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**FRAMING THE ZDF'S NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2017 OPERATION RESTORE  
LEGACY: THE CASE OF THE HERALD AND DAILY NEWS**

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## **Abstract**

The study interrogates the framing of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF)'s November/December 2017 Operation Restore Legacy in *The Herald* and *Daily News*. It seeks to explore the frames the two newspapers used and why they used them. The study is informed by framing theory but gathers data through archival research. The study established that two newspapers under study realised contrasting frames on the nature of the operation restore legacy, with *Daily News* saying it was a coup and *The Herald* denying that the operation was a military takeover. *Daily News* regarded the operation restore legacy as a ZANU-PF Lacoste factional agenda and a necessary evil. The study also established *The Herald* showed some inconsistencies in showing who they were really in support of during the operation. The papers however had also some level of convergence which is the celebration of Mugabe's fall from grace. The above issues realised by these two newspapers confirms the ideas that the state controlled media are used as mouth piece of the government and ruling party while privately media are critical of these two. The research also shows the relationship between military *The Herald* and *Daily News*' coverage. The research analysed data through qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis as well as presenting it in thematic form.

## Contents

Abstract.....	i
Contents page.....	iii
Acronyms.....	v
<b>Chapter 1</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background to the study .....	1
1.3 Problem statement.....	2
1.4 Significance of the study.....	3
1.5 Research objectives.....	3
1.6 Research questions.....	3
1.7 Scope of the study.....	4
1.8 Limitations of the study .....	4
1.9 Conclusion .....	4
<b>Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework</b> .....	<b>5</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	5
2.2 Literature Review.....	5
2.2.1 State media as propaganda tools of ZANU-PF and government.....	5
2.2.2 Private media as critical of the ruling party and government .....	6
2.2.3 The military and politics in Zimbabwe .....	8
2.2.4 Media and succession in Zimbabwe .....	9
2.3 Theoretical Framework.....	9
2.3.1 Framing Theory .....	10
2.3 Conclusion .....	12
<b>Chapter 3: Research Methods and Methodology</b> .....	<b>13</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	13
3.2 Research paradigm.....	13
3.3 Research design .....	13
3.4 Research population.....	14
3.4.1 Research unit of analysis .....	14
3.5 Purposive / Judgmental sampling .....	14
3.6 Methods of data gathering .....	15
3.6.1 Archival collection.....	15
3.7 Methods of data analysis.....	15

3.7.1 Qualitative content analysis .....	15
3.7.2 Critical discourse analysis.....	16
3.8 Method of data presentation.....	17
3.8.1 Thematic analysis.....	17
3.9 Ethical considerations .....	17
3.10 Conclusion .....	17
<b>Chapter 4: Organisational Analysis .....</b>	<b>18</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	18
4.2 The Herald (ZIMPAPERS).....	18
4.2.1 Historical background .....	18
4.2.2 Administrative structure.....	19
4.2.3 Mission Statement.....	20
4.2.4 Editorial policy.....	20
4.2.5 Funding mechanisms .....	20
4.2.6 Links with other organisations.....	21
4.3 Daily News (ANZ).....	21
4.3.1 Historical background .....	21
4.3.2 Administrative structure.....	22
4.3.3 Mission statement .....	22
4.3.4 Funding Mechanisms .....	23
4.3.5 Link with other organisations .....	23
4.4 Conclusion .....	23
<b>Chapter 5: Data Analysis and Presentation .....</b>	<b>24</b>
5.1 Introduction.....	24
5.1.1 Inconsistencies in the coverage of Operation Restore Legacy: <i>The Herald</i> .....	24
5.1.2 Contrasting frames on the nature of Operation Restore Legacy.....	27
5.1.3 Operation Restore Legacy was a ZANU-PF Lacoste factional agenda: <i>Daily News</i> .....	29
5.1.4 The coup: ‘Chickens coming home to roost’ for Mugabe .....	31
5.2 Conclusion .....	33
<b>Chapter 6: Conclusion and Suggestions .....</b>	<b>34</b>
6.1 Introduction.....	34
6.2 Summary of findings.....	34
6.3 Suggestions for further studies.....	34
References.....	36
Appendices.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>

## **Acronyms**

ANZ- Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe

MDC- Movement for Democratic Change

MDC-T- Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai

MIC- Media and Information Commission

MMPZ- Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe

ZANU-PF- Zimbabwe African National Unity- Patriotic Front

ZAMPS- Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey

ZDF- Zimbabwe Defence Forces

ZIMPAPERS- Zimbabwe Newspapers

ZMC- Zimbabwe Media Commission

ZMMT- Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust

## **Chapter 1**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The study seeks to examine framing of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces' (ZDF) operation restore legacy in November/December 2017 by *The Herald* and *Daily News*. These are dailies, publicly owned but state-controlled and privately owned respectively. The media as the eyes and ears of the general public in Zimbabwe has the role to inform the public on all activities happening in the country and beyond. In order to better understand the role played by the media in framing this issue, key questions posed are; how was the issue framed by these two newspapers and why? What were the possible reasons behind the frames employed by *The Herald* and *Daily News*?

### **1.2 Background to the study**

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of November 2017, the Zimbabwe Defence Forces announced to the public through the national broadcasting television, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), that it was carrying out an operation code named 'operation restore legacy' with the aim to remove criminals around the former president, Robert Gabriel Mugabe. After this press statement issued by the then Major General Valerio Sibanda on behalf of the ZDF and its Commander, a series of political events followed. The highlight of these events was the resignation of the President Mugabe from power, followed by the inauguration of Emmerson Dambudzo Munangagwa as the new President of the country. The operation 'Restore Legacy' lasted from the 13<sup>th</sup> of November to the 18<sup>th</sup> of December 2017. Since independence, 38 years ago, Zimbabwe had only known one president, Mugabe. The study will look at how the two newspapers under study framed the events that unfolded due to this operation and the reasons behind such frames.

In Zimbabwe, many people tend to rely on daily published newspapers, *The Herald* and *Daily News* to get political news, as these always report similar situations differently or slightly different. Chibuwe and Nwafor (2012), Chuma (2005) and Moyo (2005) agree on the fact that, *The Herald* owned by Zimbabwe Newspapers (ZIMPAPERS) is criticised for reporting in favour of the government and Zimbabwe African National Unity Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) which is the ruling party while *Daily News* owned by Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (ANZ) is pro-opposition. It reports against the government and ZANU-PF, this is also the case with the press in Nigeria, (Emenyeonu, 1997). The study seeks to find out if the

two newspapers employed these frames in reporting operation restore legacy initiated by the ZDF, an arm of the government currently led by ZANU-PF.

*Daily News* has for long blamed the military for its involvement in politics, while *The Herald* has been so protective of this arm of government. The military has been involved in a number of events in Zimbabwe, (Sachikonye, 2011). As, (Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2009) notes, the government of Mugabe heavily relied upon the military to frustrate the will of the citizens. Operations carried out with the alleged help of the military are Gukurahundi (1980-1988), Operation Murambatsvina / Restore Order (2005), Makavhoterapapi? / Where did you put your vote? (2008) among others. The military before also played a leading role in buttressing Mugabe in elections when his political fortunes were shaky, (Sachikonye, 2011). The military must remain non-partisan and professional, (Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). The study will look at the role played by the military in Zimbabwe through its operation restore legacy as per *The Herald* and *Daily News*' coverage.

The print media in Zimbabwe had been used to framing conflicts between political parties, factional fights within ZANU-PF and MDC-T, the major political parties, (Mungwari, 2017). The major factional fights in ZANU-PF began in 2014 to 2015 and 2016 to 2017, leading to the ouster of former vice presidents, Joyce Mujuru and Emmerson Mnangagwa respectively. As, (Mhiripiri, 2008) notes, the media are a site of power struggle. They help in airing out political ideas as well as fuelling succession battles. *The Herald* was used by ZANU PF to deny the possibility of discussing Mugabe's successor or his succession plan. *Daily News* on the other hand has been open to such debates. Newspapers articles published between September and early November 2017 revealed that there had been formation of factions allegedly known as the 'Lacoste' and 'G40' cabal led by Mnangagwa and the former first lady respectively. This study therefore seeks to understand if the two newspapers covered this operation within the discourse of succession and factionalism.

### **1.3 Problem statement**

This study seeks to establish how *The Herald* and *Daily News* framed the ZDF's intervention in the politics of the country through its operation 'Restore Legacy' and why they framed it the way they did. The study seeks to expose the discourses employed by the two newspapers' reportage of the operation.

