230 – 237. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Mutsvairo, B. (2013) *Propping up propaganda? Exploring the role of the Herald Newspaper in strengthening Zanu PF's political position*. In: 14th International Scientific Conference: Creating the Future: Communication, Education, Business, 30 May 2013, Riga, Latvia.

Neuman, W. R., Just, M. R. & Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ndlela, N. 2005. The African paradigm: The coverage of the Zimbabwean crisis in the Norwegian media. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 2, Pp 71-90.

Norris P (2008) *Driving Democracy*. 1st edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ogenga, F., (2011) Mugabe Must Go: Textual Meanings of the Representation of the Zimbabwean Situation by the South African Press; *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 39-70; Indiana University Press

Onder, M. 2010. What Accounts for Military Interventions in Politics: A Cross-National Comparison?

Omanga (2014) *Media and Politics in Africa: Trends, Tensions and Possibilities*

Onwuengbuzie, A. J. & Collins, K. M. T. (2007) "A Typology Mixed Methods Sampling Designs in Social Science Research," *The Qualitative Report* Vol 12 No 2 June 2007 281-316

Patton. M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. (pp. 169-186). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage. *Designing Qualitative Studies*

Pillow W. S. (2003) *Qualitative Studies in Education*, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*. Taylor & Francis Ltd, Vol. 16, No. 2, 175–196

Punch, K. F (2011) *Introduction to Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*; London: Sage Publishers.

Rajasekar, S. Philominathan, P. & Chinnathambi, V. (2013) "Research Methodology" available at [www.arxiv.org/pdf/physics/0601009.pdf](http://www.arxiv.org/pdf/physics/0601009.pdf)

Reese, S. D. (2001). A bridging model for media research (prólogo). In S. Reese, O. Gandy Jr. & A. Grant (eds.). *Framing public life: perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp. 7-31). Mahwah (New Jersey): Lawrence Erlbaum.

Reese, S. (2007). The framing project: a bridging model for media research revisited. *Journal of Communication*, 57, pp. 148-154.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Rupiya M (2009) *Civil-Military Relations in Zimbabwe; Is there a threat?* In Ourselves to Know. Journal on Southern African Studies

Rupiya M. (2011) *The Military Factor in Zimbabwe's Political and Electoral Affairs*. <http://www.swradioafrica.com/Documents/The%20Military%20Factor%20in%20Zimbabwe.pdf>. Retrieved on 7 March 2018

Seib, P (2002) *The Global Journalist: News and Conscience in a world of conflict*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York & Oxford

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49, pp. 103-122.

Scheufele, D. A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming and framing revisited: Another look at cognitive effects of political communication. *Mass Communication and Society*, 3, pp. 297-316.

Scheufele, D. A. & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda-setting and priming: the evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57, pp. 9-20.

Scheufele, D. A. & Iyengar, S. (2011) *“The State of Framing Research: A Call for New Directions”*

Shemelis A (2016) A Critique of Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media. *J Archit Eng Tech* 5: 176. doi: [10.4172/2168-9717.1000176](https://doi.org/10.4172/2168-9717.1000176)

Semetko, H. A. & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European Politics: a content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication*, 50, pp. 93-109.

Samuel-Azran, T. (2013). Al Jazeera, Qatar and new tactics in state-sponsored media diplomacy. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(9), 1293–1311.

Samuel-Azran, T., & Pecht, N. (2014). Is there an Al Jazeera-Qatari nexus? A study of Al Jazeera's online reporting throughout the Qatari–Saudi conflict. *Media, War & Conflict*, 7(2), 218–232.

Shacklady, N. & Ellen M, 2003, *On air: a history of BBC transmissions*, Wavechange Books, London.

Sir Clementi D, (2016). *A Review of the Governance and Regulation of the BBC*

Somerville, K. (2009). British Media Coverage of the Post-Election Violence in Kenya, 2007-08. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 3(3), 526-542.

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative*

DISSERTATION – MMSS (R172671H)  
**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

