

**MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY**



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***THE HERALD AND DAILYNEWS' CARTOONING OF ZANU PF'S FACTIONAL  
FIGHTING FROM AUGUST 2014 TO APRIL 2015***

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS OF THE BACHELOR OF SOCIAL SCIENCE HONOURS DEGREE  
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## **ABSTRACT**

The research was an exploration of how *The Herald* and *dailynews* cartooned the ZANU PF factional fighting from August 2014 to April 2015. The objective of the research was to reveal the various political discourses hidden in political cartoons by *The Herald* and *dailynews* in the reportage of ZANU PF's factional fighting. A qualitative research paradigm was used for the study where archival research was used to obtain the cartoons which were purposively sampled. In- depth interviews were also used to obtain data for the study. The data collected was analysed using critical discourse analysis and semiotic analysis. The study established that both *The Herald* and *dailynews* acknowledged the existence of factions within the ZANU PF party. However, on one hand, *The Herald* blamed former Vice President Joice Mujuru and her "cabal" for perpetuating factionalism and demonised her. The *dailynews* on the other hand depicted President Mugabe as a Machiavellian politician who was responsible for the divisions in his party. It is important to note that the ownership and control of both *The Herald* and *dailynews* highly influenced the cartoons published in the newspapers on the ZANU PF debacle.

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**DEDICATION**

I dedicate this dissertation to my family, my parents Mr and Mrs P.S Mbangwa as well as my two siblings, Babuya and Andile Mbangwa. It is because of your love and support, encouragement and upliftment that I am where I am today.

## **ACRONYMS**

ANZ	Associated Newspaper of Zimbabwe
GNU	Government of National Unity
MIT	Multimedia Trust
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change – Team
RPPC	Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company
VP	Vice President
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZMMT	Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

Cartoons constitute one of the most strategic and vital medium of using language to disseminate information and reorient the public on current issues reflecting social realities of a particular society at a given time. The genre of political cartoons provides a medium for communicating messages through which social and political agendas are set. Refaie (2009) states political cartoons function as communicative tools in society. Foucault (1994:233) advances the notion that communication is an act of power because to communicate is “to act on the other or on other.” The media assumes an informative role when issues of interest come to the fore. The media is well-known for its outstanding roles to inform, educate and entertain. However on the other hand the media has been effectively and inappropriately used as a political tool for propaganda purposes thus leading the public astray for different reasons known to the media organisation and or its journalists.

Cartoons play a key role in disseminating information to the public. Herman and Chomsky (1996) state that there is a rare relationship between the media and politics. Media and politics have always been inseparable elements. It is through the media that the society manages to translate the events of the political world. Media acts as a mediator between the politicians and the society. The media intentionally utilises editorial cartoons as devices to persuade the audiences towards perceiving a particular issue from another angle hence making them more receptive to an argument that shapes a public opinion. Cartoons have a role to play in society. Gamson et al (1992:374) state that “We walk around with media-generated images of the world, using them to construct meanings about political and social issues”. In this regard, cartoons are

creatively used by the media to construct certain images of the socio-political environment in a satiric format which will stick in people's minds.

This study seeks to analyse how cartoons were used by *The Herald* and the *dailynews* to portray the recent Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) factional fighting in which some top officials were booted out of the party. The study will explore the different angles employed by Zimbabwe's daily publications, *The Herald* and *dailynews* to portray the factionalism in ZANU PF.

### **1.1 Background of the study**

Like any other medium of mass communication, newspapers are being used to deliver potent values in respective societies. Cartoons as a genre of communication are used as a vehicle to disseminate socio-political issues in a satirical manner. This research has been necessitated by the realisation that cartoons in the 'state controlled' newspapers like *The Herald* are in conflict with the ones in 'private newspapers' like *dailynews*. This raises a number of questions that have necessitated a comparative study of the use of cartoons by the state and private media on the reportage of the ZANU PF factional fighting from the period August 2014 to April 2015.

Like any other medium of mass communication, newspapers are being used to deliver potent values in respective societies. Cartoons as a genre of communication are used to disseminate socio-political issues in a satirical manner. This raises a number of questions that have necessitated a comparative study of the use of cartoons by the state and private media on the reportage of the ZANU PF factional fighting from the period August 2014 to April 2015.

Political cartoons as defined by Burack (2000) cited by Lawate (2012:2) are "vivid primary sources that offer intriguing and entertaining insights into the public mood..." The ZANU PF's factional fighting has created much hype in media. The coming into politics of the First Lady Grace Mugabe has seen a lot of issues within the ZANU PF party being revealed. Cartoons have

been used by the media to capture factionalism within the ruling party. Walgrave et al (2000) state 'mass media play a critical role in setting political agendas and cartoons as a medium have been both innocently and deliberately used by the media to talk about as well as inform people about the factional fights. This has been done in a satirical manner. This study therefore explores the different discourses covered by the state and private media in editorial cartoons during the period under study.

Political cartoons are visuals that comment on political events or issues while hopefully getting the reader to laugh a little (Sterling, 2009). They usually involve images of someone or something that is exaggerating certain characteristics or details and these are referred to as caricatures. Cartoons also tend to create illusions as these help in the creation of scenes or situations, (Caswell, 1982). Unlike news stories which tell people the news of the day as it is using written or spoken words, cartoons are open to various interpretations as meaning construction is left to the readers. Power is given to the reader to decode the cartoon as they see fit. This makes it necessary to study cartoons and how they are received by readers in the given socio-political environment in Zimbabwe.

The researcher was motivated to carry out the study by cartoons that have been published in previous publications. For example, cartoons in the *dailynews* of President Robert Mugabe present him as an old and aged leader implying that he should step down and allow new blood to take office. Cartoons are used to convey a certain message as intended by the cartoonist hence the interest to comparatively explore the different messages conveyed in state and private dailynewspaper editorial cartoons.

Cartoons have been used since time immemorial where they were used as vehicles for propaganda. Their history dates back to the sixteenth century in Germany where visual propaganda was used to portray political figures as well as heroes and villains (Becker 1959). Shortly afterwards came the Italian caricatures in the eighteenth century. Political cartoonists designed images that were meant to affect people's opinions while making them laugh about serious issues in the process (Feldman 2005). As such, more and more issues of interest could be

discussed and also ridiculed through the use of cartoons. Cartoons then had a huge influence in society. In the nineteenth century the first cartoons were seen in America, Britain and France and the use of graphic art gained momentum all over Europe (Feldman 2005). Today cartoons play a significant role in communication and particularly so in societies with limited freedom of expression. In the context of Zimbabwe, issues that are politically sensitive like the health of President Mugabe find coverage in cartoons. It is therefore important to explore how cartoons have been used to capture factionalism within ZANU PF by the state and private media.

Cartoons are to a large extent based on what is news worth and they can play a big role in setting socio-political agendas. A cartoon says more than a sermon of a thousand words as it can ridicule absurdities of political actions or other human frailties in a light-hearted manner (Nyamanhindi 2006). The issue of factionalism has attracted a lot of media attention with cartoonists having their own share thereby necessitating a study of this nature.

### **1.1.1 Overview of ZANU PF factionalism**

ZANU PF factionalism dates back to the issues of succession that have been rife since the formation of the party. Factional fighting within the Zanu-PF party was heightened by the Tsholotsho declaration of 2004 which was instigated by former Information Minister Professor Jonathan Moyo, (Matyszak 2014). The Tsholotsho declaration has been widely reported on by different media .This has also seen the private media taking keen interest in Professor Jonathan Moyo. Professor Moyo brought much controversy in the editorial cartoons of the *dailynews* in the early 2000s where he was sketched with a big head and referred to as the 'Nutty Professor'. A lot of cartoons were illustrated about him both in print and online media due to his policies. Magaisa (ND)states that the Tsholotsho Declaration has become the cause for the internal struggles for succession within ZANU PF pitting those seeking to change the form of leadership and those intent on maintaining the status quo or extending it in some way.”

Perhaps, the climax of ZANU PF factionalism was the period leading to the December 2014 congress that saw Joice Mujuru being removed from her position of Vice President of the

country as well as the second secretary of the ZANU PF party. Further divisions were witnessed within the party as key people in the party such as Rugare Gumbo, Olivia Muchena, Didymus Mutasa as well as Jabulani Sibanda (to mention but a few) were implicated in the factional war and were later expelled from the party in 2015. The period August 2014 to April 2015 is the interest of this study as it represents the climax of ZANU PF factionalism.

This has attracted media attention hence the interest of this study to explore how editorial cartoons were used to portray factionalism. A comparative study of this nature is ideal in exposing how state and private media covered ZANU PF factionalism in editorial cartoons.

### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The media is influential in framing and setting the agenda of the day on what people should talk about (McCombs 2005). The media have been used by media owners (politicians/ business people) and advertisers to reinforce their agenda and status quo. Most media houses are influenced by their socio-political interests and in turn they want to set the agenda for the audiences using cartoons. The study seeks to analyse the representation of ZANU PF factional fighting through cartoons in *The Herald* and the *dailynews*.

### **1.3 Significance of the Study**

Cartoons like any other media products have a role to play in our society. They entertain, inform and educate. A lot of research has been carried out on media and politics as well as other related topics. African scholars such as Willems (2011), Musila and Moyo (2012), Eko (2007), Mushohwe (2011), Mapuwei (2009) and Adejuwon and Alimi (2011) have studied political cartoons each looking at various perspectives. but not much has been done to focus on political cartoons as a genre which contributes to the socio-political dialogue. Other scholars such as Sturges (2006), Can (2011), Lawate (2012), Sani et al (2012), Suleyman (2007) and Tondes (2009) also studied political cartoons focusing on various perspectives such as the importance of

editorial cartoons, role of editorial cartoons in the democratization processes of Nigeria, political cartoons and elections, political cartoons as a vehicle for setting social agenda and how cartoons discursively construct African realities. This study seeks to research on the power of political cartoons in influencing people's perceptions on ZANU PF factional fighting.

It is important to get a clear understanding of how Zimbabwean media houses use cartoons to their advantage. This research will uncover the hidden purpose of cartoons. In essence, the researcher intends to illuminate a better understanding of the role of political cartoons in shaping the socio-political agenda. It is also important to note that in an environment that is highly sensitive and with stringent media laws, cartoons prove to be a possible route for media organisations to take a swipe at political figures. This research demonstrates how these cartoons are used to construct reality on issues to do with the ZANU PF factional fighting. The study critically explores the Zimbabwean editorial cartoons to find out their themes and circumstances from which those cartoons are founded.

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The major objectives of the study are to:

- Analyse how the state and private media used cartoons to report on ZANU PF factional fighting.
- Explore the various political discourses that were produced and circulated through cartoons by *The Herald* and *dailynews* in the reportage of ZANU PF's factional fighting

#### **1.5 Main Research Question**

- How did cartoons in *The Herald* and *dailynews* portray ZANU PF factional fighting from August 2014 to April 2015?

##### **1.5.1 Sub Research Questions**

- What discourses emerged from *The Herald* cartooning of ZANU PF factional fighting?

- What discourses emerged from the *dailynews* cartooning of ZANU PF factional fighting?

### **1.6 Assumptions**

Leedy and Ormrod (2010:62) posit that “assumptions in your study are things that are somewhat out of your control but if they disappear your study will become irrelevant.” They further note that in its simplest form, research problems cannot exist without assumptions. The following are the assumptions considered by the researcher on the research topic.

- The permission to undertake this study will be granted by the authorities.
- Politics will not interfere with this research.
- Cartoons are consumed by a lot of people.
- A story told through a cartoon sticks to the reader's mind for a long time.

### **1.7 Delimitations**

The research study restricts itself to analysing political cartoons in newspapers; *The Herald* and *dailynews*. These were chosen mainly because *The Herald* is state controlled while *dailynews* is privately owned hence the two media have different editorial policies. The research focuses on cartoons on ZANU PF factional fighting. Targeted participants will include cartoonists and editors from both newspapers. The researcher focuses on cartoons published from 1 August 2014 to 30 April 2015. This was the period when ZANU PF factionalism was at its peak. Focus is on editorial cartoons.