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

This study will focus on framing the military involvement in politics through its ‘Operation Restore Legacy’ an initiative introduced mid-November in 2017. Studies conducted shows that there are operations carried out involving the military in Zimbabwe, ‘Operation Restore Order/ Murambatsvina’, Garikai / Hlalanikuhle among others, (Ndhlovu- Gatsheni, 2009). These have been framed with the focus being on restoring order in the country. This study will look at the frames employed in the military’s involvement in the politics of the country and the reasons behind the frames. *Daily News* had for long blamed the army for involving itself in politics while *The Herald* has always been protecting the military for its involvement in governance and politics of the country. This research will examine biases that exist in the press and the extent to which they exist through frames employed by these newspapers.

This research is necessary as it will always be referred to in the future, for academic purposes. The media was used to giving full attention to succession issues and factional fights, but was now giving much of its attention to covering this army operation. This operation had been announced unlike the operations conducted before with the help of the military. The study will show how the media framed the ZDF’s operation restore legacy and show forces behind such frames.

#### **1.5 Research objectives**

The study seeks to:

- Explore the framing of the ZDF’s November/December 2017 operation restore legacy in *The Herald* and *Daily News*.
- Explain the frames and discourses employed by the two newspapers in framing the ZDF’s November/December 2017 operation restore legacy.
- Examine the possible reasons behind the frames used by the two newspapers in their reportage of the ZDF’s November/December 2017 operation restore legacy.

#### **1.6 Research questions**

The study seeks to answer:

- How did *The Herald* and *Daily News* frame the ZDF’s November/December 2017 operation restore legacy?



- What are the frames and discourses employed by the two newspapers in their reportage of the ZDF's November/December 2017 operation restore legacy?
- What are the possible reasons behind the frames used by the two newspapers in their reportage of the ZDF's November/December 2017 operation restore legacy?

### **1.7 Scope of the study**

The study will focus on the framing of the ZDF's operation restore legacy by *The Herald* and *Daily News* only and will not consider coverage by other newspapers. The study will also cover news reports from the 13th of November to 18 December 2017, the dates during which this military operation themed 'operation restore legacy' began to the day it ended. The researcher will also collect hard news stories only from the two newspapers' websites published on this issue.

### **1.8 Limitations of the study**

The study seeks to look at framing of the ZDF's operation restore legacy by *The Herald* and *Daily News*, in an environment where other newspapers also framed these issues. The researcher will therefore, restrict the study to framing of the two selected newspapers only.

### **1.9 Conclusion**

The study seeks to examine framing of the ZDF's November/December 2017 operation by *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The purpose of this study is to find out if the frames employed by these two newspapers in their reportage of these events. In order to better understand the role played by the media in framing the issue, the researcher will look at the frames employed by these two newspapers and the forces behind and also journalists' perceptions of the reportage of this operation.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This section seeks to make use of Framing Theory as the theory employed for the study. The section also seeks to review literature conducted before and show its relevance to the current study. The media plays a critical role in framing of events.

### **2.2 Literature Review**

Studies conducted before shows that the state-controlled media are used as propaganda tools of the ruling ZANU-PF party and government while the privately owned media are critical of the above. Areas looked at include the military and the role it played in the politics of the country, the issue of media and succession as well as media and factionalism in Zimbabwe.

#### **2.2.1 State media as propaganda tools of ZANU-PF and government**

The state-controlled but publicly owned media in Zimbabwe are a slave to partisan political interests, they are used as propaganda tools of the ruling party and government, (Moysse, 2009; Chari, 2009; Chuma, 2005; Mazango, 2005; Moyo 2005). Their loyalty lies with one political party which is the ruling ZANU-PF party and not with the people of Zimbabwe. Chari (2009:10) notes that, “the state media is unapologetic in its support for the ruling ZANU PF government”. The state media allows the ZANU-PF party to sell its policies to the masses through their mediums, (Moyo, 2005). In cases where ZANU-PF is involved, the state-controlled media always frame them positively. They always sing praises of ZANU-PF. “What people know about the world is largely dependent on what the media decides to tell them,” (McCombs, 2007:35). This illustrates that what the media tells people matters as what people know politically mostly comes through the media. The research therefore seeks to find out if the *The Herald* were unapologetically pro-ZANU-PF in their framing of operation restore legacy.

Ruling ZANU-PF government relies on a policy of harnessing the media to further its own agendas. They constantly bombarded audiences with messages that favoured the ruling party, (Chitando, 2005). They also always fought against the emergence of independent media. The government has for long seized the mainstream national newspapers to promote the image of the ruling party, (Mazango, 2005). For example, during or towards elections period, the

publicly owned media are used by ZANU-PF and government to disseminate hate messages, often racist, threatening and insulting those who are considered to be the enemies of the state mainly opposition parties, (Chitando, 2005). In the case of MDC-T (ZANU-PF's major opposition), the state-controlled press especially *The Herald* and *The Sunday Mail* labelled the late MDC-T leader, Morgan Tsvangirai 'a puppet', 'chamatama', 'womaniser' and used many other belittling and derogatory words to facilitate for his rejection politically, (Chitando, 2005). The research seeks to illustrate if *The Herald* protected the image of the government and was used by the ZANU-PF led government as a site of its power struggles within and outside the party.

State owned media as the mouthpiece of the government, constantly attack private media and label them instruments of neo-colonialism and western imperialism, (Mazango, 2005). This practice represents an intolerable abuse of publicly owned media, (Moyse, 2009). In a democratic nation, the state-controlled media's mandate should be to provide its audiences with fair, balanced and accurate information, (Happer, 2013). The majority of Zimbabweans depend on state newspapers for news about the country and beyond. This dependence however exposes readers of state newspapers in Zimbabwe to misinformation about important national issues. The media therefore should be a market place of ideas, allowing different views to contend on various platforms.

More so, stories reported by state-controlled media on ZANU-PF are in mostly in line with the ruling party's official statement to the public. ZANU-PF is allowed to express their views through party's spokesperson. Other political parties are never even given the chance to respond to any allegations made about them. By abandoning these basic principles of ethical journalistic practice, the state media openly show they are instruments of ZANU-PF's propaganda. The study seeks to find out if *The Herald* framed the operation restore legacy in favour of ZANU-PF and government given that there have always reported on them positively.

### **2.2.2 Private media as critical of the ruling party and government**

The privately owned media in Zimbabwe are critical of the ZANU-PF and the government it leads. Their role is to closely monitor those in power. As, (Lilleker, 2006; Mazango, 2005; Moyo, 2005; Moyse, 2009) notes, the media should be a watchdog that holds the elite

accountable for their actions. This role is not performed by pro-government media which supports the ruling party in every way possible. The private media are critical because they blame all the economic and political hardships on the government and ZANU-PF, (Mano, 2005 and Ndlela, 2005). Ndlela (2005) notes that private media only focus on the negatives of the government. As Mano (2005: 11) argues, the private media have become permanent adversaries of the state as they have adopted a, “nothing-good-can-come-out-of-this-wretched-government” approach. They never sympathise with the government on all issues.

More so, the private media try to achieve some measure of balance but lack of co-operation from government makes this unachievable, (Moyo, 2005). Other scholars, (MMPZ, 2002; Curran, 2000), however disagree with this notion, noting that there is lack of balance and fairness in private media news coverage. Curran (2000) is of the idea that the market sometimes can have watchdogs which are not all about serving the public interest, but adjust their critical scrutiny to suit their private agendas. In Zimbabwe however, there is a tendency by readers to believe that private media are hold the public interest at heart always. It has also been argued that, sometimes the objectivity of news stories published by privately owned media is sacrificed in order for them to be true to their chosen position, (MMPZ, 2002). Furthermore, with the private media always practising oppositional journalism, they sometimes hinder themselves from engaging in thorough debates or discussions. They end up not perceiving reality of situations the way they should, with the view that they have an obligation to go against in coverage of certain issues. The research seeks to find out if *Daily News*’ reportage was influenced by the need to maximise its profits and practise opposition journalism.

The private media which is absolutely anti-government maintains ‘hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil’ stance towards MDC, (Chari, 2009: 10). They do this with the belief that the MDC has for long been oppressed by the ruling party. Private media operate in environments which are usually restrictive and largely hostile towards them, comprising of dismissals and victimisation by those in power. Given that there are a lot of challenges they face, it is very difficult for them to play meaningful roles in the societies they operate in. The private press however continues to be outspoken. The study seeks to find out if *Daily News* was critical in their framing of the ZDF’s operation restore legacy considering that they have always reported against the government and ZANU-PF.