- Stokes, J. (2013) *How to Do Media and Cultural Studies*; London: Sage Publishers.
- Strömbäck, J., & Esser, F. (2014). Mediatization of Politics: Transforming Democracies and Reshaping Politics. In K. Lundby (Ed.), *Mediatization of Communication*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 375-403
- Thussu, D, K. (2010) *International Communication, A Reader*, New York: Routledge.
- Thussu, D.K. (2000). *International Communication: Continuity and Change*. London: Arnold.
- Trochim, W.M. & Donnelly, J.P. (2008) *Research methods knowledge base*, Atomic Dog/ Cengage Learning Mason, OH.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: Free Press.
- Oliver & Ohlbaum Associates Ltd, (2015) Review of BBC Global News reporting and governance structures: A report for the News Media Association.
- Palloshi S., (2015). The Influence of the CNN Effect and the Al Jazeera Effect on American Foreign Policy. Maltepe University, Communication Faculty Journal.
- Powers, S. (2012). The origins of Al Jazeera English. In P. Seib (Ed.), *Al Jazeera English: Global news in a changing world* (pp. 5-28). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- The BBC Charter Review: Reith not revolution - 1<sup>st</sup> Report session of 2015-16 Published by the Authority of the House of Lords London: The Stationery Office Limited
- Van Dijk, T. A. in Tannen, D. Schiffrin, D. Hamilton, H. (eds) (2001) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Oxford. Blackwell
- Vladislavljević N., (2015) *Media framing of political conflict: A review of the literature*. Working Papers in the Media, Conflict and Democratisation (MeCoDEM); WP Coordination University of Belgrade ISSN 2057-4002
- Vincent, R.J. (1974), *Non-intervention and International Order* (Princeton: Princeton University.
- Wahl-Jorgensen K, Berry M, Garcia-Blanco I, et al. (2016) Rethinking balance and impartiality in journalism? A case study how the BBC attempted and failed to change the paradigm. *Journalism*. Journalism Sage Journals, Vol. 18(7) 781 –800 DOI: 10.1177/1464884916648094.
- Westcott, C., & Mukherjee, J. (2011). *New Media at the BBC World Service*. In C. Paterson & A. Sreberny (Eds.), *International News in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 167). GR: Sideris Publications.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Weaver, D. H. (2007). Thoughts on agenda-setting, framing and priming. *Journal of Communication*, 57, pp. 142-147.

Willems, Wendy. 2005. "Remnants of an Empire: British Media Reporting on Zimbabwe." *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, Special Issue, November 2005: 91–108.

Willems, W. (2004) *Selection and Saliency: Contesting Meanings of Land in Zimbabwean Media*; *Ecquid Novi*, 25 (1) 4 – 24

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2000). *Mass media research: An introduction*. London, UK: Wadsworth.

Wright, T. (2004). *Collateral coverage: Media images of Afghan refugees, 2001*. *Visual Studies*, 19(1), 97-111.

Wodak, R. (2001) 'What CDA is About: A Summary of its History, Important Concepts and its Developments', in R. Wodak and M. Meyer (eds) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. (pp. 1-13). London: Sage.

Yin, R. K. (2010). *Qualitative research from start to finish*. New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.

Youmans W. L., (2012) *The media Economics and Cultural politics of Al Jazeera English in the United States*. University of Michigan.

Youmans, W. (2012). *AJE after the Arab Spring: The Politics of Distribution in the United States*. In P. Seib (Ed.), *Al Jazeera English: Global News in a Changing World* (pp. 57-78). USA: Palgrave Macmillan.

Zayani M., (2016) *Al Jazeera's Complex Legacy: Thresholds for an Unconventional Media Player from the Global South*. *International Journal of Communication* 10(2016), 3554–3569

Zengeni T. K. (2010) *The Western Media and The Crisis in Zimbabwe*. *Journal of International Studies (JIS)* Vol. 6.

## **Zimbabwe army ready 'to step in' to end ZANU-PF purge**

By Staff Reporter: 13 Nov 2017

General Constantino Chiwenga says military could intervene if ruling party infighting does not come to an end.

Zimbabwe's army chief has called for an immediate end to purges within President Robert Mugabe's ruling party following the dismissal last week of the country's vice president.

In a rare statement, General Constantino Chiwenga warned on Monday that the military could intervene if the infighting in the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) did not stop.

"The current purging which is clearly targeting members of the party with a liberation background must stop forthwith," Chiwenga told a media conference in the capital, Harare.

"We must remind those behind the current treacherous shenanigans that when it comes to matters of protecting our revolution, the military will not hesitate to step in," he said, adding that the instability was causing anxiety in the country.

Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa, who joined the struggle for Zimbabwe's liberation struggle at a young age, was sacked by Mugabe on November 6 for showing "traits of disloyalty".

Explaining the reasons for Mnangagwa dismissal, information minister Simon Khaya Moyo said: "The vice president has consistently and persistently exhibited traits of disloyalty, disrespect, deceitfulness and unreliability.

"It had become evident that his conduct in his discharge of his duties had become inconsistent with his official responsibilities."

The expulsion of Mnangagwa, a former minister of defence and state security, had removed a potential successor to Mugabe, the 93-year-old president and leader of the ruling ZANU-PF party.

It had also cleared the way for Mugabe's wife, Grace, to succeed her husband. Zimbabwe's first lady leads the ruling party's Women's League, and has been endorsed as a potential candidate for the vice presidency by some structures within ZANU-PF.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

The day before Mnangagwa's removal, Grace Mugabe called the vice president a "coup plotter" and a "coward" in a speech that shook ZANU-PF.

The speech came a day after Mugabe publicly criticised Mnangagwa for the first time during a speech at a rally on November 4.