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

- ZANU PF is the ruling party so audiences may be reluctant to comment on the party factional fighting
- Getting literature on political cartoons will be a major limitation to this study because there is limited Zimbabwean literature written about political cartoons



### **1.9 Structure of the Study**

This chapter provides an introduction to the study which looks at the role of political cartoons in reporting on ZANU PF factional fighting. Also included in this chapter is the background of the study. A statement of the problem is provided and research questions and objectives are raised. This section also provides the significance, assumptions, delimitations as well as limitations of the study.

### **1.10 Conclusion**

This chapter introduced the history of political cartoons as well as the history of ZANU PF factionalism. The next chapter looks at existing literature that relates to the topic under study. The literature help to broaden the scope of my study and in the process it solves some of the problems which the study seeks to assess. Literature review also helps to show relevance of my research problem, show the gaps and generate new ideas.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

Each and every research is guided by certain views that previous researchers have pointed out. This chapter therefore provides a review of existing literature adopted from other researchers who have worked on related topics. It is divided into sub themes to help contextualise the literature to this study. These themes are; media as political actors and tools, editorial cartoons in Zimbabwe as political commentary and political cartoons as agenda setting vehicles. Under every sub theme, arguments and assertions by other researchers are provided indicating what they have said in light of editorial cartoons. These assertions are also contextualised to provide a framework for this research making them relevant to the topic under study.

#### **2.1 Literature Review**

Literature review is the existing board of knowledge or ongoing conversation on a subject. Bruce (1994) posits that literature review provides the background to and justification for the research undertaken.

##### **2.1.1 Media as political actors and tools**

Editorial cartoons are a media genre where socio-political views are pronounced to the world. Gamson et al (1992) note a media system suitable for democracy ought to provide its readers with some coherent sense of the broader social forces that affect the conditions of their everyday lives. Wozniak (2014:18) states that “the media appears to be a political actor, and not just a mediator, exerting political influence”. Newspapers play a significant role in the politics of any nation. Through their ability to not only send out media messages through words, they are also able to use pictures or cartoons to send out a specific message. This makes newspapers an essential part used by those in power to extend and maintain their ideologies and political power. Mukasa (2003), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) and Saunders (1991) press in both pre and post-colonial Zimbabwe exhibit the same traits of promoting ruling class ideology. Their ability to influence

public opinion is so great that political parties that are in power create policies that ensure that they control the medium.

Print media remains pivotal in the transmission of political discourse and they are a link between the politicians and the public. In the case of *The Herald* and *dailynews*, their editorial policies reveal the political discourses of the paper. *The Herald* is affiliated with the state or government. This encourages *The Herald* to use discourses that are most favourable to the state and if need be, turn a blind eye to any wrong committed by the state. However, in as much as governments and the elite enjoy the privileges of having access to the media, it is actually the audiences that are deprived of essential information that could and should be disseminated by the media. State funding reduces media to mere lapdogs of the state that violate mandates of media performance which are to inform, educate and entertain. Despite the media claiming to be independent entities, they have to strategically select the discourses they use. The *dailynews* is sympathetic to the oppositional parties and tends to take a stance that is anti government. As such, the research seeks to fill the gap of studying how the two publications disseminated on ZANU PF factional fighting.

Chari (2009:10) points out that 'the state media is unapologetic in its support for the ruling ZANU PF government while the private press seems to have signed a pact with the opposition to 'hear no evil', 'speak no evil' and 'see no evil' regarding its affairs'. These two sectors of the press offer a vantage point from which to closely examine the social practice of mainstream journalism in Zimbabwe especially in the factionalism debacle within ZANU PF. Scholars have written articles about the power of the media. Media has the power to perpetuate ideologies of those in power. This literature is therefore very crucial in the study as it will seek to reveal the role of the media in reporting on the factional fighting in ZANU PF. It will show how the media has been used as political tools or political actors in the ZANU PF debacle

Cartoons sponsor a dangerous cynicism in the public mind about public figures and institutions, (Manning and Phiddia, 2004). In this way, certain mindsets are shaped and they will remain in

readers' minds for as long as the press keeps on telling them the same story. Ashfaq (2008) in Ashfaq (2013) propounds that it affects the image of politicians on readers' mind in either a favorable or unfavorable way. He says it is a medium of satirical, light and enjoyable communication which may be considered as a source of opinion and image building. This proposition therefore helps the research in thinking and then researching on the power possessed by media visuals (cartoons in this case) in rechanneling the thoughts of the public. What this research does is assessing the validity of the statement basing on the Zimbabwean context. In this light, Lordan (2006) cited in Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa (2014) also say that media(editorial cartoons) go beyond mere aesthetics and serve to persuade individuals and groups towards certain political perspectives or to take a particular stand on social issues.

Moyo (2004) writes about the role of the media in mobilising people to rally behind the ZANU PF party in the land reform programme as well as re-gearing of the media policy in the country. It was through the media that ZANU PF policies were sold out to the masses. Lipmann (1992) cited in McCombs (2004) points out that what people know about the world is largely dependent on what the media decides to tell them. He believes that the audiences react not to actual events but to pictures of their heads. The result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the public. This argument adds value to this research considering the fact that editorial cartoons are part and parcel of media texts and visuals that are used to send messages to the audiences.

Lordan (2006) cited in Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa (2014) also say that editorial cartoons go beyond mere aesthetics and serve to persuade individuals and groups towards certain political perspectives or to take a particular stand on social issues. As Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa (2014) postulates, cartoons have always striven to put political and social issues in context and helped the public better understand and appreciate happenings of the world through humour and satire. Inge (1990), as cited in Ashfaq (2013:265) states that media, through cartoons please our visual sensibilities by bringing into life the kinds of dramatic conflicts that enable us to work vicariously our internal frustration.

Conners (2005) investigated political cartoons and in the 2004 American presidential campaigns. Conners states that cartoons are used as tools for influencing voters' opinion on the candidates. This shows that cartoons are used as tools to manipulate people's perceptions as well as perpetuate a certain ideology. In the context of Zimbabwe where the media is polarised and journalists have limited freedom of expression cartoons play a significant role in reporting on sensitive issues like ZANU PF factionalism. More research still needs to be carried out to close the gap on the role of cartoons in disseminating topical political issues. It is therefore in the interest of this study to broadly explore the depiction of ZANU PF factionalism in editorial cartoons by the state and private media.

This research in relation to the subject of the media acting as political actors will reveal how the two publications under study (*The Herald* and *dailynews*) have been personalized and used as mouth pieces in party intra-politics and play a part in further dividing the ZANU PF party. In African Studies, political cartoons and comic strips have frequently been analysed in relation to concepts of power and resistance and considered as ways in which those subject to power challenge the rulers (Mason, 2002; Mbembe, 2001; Nyamjoh, 2009 cited in Willems, 2011). In this light, editorial cartoons in Zimbabwe are usually developing on the axis of those in power and the ruled. This assertion adds value to this research in the sense that it helps one to understand that the cartoon's message is not always one directional. It is now noted that cartoons do not always reflect the rulers to the society but also reflect the society to the society. As part of their role as the fourth estate, media have a mandate to act as watchdogs and whistleblowers. This research is therefore done with an understanding that editorial cartoons are basically utilised as ideological tools which offer a certain framing of reality be it in line with the leaders or the citizens.

### **2.1.2 Editorial cartoons in Zimbabwe as political commentary**

The growing research on cartoons shows that political cartoons are fast becoming a distinct and established genre within the media discourse so as to provide political commentary aimed at reorienting the public (Nyoni, Grand, & Nyoni, 2012). This shows that cartoons have a significance in contemporary society. Cartoonists use cartoons to comment on what is happening in politics. Cartoons are able to touch on issues that news stories might not have the liberty to talk about. Fox and Hoffman (2011) state that cartoons are able to convey things that texts do not such as irony as well as metaphors. Editorial cartoons from the *dailynews* for example can portray President Robert Mugabe as being old and frail through their cartoons. Jimoh (2010) goes on to state that cartoons strive to put political and social issues in context and help audiences to understand different political issues through the use of satire and humour.

Willems (2011) examines the satirical depictions of the Zimbabwean President to portray the political climate of the country. The research about the satirical depictions of the Zimbabwean President in cartoons as explored by Willems (2011) is not enough to translate the power of editorial cartoons. There are many cartoons in the newspapers that tell the Zimbabwean socio-political story other than the ones that specifically focus on the President. Many African scholars who have written on editorial cartoons are of the view that the coming in of editorial cartoons has been inclined by a need to have an alternative platform to speak out on unpopular political opinion from the government. In South Africa for example, James (1997) says that black oppression in the face of white authoritarian rule drove political dissent underground and political cartoons founded a platform for resistance where mainstream press would ordinarily muzzle these opinions.

Political cartoons' popularity has been due to their indirect portrayal of opinions. They are not hard hitting like straight-up editorials, but rather tend to react to issues in an indirect way thereby massaging government sensibilities but also in the process put out a point in the most indirect of ways. Political cartoons tend to bring out humour and satire on topical issues while they also reveal certain important facts that may be otherwise hidden or silent. This study therefore looks at

how editorial cartoons can be used to convey harmful messages under the cover of humour so as to please the producers who have an agenda to set. Previous studies on political cartoons have focused on their nature and functions. For instance, African scholars such as (Willems 2011 ;Musila and Moyo 2012; Eko 2007 and Mushohwe 2011) have studied political cartoons centering and focusing on the representation of political leaders in the media. Willems (2011) studied the President of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe and talked about the different perspectives with which people view him in. Mapuwei (2009) has also studied political cartoons looking at the period when the oppositional party was posing much threats on the ZANU PF party. Mapuwei (2009) used cartoons to reveal the ills in society. Their studies can be viewed as playing the role of stating in simpler terms the political discourse taking place at that time. Other African scholars such as Sani et al (2012) also studied political cartoons focusing on how cartoons were used in Nigeria's democratization process. More literature has been written on cartoons and how political cartoons are used as vehicles for setting social agenda. All these scholars' contributions are vital to the study for they help to broaden the scope of the study, show the gap and generate new ideas. Like pictures, cartoons have the power to tell a story better than a thousand words. Since editorial cartoons are also part of the mass media content, this research therefore adds value in light of understanding the role played by political cartoons in dissemination of information and in particular, the issue of the ZANU PF factional fighting.

### **2.1.3 Political cartoons as agenda setting vehicles**

Sani et al. (2012) state that editorial cartoons are used as vehicles of setting social agenda in the media to shape public opinion through recurrent depictions reflecting current socio-political issues at a particular period. Political cartoons are instruments used to perpetuate people's political opinion and influence others to gain perspective (Bohl 1997). Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa also point out that:

*Political cartoons are therefore an instrument used to perpetuate a person's/ group of people's political opinion and influence others to gain that perspective. Unlike journalistic writing, they are not required to present facts and remain*

*objective though they operate in the same space and perform the same functions. Because of the subjectivity of editorial cartoons, they are biased and therefore can be used to advance the interests of the cartoonists, the editorial objectives of the newspaper publishing it, and /or the interests of a politician or political lobby group that supports the publication (Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa, 2014:32).*

Morris (1992) explored the power of political cartoons in the democratic process in Nigeria. Morris centered on how much media could be used to comment on issues of democratisation using imagery. Cartoons as a medium were able to communicate to the audiences in a humorous way yet sending the message home. Cartoons were used in Nigeria to perpetuate and move the democratisation agenda. Cartoons have been used to shape public opinion on societal issues. Editorial cartoons that carry metaphors that play a role in delivering the message to the people who accordingly conceptualise abstract ideas. This research will therefore look at how cartoons are used as a medium to set the agenda in political issues such as in the ZANU PF factional fighting within the stipulated period.

The editorial cartoon helps in bringing out the potential biases that the publisher might be interested in bringing out amongst the public. The publisher is able to use cartoons to set an agenda for the audiences. McCombs (2004) says that mass media audiences always get a second-hand reality of events from media houses and journalists who are responsible for structuring events and situations. It was through the media for example that audiences were able to understand the issue surrounding Morgan Tsvangirayi and his multiple love affairs. Cartoons would depict him in a manner where he was surrounded by numerous women hence labelling him as a womaniser.