### 2.2.3 The military and politics in Zimbabwe

The military in Zimbabwe is used as a pawn in political factions, with a history of destroying political opponents and even members within parties especially in ZANU-PF, (Rupiya, (nd). “It is unacceptable in a democracy to politicise the military, as it is to militarise political affairs.” (Rupiya, (nd). This means that the military should not be involved in political issues. The military must remain non-partisan, unbiased and professional, (Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2009), meaning they should not act in favour of any political party. The military in Zimbabwe is however used by those in power to maintain their status, blocking any perceived or actual political opponents. The military is deeply involved in state administration as well as ZANU-PF party politics, of which they should be apolitical. The military before played a leading role in ensuring a win for Mugabe in elections held in 2000, 2002, 2008 and 2013, (Sachikonye, 2011). He added that the security chiefs of these years openly declared their support for Mugabe and claimed that they would not salute anybody who had not fought the liberation war elected as president. Sachikonye highlighted that the target of this declaration was Morgan Tsvangirai and when he won the presidential elections in 2008, it was the military that helped Mugabe to go for a second round of elections. The research seeks to explain the role played by the military during the operation as per *The Herald* and *Daily News*’ framing.

Sachikonye, (2011) noted that the military’s entry into politics has significant repercussions on the administration of a country. However, the idea that the president of Zimbabwe is automatically the commander-in-chief of the ZDF and that all posts in the army from colonel upwards are approved by the president posits that the government politicise the military as well as militarising political affairs. This shows there is no way there can be separation of military from politics as well as politics from military. The government of Mugabe intensely depended upon the military to frustrate the will of the people. Other Operations carried out with the alleged help of the military include Gukurahundi (1980-1988), Operation Murambatsvina / Restore Order (2005), Makavhotera papi? / Where did you put your vote? (2008) among others, (Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). This research seeks to explore frames used in the reportage of the military operation restore legacy as per *Daily News* and *The Herald*’s reportage.

#### **2.2.4 Media and succession in Zimbabwe**

The print media in Zimbabwe before was used to framing conflicts between political parties, factional fights within ZANU-PF and MDC-T, the major political parties, (Mungwari, 2017). The major factional fights in ZANU-PF began in 2014 to 2015 and 2016 to 2017, leading to the ouster of former vice presidents, Joyce Mujuru and Mnangagwa respectively. The media as a site of power struggle, (Mhiripiri, 2008), help in airing out political ideas as well as fuelling succession battles. *The Herald* was used by ZANU PF to deny the possibility of discussing Mugabe's successor or his succession plan. As, (Macapulana, 2014) contends, the succession debate is regarded as a taboo in Zimbabwe's state media as it has not been given a platform to be debated. Any attempt to discuss the issue in *The Herald* is seen as trying to forcibly remove the legitimately elected leader and the government. *Daily News* has on the other hand has been open to such debates. The media generally should report on all aspects around succession issues to allow the public to reflect on all processes. This study therefore seeks to understand if the two newspapers under study covered the ZDF's operation restore legacy within the discourse of succession and factionalism.

For the past three decades, Zimbabwe has been known for political conflicts and crises. African leaders' obsession with holding on to power has often led to succession conflicts and factionalism, (Mwamba, 2006). This applies to Zimbabwe's Mugabe and the government he led who had been in power for over 30 years. Most African leaders are unwilling to leave the Presidency realm after serving for many years, thus has resulting in power remaining in the hands of a few self-anointed leaders, (Bongmba, 2006). Newspapers articles however published between September and early November 2017 revealed that there had been formation of factions allegedly known as the 'Lacoste' and 'G40' cabal respectively led by Mnangagwa and the former first lady. The idea is to look at the frames used by these newspapers in framing this operation.

#### **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

This section discusses the theory that is deployed in this study. The section specifically focuses on framing theory and how it is useful in helping us understand how the selected newspapers framed the operation restore legacy.

### 2.3.1 Framing Theory

The study will make use of framing theory to analyse the frames employed by *The Herald* and *Daily News* in reporting a military operation themed operation restore legacy done in November and December 2017. Framing is defined as, “selection of some aspects of reality and making them more salient in communicating text, in such a way that it promotes particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation for the item being described,”s (Entman, 1993; Ardevol-Abreu, 2015). Framing allows people to have different and even multiple views of a situation or an event. It is considered as second level of agenda setting, (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Second level of agenda setting notes that the media influences how people should think about certain things presented to them. The fact that framing and agenda setting are said to be closely related, shows that frames that media houses employ helps to find out the agenda they may be setting to the public. This study therefore, seeks to find out the agenda *The Herald* and *Daily News* were setting through different frames they employed in framing the ZDF’s operation restore legacy.

The basics of framing theory would be centred on selection and salience. Salience as, (McCombs, 2007) define, means making a piece of information more ‘noticeable’, ‘meaningful’ and even ‘memorable’ to audiences. This study therefore seeks to find out frames that were persistent, enduring and recurring in the reportage of the operation ‘restore legacy’. As Fiske & Taylor (1991) and Entman (1993) notes, increase in salience enhances the probability that receivers will perceive the information, discern meaning, process it and store it in memory. Other scholars however, argue that sometimes an idea that is much emphasised in news can be hardly remembered by individuals who have been in contact with it, when this idea does not match the belief systems of the readers.

More so, media frames are conceptual pillars (words, images and phrases) that a media outlet uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience, (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Frames select and highlight some feature of reality and help obscure others in a way which tells a consistent story about problems, their causes, moral implications and remedy. The idea of ‘selecting some aspects of reality’ shows that the media in their reportage choose to exercise or make of importance some issues and at the same time underplaying others. Ardevol-Abreu (2015) suggests that in order to define frames one must be able to note what is described and what is left out when news is published. The study will analyse what was

reported on during the operation restore legacy, what was left out by the two newspapers and what were the issues that were given more and even less prominence?

The media have become political actors, (Delacour, 2005). They are embedded in political contestations and instead of reporting accurately, they take sides. The public's perceptions of politics are the media's, they are now interested parties. The media can promote their own political agendas, Delacour, (2005), like being pro-the ruling ZANU-PF party and government or pro-opposition parties in framing issues to do with the ZDF. With ZDF being an arm of the government, biases maybe present in coverage of issues where this arm is involved. Any arm that is under the government usually suffers attack from private media and praises from state media. *The Herald and Daily News* are used to these kinds of frames in their reporting and they may end up not perceiving reality of situations the way they should, with the view that they have an obligation to either support or go against in coverage of certain issues. The study seeks to find out if these two newspapers showed biases in their reportage of this operation.

Framing theory contends that that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning (Mass Communication Theory (Online), 2017). In framing of situations, choices of words that are used in news stories are of great importance. Framing is all about giving meaning to the things that are regarded as meaningless. Framing is therefore used to give meaning to meaningless events or issues. Discourses that are used in framing should allow individuals to arrive at different positions on the issue, depending on the priority given to various considerations (Druckman and Nelson 2003). This study will also show in depth the discourses employed by the two newspapers under study, *The Herald and Daily News*.

Framing is present in the minds of journalists when writing stories. They choose ways to tell their stories depending on their organisation's editorial policy. In the making of stories, journalists use frames to give meaning and simplify reality. In framing, journalists may turn to support different ideas or individuals rather than before. It is called 'frame shifting', 'frame changing' and sometimes referred to as 'counter framing.' Frame shifting is possible; the same media that supports an individual or group may turn or be turned to report against them. Memory mining plays a great role in such circumstances in framing. In most cases, the media



conveniently remember certain facts and at the same time forgetting others. The study will look at the frames shifts utilised in framing the ZDF's operation.

### **2.3 Conclusion**

The chapter reviewed literature related to the study. It is of importance as it highlights earlier views on the subject and attempt to identify and address knowledge gaps in the current area of study. Studies conducted before shows that the state-controlled media are used as propaganda tools of the ruling ZANU-PF party and government while the privately owned media are critical of the above. Are areas also looked at include the military and the role it played in the politics of the country, the issue of media and succession as well as media and factionalism in Zimbabwe. This section also explored Framing Theory as theory to be used in the study to identify frames and discourses employed by *The Herald* and *Daily News* and the reasons behind those frames.