Some powerful army generals backed Mnangagwa to succeed Mugabe and have publicly said they will not allow someone who did not fight in the 1970s independence war to rule. Grace Mugabe, 52, did not fight in that war.

Relations between Zimbabwe's leader and his former vice president soured in August after hints by Mnangagwa's allies that he had been poisoned by ice cream from a dairy owned by the Mugabes.

Mugabe, who has been leading Zimbabwe since it gained independence in 1980, intends to contest elections due next year and does not face a united opposition.

SOURCE: Al Jazeera News

# Zimbabwe: ZANU-PF youth wing 'ready to die' for Mugabe

Ruling party's youth league 'ready to die' for Mugabe after army threatens to step in if purge of war veterans goes on.

by [Hamza Mohamed](#) 14 Nov 2017

The youth wing of [Zimbabwe](#)'s ruling party has said it is "ready to die" for President [Robert Mugabe](#), following a threat by the military to intervene if a [purge](#) of former war fighters continues.

Kudzai Chipanga, leader of the ZANU-PF party's Youth League, said on Tuesday that they would not allow the army to choose the country's leaders amid rising tensions in the wake of Mugabe's firing of his vice president.

"We will not fold our hands to allow a creature of the constitution to subvert the very constitution which establishes it," Chipanga told a press conference in the capital, Harare.

"Defending the revolution and our leader and president is an ideal we live for and if need be it is a principle we are prepared to die for," he added.

## 'The military will not hesitate to step in'

Chipanga's statement came a day after army commander Constantino Chiwenga said in a rare statement that the targeting of senior ZANU-PF officials with a "liberation background must stop forthwith."

Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa, an ally of the army chief and a veteran of the country's struggle for independence, was sacked last week by 93-year-old Mugabe for showing "traits of disloyalty".

Mnangagwa was seen as a likely successor to the ailing president, and his ousting now appears to pave the way for First Lady Grace Mugabe - who is backed by ZANU-PF's Youth League - to succeed her husband.

"We must remind those behind the current treacherous shenanigans that when it comes to matters of protecting our revolution, the military will not hesitate to step in," Chipanga warned in his statement on Monday.

As the political crisis deepens, witnesses on Tuesday reported seeing several tanks heading towards Harare, according to news agencies' reports.



## **GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Both President Mugabe and First Lady Grace Mugabe are yet to publicly comment on the threats from the military, which has backed Zimbabwe's leader throughout his 37 years in office.

The opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) on Tuesday called on people to defend the civilian rule in the country following the army's threat.

Later on Tuesday, ZANU-PF issued a statement accusing Chipanga of "treasonable conduct".

The ruling party said the army commander's remarks were "clearly calculated to disturb national peace and stability" and were "meant to incite insurrection and violent challenge to the constitutional order".

### **'Leadership contest'**

Lance Guma, a political analyst and broadcaster based in Britain, said the threat from the military is the biggest challenge Mugabe has faced during his nearly four decades in power.

"They are telling the civilian government that the army is the real power in the country," added Guma.

"But I don't think there is an appetite for coup. The region will not accept that."

ZANU-PF has ruled the country since it gained independence from Britain in 1980, and analysts claimed that that is not about to change.

"The dominance of ZANU-PF on the political landscape in Zimbabwe is not in question," George Shire, a political analyst, told Al Jazeera.

"What you see is really a leadership contest taking place - Zimbabwean style," added Shire.

Zimbabwe's armed forces have always maintained that they will only back candidates to succeed Mugabe who fought in the country's independence war. Grace Mugabe, 52, is a not a war veteran.

ZANU-PF is expected to hold a conference in December.

SOURCE: Al Jazeera News

# In Harare, uncertainty and optimism after army takeover

Excitement, anticipation in the capital as residents realise that leader of 37 years may no longer be ruling Zimbabwe.

by [Enock Muchinjo](#): 15 Nov 2017

**Harare, Zimbabwe** - The capital of [Zimbabwe](#) finds itself caught between hope and uncertainty as it dawns on residents that after 37 tumultuous years [Robert Mugabe](#) may no longer be ruling the country.

The mood is a major shift considering that people here usually avoid discussing sensitive political matters in public, wary of attracting the attention of authorities with little tolerance for dissent.

But after the discontent of recent years, the military's surprise takeover on Wednesday appeared to give a new impetus to free speech on the streets of Harare.

"If this comes to pass, we will regard this in the future as a 'second Independence Day', after that of April 18, 1980," said Tineyi Chimwanda, who identified himself as a local businessman.

"This is how it feels."

## 'Pleasing development'

In power since 1980, Mugabe, 93, led Zimbabwe's fight for independence in the 1970s.

However, he has frequently faced accusations of political repression and economic mismanagement, and many Zimbabweans - especially the urban population - blame him for a long litany of woes, including rampant unemployment, widespread poverty and acute cash shortage.

In the early hours of Wednesday, the Zimbabwean army, which has previously been used as a way to suppress the opposition, placed the president under "house arrest".