The media decides and influences which part of the event should be reported on or what part of an event forms realistic news. Because of their different editorial slants, *The Herald* and *dailynews* have different slants when reporting on certain issues. As such, this research will look at how cartoons have been employed by the two publications to report on the ZANU PF factional



fighting in the period under study. McCombs (2004) goes on to describe agenda-setting as the careful orchestration of affairs and events such that the audiences are forced to focus more on certain events as shown by the media. Media consumers are made to believe that the information disseminated to them is of importance to them. It is therefore in much the same way that editorial cartoons work in ensuring that the issues in focus stay in the domain of public discourse.

Streicher (1965) examined the communicative function of political cartoons where they explored the influence of political cartoons on public opinion. Cartoons according to Streicher (1965) have been used to communicate with the public hence pushing a certain agenda to the audiences.

Agenda setting in editorial cartoons makes the audience to focus their attention on the particular person or issue depicted in the cartoons. Media have been accused of being political players who tend to give prominence or salience to certain issues, (Malcolm 2006). Original transgressions are hardly ever caught by the media as they unfold but there is need to reconstruct by use of pictures where and what happened (Ekstrom & Johansson 2006). What is presented by the media is a mere imitation of the actual transgression which can either be biased or simply blown out of proportion. Considering that the media can act as a fourth estate, audiences are vulnerable to accepting the content that is disseminated by the media without taking into account the various factors that compel media to report on issues in the manner they do.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

This segment outlines the theories that provide a framework for the research. Two major theories, Agenda Setting and Political Economy are discussed in this section.

### **2.2.1 Agenda Setting theory**

The agenda setting theory was propounded by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. The theory explains the correlation between the role at which the media cover a story and the extent that people think that this story is important. As stated by McQuail (1987) the Agenda Setting theory suggests that media give the audience what to think about, it sets an agenda for the

audience. The media disseminates information that they want the audiences to pay particular attention to. During the period under study, *The Herald* and *dailynews* talked about the ZANU PF factional fighting in a certain way that would leave people wondering and thinking more about the issue at hand. The media was able to sway the minds of people and lead them to view topical issues in a certain way. McQuail (1987) further argues that this representation of issues in mass media have an independent effect on issue content as well as on relative salience in public opinion. Salience transfer is the ability of the mass media to transfer issues of importance from their mass media agendas to public agenda (Miller 2005). Certain ideologies were perpetuated by the media during the period under study using cartoons hence the study will study the role of editorials in the reportage of the ZANU PF factional fighting. Certain issues were given much importance while other issues were left unsaid.

Walter Lippmann (1922) is credited to be the first to analyse the impact of the media on people's perceptions. Lippmann described in 'Public Opinion' that "people did not respond directly to events in the real world but instead lived in a pseudo-environment composed of "the pictures in our heads"(McCombs, 2004:6). The media would then play an important part in the furnishing of these pictures and shaping of this pseudo-environment. Since cartoons are part of media content, this means that they have the power to influence people on what to talk about. It is therefore the focus of this study to investigate the dominant issues featuring in editorial cartoons in relation to ZANU PF factionalism.

The agenda-setting theory argues that the mass media set the agenda for public opinion by highlighting certain issues. It is through the media that the ZANU PF debacle was brought to the fore for people to know. The media keep us informed and give us topics of interest without us realising that they are giving us topics. An underlying assumption of agenda-setting theory is that once an object appears on the media agenda, the volume of cumulative news coverage increases its prominence and perceived importance among the public. Cartoons in the two publications under study brought to the audiences' attention to the issue of factionalism within the ZANU PF party. In the period under study, issues to do with ZANU PF factionalism were given

prominence by all media houses. The media created the news it wanted the people to consume and also had the power to dictate how the audiences should interpret the cartoons. In this context, the study comparatively explores how editorial cartoons in state and private media were portrayed and what role they played in influencing people's perceptions.

Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa (2014:33) observed that:

*Agenda setting in editorial cartoons makes the audience focus their attention on the particular person or issue depicted in the cartoons and cultivates an environment where public discourse on the issue or person is encouraged, as has been earlier established. Further, the cartoons ensure that the political discourse is carried out in a manner dictated by the cartoon by driving the emotive content of discussion and prescribing the nature, tempo, and urgency of argument to suit a certain political objective.*

According to Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa (2014), agenda setting states a situation where public opinion is swayed either to support or reject a given political figure or issue through the emotions engendered by the political cartoons. An example of this is in the Morgan Tsvangirayi case when he was vying for presidency in the 2013 elections. Public opinion was used by *The Herald* to reject Tsvangirayi as a political figure and the media was used to push this agenda. Morgan Tsvangirayi's image was tainted as he was portrayed as a womaniser. Furthermore the media went on to dig out issues to do with Tsvangirayi's history and revealed how unworthy and unreliable he was as a candidate for presidency. On the other hand, the *dailynews* which was in support of Morgan Tsvangirayi was more sympathetic towards him and reported in a more positive manner with regards to Tsvangirayi's actions.

The agenda-setting theory is helpful in studying the editorial cartoons in *The Herald* and *dailynews* which are highly influenced by the political situation in the country. Considering that the two publications under study have different editorial policies, the assumption is that they are

likely to give conflicting images and conflicting angles with regards to ZANU PF factional fighting. This research therefore investigates if this assumption is correct or not.

The meaning that audiences attach to editorial cartoons depends on the aspects moulded in their minds to suit a particular preferred agenda. The different house policies of both *The Herald* and the *dailynews* had different agendas they were trying to push on the audiences on the issue concerning the factional fighting within the ZANU PF party. McCombs (2004) also points out that mass media audiences only get a second hand reality from journalists and the media outlets who structure reports about events and situations. This shows therefore that once information passes through the hands of the media, it is manipulated to suit their needs before it reaches the audiences. In the case of editorial cartoons, representations are constructed in images that depict the character of people in context as they are defined by the editorial team. As such, the information that each of them disseminate will suit the needs of the media house. Agenda-setting is believed to occur because the press must be selective in reporting the news. News outlets act as gatekeepers of information and make choices about what to report and what not. *The Herald* and *dailynews* will not report in a way that will reflect negatively on their organisation. "What the public know and care about at any given time is mostly a by-product of media-gate keeping" (McCombs, 2004:6).

Cartoonists as agenda setters also exercise a highly important form of power which they know how to take advantage of. Political cartoons set social agendas by mainly summing up current and sensitive issues that people are much concerned about. Both *The Herald* and *dailynews* played a pivotal role in giving the audience something to think about. Cartoons from the two publications under study depicted prominent figures such a former Vice President Joice Mujuru, Didymus Mutasa, Rugare Gumbo (to mention but a few) in a certain manner. The two publications under study had different perspectives and different agendas where ZANU PF political figures were concerned. The "Gamatox" and "Weevils" discourses which came into play were used in different ways by both publications therefore perpetuating the media organisation's agendas.

Malcheff (2010) cites Dearing and Rogers (1996) who subdivided agenda setting into three components which are media agenda setting, public agenda setting and policy agenda setting. Media agenda setting is dependent on the mass media news agenda, public agenda setting is dependent on topics in the public agenda and policy agenda setting is a response of sorts to the collective agendas of the media and the public. The natural and probable result of media agenda setting is an end effect on policy because policy makers' only interaction with the public may be through a mediated setting such as observation of news stories, letters to the editor among others. As such, policy makers could interact with the audiences using cartoons. Cartoons would be used as mouth pieces of the policy makers and they would disseminate their ideologies using this genre of art.

Cobb and Ender (1971) assert that some groups have a greater ease of access to others and are thus more likely to get their demands placed on the agenda than others. For instance policy makers have been found to be more influential than the overall group of news sources because they often better understand journalist needs for reliable and predictable information and their definition of news worthiness. Government affiliated news sources have higher success rates in becoming media agenda and have been found by a number of scholars to be the most frequently appearing of sources at the local, state and national levels.

This theory therefore is of great importance in this research as the study will show how *The Herald and dailynews* have used the agenda setting theory in reporting issues to do with the ZANU PF factional fighting. This research explores how editorial cartoons are used by *The Herald and dailynews* to set the agenda for the public's assumptions about socio-political issues that are revealed within the ZANU PF issue of factionalism, how they focus attention on particular small groups of issues around which public opinion is formed, through mentally organising the world for the audience like what McCombs (2004) points out.

### **2.2.2 Political Economy Concept**

Political economy was originally a term for studying the various acts of production, buying and selling and their relation with the law, customs and governance. Curran and Gurevitch (2000) define political economy as the study of social relations, particularly power relations between those who own the means of production or the media owners and the public in the production and consumption of media products. Mosco (1996:25) defines it as the “study of social relations particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources including communication resources.”

Political economy largely deals and is concerned with issues to do with ownership and control of the media. Sigal (1973) points out that the political economy suggests that journalists' relations with sources and sponsors are a threat to journalists' objectivity in editorials. Instead of having media that is independent from the government and powerful economic interests, media content becomes ideologically biased in favour of certain socio-political groups. The Zimbabwean media is highly polarized with journalists, from the government media in particular, falling into the habit of supporting the government or ZANU PF positions without question, and demonize anything that represents the opposing voice, at times even taking a position on factions within the ruling party. In essence journalists operate within camps. The only time the public media covers the opposition parties, is when they are demonising the opposition parties. For instance *The Herald* reported on the opposition party, MDC-T leaders and framed them as being sell-outs who teamed up with other Western countries to bring about sanctions in Zimbabwe. Instead of mediating views of citizens, *The Herald* becomes sympathetic to the ruling party, ZANU PF the private media becomes sympathetic to the oppositional parties. Newspapers end up mediating political views in a bid to ensure that the people support the different political parties who support these institutions differently.

Sigal (1973) examined the relationship between journalists and their sources and found out that:

*journalists rely to a great degree on official sources and routine channels. While such standard newsgathering techniques may be essential for journalists to do*

*their work, the consequence is that journalists are exploited by their sources either to insert information into the news or to propagandise* (Sigal, 1973 in Gamson et al, 1992:376).

The argument here is that media content is influenced by media owners be it individuals or corporate, some of which are politicians and business people. *The Herald* is influenced by the government since it is controlled and run by the government. Most of its publications hold the government in high regards. As for the *dailynews*, it is a privately owned newspaper and most of its publications are hard hitting on the government and sympathetic to the opposition party. Having power or control over media is argued to impact upon the capacity to determine or influence the content of the media products and the meaning carried by them. Herman and Chomsky (1988) also assert that the powerful are able to fix the premises of discourse, to manage public opinions using regular propaganda campaigns. They argue that this influence is possible because of the government and the business elite's privileged access to the news. Instead of having media that is independent from the government and powerful economic interests, media content becomes ideologically biased in favour of certain groups.

This theory is significant in trying to explain the extent to which state and private ownership of the media have an influence in the political cartoons published in *The Herald and dailynews*. As Gamson et al (1992) points out, ownership of media organisations is of great concern in the context in which media images are produced. Media institutions play a pivotal role in determining what is disseminated at the end of the day. Musila and Moyo (2012 :193) note that 'production of cartoons is affected by institutions, socio-political and historical context which frame both the satirist's interpretations of topical issues and the archive of ideas on which he or she anchors such interpretations'. They go on to say that the media are embedded in a particular landscape of ownership, advertising and audience profiles which shapes the hegemonic patterns of commentary and interpretations of topical and political issues. The analysis focuses on the funding mechanism of both *The Herald* and *dailynews*. The major issue in this case is whether or not the funding mechanism of the newspapers under study affects the quality of news that is

therefore disseminated. Cartoonists are also bound by editorial policies of an organization which makes this unruly to say they are really free to express their views.

Curran and Gurevitch (2000) citing Golding and Murdoch (1996:11) articulate that the political economy of the media has traceable consequences on the range of discourse and representation in the public domain. Content in *The Herald and dailynews* may also be affected by those who fund the paper and advertisers have an impact on what can or cannot be produced. This theory is important in this study for the researcher as it seeks to establish how ownership, funding and control of the two publications under study determine what is disseminated at the end of the day therefore limiting the cartoonists' freedom of expression.