## **Chapter 3: Research Methods and Methodology**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This refers to the blueprint of how the study will be conducted, (Burns and Grove, 2003). This study seeks to use qualitative research paradigm, an explanatory paradigm which seeks to explain how and why particular situations happen the way they do. The study utilises *The Herald* and *Daily News* as case studies. The study seeks to make use of hard news stories gathered data through archival collection and purposively sample them. The researcher seeks to analyse data gathered for this research through qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis as well as presenting it in thematic approach. The discussion below will explain in detail the above highlighted details.

### **3.2 Research paradigm**

The study makes use of a qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research relies on the interpretation of the researcher; it has a place for use of common sense (Ganter, 2000). Qualitative research is an approach used to, “describe life experiences and situations to give them meaning,” (Burns and Grove, 2003:19). In other words, research following a qualitative approach is exploratory and seeks to explain ‘how’ and ‘why’ a programme, operates as it does. It seeks to gain a deeper understanding of why people say the things they say or do the things they do, (Burns and Grove, 2003). In other words, this research paradigm is interested in meanings. Qualitative data is non-numerical, covering images, videos, text and people’s written or spoken words. In line with the above argument, this study is therefore interested in finding out how *The Herald* and *Daily News* framed the ZDF’s operation restore legacy and why the two newspapers framed it that way hence qualitative research was the suitable paradigm.

### **3.3 Research design**

The researcher utilises a case study as a research design. Parahoo (1997) notes that, the function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables to effectively address the research problem clearly. Parahoo describes a research design as a plan that describes how, when and where data are to be collected and analysed. Case studies have become one of the commonly used research designs in qualitative research, (Yin, 2003). The need for use of case studies arises out of the desire to understand more about real life events.

Yin, (2003) posits that case studies are preferred when attempting to answer ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions being posed on real life events those researchers have little to no control over. Case studies are therefore used to describe and explain historical and contemporary events.

This research makes use of *The Herald* and *Daily News* as case studies. These two always report same events in different ways as noted by, (Chibuwe and Nwafor, 2012; Chuma, 2005; Moyo, 2005). *The Herald*, has always been criticised for publishing in favour of ZANU PF and government, while *Daily News* is known for reporting against the government and ZANU PF. These two newspapers have also been rated the fastest growing newspapers with the highest readership in Zimbabwe, according to the 2018 ZAMPS. Case studies add experience to what is already known through previous research.

### **3.4 Research population**

The research utilises articles collected from hard news stories only. Parahoo (1997:218) defines population as, “the total number of units from which data can be collected, such as individuals, events or organisations”. Burns and Grove (2003) describe population as all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study.

#### **3.4.1 Research unit of analysis**

The research makes use of 13 articles published in *The Herald* and 19 in *Daily News*. These articles were published between 13 November and 18 December 2017.

### **3.5 Purposive / Judgmental sampling**

The study utilises a non-probability sampling method. Samples selected in this type of sampling are to serve a particular purpose and focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest. Several scholars, Kumar (2011), Frey et al (2000) and Henry (1990) agree on the fact that in non-probability sampling, subjective judgments play a specific role. A purposive sampling of news articles published in Zimbabwe’s publicly-owned but state-controlled newspaper (*The Herald*) and privately-owned newspaper (*Daily News*) carried out in this study and articles selected from hard news stories that focused on the ZDF’s operation restore legacy are subject to analysis.

This non-probability sampling method focuses on stories that focus on a particular event, meaning anything else outside was not relevant. Oppong (2013) defines sampling as a process of selecting subjects to take part in a research investigation on the ground, to provide

information considered relevant to the research problem. Many scholars, (Oppong, 2013; Koerber and McMichael, 2008; Onwuengbuzie and Collins, 2007; Coyne, 1997; Marshall, 1996), agree on the fact that purposive sampling is the most appropriate for use in qualitative research. Coyne (1997) notes, purposive or judgemental sampling selects and yields information rich cases thus suitable for use in this study. Marshall (1996) also adds that in purposive sampling there is active selection of the most productive sample that answers the research question.

### **3.6 Methods of data gathering**

Data gathering methods are ways that researchers use to collect information for use in their studies. For any research to be successful; it rests on appropriate instruments to find required information and the accuracy of the data collected, (Fisher, 2005). This research utilises archival collection as a data gathering method.

#### **3.6.1 Archival collection**

This study utilises archival collection as a method of gathering data. In the vernacular, 'archives' is often used to refer to any documents that are old or of historical interest regardless of how they are organised. Marshall (1996) notes that archival data refers to the records of a society, community or organisation routinely gathered. The study uses archival collection to gather information, as news articles on the event are found on the newspapers under study's websites. The researcher enters key words like 'Zimbabwe Defence Forces', 'Operation Restore Legacy', 'Military coup' related to the proposed study into search sections of the website of *The Herald* and *Daily News* so as to get articles published every day as well as live updates.

### **3.7 Methods of data analysis**

The study utilises critical discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis as methods of analysing data gathered.

#### **3.7.1 Qualitative content analysis**

The study utilises qualitative content analysis because it allows the researcher to have different meanings of one text presented to them. There is no correct reading of text as researchers may reach different readings on the same text, (Krippendorff, 2004). This method

of data analysis was defined by Leedy and Ormrod (2001) as an examination of the contents of a body of materials for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes, or biases. Qualitative content analysis review forms of human communication including books, newspapers as well as other forms in order to identify patterns, themes, or biases. According to Moore & McCabe (2005), this is the type of research whereby data gathered is categorized in themes and sub-themes, to be able to be comparable. The assumption made is that the words that are mentioned most often are the words that reflect the greatest concerns.

The research utilises the following steps in analysing data. The first step is preparation and transformation of data. From the data that the researcher would have collected, choice of content should be clearly set and defined, (Moore & McCabe, 2005). The research seeks to define the unit or theme of analysis, classifying content into recurring themes which can be a word, phrase or sentence, (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). Each theme presenting an ‘idea’ based on objectives of the study. The research develops categories and coding scheme for the analysis, pre-testing and sampling in order to ensure that there is consistency in existing data as well as coding all the text, applying the coding process to the data. The study involves assessing the consistency of coding employed. After coding the whole data set, validity and reliability should be checked, (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). It also utilises drawing inferences based on coding or themes. Inferences will be drawn based on codes and categories generated. It is important to explore the properties, dimensions, identify the relationship and uncover patterns in order to present the analysis, (Krippendorff, 2004) and presentation of results in thematic form.

### **3.7.2 Critical discourse analysis**

The study also utilises critical discourse analysis to thoroughly analyse the language used in reporting the ZDF’s military operation in November and December 2017. Bryman (2012) and Fourie (2009) argue that critical discourse analysis looks at the role of language as a power resource for the articulation of ideology and socio-cultural change. Van Dijk (2001) contends that critical discourse analysis investigates the way social power abuse; dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced by text in the social and political context. This will complement the qualitative content analysis.

### **3.8 Method of data presentation**

The study utilises thematic analysis as a method of data presentation

#### **3.8.1 Thematic analysis**

The researcher seeks to present data collected in form of themes. Braun and Clarke (2006: 84) notes, “Thematic analysis starts to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, conceptualisations and ideologies...” The researcher utilises a six-phase framework for doing a thematic analysis in presenting frames employed. The first step involves knowing in depth the content of the data through reading and re-reading, (Clarke & Braun, 2013). The research involves organising data in a meaningful and systematic way; through coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set reducing data into small chunks of meaning. The research also utilises search for themes. As Braun & Clarke (2006) explain, there are no hard and fast rules about what makes a theme as they are characterised clearly by how they fit together. This phase reviews, modifying and developing the preliminary themes that were identified in Step 3 so they make sense. The research identifies, name themes and show how they relate to the study and lastly it utilises compilation of themes gathered for the study in writing.

### **3.9 Ethical considerations**

The study involved political parties mainly the ZANU-PF and MDC-T, thus the researcher made sure that judgments, analysis and findings of this study does not reflect her political affiliations or background. The researcher made use of as much information as she could access to avoid showing biases in analysis.

### **3.10 Conclusion**

This chapter utilises archival collection as a data gathering method. The researcher employs *The Herald* and *Daily News* as case studies. The research utilises qualitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis as a methods of analysing data gathered for this research as well as presented in thematic approach.