A broadcast by military spokesman Sibusiso Moyo, announcing the army's seizure of power, was repeatedly aired on the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation's sole TV channel - for years a mouthpiece of Mugabe and his close associates.

Moyo's speech was cheered by a group of restaurant customers during lunch time in central Harare.

## **GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

The military denies it is staging a coup, saying its move is meant only to deal with "criminals" within Mugabe's circles.

The president and his family, the army said, were "safe and sound".

The statement, however, is being seen as a careful attempt by the military to keep a lid on potential unrest and ensure a bloodless transition from Mugabe's rule.

The few who reported for duty on Wednesday followed the proceedings via the state TV channel from their workplaces and from bars.

"As a junior intelligence officer, I can tell you most of us are pleased by this development," said a member of the Central Intelligence Organisation, Zimbabwe's dreaded spy agency.

"Only the senior guys, our bosses, who benefit from the oppressive system, will not be happy with this."

### **Uncertain future**

The army's intervention is believed to have been prompted by the sacking of Emmerson Mnangagwa, a war veteran, as vice president.

His dismissal came after months of a power struggle within Mugabe's ruling ZANU-PF party over the issue of a successor.

On Monday, army commander Constantine Chiwenga gave warning that the military would not "hesitate to step in" if what he called the purge of former independence war fighters at ZANU-PF continued.

Mnangagwa, an ally of Chiwenga, leads a party faction that is at loggerheads with another led by Mugabe's wife, Grace, and some younger members of the party.

Speculation is that Mnangagwa, who fled from Zimbabwe after his sacking, will return home to lead a transitional government following Wednesday's events.

As the day wore on, residents of Harare could be heard discussing the sudden turn of events with excitement and anticipation.

Few, though, were ready to view the developments as "the end of Mugabe".

"End of Mugabe? No, hard to believe. Too good to be true," said Daniel Mkwanzani, an accountant.

"I feel the old man will fulfil his ambition of dying in office."

DISSERTATION – MMSS (R172671H)

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

SOURCE: Al Jazeera News

# Zimbabweans demand Mugabe's resignation at Harare rally

Backed by the army and ruling party officials, rare show of public anger in Harare comes days after military takeover.

by [Tendai Marima](#): 19 Nov 2017

**Harare, Zimbabwe** - Thousands of Zimbabweans have taken to the streets to demand President [Robert Mugabe](#)'s resignation, a spectacle that would have been unthinkable just one week ago.

Saturday's rally in Harare, the capital, is backed by the army, which [seized power](#) on Wednesday.

The mood at Zimbabwe Grounds, where speeches took place, was celebratory.

The site is symbolic. In 1980, around 200,000 people gathered at Zimbabwe Grounds to welcome Mugabe from exile after the liberation war from white-minority rule.

Crowds there on Saturday cheered: "Chiwenga, lead the war to remove Mugabe", referring to General Constantino Chiwenga, who had warned of military intervention before the takeover.

Protesters are attempting to reach State House, but presidential guards have blocked access.

Al Jazeera witnessed a general telling crowds to go home and not to proceed "because we will finish the job".

"The operation we are doing together as a country is a journey," Major General Sibusiso Moyo told those attending the rally.

"We cannot go around the mountain in one day, but through your support we have covered a great distance," he added in Shona.

Marchers seemed confident their goal to remove Mugabe would be achieved soon.

"Just the amount of people, the different backgrounds and races that came out, showed that we all agreed today," Anesu Dawa, a 26-year-old unemployed graduate, told Al Jazeera.

"Everybody came out just to say it's not necessarily what we want to happen, but it's what we don't want to happen - and that is for President Mugabe to still be president," she said.

"And we all agreed today that he must go."

A demonstration is also taking place at City Hall in Bulawayo, the second city.

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

Florence Mguni, a 59-year-old who went to train in Mozambique as a liberation fighter at the age of 15, travelled overnight from Bulawayo in the hope of witnessing Mugabe's departure.

She told Al Jazeera that as a war veteran, she demands Mugabe's immediate resignation because his leadership has done little for her.

"We went to fight in the war, I was taught how to hold a gun as a young girl, but today Zimbabwe is free and I am poor. I'm a widow and my children aren't in school because I can't always afford to pay their fees," she said.

Roads and mobile networks were jammed because of the large crowds as demonstrators raised banners with slogans such as: "Go, go, our general!", "Enough is enough - Mugabe must go" and "Leadership is not sexually transmitted" - a reference to First Lady Grace Mugabe, who is widely believed to be eyeing the vice presidency.

Some protesters hugged and cheered soldiers, as helicopters circled above the capital.

Tapiwa Magidi, a 32-year-old geologist, said Mugabe should resign because the 93-year-old leader was not serving young people.