### **2.3 Conclusion**

The literature review brought an understanding of what other researchers have said in the context of editorial cartoons. From this review of literature, it is clear that editorial cartoons really have an impact on the socio-political agenda. The sub themes helped to get scholarly views on particular interest areas and helped in putting this research into context. The theoretical framework gives proposals from various scholars on how editorial cartoons operate and the way readers receive them as well as their effect to the audience. It also serves to demonstrate how the media manages to reconstruct reality and setting the agenda for audiences.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the methods employed by the researcher to acquire and gather data for the study. The chapter discusses the qualitative research paradigm through the use of the Critical Discourse Analysis as well as the Semiotic analysis to analyze political cartoons. The selection of this research paradigm was influenced by the research problem. The study will also discuss the methods of data collection used which are the in-depth interviews as well as archival research. Also outlined in this study is the unit of analysis as well as the sampling methods used.

Straus & Corbin (2008) view methodology as a technique of studying social realities. The study explores *The Herald* and *dailynews*' cartooning of ZANU PF's factional fighting during the period August 2014 to April 2015.

#### **3.1 Research Paradigm**

This research uses the qualitative research paradigm. The study is interested in the embedded meanings of cartoons on the ZANU PF factional fighting. Hancock et al (2009:6) define qualitative research as a "disciplined, systematic approach to finding things using the method most appropriate to the question being asked." Guba and Lincoln (1994:107) assert that a paradigm "represents a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the world, the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts." Qualitative research seeks to find out the hidden meanings of texts. It is based on finding out why people do the things they do. Qualitative study design as defined by Creswell (1994:2) is "an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building or complex, or holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of respondents or informants, and conducted in a natural setting". The qualitative research design was chosen because of the descriptive nature of this study. This method is also good in gaining an in-depth understanding and a clear description of the characteristics of the political cartoons used in this study.

In this research, the qualitative research paradigm is very important and key to the study as it will help in understanding the use of cartoons in disseminating news especially issues of public interest like the ZANU PF factional fighting. The research paradigm will be used to get a deeper understanding on the people involved in the production process of the cartoons, namely the cartoonists and the editors in reporting on ZANU PF factional fighting.

This research was necessitated by the gap in print media on the coverage of cartoons on political factionalism. Cartoons can be used to send messages to the audiences that are political, economic or cultural. This type of information gathering brings important measurable information of interest to the study. Qualitative research methods centre on the signs and symbols that decode the reality seen by the audience for instance analysis of cartoons published in *The Herald and dailynews* from August 2014 to April 2015. The qualitative research paradigm will therefore play a major role in gathering information on the research problem. This paradigm was suitable for my study because the use of cartoons by the two newspapers has to do with the culture, political, economic and social values of their owners, controllers as well as players in the media industry with vested interests.

Patton (1990) argues that qualitative research is naturalistic and open to whatever emerges and does not impose prior constraints on findings. This makes it possible for the researcher to try and unpack all the hidden meanings intended by the two media organisations under study without any limit. Qualitative research paradigm does not allow for generalization on issues. As such, it is not the intention of this study to generalise on issues as well on its findings.

### **3.2 Research Design**

Mouton (2006: 56) defines a research design as “a plan or blueprint regarding how one intends conducting the research focusing on the end product.” It is the heart of planning. A research design outlines the methods and procedures used so as to acquire the relevant information needed. It is the overall framework or pattern of the study that specifies what information is required as well as what procedures will be used. It can be defined as the blueprint of research. The research design used in this research is the case study.

### **3.2.1 Case Study**

“Case studies are a valuable form of preparation for a large-scale survey, or they can be carried on in tandem with it” (Ngulube 2009:69). Yin’s (2003:13-14) defines a case study as:

*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident...[It also] copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple courses of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical proposition to guide data collection and analysis*

Ngulube (2009) further states that case studies entail the use of data collecting techniques in studying the unit of analysis so as to get comprehensive data on the subject under study. Case studies permit the identification of variables relevant in explaining the current state of the unit of investigation. The case study method and design is well-suited to this study because of its ability to answer the research questions appropriately. Two additional resources can be investigated in case studies;

- (1) interviews with those involved in the events, and
- (2) direct observation of the events.

The strength of the case study approach is its ability to examine a “full variety of evidence – documents, artefacts, interview and observations”(Yin 2003:8). Additionally

Merriam(1988:7)postulates that a descriptive case study is:

undertaken when description and explanation (rather than prediction based on cause and effect) are sought, when it is not possible or feasible to manipulate the potential causes of behaviour, and when variables are not easily identified or are too embedded in the phenomenon to be extracted for study

case study can be exploratory, explanatory or descriptive. The researcher used an explanatory case study to investigate cartoons of ZANU PF factional fighting from *The Herald* and *dailynews* during the period stretching from the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 2014 to 30<sup>th</sup> April 2015. Yin (2003) as cited by Baxter and Jack (2008:545) says that a case study design should be considered when: "...the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions; you cannot manipulate the behaviour of those involved in the study; you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study; or the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context (cited in Baxter and Jack, 2008:545). Therefore, an explanatory case study research design was used to investigate how the state and private media use cartoons to influence political agenda. The case study research design is also used in answering why the media under study produce such editorial cartoons.

Case study research has the advantage that they allow for a lot of detail to be collected that would not be easily obtained by other research designs. Yin (2003:9) states that case study design has a distinct advantage when it is used on "a contemporary set of events, over which the researcher has little or no control over". As such, this research design will facilitate the researcher to get more information on the two publications under study. According to Bell (2005) the main disadvantage of case studies is that the data and information collected cannot be generalized to a wider population. The data collected cannot be used for other researches because it can be irrelevant or may not be useful. In the case of *The Herald* and *dailynews*, the data gathered will only be specific to the two publications. There are many daily publications in Zimbabwe but the data gathered in this research will not be able to apply to all the other dailies. Moreover, the two publications under study have different editorial policies and as such the data obtained will not be the same since *The Herald* is state owned while the *dailynews* is privately owned. Issues of ownership make it difficult for the researcher to generalise in the findings. Bell (2005:11) states that when using a case study "it is difficult for researchers to cross check information". This is because case studies only use specific samples and not large groups of samples. In this study, a specific sample of *The Herald* and *dailynews* is used. A case study

design is the most appropriate for this study as it will help the researcher to investigate the cartooning of the factional fights within the ZANU PF party.

### **3.3 Population**

Gay (1987) states that a population consists of all the subjects one seeks to study. In this study the population comprises of the editors and cartoonists from the two publications as well as all *The Herald* and *dailynews* newspaper issues from the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 2014 to the 31<sup>st</sup> of April 2015. In the period under study, *The Herald* published 234 newspapers while the *dailynews* published 273 newspapers. Although the two publications under study are dailies, *The Herald* only has six publications in a week whereas the *dailynews* has seven. Zimpapers' publication on Sunday is the *Sunday Mail*.

### **3.4 Unit of analysis**

The units of analysis for this study are cartoons of ZANU PF factional fighting from *The Herald* and *dailynews* during the period stretching from the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 2014 to 30<sup>th</sup> April 2015. Gunter (2000) describes a unit of analysis as the entity that is used in an analysis. It is the smallest element of such an analysis. It can be a word, a symbol, a theme or an entire article or story. In this study the cartoons chosen and used are only those that reported on ZANU PF factional fighting. Many other cartoons were published in the two newspapers under study which have nothing to do with ZANU PF factional fighting. As such, the researcher did not include these in the research.

A total of eighteen (18) cartoons will be studied, nine (9) cartoons from each publication under study. In a total of two hundred and thirty-four (234) newspaper editions published from the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 2014 to the 30<sup>th</sup> of April 2015 in *The Herald* as well as two hundred and seventy-three (273) newspaper editions of the *dailynews*, political cartoons related to ZANU PF factional fighting are twenty-five (25) in *The Herald* and thirty-three (33) in the *dailynews*. As such, the researcher selected eighteen (18) cartoons for the research.

The units of analysis also include both the cartoonists and the editors of the two newspapers under study; *The Herald* and *dailynews*. From *The Herald*, the editor, Mr Caesar Zvayi as well as the cartoonist, Innocent Mpofu were selected for the study. From the *dailynews*, the editor Stanley Gama as well as the cartoonist, Tony Namate were also selected. These people were chosen because they are responsible for coming up with the cartoons published in the two newspapers. They are the brains behind the final product that is published within the newspaper.

### **3.5 Sampling**

A sample refers to units selected for a study with known probability in the findings of the research. "A sample, that is the group of elements drawn from the population, is considered to be representative of the entire population is selected" (Bless et al 2009: 105). Sampling is the process of selecting a group of subjects for a study in such a way that the individuals represent the larger group from which they were selected. Sampling is important in this research because it allows the researcher to come up with a manageable number of cartoons from the whole population of respondents which could provide authentic findings at a manageable cost and time limit.

Sample size of eighteen (18) cartoons will enable the researcher to collect original data from the sample that represents the whole population, when appropriate instruments are used. Purposive sampling was used to choose these cartoons. It was used because the research focuses on particular cartoons that focused on ZANU PF factional fighting, meaning anything else outside was not relevant. The researcher used purposive sampling to choose nine (9) cartoons that are most relevant to the study from each of the publications under study, *The Herald* and the *dailynews*. The total will be eighteen (18) cartoons for the study. This will allow the researcher to give proper and adequate attention to each cartoon since the process of analysing them is time consuming. The cartoons selected will only be limited to ZANU PF factional fighting because there were many cartoons published overall in the period under study, some of which had nothing to do with ZANU PF factional fighting. The number of cartoons chosen from each of the two publications under study is equal so that the study is balanced.

### **3.5.1 Purposive Sampling**

Purposive sampling is defined by Patton (1990) as the process by which a researcher selects a sample basing on the experience or knowledge of the group that is to be sampled. Bryman (2012) states that purposive sampling is a non-probability form of sampling. The goal of sampling is to choose cases or participants in a strategic way so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed. As noted by Koerber and McMichael (2008) by doing purposive sampling the researcher is looking for participants who possess certain traits or qualities. The purposive sampling technique is used in this study in the selection of cartoons from both *The Herald* and the *dailynews* to analyse the discourses used in the reportage of the ZANU PF factional fighting.

Marshall (1996) also adds that purposive sampling allows for active selection of the most productive sample that answers the research question. The study focuses on particular cartoons within a particular time frame which means that in the researcher's view anything outside the stipulated time frame is irrelevant. The researcher only chose specific cartoons that will help in answering the research questions. The technique will reduce the risk of analyzing cartoons that have nothing to do with the research since many cartoons were published during this time. Attention is also given to time frames as well. The researcher chose this technique to get a sample that assisted the research study on gathering in depth information from participants who in this case are experts in the media industry. These media experts include the editors from the two publications namely Caesar Zvayi from *The Herald* and Stanley Gama from *dailynews*. More information with regards to cartoons on ZANU PF factional fighting will be acquired from the cartoonists of the two publications namely Innocent Mpofo of *The Herald* as well as Tony Namate of the *dailynews*. The choice of the sampling technique has also been necessitated by the fact that purposive sampling is realistic in terms of time, effort.

Attention was also paid to periods or time as well. The time when the ZANU PF factional fighting started and hit the headlines was important hence cartoons at the beginning of August were considered. This was the period when the first lady Grace Mugabe entered the political scene and started to expose ZANU PF party members who were involved in fanning

factionalism. The first reaction to the issues surrounding the cracks within the ZANU PF party are key to the coverage and follow up reportage of the factional fighting that came afterwards. The study will only look at the issue of ZANU PF factional fighting as far as the 30<sup>th</sup> of April 2015 which is the period when the former Vice President Joice Mujuru was fired from the ZANU PF party. Anything after the month of April is irrelevant to the study as it is not within the stipulated time frame.

### **3.6 Methods of Data Collection**

#### **3.6.1 In-Depth Interviews**

In-depth interview is a qualitative method of analysis which can be used for purposes of confidentiality. In this type of interview, the interviewer will be trying to get an insight into individual evaluation of specific material. In this study, the specific materials under evaluation are the political cartoons to do with the ZANU PF factional fighting which was widely reported on by the media. In-depth interviews are a method of gathering information from individuals about their feelings, opinion, behaviours as well as their experiences.