## **Chapter 4: Organisational Analysis**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter covers the organisational structure of the two newspapers under study, *The Herald* and *Daily News*. These are daily newspapers owned by ZIMPAPERS and ANZ respectively. Key areas to be looked at are their historical background, administrative structure, mission statement, editorial policies, funding mechanisms, ownership and control. These are relevant in the study as they establish and guide how these two newspapers operate on a day to day basis.

### **4.2 The Herald (ZIMPAPERS)**

#### **4.2.1 Historical background**

*The Herald* is a daily newspaper owned by Zimbabwe Newspapers Ltd (ZIMPAPERS). This company is the oldest newspaper publisher, commercial printer, as well as being the largest publisher of newspapers in Zimbabwe, having been in the industry since 1891. *The Herald* was founded in 1891 by W. E. Fairbridge, (Chibuwe, 2016). It was first published as a handwritten newspaper called *Mashonaland Times* before changing to *Zambezi Times*, (Saunders, 1999). It was later renamed *Rhodesian Herald* when it became a printed newspaper in October 1892 (Mutsvairo, 2012).

The newspaper was owned by the South African based Argus Company through its subsidiary, Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company. This company had been invited to Rhodesia by Cecil John Rhodes' BSAC. *Rhodesian Herald* were used to spread the ideologies of the white ruling elites, (Mukasa, 2005; Nyahunzvi, 2001). After independence in 1980, the Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company was renamed ZIMPAPERS. This saw the renaming of the newspaper from Rhodesian Herald to The Herald, the name which it has kept from them to the present day.

The ZANU-PF led government established the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) in January 1981 (Daniels, 2009), to monitor the state owned print media. The Zimbabwean government bought shares in ZIMPAPERS through a grant of 6 million USD received from the Nigerian government and placed them under the management of ZMMT, (Saunders, 1999). ZMMT was supposed to be a buffer between the government and ZIMPAPERS,

(Chibuwe, 2016; Nyahunzvi, 2001). Due financial challenges, the ZMMT become reliant financially on the government, allowing it to find a way of dictating the content the state newspapers published on. The government ended up dissolving this trust (Gandari, 2010).. The government as the custodian of 51.09% shares previously owned by ZMMT turned ZIMPAPERS and particularly the newspaper under study, *The Herald* into a state-controlled paper used as a tool to push its political agendas, (Mazango, 2005). The other shareholders have found themselves being passengers in an organisation they are supposed to have a say.

#### **4.2.2 Administrative structure**

The purpose of a structure in an organisation is to divide work among members of the organisation and the coordination of their activities so they are directed towards certain objectives, (Mullins, 2010). The discussion below will show members of *The Herald* newspaper who participate and are influential in the framing of issues. At the realm of the throne is the editor in chief, Pikiyai Deketeke who is responsible delegating tasks to staff members and managing them. He is followed in command by Ceaser Zvayi who is the editor of *The Herald*. He reports to the editor-in-chief. He decides on stories to be published. This editor is appointed by the government through the Ministry of Information and Communications Technology; this makes it unavoidable not to serve the interests of the ruling elites and government. He is deputised by Mabasa Sasa who helps making decisions on stories to be published and the way they should be published. He is followed by news editor; Herbert Zharare who is responsible assigning reporters on public diaries in relation to their news beats. Zharare monitors line editors who are placed under different news desks and set deadlines for reporters concerning their beats and setting up diary meetings to influence news production on behalf of their superiors.

More so, *The Herald's* politics editor Tichaona Zindoga work hand in hand with news editor. A politics editor covers major political issues. There are also sub-editors responsible for page layout and allocation of space to stories in the newspaper in line with the new beats. They give directives of space division for news and have the authority to spike a story to any other way in the event they feel the reporter has not been able to give a rightful expression. They complement their work by making catchy headlines which lure a reader hence selling more papers. *The Herald* being a large newspaper it has a large number of senior reporters who are considered to be experienced within their work field. They usually cover the delicate and profound nature stories. They are also assigned to cover stories which require investigative



journalism and they do not usually conflict with the organisation's publication policy. The paper employs junior reporters who are usually those with less working experience and new recruits, straight from college. They write stories under strict supervision of senior reporters so as to not compromise the organisation's editorial policy

The paper also employs photographers. These capture photographs that complement the stories that would have been covered by reporters. Sometimes they are used to tell their own story. In making choices over which pictures to accompany stories in the newspaper, the photographers work in hand with the news editors so to make the story and the picture to depict the same story.

#### **4.2.3 Mission Statement**

The paper publishes newspapers, magazines and books; produce print and packaging products as well as offer broadcasting services of the highest quality at competitive prices that add value to our stakeholders, with the guide of core values: customer success and satisfaction, offer quality products and services, efficiency, profitability and continuous innovation. These guide the way *The Herald* frame issues happening in the country.

#### **4.2.4 Editorial policy**

*The Herald* makes it no secret of its allegiance with ZANU-PF and government. The editorial policy of ZIMPAPERS supports the government of the day, (Mutsvairo, 2013). Waldahl (2004) states that government's direct intervention in *The Herald's* business saw a number of editors being sacked for publishing stories not in favour of ZANU-PF.

#### **4.2.5 Funding mechanisms**

The paper is funded through advertising and commercial printing. This newspaper gets high amounts of income from advertisements made by several companies. It also generates income through newspaper sales and subscriptions. At average the company sales over 50 000 copies per day country wide. The company also generates income through commercial printing of books, security documents and stationery, (Munyuki, 2013).

#### **4.2.6 Links with other organisations**

*The Herald* is linked to the government through ZMC, a government body responsible for licence issuing to media houses and accrediting journalist. The newspaper abides well to the ZMC demands hence this creates a strong bond between the two entities. This can be evidenced by reduced hustles in renewal of journalist accreditation whilst other newspapers journalists experience long process in the renewal process. *The Herald* also has close links the government as evidenced by continual appearance of their adverts in the paper. The newspaper thrives on maintaining a strong relationship with many stakeholders as they need their services on daily basis for story confirmations. These include the military police, hospitals and any government or non-governmental institutions which act as sources. The paper also has an excellent relations with its other sister newspapers. This makes it easy for its reporter to cover stories across the whole country, for instance the reporter may not always have to travel to far places like Bulawayo to cover an event. The paper can just get that story from *The Chronicle* and use it.

#### **4.3 Daily News (ANZ)**

##### **4.3.1 Historical background**

*Daily News* is one of the largest circulating dailies in Zimbabwe, (ZAMPS, 2018) owned by Associated Newspapers Zimbabwe, (ANZ). The paper was established in 1999, challenging the dominance of *The Herald* and other state newspapers owned by ZIMPAPERS. *Daily News* marked the introduction of oppositional journalism in Zimbabwe, (Chuma, 2005). It revitalised the print industry since it was well resourced with the best technology of that time, (Moyo, 2005). Most of the newspapers of that time had no new technology and were operating under terrible conditions. *Daily News* was formed the same time as the MDC and this raised a lot of questions on the way it framed political events. It was constantly attacked and labelled ‘instruments of neo-colonialism and western imperialism’, (Mazango, 2005). Mazango (2005) and Moyo (2005) argued that *Daily News* acted as a mouth piece of all the oppositional parties since ZANU PF was enjoying its monopoly with ZIMPAPERS.

*Daily News* was always under threats from the police, war veterans and the central intelligence organisation. The paper was critical of the government, (Moyo, 2005). In 2002, *Daily News* offices were bombed. This newspaper was eventually shut down by the state in

2003 for failing to register with the Media and Information Commission (MIC). It has since changed its name to Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC), (Moyo, 2005). The paper was re-opened in 2011 after being given a license to operate by the Zimbabwe Media Commission. This paper is mainly interested in watching closely those in power and maximise its profits.

#### **4.3.2 Administrative structure**

The organisation's structure provides line of authority and responsibility to knit the members of the group into a more meaningful and effective team, (Mullins, 2010). The discussion below will show members of The Herald newspaper who participate and are influential in the framing of issues. At the realm of the throne is the Editor-in-chief, Hama Saburi who is responsible delegating tasks to staff members and managing them. Second in the line of command is Guthrine Munyuki, the editor of *Daily News* who reports to the editor-in-chief. Munyuki decides on stories to be published and aligns stories published in *Daily News* the editorial policy of the paper. Munyuki works hand in hand with his deputy editor.