"We are a lost generation. Most of the young people in this country were born after independence, but we are now grown and we don't have much," he told Al Jazeera. "We can't get jobs, we have to live at home with our parents and we can't even afford to get married."

Tapiwa Tavaziva, a 32-year-old financial adviser who had left [Zimbabwe](#) for the US, said: "I spent 12 years out of this country because of Mugabe and the situation in this country. He's been responsible for so many things that have happened to people in their personal lives, he broken up so many homes, family structures are broken and we don't have what we used to because he (Mugabe) loves power. "He has to go."

### 'A show of people's force'

[Zimbabwe](#) has been in turmoil since early Wednesday, when the armed forces seized power and placed Mugabe - who leads the Zanu-PF party, under house arrest.

March organiser Chris Mutsvangwa, head of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association, said the protest against the president is not a Zanu-PF affair, but "a show of people's force" against Mugabe's 37-year rule.

William Gerald Lumumba Mutumanje - popularly known as Acie Lumumba, an activist who was expelled as the Zanu-PF youth leader, said the rally was a "send-off" for Mugabe as he encouraged people to march.

Activist pastor Evan Mawarire described the event as "a momentous occasion" and an opportunity for a "fresh start" to advance democratic change.

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

Mwarire has previously faced charges of undermining the president and trying to overthrow an elected government by calling on Zimbabweans to protest against spiralling economic and political problems.

Marches have also been called for in parts of South Africa, the UK and the US - countries that millions of Zimbabweans migrated to in search of safety and better living, as various economic and political crises at home have left more than 70 percent living below the national poverty line.

### **Mugabe has 'lost control'**

All 10 of ZANU-PF's provincial structures have passed a motion of no-confidence against Mugabe and called on him to step down as the ruling party's first secretary.

Zanu PF's 10 Provincial Coordinating Committees (PCC) said the leader had "lost control of the party and government business due to incapacitation stemming from his advanced age".

The provincial branches' move was carried by Zimbabwe's state broadcaster, ZBC, which was seized by the army as part of its takeover on Wednesday.

If Mugabe fails to resign on Saturday, the party says it will convene a special committee meeting on Sunday in which the Zanu-PF Central Committee will consider the provincial resolutions to recall Mugabe.

The Zimbabwean president [appeared in public](#) on Friday - the first time since the army's takeover on Wednesday - attending a university graduation ceremony in Harare.

Zimbabwe's military has said it was engaging in talks with Mugabe, promising an outcome soon.

"[Mugabe] knows this not a game," independent parliamentarian Temba Mliswa told Al Jazeera.

As a legislator, he said he would start the process to put forward a motion to pass a vote of no confidence.

"If he refuses to leave we will start a motion to pass a vote of no confidence in his presidency when parliament sits again on Tuesday."

Regional dignitaries from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) are expected to meet on Sunday in an extraordinary session to discuss the Zimbabwe situation in neighbouring Botswana, where the SADC headquarters is located.

While the region's leaders have been silent on Mugabe's fate, Botswana's President Ian Khama has openly called for the elderly veteran to step down.

SOURCE: Al Jazeera News

**APPENDIX B: ARTICLES FROM BBC**

## **Zimbabwe military chief Chiwenga in Zanu-PF purge warning**

13 November 2017

Zimbabwe's army chief has warned those responsible for "purging" the country's ruling Zanu-PF party to stop, or the military will step in.

The rare intervention comes just a week after President Robert Mugabe sacked his deputy Emmerson Mnangagwa.

General Constantino Chiwenga, who appeared at a news conference with another 90 senior army officers, did not refer to anyone by name.

Mr Mnangagwa, once seen as a successor to Mr Mugabe, has fled into exile.

Mr Mugabe's wife Grace, who is now the favourite to succeed her husband, referred to Mr Mnangagwa as a snake which "must be hit on the head".

Mr Mnangagwa, nicknamed the "crocodile" because of his perceived shrewdness, has rebuked Mr Mugabe, saying Zanu-PF is "not personal property for you and your wife to do as you please".

Speaking at the army's headquarters, General Chiwenga said the removal of people who were involved in the independence struggle, like Mr Mnangagwa, would not be tolerated.

"The current purging, which is clearly targeting members of the party with a liberation background, must stop forthwith," he told those gathered for the news conference.

"We must remind those behind the current treacherous shenanigans that when it comes to matters of protecting our revolution, the military will not hesitate to step in."

Mr Mnangagwa previously served as defence and state security minister.

Mrs Mugabe, meanwhile, has the support of the younger "Generation 40" or "G40" group of Zimbabwe politicians.

General Chiwenga also hit out at the "squabbling" between politicians, saying it had led to "no meaningful development in the country for the past five years".

The crisis, he concluded, meant Zimbabwe was struggling with "cash shortages and rising commodity prices".

## **Zimbabwe media slow to cover military takeover**



## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

By BBC Monitoring The world through its media: 15 November 2017

Zimbabwean media have been slow to keep their audiences up to date on developments after the military took control earlier today.