In-depth interviews provide the confidential atmosphere in which the interviewee can share sensitive information. This type of interview allows for one on one encounters in which the interviewer can make use of unstructured or semi-structured sets of issues or topics to guide the interview. The main purpose of the interview is to explore and uncover deep seated emotions, attitudes and motivations from the interviewee on the topic being discussed.

The researcher will carry out in- depth interviews with the two editors, Caesar Zvayi and Stanley Gama from *The Herald* and *dailynews* respectively. Interviews will also be carried out with the two cartoonists from the two publications namely Innocent Mpofu and Tony Namate. These people have been chosen because they are responsible for coming up with the cartoons that are published. The researcher will interview the editors as well as the cartoonists so as to understand what criteria they use in coming up with what cartoon to publish as well as factors that influence the selection of the final cartoon published at the end of the day. With regards to the topic under



study, the researcher intends to find out what led to the production of the cartoon, what message they intended to portray through their cartoons during the period under study and to whom.

Using this technique will be advantageous in the sense that the method helps to uncover valuable insights like what prompted the different media houses to use certain cartoons to convey their message. The people to be interviewed may not want to fully open up on the issue to do with the ZANU PF debacle as it might seem like a sensitive issue to tackle. As such, the interviewees will be interviewed at their working environment that will help to provide a relaxed atmosphere so that they can be free to open up on a one-to-one basis, (Hart, 2005). The interviews will be personally administered to editors/ media experts face to face. Gill et al (2008:2) state that “the flexibility of semi structured interviews particularly compared to structured interviews allow for the discovery or elaboration of information that is important to participants but may have not have previously been thought of as pertinent by the researcher.”

### **3.6.2 Archival Research**

Geiger and Moore (2011) postulate that an archive can be a library, website, place or an idea. Archival research involves data already generated. Archival research was used to gather data. This is because the cartoon samples that are relevant for this study concerning ZANU PF factional fighting were only available either in old newspapers or archived stories on the newspapers' websites. For my research online archives of the two newspapers were scoured to get the relevant material. Ventresca and Mohr (2001: 35) state that “archival research includes a broad range of activities applied to facilitate the investigation of documents and textual material produced by organisations or individuals under study”. Archival research involves the study of historical documents created at some point in the relatively distant past, providing access that the researcher might not have to the organizations. Cartoon samples were retrieved from *The Herald* and *dailynews* website. According to Marshall (2006) when choosing the documents for analysis one must bear in mind the research questions. As such, the researcher used archival research to find online newspaper editions that talked about ZANU PF factional fighting. It was within these editions that relevant cartoons to do with the study were outsourced.

### **3.7METHODS OF PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS**

#### **3.7.1Thematic Analysis**

Thematic analysis will be used to present data in this study. Braun and Clarke (2006:6) define thematic analysis as “a qualitative process of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data”.Braun and Clarke (2006:10) further state that themes have the ability to capture “something important about the data in relation to the research question, and it represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.”

Various themes will be formulated from the data collected from *The Herald* and *dailynews* cartoons on the ZANU PF factional fighting from 1 August 2014 to 30 April 2015 which will assist the researcher in the analysis of this data. Thematic analysis will be used to classify the information collected during the research and this will be used to answer the research questions posed in Chapter 2. Thematic analysis will be used in conjunction with critical discourse analysisand semiotic analysis.

#### **3.7.2Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used in this research as a method of analysing data. Texts are polysemic in nature. They have several meanings. As such it is important to employ critical discourse analysis in analysing data. Critical Discourse Analysis is used to understand why and how the political cartoons were produced. Bryman (2012) states that critical discourse analysis looks at the role of language as a power resource for the articulation of ideology and socio-cultural change. It explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse. Van Dijk (1998:4 ) defines critical discourse analysis as “a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias”. This definition shows that CDA aims to unpack all that a political cartoon carries. It seeks to assess what led to the production of the cartoon, who produced the cartoon, why the cartoon was produced and to whom.

Fairclough (1993:135) defines CDA as:

Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, and 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 explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Fairclough's definition shows that a lot of factors need to be considered when researching on political cartoons. Cartoons are affected by several factors such as power struggles, practices, ideologies, events as well as relations. CDA is used in this study to understand how political cartoons are produced. CDA is valid in order to get the intended meaning of a cartoon. Gavin (2008) states that critical discourse analysis is concerned with language use beyond boundaries of sentences and with relationship between language and the wider context. The researcher seeks to find out whether cartoons have a hidden meaning and transmit messages that have an impact on social change like political party factions ( ZANU PF factional fighting). McQuail (2005) states that it applies to all forms of language use and textual forms but the essential idea is that communication occurs by way of forms of text and talk adapted to particular social locations, topics and kinds of participants. The topic under study will then be addressed by analysing the representation of the cartoons in the two newspapers under study.

CDA was used to understand why and how the political cartoons were produced. Critical discourse analysis seeks to question how powerful groups control public discourse. It also seeks to question how this discourse has the power to control the mind and action of the less powerful groups in society. Van Dijk(1993) states that critical discourse also looks at the social consequences of such control by the dominant classes in society. This shows that power is central and key in critical discourse analysis. CDA studies the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance. Whoever has power shapes the discourse that was produced by the two mediums, *The Herald* and *dailynews* during the period under study on ZANU PF factional fighting. Power of the press is also central as it has the ability to not only influence what the people think about but also shape what those in power should be striving to

maintain. CDA also has the ability to examine how powerful speakers may abuse their power in situations where their power is threatened and they seek to maintain it. In the operations of the press he who controls topics of headlines also has power to influence the social injustices studied by critical discourse analysis, for examples how editors have the final say as to how and which cartoons will be used warrants a critical study into the phenomenon.

### **3.7.3 Semiotics**

Tomaselli (1994) defines semiotics as the study of how meanings occur in languages, pictures, performance, and other forms of expression (like cartoons). Semiotics examines signs, words, pictures, gestures, body language, sounds, colours, smells, things, symbols and sign systems, and their meanings Fiske (1990:1). Semiotics is a way of explaining how we make meaning in a text.

Semiology is a method for examining textual material, has emerged from linguistics and literary and cultural analysis. Semiology is a system of signs created for communication and analyses their tasks in the process of communication. A sign within a system of meaning may be separated into two components: “the signifier” and “the signified”, De Sousa et al (1982). This study critically analyses political cartoons in *The Herald* and *dailynews* on ZANU PF factional fighting. Two semiotic frameworks, one for text and language, as developed by Leech (1974), and the other for image analysis, as suggested by Du Plooy (1996) can be used. The frameworks can be used to obtain more information on the functions and meanings of Zimbabwean political cartoons, as a way of answering the research questions posed by this study. The researcher in this study will have to unpack the different hidden meanings from the cartoon images in the two newspaper publications under study. Du Plooy suggests an approach to non-verbal communication. She states that “when studying non-verbal communication, such an investigation could include an analysis of a variety of visual forms and media” (Du Plooy, 1996:114). Du Plooy also states that cartoons are an ideal non-verbal communication imagery for image semiotic analysis.

Semiotics involves the study of signification, a process going from “the signifier” to “the signified”. The signifier is a material vehicle of meaning; the signified actually is the meaning.

People use semiology in language, in gestures, in photography, in art, in psychology, in everyday life, therefore the cultural system actually generates signification. It can be said that human beings are defined by means of signification discipline, which explains the interaction between human beings and the nature. Culler (1976:98) states that;

*A language is thus conceived as a system of differences, and this lead to the development of the distinctions on which structuralism and semiotics have relieved: between a language as a system of differences (langue) and the speech events which the system makes possible (parole), between the study of the language as a system at any given time (synchronic) and study of the correlations between elements from different historical periods (diachronic), between two types of differences within the system, syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, and between the two constituents of the sign, signifier and signified*

According to Dyer, semiology aims to analyze “the system of sign” or “the system of signification” like images, gestures, musical sounds, objects and the complex association of these forming the content of rituals, convention or public entertainment such as cartoons. Through semiology, the research will analyse cartoons from the two publications making comparisons and contrasts on the images portrayed. Images or cartoons from newspaper articles of *The Herald* and *dailynews* used in reference to the ZANU PF factional fighting will be looked into. This will help in the study so that the researcher can get a clearer understanding of the manner in which both publications reported on the ZANU PF debacle.

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

It is critical for the researcher to be accurate, honest, and precise when conducting research (Rubin et al, 2005), as well as in discussing and analysing the data. In the interviewing process it is critical that those respondents voluntarily participate and are free to respond to the interview questions presented to them. Researchers also need to ask questions that are sensitive and developed to treat respondents with respect and without exploitation (Neuman, 2006). As such it

is critical that in dealing with a political subject the researcher must not withhold the true nature of the research project as a way of avoiding influencing participants' answers to research questions.

### **3.9 Conclusion**

In this chapter major methods of data gathering, analysis and presentations used in the study were outlined. These research methods are also important in analysing the research findings. The following chapter will look at the organizational structures of *The Herald* and *dailynews*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS

#### 4.0 Introduction

The chapter looks at the organisational structure of the two newspapers, *The Herald* and *dailynews* with focus especially on the historical background, its formation, core business, programming, funding mechanism, and links with other organizations and how these factors are linked to the study at hand.

#### 4.1 *The Herald*

##### 4.1.1 Historical Background of *The Herald*

The history of Zimbabwe newspapers (Zimpapers) dates back to the year 1890. This was during the colonial era when Cecil John Rhodes was still exercising his power. On October 20, 1892, *The Rhodesia Herald* was created which was meant to replace the first paper in Rhodesia called the *Mashonaland and Zambesian Times* (Mutsvairo2012). The *Rhodesia Herald* was later renamed *The Herald* and survives to date as Zimbabwe's oldest and biggest daily newspaper. Mutsvairo (2012) further states that the newspaper was later taken over by the South African based Argus Company through its subsidiary, Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company (RPPC). The mandate of the paper was to support the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in its quest to continue ruling Rhodesia.

The *Rhodesia Herald* was famous for mirroring and advancing the colonial sector's ideology of driving the state along racial lines (Gale 1963). It catered for the needs of the white settlers by ignoring news of interest to the black African majority. The early news centred around events occurring in the capital, from social and environmental news to politics as well as sports news, while events on the African continent concerning Africans was ignored (Saunders 1999). The *Rhodesia Herald* ran under the mission statement which read "the aims, the publisher will keep steadily in news will be to advance to the fullest of the powers of the dominant class, the mining and agricultural interests, to discuss and criticise moderately but without fear and favour,

the topics of the day or hour and to promote fellowship and unity amongst all classes and sections of the whites.” As such the paper had the role of supporting the exploitation of resources by the British South African Company (Nyahunzvi 2001).

The *Rhodesia Herald* also denied Africans editorial freedom, (Saunders 1999, Mukasa 2003). The newsrooms were controlled by white reporters, Mukasa (2003). According to Saunders (1999) *The Rhodesia Herald* was owned by the whites, run by the whites and infringed on the blacks who were employed at the paper. The few blacks who worked at Rhodesia Herald were given lower positions and were hardly ever elevated. The paper did not hide its compassion for the white minority rule. Issues of ownership and control in *The Herald* have been going on even before Zimbabwe got its independence when *The Herald* was still called *The Rhodesia Herald*. The whites who were the owners of the media at that time were the ones who ran things in a way they saw fit hence they glorified themselves and demonised the black majority.

The BSAC which had been incorporated as Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company Limited was registered on the then Rhodesia Stock Exchange on 15 October 1951. Saunders (1999) notes that Zimpapers was established in 1980 after the attainment of independence. In May 1980, the Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company changed its name to Zimbabwe Newspapers (Zimpapers), Saunders (1999). However, according to Saunders (1999) though it had a name reflecting the new country, it was still under the control of Argus and this was reflected in the composition of the editorial team which was still all white. To remedy the situation the new ZANU PF government established the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) in January 1981 (Daniels 2009, Saunders 1999). With a grant of US\$6 million from the Nigerian government, the government of Zimbabwe bought 45 percent of shares in Zimpapers and placed them in the custody of ZMMT and over time the shareholding was increased to over 50 percent (Saunders 1999).