The Herald employs a news editor; Gift Phiri assigns reporters on public diaries in relation to their news beats. Gift Phiri also monitors line editors who are placed under different news desks. The news editor set deadlines for reporters concerning their beats and also diary meetings to influence news production on behalf of their superiors. The editor assigns reports on what to look at through the news editor. Chief writer for *Daily News*, Fungi Kwaramba works hand in hand with news editor. The chief writer writes most of the sensitive and political issues published by the paper. *Daily News* being a large newspaper it has a large number of senior reporters who are considered to be experienced within their work field. They usually cover the delicate and profound nature stories. This post is usually granted through consideration of merit and also length of service offered to the newspaper. The paper also employs junior reporters who are the foot soldiers who collect news and surrender to the line editors. These reporters are obliged to frame news in a way that is in line with the house policy. The paper also employs photographers. The duty of *Daily News* photographers is to capture photographs that complement the stories that would have been covered by reporters. These photographs sometimes tell their own story or stories. In making choices over which pictures to accompany stories in the newspaper, the photographers work in hand with the news editors so to make the story and the picture to depict the same story.

#### **4.3.3 Mission statement**

*Daily News's* is determined to become Zimbabwe's largest and preferred media news provider within the country. It also seeks to produce balanced, candid and newsworthy stories so as to give reader the best and gain trust of the reader as per its core values. *Daily News'* motto is 'Telling it like it is'. The paper claims that it tells its story without fearing or favouring anyone.

#### **4.3.4 Funding Mechanisms**

The paper is funded through advertising, newspaper sales and commercial printing. This newspaper gets high amounts of income from advertisements made by several companies including government institutions. It also generates income through newspaper sales country wide and subscriptions.

#### **4.3.5 Link with other organisations**

Like most media organisations, *Daily News* does not function within a vacuum, it prioritise building and maintaining sturdy relationships with external stakeholders. *Daily News* is linked to the government through ZMC, a government body with a responsibility of licence issuing to media houses and also accrediting journalist. The newspaper was once closed in 2002 for failing to register with this organisation, operating as MIC that time. Even though they were granted a license in 2011 and reopened, *Daily News* experiences hard times in renewal of journalist accreditation whilst other journalists from state newspapers experience no hustles at all. This makes the paper unapologetically anti ZANU-PF and government. It also has close links with other big companies including government institutions who continually advertise in the newspaper. The newspaper thrives on maintaining a strong relationship with many stakeholders as they need their services on daily basis for story confirmations. These include the police, military and any other governmental and non-governmental institutions which act as sources. The newspaper also has ties with firms in South Africa where they source their printing material.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

The above section shows that how an organisation is structured affects its day to day operations. In this case, *The Herald* owned by ZIMPAPERS and *Daily News* owned by ANZ's framing of events in Zimbabwe is influenced by the administrative structure. The papers work according to instructions coming from those in authority, within the paper and

even outside. Different forces are also behind different frames employed by these newspapers.

## **Chapter 5: Data Analysis and Presentation**

### **5.1 Introduction**

*The Herald* and *Daily News* adopted similar and different frames from time to time. The researcher realised that there were inconsistencies made by *The Herald* in the coverage of operation restore legacy, as well as contrasting frames on the nature of the operation restore legacy with *Daily News* saying it was a coup and *The Herald* denying that the operation was a military takeover. *Daily News* presented the operation restore legacy as ZANU-PF Lacoste faction agenda. *Daily News* also presented the operation restore legacy as a coup necessitated by the need to remove Mugabe from power. This information is presented below in thematic form.

#### **5.1.1 Inconsistencies in the coverage of Operation Restore Legacy: *The Herald***

*The Herald* showed many inconsistencies in the framing of the operation restore legacy. The paper deliberately did not publish stories on the operation during the first days. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of November, the day that the ZDF notified the nation through a televised broadcasting, of its idea of carrying out an operation themed ‘operation restore legacy’, *The Herald* did not publish stories linked to this operation, but rather focused on fights that were happening in the party before the operation was launched. The paper published stories with headlines, ‘ZANU-PF insists on due process’ and ‘Mnangagwa offside on judges’, (November, 14). Nothing about the press statement that had been issued on both the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of November was given attention. *The Herald* wanted to maintain their support to those in power of which at this time was Mugabe and allies. *The Herald* did not want to reveal the faction they were supporting between Mnangagwa’s ‘Lacoste’ backed by the military and the ‘G40’ cabal backed by the former First Lady and President, thus their option was not to give attention to the operation. *The Herald* chose to focus on pending issues in the party.

*The Herald* is seen reporting in favour of the ZANU-PF G40 cabal on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November with a front page story titled, ‘ZANU-PF unfazed by Chiwenga’. The story criticised the General Chiwenga for trying to incite violence in the country. The paper referred to ZANU-

PF's spokesperson Simon Khaya Moyo's statements which labelled the military chief as a traitor who was trying to cause chaos in the country. The paper quoted S. K. Moyo saying,

*"Indeed this is what happens when the gun seeks to overreach by dictating to politics and norms of constitutionalism"*.

This press statement criticised Chiwenga for trying to use the army in handling issues with force which was not regarded as the 'proper way' in the ZANU-PF party. The following day the paper published a story that was titled, 'No military takeover in Zimbabwe', this reported mainly on the ZDF's previously issued statements. This story gave an impression that the paper was now reporting in favour of the ZDF, the same ZDF they had criticised the day before. Considering that between these two; the ZDF and Mugabe, one could emerge the winner in these fights, *The Herald* during the first days had to carefully pick a side to go with.

The paper sometimes played 'safe' when reporting. After President Mugabe's alleged house arrest, the paper went with a headline, 'Business as usual across the country' ignoring the developments taking place as a result of the military's operation. The paper decided to ignore the house arrest aspect and chose to follow the business route. The paper made use of representatives of different business entities to comment on the events in the country highlighting that there was normalcy in the country. The paper side lined the intensity of political events taking place in the country as a result of the ZDF's operation restore legacy. The same day the paper published another article 'Peace prevails across Zim'.

The paper was now criticising Mugabe. They however did not go guns blazing on him. Although the paper partly showed lenience towards Mugabe in their reportage of his issues, it is quite shocking that even the state-controlled, *The Herald* criticised him highlighting that his wife had cause the severity of factional fights in the country. *The Herald* on the day of the solidarity march published news of what was exactly happening in the county, people calling for the resignation and ouster of Mugabe from power. *The Herald* published photographs of individuals carrying anti-Mugabe signs and banners. The paper highlighted the plans by the parliament to impeach the President if he did not resign from power within the time frame given to him. The paper later announced the dismissal of the President and allies from the ZANU-PF party. *The Herald* ran a front page story which celebrated Mugabe's resignation accompanied by his full resignation statement. The paper was celebrating his resignation. *The*

*Herald* was now behind Mnangagwa. It covered a front page story titled, 'President needs our maximum support' to show that the people were bound to support Mnangagwa since he had achieved an unimaginable act for the people of Zimbabwe. From this, *The Herald* showed so many inconsistencies in the coverage of this operation.

## **Discussion**

*The Herald* was torn between backing Mugabe and or supporting the ZDF's operation, thus the paper chose not to publish stories on the military's operation during the first two days. The military's move was targeting a man, who was always regarded as 'untouchable', (Chitando, 2005), thus the paper had to carefully consider which side to take. Frames that the paper employed changed and shifted throughout. Frame changing makes it difficult for audiences to understand issues as they should, (Chong and Druckman, 2007). It involves refreshing of perceptions of issues in order to produce information, exchange and listen to ideas not previously considered, (Gray, 1997). *The Herald* suddenly shifted from supporting the G40 cabal backed by Mugabe to supporting the ZDF and the Lacoste faction led by Mnangagwa which it had back lashed before. For the first time after independence in 1980, *The Herald* criticised Mugabe. It has been noted that paper had been the mouthpiece of Mugabe, (Chari, 2009). The paper however did not maintain the same position. This move was because the faction in control of the government and the state media was the Lacoste faction and the paper was bound to support it. This therefore shows that the media does not play their role of informing the public diligently, but serves the interest of those who control it. Those in power influence the print media in Zimbabwe to further their agendas. The Herald had been used to attacking certain members on behalf of Mugabe and his wife, but was now being used by the Lacoste faction to attack Mugabe and his allies.

More so, the paper was also eager to seize the rare moment of press freedom, thus the moment that they realised that the army and the Lacoste faction were emerging stronger; they became critical of Mugabe without holding back. They had waited to find out what could emerge from the political chaos so they would know which faction to back up. *The Herald* probably did not want to end up backing the losing team. It is also important to note that, though the paper became pro-Mnangagwa and military, it did not award them flattering coverage, just as they did with Mugabe. However, the fact that they switched to Mnangagwa and those on his side reveals that the paper was again toeing its owner's line, which in this case was the Mnangagwa government.