State TV and radios were re-broadcasting the statement by Major-General Sibusiso Moyo announcing that the military had taken over but offered little by way of updates to the situation.

For most of the morning the TV played patriotic songs from the independence period of the 1980s before resuming normal programming.

The lunchtime news featured the army takeover as the main story.

The print edition of the government-owned daily The Herald appeared on the streets on Wednesday morning with Tuesday's stories which downplayed the importance of the warning by the head of the armed forces Constantino Chiwenga that the military would take over if necessary.

The paper's online edition took a few hours to update, and has been carrying coverage of the unfolding events, under the headline Live and developing: No Military Takeover in Zim.

Apart from carrying the military statement the paper said: "The situation in Harare's central business district is calm with people going about their business."

Social media users have been trying to make up for the lack of news by posting their own observations and pictures of street scenes in the capital Harare, including some of troops and police being made to sit in a line outside parliament and people going about their daily lives.

### **The 'smoothest' coup**

Many have dismissed suggestions by the military that their actions don't amount to a coup.

Using the Twitter hashtag #ZimbabweCoup, many users welcomed the developments. The hashtag had been used more than 13,000 times in the 24 hours up until noon on Wednesday, many of the users appearing to be in the country.

One widely shared and liked tweet with a sarcastic overtone read: "The coup going on in Zimbabwe is the smoothest I've ever seen.. It started like we just wanna talk then went to it's cute you think you [sic] still president."

"When you see the army commanders take over the state broadcaster airwaves then that's the confirmation it's a COUP. End of an era," another tweet read. ([bit.ly/2hyoy64](http://bit.ly/2hyoy64))

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

However, another user provided [a different interpretation](#): "It's a Zanu PF internal putsch backed by the army - very different from a military takeover - the statement issued is so very unique - you can feel the restraint." ([bit.ly/2mt6oEl](http://bit.ly/2mt6oEl))

Mufti Ismail Menk of Zimbabwe [tweeted](#): "#Zimbabwe is calm and life goes on for most ordinary citizens. Streets are safe and most children are in school."

Some users made fun of the fact that this morning's print editions were way out of date.

"News editors in Zim slept through the revolution. You need night shifts comrades," said [@drDendere](#).

[BBC Monitoring](#) reports and analyses news from TV, radio, web and print media around the world. You can follow BBC Monitoring on [Twitter](#) and [Facebook](#).

## **Zimbabwe takeover seems like a coup, African Union says**

BBC Correspondent Shingai Nyoka: 15 November 2017

The Zimbabwean military's takeover of power and detention of President Robert Mugabe "seems like a coup", key regional bloc the African Union says.

Its head, Alpha Conde, said the AU demands an immediate return to constitutional order.

The military denies staging a coup, saying that Mr Mugabe is safe and that it was acting against "criminals" surrounding him.

Their move follows a power struggle over who might replace Mr Mugabe.

His vice-president, Emmerson Mnangagwa was fired last week, making Mr Mugabe's wife Grace the president's likely successor - but leaving top military officials feeling sidelined.

Mr Mugabe, 93, has dominated the country's political scene since it gained independence from the UK in 1980.

Responding to the developments, Mr Conde, who is also Guinea's president, said Zimbabwean soldiers "had obviously attempted to take power".

The AU had "serious concern" at the situation and "reiterates its full support to the country's legal institutions", the statement said.

The BBC's Anne Soy in Zimbabwe points out that Egypt was ejected from the AU after its 2013 coup, so it may be the Zimbabwean military is trying to avoid antagonising the bloc by not describing their actions as a coup.

## **How the drama unfolded**

After days of tension and rumour, soldiers seized the state broadcaster ZBC late on Tuesday.

A Zimbabwean army officer, Major General Sibusiso Moyo, went on air to say the military was targeting "criminals" around President Mugabe.

"This is not a military takeover of government," he insisted.

Maj Gen Moyo also said Mr Mugabe and his family were "safe and sound and their security is guaranteed". It is not clear who is leading the military action.

Since then, military vehicles have been out on the streets of Harare, while gunfire has been heard from northern suburbs where Mr Mugabe and a number of government officials live.

## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

In a statement, the office of South African President Jacob Zuma, said: "President Zuma spoke to President Robert Mugabe earlier today who indicated that he was confined to his home but said that he was fine."

There has been no direct comment from President Mugabe, nor his wife Grace, whose whereabouts are unclear.

### How we got here

The rivalry between Mrs Mugabe and Mr Mnangagwa has split the governing Zanu-PF.

Following a call for his dismissal from Mrs Mugabe, [Mr Mnangagwa was removed from the vice presidency](#).

But on Monday, army chief Gen Constantino Chiwenga said the army was prepared to act to end purges within Zanu-PF.

Gen Chiwenga is a close ally of Mr Mnangagwa and both are veterans of the 1970s war which ended white minority rule.