ZMMT was created so as to provide a buffer between the publicly owned media and the government. Its duty of providing a buffer was severely compromised by organisational weaknesses that were “financial, managerial and political” in nature (Saunders 1999:17). There



was lack of skills to effectively implement the trust's media responsibilities, leading to the Ministry of Information intervening to provide policy direction (Saunders 1999). As a result the government found a way to dictate what the newspapers under Zimpapers like *The Herald*, reported (Waldahl 2004). While in legal terms ZMMT was autonomous, in practice it was owned and controlled by government. ZMMT was dissolved in December 2001 and paved way for an organisation called Multimedia Investment Trust (MIT) whose legal status yet to be defined by the authorities (Nyahunzvi 2001). Due to this, the government has since appointed people affiliated to the ZANU PF party into leadership positions in Zimpapers. These appointments seek to perpetuate the interests of the ZANU PF party. Present day, Zimpapers specialises in newspaper publishing and commercial printing with branches for newspaper production in Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare ([www.herald.co.zw](http://www.herald.co.zw))

#### **4.1.2 Editorial Policy and Ownership**

Editorial policy is defined by Boyd-Barret and Newbold (1995) as the institutionalization of objectives that guides the processes of news gathering, processing and dissemination. Rusike (1990) notes that the editorial policy of any newspaper can be equated to the 'soul' or 'conscience' of that newspaper. The editorial policy of Zimpapers is that of supporting the government of the day which since 1980 has been ZANU PF. Mutsvairo (2013) states that *The Herald* has made it no secret that its allegiance lies with ZANU PF. The operations of *The Herald* in the pre-independence period and its operations in the post-independence period can be viewed as "two sides of the same coin". During the colonial period *The Rhodesia Herald's* editorial policy advanced the interests of the colonial government and the white community (Gale 1962). Likewise, in the post-colonial period, *The Herald's* editorial policy perpetuates the interests of the government run by ZANU PF.

Through its editorial cartoons, one can tell that *The Herald* is loyal to the government. The cartoons clearly castigate all those who pose as threats to the government. An example of this is in the way that cartoons are used to depict or portray MDC-T leader Mr Morgan Tsvangirayi. The cartoons always depict him with dots on his cheeks to show the roughness of his facial skin. This can therefore be further deconstructed to show the character of the person behind that rough

skinned face. Another example is of how President Robert Mugabe is, more often than not depicted as someone who is still young.

Although the editorial policy of *The Herald* clearly states that it is government owned and is run by the government of the day, it is important to note that during the Government of National Unity (GNU), when there was a coalition in government between ZANU PF and MDC, *The Herald* was still loyal to ZANU PF. MDC figures such as Tendai Biti and Morgan Tsvangirayi were constantly demonized in *The Herald* publications. This only shows that the ZANU PF party has a stronghold on *The Herald*.

The shareholding structure of *The Herald* is important and very key to the study in that it reflects that government after the dissolution the ZMMT has controlling stake in the paper, as such the structure makes *The Herald* a state run enterprise by default. With the dissolution of the ZMMT, the government has assumed full control of Zimpapers. As the majority shareholder, the government oversees and dictates what slant the paper should take. Since 2001, ZANU PF as the ruling party and the government have had free access to Zimpapers without any objection from the board. The other shareholders do not have a say in the way things are run. As shareholders, they are only liable to their dividends since the organization is on the stock market While Zimpapers as a publicly listed organization should be run by a board, the minister of information has autonomy on the appointments of the board of directors and this in turn affects the running of the organization. The minister has the power to put people affiliated to the party in senior positions hence it compromises the ethics of journalism. As a public company, it is the mandate of *The Herald* to prioritise the interests of the people. *The Herald* however is controlled by the ZANU PF party which forms the government and as such the interests of the party are reflected in the content of *The Herald*.

As Rusike (1990) notes, the intentions of a government that owns a newspaper are clear in that it seeks to perpetuate its ideologies and do away with ideological threats, the same can be said about the Zimbabwean government. This study therefore seeks to establish how cartoons were used by *The Herald* to cover issues to do with ZANU PF factional fighting.

#### **4.1.3 Funding Mechanism**

Zimpapers is a profit making organisation and has trading shares on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange (ZSE). As a public company the organization is funded by the public and the public are able to buy shares at the ZSE Exchange. The government of Zimbabwe has the biggest shareholding percentage after it acquired six million United States dollar grant from Nigeria which was channelled towards buying forty- three percent South African held shareholding from the RPPC. Zimpapers has since increased its shareholding to over fifty percent. Zimpapers chief source of income comes from advertisers who pay for media space in the newspaper. Advertisements constitute about seventy percent of the total revenue. Newspaper sales also bring in revenue for the organization. Zimpapers gets around thirty thousand United States dollars from the sales of *The Herald*. Ideally, the company, by virtue of it being state owned should get money from government for its operations. The company is also supposed to declare dividends to the treasury if it gets profits. (See appendix 3 for the shareholding structure)

#### **4.1.4 Mission Statement**

The mission statement of *The Herald* is influenced by that of Zimpapers which is much broader as it is based on covering topical issues of the day and hence distributing newspapers to all parts of the country. *The Herald's* mission statement reads... "To provide credible information and quality newspapers on a viable base for the entire nation at competitive prices." ([www.herald.co.zw](http://www.herald.co.zw))

The mission statement of *The Herald* is premised on credibility. Credibility which is also a core value in the operations of *The Herald* is defined as the feeling of trust and respect that you inspire in others ([www.mindtools.com](http://www.mindtools.com)). Lack of credibility can lead to a decline in audiences. Media thrives in having a large population in terms of people who either read, watch or listen to it. *The Herald* in its mission statement aims to provide its readers with credible information. In terms of editorial cartoons, *The Herald* endeavours to publish cartoons that are a true reflection of society. However it can be noted that in its endeavour to be credible in disseminating information, *The Herald* is greatly affected by issues to do with the Political Economy of the

Media. Because of its pro ZANU PF stance, The Herald, more often than not represents oppositional party members in the negative. In the process, instead of playing their watchdog role they end up being mere lapdogs of the government. Editorial cartoons about oppositional party members are usually over exaggerated for example the portrayal of Tsvangirayi in The Herald editorial cartoons. A certain percentage of audiences who are anti-ZANU PF is lost to the private media which is sympathetic to the opposition. In the face of technological advancement which has seen the sprouting of many news sources, lack of credibility can greatly affect a publication since audiences can use alternative media to access information.

#### **4.1.5 Core Values**

*The Herald* has a number of core values which guide its operations. The researcher will only mention the core values that are related to the study at hand.

Accountability- This core value is very important and is one of the key factors of journalism ethics. Accountability is defined as the assumption and acknowledgement of responsibility for certain actions. With accountability, the media can explain and be answerable for consequences that come with certain actions. *The Herald* upholds accountability. Editorial cartoons can portray an individual in a defamatory manner which can lead to lawsuits being filed against the newspaper. *The Herald* should then be accountable for such.

Reliability- *The Herald* commits itself to giving out cartoons that are truthful hence becoming trustworthy sources of information to the public.

Profitability- *The Herald* as an organization is out to make profit. By printing newspapers as well as magazines and also running a radio station, *The Herald* not only wants to inform, educate and entertain its audiences but is also out to make money. As such, the information disseminated by *The Herald* should be able to attract audiences to want to buy their newspapers. Cartoons also play a crucial role in making this happen. By giving the public satirical depictions of topical issues, cartoons have the ability to evoke thoughts in the reader's minds. As such, cartoons, for the audiences who actually go through them can make the audiences want to continue buying the newspaper so as to follow up on what is happening through humorous depictions.

Social responsibility-*The Herald* has the obligation to work and perform their duties responsibly. It is per its core values to disseminate unbiased and objective information. McQuail (1994) contends that the social responsibility theory of the media arose as a result of the ability of the press to influence the ideas, behaviour and beliefs of the people. In the case of the topic under study, editorial cartoons should be objective and unbiased and should be a true representation of socio-political issues at hand. Due to its social responsibility core value, *The Herald* aims to inform the public and fulfil its mandate of disseminating information to the public.

#### **4.1.6 Editorial Structure**

##### **4.1.7 Editor**

The editor heads the editorial section of *The Herald*. Caesar Zvayi is the current editor of the publication. The editor was appointed into office by former Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Professor Jonathan Moyo through the Zimpapers board. This appointment was made on political lines so that the editor would be able to perpetuate the interests of the government. In the production process of cartoons, the editor has to first approve the cartoon suggested by the cartoonist before it is drawn and goes through for publication. Editorial cartoons are placed on the editorial page and complement the headline story of the day. Besides the editor in the Editorial structure, there are other desks that report to the editor. The researcher will not look at these in greater detail but will only look at what is relevant to the study. (See appendix 1 for *The Herald's* organogram)

##### **4.1.8 Cartoonist**

*The Herald's* cartoonist is Innocent Mpofo who is a full time employee and is responsible for coming up with the editorial cartoon as well as a cartoon strip. The cartoonist reports directly to the editor and operates from within the newsroom. The cartoonist is responsible for coming up with catchy cartoon ideas for the day and these should complement the headline story. A cartoon concept can only be drafted after the diary meeting has been held so that the cartoonist can throw around ideas based on the top story of the day. Before crafting the cartoon, the cartoonist discusses his concepts with the editor and can only go ahead with drawing the cartoon after

getting approval from the editor. This is done so that the cartoon doesn't go against the editorial policy and does not go against the media laws such as laws of defamation.

Innocent Mpofo is a senior cartoonist at *The Herald* and sometimes does not need to get approval from the editor because he is familiar with the editorial policy that governs the organisation.

## **4.2 *dailynews***

### **4.2.1 Historical Background of *dailynews***

The *dailynews* was initially established in 1999. Moyo (2005) articulates that in March 1999, the *dailynews* was established by the Associated Newspaper of Zimbabwe (ANZ). ANZ also established *dailynews on Sunday* and the *Weekend Post*. The ANZ was initially a joint venture with foreign shareholders and its foreign partner, Africa Media Investments Zimbabwe with a 60% shareholding.

Mano (2005) states that the *dailynews* establishment coincided with the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). *dailynews* was formed at a time when there was a tense political environment since the newly formed MDC posed as a threat to the ZANU PF party. Because of the clash between the two political parties, ZANU PF and MDC, who were fighting for political power, the government labelled the newly formed *dailynews* as a mouthpiece of the West and furthering the ideologies of MDC. This is because the *dailynews* reflected ideas that were in tandem with the MDC ideas and thus the newspaper came under constant attack from the government.

The founding Editor in Chief of ANZ was Geoffrey Nyarota while Wilf Mbanga was Managing Director and later Chief Executive Officer. Muchadeyi Masunda was appointed the founding chairman of the board of directors. He later became the CEO when Mbanga left the company. Moyo (2005) states that *dailynews* was then closed in 2003 after it failed to comply with the requirements of AIPPA which required all media companies to be licensed and its journalists accredited by the then Media Information Commission (MIC).

*dailynews* later received a license to operate in 2010 by the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC). The *dailynews* now had new management since most of the former management had pulled out during the battle of the company being licensed. Jethro Goko, a former journalist and a major shareholder in the former ANZ was appointed Chief Executive Officer. Some of the people that made up the board of directors were Norman Nyazema, A. Mutsonziwa, D.J. Smail and Judith Todd . The *dailynews* was re-launched on 18 March 2011 (IMPI Report 2015).

#### **4.2.2 Mission Statement**

ANZ continuously position and brand itself through the following elements of its mission statement. The researcher will only address the points related to the study.

The Associated Newspaper of Zimbabwe has made a commitment to enhance the quality of people's lives through balanced reporting so as to address social, cultural, economic and political ills in the society. Editorial cartoons have been used by the *dailynews* to address issues in the society. Issues such as corruption and the "salary-gate" have been exposed through cartoons in the *dailynews*. Cartoon images can be used to reveal what is happening within the society. They have the power to transcend beyond boundaries and tackle sensitive issues. Through the mission statement of ANZ, the *dailynews* mission therefore is committed to report and comment on the affairs of Zimbabwe and the rest of the world fairly, accurately and regardless of any commercial, personal or political interests. Most editorial cartoons from the *dailynews* report on what is happening within the country although they tend to sensationalise some issues especially stories to do with the ZANU PF party. For example during the 2014 First Lady rallies, the *dailynews* depicted the First Lady as someone who was out to take over the realms of presidency from her husband after she had exposed. Such exaggerations at the end of the day defeat the whole purpose of fairness in the news published by the *dailynews*.