### 5.1.2 Contrasting frames on the nature of Operation Restore Legacy

The two newspapers adopted different frames. *The Herald* emphasised on the idea that the operation restore legacy was not a military takeover, while *Daily News* highlighted that the operation was a coup and a constitutional repudiate. *Daily news* was persistent and constantly reminded the readers that the ZDF's operation restore legacy was military takeover, a 'coup' and was not in line with the constitution. The paper portrayed the actions of the ZDF as a takeover of the government that was done in the name of rooting out criminals around the President Mugabe. Stories published in the paper titled, 'Military takes over, says Mugabe safe', (November, 15), 'Cabinet ministers, ZANU-PF officials detained', (November, 16), 'Zimbabwe anxious as army takes charge', (November, 16), 'More Mugabe allies arrested', (November, 17), 'Military takeover strengthens ZANU-PF', (November, 21), presented the idea that the ZDF had seized control of the government and its operations. *The Herald* however, portrayed the ZDF's operation restore legacy as an operation that was introduced to uproot criminals around President Mugabe who were causing suffering economically and socially, (November, 16; 17). *The Herald* emphasised on the fact that the operation was not a military takeover but one which was meant to protect the country's independence and gains of the revolution. The paper also argued that there was no hidden agenda to the introduction of this operation, it was only meant to restore sanity and rule of law in the country.

However *The Herald's* position relied on arguments was based on official statements that were issued out by the army, ZANU-PF through their spokespersons, thus helping the government in revealing how the people should view such the operation restore legacy. 'No military takeover in Zimbabwe' (November, 16) was a headline derived from exactly what the ZDF had said, setting the agenda that the operation was only meant to deal with criminals around President Mugabe and not anything else. The paper portrayed the Zimbabwe Defence Forces as the saviour of Zimbabwe and defender of the people's interests. *Daily News* was however of the idea that even though the military's action was a takeover of the government and not in line with constitution of the country, it was a necessary procedure. The paper argued that there was need not to follow the constitution to make some things happen.

Phrases and terms these two newspapers used in writing their stories reveals the kind of agenda they were setting. *Daily News* used phrases like 'military takeover', 'seizure of power', 'unconstitutional means', 'usurped civilian control', 'soft coup', 'bloodless coup'



interchangeably to emphasize the idea that the operation restore legacy was nothing but a coup. *The Herald* used terms and phrases like ‘protecting gains of the revolution’, ‘protecting the legacy’, ‘only targeting criminals’, to elaborate the fact that the operation restore legacy was a necessary initiative only meant to restore order.

*Daily News* quoted a political analyst who emphasize that the ZDF’s intervention was a clear military takeover. The paper quoted political analyst Thomas Sithole saying,

*“Military takeover has happened, albeit a soft and bloodless one,” (November, 17)*

This statement shows that the paper was not critical of the military though they had realised that the military’s operation restore legacy was a military takeover and coup, but rather highlighted that the move was necessary to remove Mugabe from power. The paper referred to him as a despot throughout.

*The Herald* quoted members that were regarded as close allies of Mnangagwa. Political analysts that they used were those that always been pro ZANU-PF and government. The paper quoted a man only identified as Mr Amon saying,

*“What we want is peace and prosperity in this country. We are not afraid of anything as long the army is there. They are protecting us”.* (November, 16)

This statement revealed that the military’s role was to protect the people of Zimbabwe and not harm them, thus the operation would not have been a military takeover. The same story highlighted that the military upheld that Mugabe was still their commander in chief, thus the operation was not a coup but a corrective action necessitated by circumstances.

## **Discussion**

Framing allows people to have different and or multiple views of a situation or an event. Framing helps to interpret the world around as well as organising complex issues into coherent and understandable issues. Framing involves giving meaning to some aspects of what is observed, while discounting other aspects because they appear irrelevant or counter-intuitive, (Ardevol-Abreu, 2015; Gray, 1997; Entman, 1993). *The Herald* and *Daily News* adoption different frames on the nature of the operation restore legacy shows they had an agenda they were setting. For *Daily News* the agenda was to influence audiences to view the operation as a staged takeover, while *The Herald* wanted audiences to view the operation

military initiative meant to uproot criminals only. Framing also involves selection of some aspects of reality and making them more salient in communicating text, (Ardevol-Abreu, 2015; Entman, 1993). In this case, the media only presented to the audiences what they thought was important and fit for consumption. Saliency is an important concept in political communication; it shows the importance or prominence of the issues under discussion, (McCombs, 2007) thus in this case *Daily News*' emphasis that the operation was a coup and *The Herald*'s denial of such facts. The media has the ability to influence the saliency of topics and its concentration on issues when publishing news leads to perceiving issues as more important than others.

The coverage of the operation restore legacy was ideological as these two newspapers pushed for their preferred reality (what they wanted the people to perceive as reality). *The Herald* projected the views of those in power, thus serving their interest more than that of the people of Zimbabwe. *Daily News*' description of the events shows that, even though it regarded the operation restore legacy as a coup, it was not particularly against the removal of Mugabe. It was actually in a celebratory mood. *Daily News*' framing was influenced by the need to square a beef with ZANU-PF. Since inception, *Daily News* suffered attacks from the government of Mugabe, who blamed it for being the mouthpiece of MDC, (Chari, 2009) as well as instruments of neo-colonialism and western imperialism, (Mazango, 2005). As a result of this, the paper is unapologetically anti-Mugabe and they anticipated and celebrated what they termed his 'ouster' in some of the articles.

Furthermore, *Daily News* had always been against the idea of securocrats dabbling into politics, but this time ignored their previous idea to pave way for Mugabe ouster. *The Herald* however had always been so protective of the military's involvement in the country's politics and they maintained their idea through emphasising that the operation was not a takeover. The military as an arm of the government found favour in the eyes of *The Herald*, which mainly covered its role in the operation favourable to them despite back lashing them in the first few days. This argument therefore shows that *The Herald* had become a pro ZANU-PF Lacoste faction not just a pro ZANU-PF paper, as was noted before by several scholars, (Mazango, 2005; Moyo, 2005, Saunders, 1999).

### **5.1.3 Operation Restore Legacy was a ZANU-PF Lacoste factional agenda: *Daily News***

*Daily News* framed the operation restore legacy as an operation carried out to fulfil the ZANU-PF Lacoste faction's political agenda. The stories published on November, 16, 17 respectively titled 'Oppositional parties calls for transitional government', 'More Mugabe allies arrested' presented the operation by the ZDF as a solution to factional fights in the party. These stories gave the impression that the Lacoste faction was behind the introduction of the ZDF's Operation Restore Legacy. The paper framed the detention of the former ZANU-PF Youth League Secretary, Kudazanaï Chipanga, Financial Minister, Ignatious Chombo as the Lacoste faction's target at the most influential members of the G4O cabal, (November, 16). These members were accused of persecuting Mnangagwa when he was fired, (November, 18).

Reporter Blessing Mashaya quoted unidentified analysts, who were said to have warned oppositional parties on involving themselves in internal ZANU-PF fights and anticipating a GNU, (November, 18). The paper highlighted that the operation restore legacy was as a result of the firing of Mnangagwa on 6 November, same month, (November, 19). *Daily News* labelled the events that took place during the operation as 'dramatic events'. The paper noted that the operation of the military was a factional agenda, as Mnangagwa was a close ally of Chiwenga the master mind of the operation. (November, 18). A story titled 'ED takes over ZANU-PF' revealed that this was all for Mnangagwa and his allies. Another story argued that impeachment process was spearheaded by the parliamentary chief whip, Lovemore Matuke, another close ally of Mnangagwa, thus the operation was planned event by the ZANU-PF Lacoste faction, (November, 20).

*Daily News* framed the operation restore legacy as an operation that gave strength and revived ZANU-PF and the Lacoste faction. The paper quoted two political analysts Maxwell Saungwene and Rashwet Rukunda who was of the view that the military intervention into politics through this operation rebranded the ZANU-PF and emboldened Lacoste faction, (November, 21). These two argued that these events were located in ZANU-PF succession politics and had nothing to do with democratisation or involvement of the opposition parties in government. The same story highlighted that the intervention had a clear agenda, to aid the party and a party faction. The Lacoste faction easily rode on the military's intervention, (December, 4). The 4 December story also portrayed Chiwenga as the possible candidate for the vice presidency post, as a sign of gratitude from Mnangagwa for playing a significant role in a military operation. It indicated that the ministerial posts awarded to ex-army bosses, Major General Sibusiso Moyo and Major General Valerio Sibanda were rewards for their

efforts, (December, 4). The paper argued that the military intervention was meant to take over the presidency from Mugabe and continue with a ZANU-PF dynasty but under another faction. The coup as alleged by the *Daily News* was never meant to favour a transitional government.