A supporter of Mrs Mugabe, Zanu-PF youth wing leader, Kudzai Chipanga, had responded by saying the military should "stay in the barracks".

But he has now apologised to Gen Chiwenga and other top military officials, saying "we are still young and make mistakes", [ZBC reports](#).

## **Zimbabwe: Did Robert Mugabe finally go too far?**

By Tomi Oladipo BBC Monitoring Africa security correspondent :15 November 2017

Zimbabwe's military says its actions do not amount to a takeover. It still refers to Robert Mugabe as the commander-in-chief of the country's defence forces. But practically speaking, Mr Mugabe is not in charge if his forces can step in to usurp his authority.

This is not a coup d'état in name, but it appears to be in action.

The military takeover of the national broadcaster, the presence of troops on the streets and major access points, and even forced entry into the presidential palace are traits of a military takeover - at least as we have seen them in Africa.

One thing that is lacking is that the constitution has not been suspended.

The cementing of democracy across Africa has led to a general regional and continent-wide aversion to violent takeovers of government.

Even in the past, coup-stagers often promised a quick handover to civilian government through elections or a negotiated transition.

So far in Zimbabwe, the military is not showing any intention of assuming a governing role.

However, it has someone it would prefer to do that. Emmerson Mnangagwa, the recently sacked vice-president, is held in high regard in Zimbabwean military circles.

He was involved in the struggle for independence, and in 1980 created the Zimbabwe National Army by fusing the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (Zipra) and Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (Zanla) with the remnants of the former Rhodesian security forces.

He was seen as the natural successor for the top office.

President Mugabe sacked Mr Mnangagwa last week at the prompting of the First Lady Grace Mugabe, who has political aspirations and has publicly opposed the former vice president, but does not have support within a military where the liberation legacy is held in high esteem.

The top military officials were part of the liberation struggle, like their comrade and president Mr Mugabe, so they have supported his government over the years because he has served their interests.

They did not act this way in 2014, when Mr Mugabe sacked his previous Vice President Joice Mujuru, a former independence fighter, in a similar power struggle.

This time though, there is a sense the president might have gone too far.

## **GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Earlier this week, the commander of Zimbabwe's Defence Forces, General Constantino Chiwenga, warned the Zanu-PF governing party to stop the purge against independence war veterans.

Following his dismissal and escape to South Africa, Mr Mnangagwa promised to return to regain control of the ruling party from the Mugabes.

This suggested his confidence in the support he had from the military.

So the next step would be to negotiate his return ahead of the party congress in December, where he could be affirmed as the president's successor.

At worst, the military will force Mr Mugabe to resign - but they will not want to humiliate him further because of the history they share.

They will also extend the courtesy to Grace Mugabe, in spite of her recent actions.

### **Painful memories**

Prior suggestions that the armed forces were divided have not been revealed so far this week.

The rise of an opposing faction would probably be bloody, and not something Zimbabweans would like to see, regardless of how tough life has been in recent years.

The end of the Mugabe era would be a relief to many, but Mr Mnangagwa is not necessarily popular in all parts of the country.

Under his tenure as security minister in the early 1980s, government forces crushed a rebellion in the Midlands and Matebeleland province, and allegedly killed thousands of civilians.

There is still bitter resentment among people from the affected regions.

## **Robert Mugabe: Is Zimbabwe's ex-president a hero or villain?**

By Joseph Winter BBC News: 21 November 2017

Robert Mugabe, the man who became synonymous with Zimbabwe, has resigned as president after 37 years in power.

For some, he will always remain a hero who brought independence and an end to white-minority rule. Even those who forced him out blamed his wife and "criminals" around him.

But to his growing number of critics, this highly educated, wily politician became the caricature of an African dictator, who destroyed an entire country in order to keep his job.

In the end, it was the security forces, who had been instrumental in intimidating the opposition and keeping him in power, who made him go.

They were incensed when he sacked his long-time ally, Vice-President Emmerson Mnangagwa, paving the way for his much younger wife Grace to succeed him, fearing it meant the end for them as the powers behind the throne.

He had survived numerous previous crises and predictions of his demise but with his powers failing at the age of 93, his former comrades-in-arms turned on him, favouring Mr Mnangagwa.

Before the 2008 elections, Mr Mugabe said: "If you lose an election and are rejected by the people, it is time to leave politics."

But after coming second to Morgan Tsvangirai, Mr Mugabe displayed more characteristic defiance, swearing that "only God" could remove him from office.

And just to be sure, violence was unleashed to preserve his grip on power.

In order to save the lives of his supporters, Mr Tsvangirai pulled out of the second round and although Mr Mugabe was forced to share power with his long-time rival for four years, he remained president.

He even won another election, in 2013, as Mr Tsvangirai had lost a lot of credibility during his years working with Mr Mugabe.

The key to understanding Mr Mugabe is the 1970s guerrilla war where he made his name.