### **4.2.3 Motto**

The philosophy and principles of ANZ are coined in the following phrase: "*Telling it like it is without fear, without favour*". (www.dailynews.co.zw)

The *dailynews* Moto is closely linked with the role of cartoons. Cartoons have the power of telling or addressing issues that news stories may not address. *dailynews* makes use of political cartoons to comment on political events in Zimbabwe. However, it should be noted that in some cases *dailynews* go to extremes in their reporting. Moyo (2005:124) explains that "the paper's obsession with negativity and sensational stories can be identified as the flaw that led to the publication of some of its false reports". The *dailynews* has a number of law suits from various individuals and corporations suing the paper for publishing false stories.

The *dailynews* as a privately owned newspaper mostly covers issues that paint The ZANU PF party in the negative. The *dailynews* motto of 'Telling it like it is without fear, without favour' is a contested terrain. This is because it is difficult to ascertain the depth of truth to a publication because media organisations survive through advertiser revenue. Some cartoons can be drawn and published so as to lure more advertisers to the organization. At times the organization is bound by the "he who pays the piper dictates the tune" policy. As such certain, the media house will meet the interests of the advertisers at any cost. The motto of the *dailynews* organization can also mean that the organisation is independent of any political organization hence it can take a swipe at any political party and any political figure. For example the *dailynews* took a swipe at MDC-T leader Morgan Tsvangirayi in his multiple love scandals and cartoons were used to portray Tsvangirayi as a womanizer.

### **4.2.4 Objectives**

The *dailynews* in its objectives thrives to provide cartoons that are in line with their motto, which is that of telling it like it is, without fear, without favour. These cartoons will stop at nothing to expose the ills within society. The *dailynews* also sets to providing its employees with good



working environment. Favourable working conditions allow the cartoonist to come up with good cartoon ideas and be free to start working on them without any fear of unruly .

#### **4.2.5 Funding Mechanism**

When *dailynews* was established it was foreign funded. It exploited the shortcomings of the Zimbabwean registration policy which stipulated that for one to publish a newspaper he or she has to first register with the Postmaster General. Major shareholders of the paper are Meditation investments, Africa media investments, and Diamond Insurance Company of Zimbabwe. Other shareholders include Southern Life Association, Inter market Life Insurance, NDM Investments (Pvt) Ltd, Batanai Capital Finance (Pvt) Ltd, Dr. Ali Mohamed and Judith Todd. Apart from the funds provided by the shareholders, like any other newspaper *The dailynews* advertisements are the major revenue source. Funding of ANZ comes from sales earned by the company after it has sold its products.

#### **4.2.6 Editorial Structure**

##### **4.2.7 Editor**

The editorial department of the *dailynews* is headed by the editor who is Stanley Gama. This department is where the production process of cartoons and other news stories are produced. The editor oversees the production of cartoons and liaises with the cartoonist on cartoon ideas for the paper. The crafted and approved cartoons are given to the sub-editors who go on to do the layout of the newspaper.(see appendix 2 for the *dailynews* organogram)

##### **4.2.8 Cartoonist**

The *dailynews* has a part time cartoonist, Tony Namate who provides a cartoon every day. The cartoonist come up with his own cartoon idea and draws the cartoons. *dailynews* cartoons are premised on topical issues that appeal to the public. The cartoons range from economically, socially and even politically related issues.

### **4.3 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided the history of *The Herald* and *dailynews*, their editorial structures as well as other relevant information that is related to the study. In understanding issues to do with the two organizations' editorial policies as well as their ownership pattern, the researcher can link these to the themes presented in previous chapters. The structures of the two organizations help one to understand why the two organizations operate the way they do. It helps the researcher to understand why *The Herald* is a lapdog of the government while the *dailynews* operates as a private entity.

## CHAPTER 5

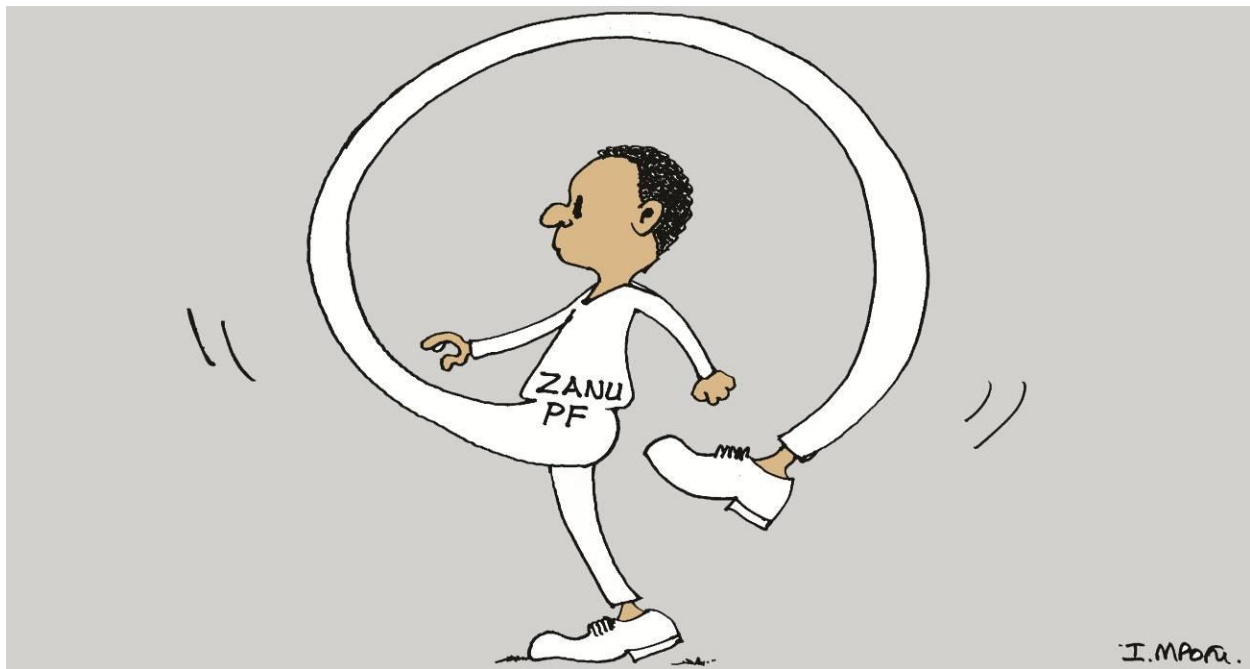
### Data Presentation and Analysis

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter is a detailed analysis and presentation of data gathered in this study. It looks at the findings that have been obtained from the topic under study. In-depth interviews were used in obtaining valid results. The research findings will be presented thematically and data will be analysed using critical discourse analysis and semiotics to assess the cartooning ZANU PF factional fighting in *The Herald* and *dailynews* during the period of study. Semiotic analysis revealed both the denotative and connotative meanings of the cartoons while critical discourse analysis revealed the hidden meanings of the cartoons. The researcher gathered cartoons that illustrated the factional fights within the ZANU PF party from *The Herald* and *dailynews*. These cartoons were examined comparatively to show the degree in which they were able to disseminate information on the ZANU PF debacle.

#### 5.1 ZANU PF a divided party

The cartoons in the two newspapers under study portrayed ZANU PF as a party divided along factional lines. Both publications through their cartoons were able to depict the factional fights that were going on within the party. Fig 1 is a cartoon from *The Herald* pitting a ZANU PF party member who is kicking himself. This cartoon was published on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August 2014. The individual being shown on the cartoon is putting on clothing with the caption ZANU PF and can be identified as a party member. Here the cartoonist reveals someone from the party itself kicking himself to show that there is trouble within the party. *The Herald* cartoonist, when asked about the cartoon said the individual shown in the cartoon metaphorically represents the ZANU PF party which is a party that was divided. This division is due to the factional fighting that was going on. Mpfu said “the house is on fire, the leg kicking its owner portrays that there are some unruly members within the ZANU PF party that have gone against the party’s norms and values”



**Fig 1** *The Herald* cartoon published on 27 August 2014

Lordan (2006) cited in Mulanda and Khasandi-Telewa (2014) states that the politicisation of cartoons is meant to make political statements in what is essentially a humorous medium and reach out to the masses with serious messages aimed at persuading them to join a political cause through humour. Figure 1 is a cartoon that tries to reveal the vice called factionalism that has crept within the ZANU PF party. Cartoons speak volumes; they say more than a thousand words. The cartoon in figure 1 is able to show that there is trouble within the party because of the leg that is kicking its owner.

As pointed out by McCombs and Shaw (2004), agenda setting is the power of the news media to set a nation's agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues. Figure 1 above is meant to sway the readers' attention to focus on the issue at hand which is ZANU PF intra- party politics. The depiction in the cartoon of a ZANU PF member kicking himself leaves one wondering what is going on in the party. The cartoon has been used by the cartoonist as a tool to draw the attention of the audiences on the cracks that have developed in what was once a united party.



**Fig 2** *dailynews* cartoon published on 29 October 2014

A cartoon published in the *dailynews* on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October 2014 further depicts the division and factionalism in the party. While other people in the party were concerned with issues to do with clipping the wings of former Vice President Joice Mujuru, others were busy trying to push the agenda that Mugabe must go. The cartoon depicts a woman carrying a banner written “JOICE MUJURU MUST GO.” The woman in question is probably the First Lady because she is saying “NDAKAKUMAKA” which is a statement that was widely used by the First Lady when she was attacking Joice Mujuru. The other person is carrying a banner written “ROBERT MUGABE MUST GO” which suggests that this person is from the Mujuru faction. This is because the Mujuru faction is the one that wanted President Mugabe to go. *dailynews* editor note that as the First Lady was demonizing Mujuru in her meet the people rallies, other members of the party were busy perpetuating the agenda that it was time for the President to go. The cartoon also shows the power relations that were there in the party. “the First Lady Grace Mugabe had assumed so much power that she could openly admit that she didn’t like former VP Mujuru” revealed the editor of *dailynews*.

The cartoon in figure 2 shows that there were people in the party that were at loggerheads. There was conflict of interest and in the writings of Nigerian novelist, Chinua Achebe, things were

falling apart. In as much as there was division in the name of factional fighting in the ZANU PF party, the *dailynews* by virtue of being privately owned was trying to show that ZANU PF was a party in trouble. This further shows that the *dailynews* was capitalizing on the misfortunes that were taking place within the ZANU PF party so as to get a good story and expose the ills of the party. As stated by McQuail (1987) the media disseminates information that they want the audiences to pay particular attention to. As such, the audiences' attention had been drawn to the division taking place in the ZANU PF party.

### 5.2 “Mugabe responsible for ZANU PF factionalism”: *dailynews*

From the *dailynews*, figure 3 depicts the division within ZANU PF. Figure 2 depicts a group of people who are in a fight. There is a lot ball of dust that shows that people are fighting. Besides the group of people in the fight is the President saying to himself “DIVIDE THEM... THEN RULE THEM!”



**Fig 3** *dailynews* cartoon published on 24 October 2014

The findings in figure 3 reveal that the ZANU PF party was divided as there were factional fights going on. The cartoon according to *dailynews* Editor is a true reflection of the events that were

going on at the time of publication. ZANU PF was a divided party and this is evident in the cartoon where people are fighting it out. *dailynews* cartoonist, Tony Namate in an interview with the researcher said the thrust of his cartoons “is to hold politicians to account and expose them.” As such, the cartoon in figure 3 seeks to expose the ZANU PF party leader as a Machiavellian politician. The *Dailynews* which is anti government set out to portray President Mugabe as someone whose philosophy of maintaining power was to be done at all costs. The cartoon depicts the contentment that the President has with regards to the division and fighting that is going on that is why he has a smile on his face. Namate in his thrust of holding politicians to account depicted President Mugabe as being responsible for the division within his party as he will use it to his own advantage so that he can continue being in control of ZANU PF. The “Divide them and rule them” statement uttered by President Mugabe in the cartoon shows that the party’s divisions are as a result of President Mugabe’s cunning. In the period in which the cartoon was published, October 2014, the issue of factionalism within the ZANU PF party was rife and there were two factions being singled out, namely the Mujuru led faction and the Mnangagwa led faction.