## **Discussion**

Frames employed by a newspaper reveal the agenda the paper may be setting to the world. Framing is considered as second level of agenda setting, (McCombs et al, 1997 and Entman, 1993). In this case, *Daily News*' agenda was to let the people know that the operation restore legacy was not meant for the people of Zimbabwe, but to solve internal faction fights. The ZDF as an arm of the government faces criticism from private media and praises from state media. *Daily News* is used to these kinds of frames in their reporting, thus they may end up not perceiving reality of situations the way they should, with the view that they have an obligation to either support or go against in coverage of certain issues.

*Daily News*' claims reveal that the operation restore legacy was not an operation to restore 'legacy' as claimed but to restore Mnangagwa into power. The paper was bound to be critical of Mnangagwa as he was part of the ZANU-PF led government that they claim destroyed Zimbabwe for 37 years. *Daily News* however did not go gun blazing Mnangagwa and the military for the reason that they managed to overthrow *Daily News*' long lived enemy, Mugabe. *Daily News* is also known for sympathising with political members who fell prey of Mugabe and experienced injustices just like it did with Mujuru. Immediately after the Vice Mujuru was sacked from the ZANU-PF party, the paper took her side.

### **5.1.4 The coup: 'Chickens coming home to roost' for Mugabe**

*Daily News* anticipated the fall of Mugabe from power and even the end of the rule of ZANU-PF. The paper noted that the operation restore legacy was a necessary evil, given that Mugabe had put Zimbabwe through so many difficulties. The stories published by this paper highlighted that Mugabe deserved what was happening to him. *Daily News* quoted the former deputy prime minister, Authur Mutambara blaming Mugabe for ruining the country's economic and political stance. The writer, Blessing Mashaya quoted Mutambara saying,

*"When you close all avenues for change in your party and country; when you rig elections persistently; when you violate the constitution with impunity; when you arrogantly seek to establish a family political dynasty; when you enrich yourself and your family and*

*impoverish the majority; when you ruin the economy and destroy the country; when you think at 93 (after misruling a nation for 37 years,) you are the only answer to political leadership- this is what you get!! What is happening in Zimbabwe is what you get. It is a case of the chickens coming home to roost,” (November, 16).*

On this story, the comment by Mutambara revealed that Mugabe deserved to be ousted considering that his stay in power for 37 years was as a result of elections rigging, violation of the country constitution and even acquiring wealth at the expense of the citizens. *Daily News* revealed that many people blamed Mugabe for ruining the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe by making ZANU-PF a family dynasty and allowing his wife to participate in internal parties issues. *Daily News* acknowledged that many Zimbabweans anticipated the fall of Mugabe and his wife from power and even anticipated the end of ZANU-PF with headlines like ‘Mugabe cornered’.

## **Discussion**

*Daily News* anticipated and celebrated Mugabe’s fall from grace. *Daily News*’ framing of news was influenced by the need to criticise the government under Mugabe and maximising its profits through selling its paper. This is because the paper realised that oppositional journalism sells in Zimbabwe. The private print media in Zimbabwe are driven by the need to maximise profits and propagating certain political ideologies and agendas. Journalists as a professional family should however, be responsible for the outcomes of their work on society, (Kasoma, 1995). In other words, they should be more concerned with the effect on society of what they disseminate.

The media have become political actors, (Delacour, 2005). They are embedded in political contestations and instead of reporting accurately, they take sides. They do not report on reality but frame it. Even though *Daily News* had realised the operation was a coup, they highlighted that Mugabe deserved everything that was happening to him, his wife and allies. The public’s perceptions of politics are the media’s, they are now interested parties. *Daily News* revealed that it was against Mugabe, his wife and allies in their reportage. The media can promote their own political agendas, Delacour, (2005). In this issue, *Daily News*, criticised Mugabe and the government he led, noting that Mugabe had been the reason for the country’s suffering. Discourses used in framing should allow individuals to arrive at different positions on the issue, depending on the priority given to various considerations (Druckman

and Nelson 2003). Discourses used and the prominence given to this issue by *Daily News* revealed that the paper wanted people to perceive the operation restore legacy as a necessary evil and even a deserved initiative for Mugabe.

*Daily News* had always been unapologetic for its reportage against Mugabe, ZANU-PF and government. As Ndhlela, (2005) and Mano, (2005) notes the private press have become permanent adversaries of the state as they have adopted a, “nothing-good-can-come-out-of-this-wretched-government” approach. The private media focuses on the negatives of the government, (Ndhlela, 2005). They blame Mugabe, ZANU-PF and government for all the economic and political hardships in Zimbabwe, (Mano, 2005). Like mentioned before, the paper was closed as a result of the government claiming *Daily News* wasn’t registered with the then MIC, now ZMC in 2002, (Moyo, 2005). That only brewed enough disaster and grudges between the paper and Mugabe’s government. Even though the paper was reopened in 2011, the marks had already been created within themselves. The paper therefore does not care what happens to Mugabe and his allies for the reason that they are responsible for the state of the country.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

This section explored the themes found in *The Herald* and *Daily News*’ framing of the operation restore legacy within the context of framing theory. The results presented in this chapter examine the frames used by both these newspapers in framing the above issue and the reasons behind such reportage. These newspapers adopted similar and different frames. The researcher realised that there were inconsistencies made by *The Herald* in the coverage of operation restore legacy. The researcher also noticed that there contrasting frames on the nature of the operation restore legacy with *Daily News* saying it was a coup and *The Herald* denying that the operation was a military takeover. *Daily News* presented the operation restore legacy as ZANU-PF Lacoste faction agenda. Both newspapers however, celebrated the end of the Mugabe dynasty. Information for this chapter was gathered through archival research from the each newspaper’s website. This information was later analysed and presented in thematic form.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion and Suggestions**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This section looks at the summary of findings and recommendations to further studies. These are based on the findings of the study.

### **6.2 Summary of findings**

This section explored themes found in *The Herald* and *Daily News*' framing of the operation restore legacy within the context of framing theory. The results presented examine the frames used by both these newspapers in framing operation restore legacy and the reasons behind such reportage. These newspapers adopted similar and different frames. The researcher realised that there were inconsistencies made by *The Herald* in the coverage of operation restore legacy as the paper could not carefully pick a side to support. The paper supported Mugabe and allies while back lashing Mnangagwa and allies and later switched to supporting Mnangagwa while criticising Mugabe and allies. This was because during the first days of the operation, either of these two factions could emerge stronger thus the paper was to wait to see the outcome of the operation. When the then president Mugabe resigned the paper came out and showed there were supporting Mnangagwa. This could be that he was now the new leader of the ZANU-PF led government.

The researcher also noticed that there contrasting frames on the nature of the operation restore legacy with *Daily News* saying it was a coup and *The Herald* denying that the operation was a military takeover. *Daily News* presented the operation restore legacy as ZANU-PF Lacoste faction agenda. The two newspapers were framing their reality. *Daily News* was reporting in this way probably to maximise its profits through the selling of the paper. The paper probably also wanted to maintain its stance of being critical of the government. *The Herald* however wanted to protect initiators of the operation who now were leading the government. Although there were contrasting frames on the nature of the operation, both newspapers however, celebrated the end of the Mugabe dynasty. *Daily News* framed the operation as a factional agenda. It also highlighted that whatever was happening to Mugabe was him reaping what he had sown in Zimbabwe for 37 years he was in power.

### **6.3 Suggestions for further studies**

This study only looked at framing of the operation from the day it started to the day it ended, which is from (13 November to 17 November). Further studies should look at

the framing of Operation restore legacy after the operation had ended. The idea will be to explore the frames employed in line with the expectations of the people during the operation. These researches to be conducted should interview journalists and find out their perceptions on the reportage of this operation during the period it was introduced and after it had ended. This will help media houses review the way they frame political issues. An audience study should also be carried out to find out how audiences viewed the framing of the operation restore legacy by *The Herald* and *Daily News*.



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