### **Liberation icon**

Even after 37 years in power, Mr Mugabe still maintained the same worldview - the patriotic socialist forces of his Zanu-PF party were still fighting the twin evils of capitalism and colonialism.

## **GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

Any critics were dismissed as "traitors and sell-outs" - a throwback to the guerrilla war, when such labels could be a death sentence.

He always blamed Zimbabwe's economic problems on a plot by Western countries, led by the UK, to oust him because of his seizure of white-owned farms.

His critics firmly blamed him, saying he had no understanding of how a modern economy worked.

He always concentrated on the question of how to share out the national cake, rather than how to make it grow.

Mr Mugabe once famously said that a country could never go bankrupt - with the world's fastest-shrinking economy and annual inflation of 231 million per cent in July 2008, it seemed as though he was determined to test his theory to the limit.

Professor Tony Hawkins of the University of Zimbabwe once observed that with Zimbabwe's former leader: "Whenever economics gets in the way of politics, politics wins every time."

In 2000, faced with a strong opposition for the first time, he wrecked what was one of Africa's most diversified economies in a bid to retain political control.

He seized the white-owned farms which were the economy's backbone and scared off donors but in purely political terms, Mr Mugabe outsmarted his enemies - he remained in power for another 17 years.

### **At any cost**

And the tactics he and his supporters used were straight from the guerrilla war.

After he suffered the first electoral defeat of his career, in a 2000 referendum, Mr Mugabe unleashed his personal militia - the self-styled war veterans, backed by the security forces - who used violence and murder as an electoral strategy.

Eight years later, a similar pattern was followed after Mr Mugabe lost the first round of a presidential election to his long-time rival Morgan Tsvangirai.

When needed, all the levers of state - the security forces, civil service, state-owned media - which are mostly controlled by Zanu-PF, were used in the service of the ruling party.

The man who fought for one-man, one-vote introduced a requirement that potential voters prove their residence with utility bills, which the young, unemployed opposition core electorate were unlikely to have.

In fact, the signs of his attitude to opposition were there from the early 1980s, when members of the North-Korea trained Fifth Brigade of the army were sent to Matabeleland, home to his then rival, Joshua Nkomo.

Thousands of civilians were killed before Mr Nkomo agreed to share power with Mr Mugabe - a precursor of what happened with Mr Tsvangirai.



## GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC

### Cartoon figure

One of the undoubted achievements of the former teacher's 33 years in power was the expansion of education. Zimbabwe still has one of the highest literacy rates in Africa, at 89% of the population.

The now deceased political scientist Masipula Sithole once said that by expanding education, the president was "digging his own grave".

Image copyright AFP Image caption Mr Mugabe has not been afraid to use violence to stay in power

The young beneficiaries were able to analyse Zimbabwe's problems for themselves and most blamed government corruption and mismanagement for the lack of jobs and rising prices.

He often claimed to be fighting on behalf of the rural poor but much of the land he confiscated ended up in the hands of his cronies.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu once said that Zimbabwe's long-time president had become a cartoon figure of the archetypal African dictator.

During the 2002 presidential campaign, he started wearing brightly coloured shirts emblazoned with his face - a style copied from many of Africa's authoritarian rulers.

For the preceding 20 years, this conservative man was only seen in public with either a stiff suit and tie or safari suit.

He professes to be a staunch Catholic, and worshippers at Harare's Catholic Cathedral were occasionally swamped by security guards when he turned up for Sunday Mass.

However, Mr Mugabe's beliefs did not prevent him from having two children by Grace, then his secretary, while his popular Ghanaian first wife, Sally, was dying from cancer.

But it was his second wife Grace, 40 years his junior, who ultimately proved his downfall.

Although Mr Mugabe outlived many predictions of his demise, the increasing strain of recent years took its toll and his once-impeccable presentation has begun to look rather worn at times.

In 2011, a US diplomatic cable released by **Wikileaks suggested that he was suffering from prostate cancer.**

But he certainly led a healthy lifestyle.

Grace once said that he woke up at 05:00 for his daily exercises, including yoga. He did not drink alcohol or coffee and was largely vegetarian.

Mr Mugabe was 73 when she gave birth to their third child, Chatunga.

If nothing else, Mr Mugabe has always been an extremely proud man.

He often said he would only step down when his "revolution" was complete.

**GLOBAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ZDF'S INTERVENTION IN  
GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE: THE CASE OF AL JAZEERA AND BBC**

He was referring to the redistribution of white-owned land but he also wanted to hand-pick his successor, who would of course have had to come from the ranks of Zanu-PF.

Didymus Mutasa, once one of Mr Mugabe's closest associates but who has since fallen out with him, once told the BBC that in Zimbabwean culture, kings were only replaced when they die "and Mugabe is our king".

But even his closest allies were not ready for Zimbabwe to be turned into a monarchy, with power retained by a single family.