The cartoon in figure 3 seeks to set an agenda that there is factionalism within the “revolutionary party” and this has been as a result of the party leader’s craftiness. Based on Niccolo Machiavelli’s tactics on maintaining power, *dailynews* cartoonist equated this to President Mugabe. He said the cartoon by depicting people fighting as the President looked on was what Machiavelli referred to “the crushing of people, injuring them in such a way that you do not fear their vengeance.” The agenda setting theory postulates that the media have a greater influence on audiences through the content they disseminate. The “divide and rule” message that is echoed by the President is based on the history of factionalism within the party which dates back in time. Matyszak (2014) states that ZANU PF factionalism dates back to as far as the time the party was formed but the issue heightened in 2004 in the Tsholotsho declaration. In 2004 Emmerson Mnangagwa had proven a favourite of the people as he had garnered support from eight out of the ten country’s provinces but did not ascend to the Vice Presidency post. Instead the ZANU PF

party constitution was amended and a clause was added which meant that a female was supposed to take one of the two Vice Presidency posts.

In 2014, the entrance into politics of the First Lady was the beginning of the end for Mujuru. When it suited the President, he brought in ex Vice President (VP) Joice Mujuru to silence Mnangagwa whose ascension into power would cause a threat to the Presidency. When it suited the President once again, he put his wife into the political scene and through his wife demonised Mujuru hence favouring Mnangagwa and all this secured the President's position.

At the ZANU PF Congress, the party's constitution was once again amended giving the President more power. The cartoon in figure 3 therefore shows that the divide them and rule them concept was actually a strategy used by the President so as to safeguard his position as the President of the country. As noted by Entman (1993) the idea behind making some ideas of a text more noticeable is to emphasise a certain way of revealing a particular problem, define why things are the way they are as well as attract moral judgements for the illuminated ideas. The cartoon clearly shows that President Mugabe was content with the ongoing factional fight depicted in the picture as it was to his own advantage.

The political economy of the media plays a vital role in the dissemination of information in the *dailynews*. Issues of ownership and control played a key role in the cartoon in figure 3. The *dailynews* by virtue of being a privately owned newspaper was more liberal in expressing views through cartoons in exposing the issue to do with ZANU PF factionalism. *dailynews* cartoonist in his interview stated that he highlights issues that need deeper national discourse as such, the ideas behind factionalism were of national importance.





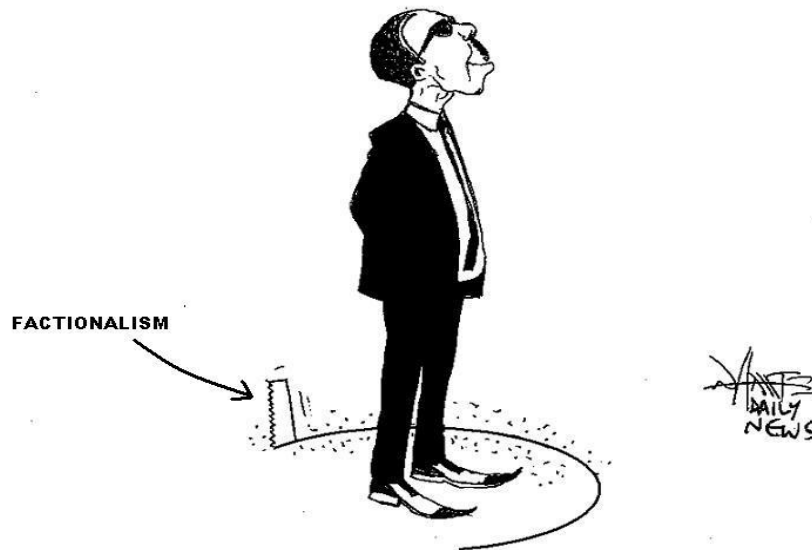
**Fig 4** *dailynews* cartoon published on 7 November 2014

In as much as the cartoon in Fig 4 published in the *dailynews* perpetuated the idea that there was division within ZANU PF, the cartoon also pushed the idea of vilifying the President. Fig 4 shows President Mugabe warming himself over factional fires. This means that the President is very much aware of the existence of the factional wars and is warming himself over the fire. *dailynews* cartoonist states that:

*the focus is not in the particular personalities but rather the relevant issues that are topical at that time. Although the dailynews is privately owned, it is not automatic that what is disseminated by the paper will be meant to attack the President together with the government. dailynews runs under the Motto telling it like it is, without fear, without favour and hence this guides the cartoons that will compliment the topical issues happening at that time.*

The factional fire represents the factionalism that was taking place within ZANU PF at the time of publication. The fire is blazing and the blazes are escalating. The cartoon in figure 4 suggests that the President is comfortable with the factional fighting within the ZANU PF party. This is evidenced by the fact that he is depicted as warming himself over the factional fire. The

President is depicted in such a way suggesting that he wants to use the factional fighting within his party to his advantage. The cartoon suggests that the *dailynews* was trying to conscientise the audiences on the wrath associated with the ZANU PF party. The *dailynews* which is privately owned is normally sympathetic to the opposition party and is more often than not hard hitting at the ruling party. As such, the cartoon in figure 4 exposes the ZANU PF party and paints the President in the negative as being a cunning ruler. Moreover, the cartoon according to McCombs and Shaw's agenda setting theory leaves the audiences thinking about the situation going on within the "revolutionary party."



**Fig 5** *dailynews* cartoon published on 22 October 2014

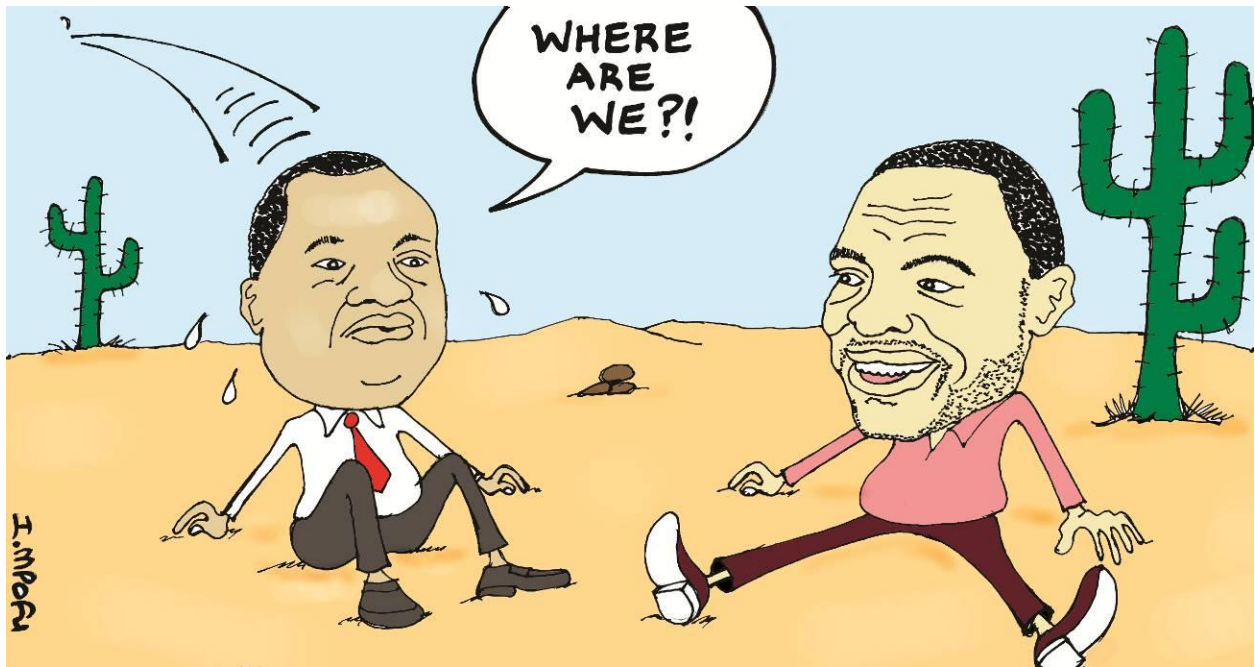
Fig 5 is a cartoon illustration which is a depiction of President Mugabe who is concentrating on something as there is a factionalism saw that is cutting right around the ground he is standing on and the President seems not to be aware of this. *dailynews* editor in an interview with the researcher revealed that the cartoon in figure 5 was meant to show that there was factionalism within the party. He added that the people behind factionalism were slowly gathering support and they thought they would be able to unseat the President since he was oblivious of what was happening. The factionalism saw represents the Mujuru faction which purportedly wanted to

unseat President Mugabe. The cartoon in figure 5 was a botched attempt by the Mujuru led faction to unseat the President. The issue behind the cartoon was based on the question of succession whereby Joice Mujuru wanted to assume presidency at the ZANU PF December Congress. Joice Mujuru and her “cabal” were planning to topple the president when he least expected it. The President seemed unaware of the factionalism that was going on right under his nose.

The cartoon shows that as much as the party presented itself as a united party, there was no unity at all as there were constant plotting against each other. Herman and Chomsky (1988) assert that the powerful are able to fix the premises of discourse, to manage public opinions using regular propaganda campaigns. The *dailynews* in this case has the power to disseminate whatever information they want people to get and hence by cartooning the issue of factionalism which is rife in the ZANU PF party is also able to direct people’s thinking as well as manage public opinions. Figure 5 leaves the audience thinking that ZANU PF is not a party to be aligned with as there are so many cracks that are emerging.

### **5.3“Its extremely cold or hot outside ZANU PF”: *The Herald***

*The Herald* in its cartooning of ZANU PF factional fighting centred on the booting out of key figures in the party. Figure 6 shows two men who are seated down somewhere in the middle of nowhere and one of them is actually asking “where are we?” There are cactus flowers in the cartoon to suggest that the two men are in the desert. The face depictions used in the cartoon are that of Rugare Gumbo who is the man asking the question while the other face is that of Jabulani Sibanda. Rugare Gumbo is also depicted with drops of sweat falling from his face to show that they are in a very hot place. The cartoon was published on the 5<sup>th</sup> of December just before the ZANU PF National People’s Congress which began on the 6<sup>th</sup> of December. The cartoon follows the ousting of the two men from the ZANU PF party after they had shown allegiance to former Vice President Joice Mujuru. *The Herald’s* cartoonist, Innocent Mpofu notes that the two ousted gentlemen have been thrown into the political wilderness. Just when they were holding on to power, that power was usurped from them and they were given the boot.



**Fig 6** *The Herald* cartoon published on 5 December 2014

The First Lady Grace Mugabe together with Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa have been quoted saying “there’s no life outside ZANU PF.” Furthermore in her meet the people rallies, the First Lady Dr Mugabe has also said “outside ZANU PF you will wilt like a leaf that has fallen from the tree.” The two statements spoken have been evidenced by the cartoon in figure 6. Cactus flowers grow in places where there are very high temperatures. The barrenness of the land in which the two men are seated suggests that they are in a desert. The desert is known for having extremely high temperatures during the day and extremely low temperatures at night. The desert also has very little vegetation and there are trees without leaves. Moreover water is very scarce in the desert. The depiction by *The Herald* of Gumbo and Sibanda shows that the two men are politically lost and this suggests that they will hardly survive away from ZANU PF. The general idea that is therefore brought out by the cartoon is that outside ZANU PF, it is very cold and there is no life.

The question being asked by Rugare Gumbo that says, “where are we?!” suggests that as long as one is not part of the ZANU PF party, then one will be lost. Rugare Gumbo was ousted from the

party because of not only being implicated to be part of the Mujuru “cabal” that wanted to unseat the President but for also defending the former VP Joice Mujuru while he was still a ZANU PF spokesperson. Gumbo had been quoted arguing that the person of the Vice President should be treated with respect as she was very senior in the party. Jabulani Sibanda who is the former war veterans chairperson is quoted as saying the First Lady had no business in politics. Sibanda castigated the actions taken by the First Lady when she entered the political scene and stated that what was happening was bedroom politics and that the First Lady was just supposed to talk about the political discourse within the party and not get into politics herself. Such utterances made war veterans and the ZANU PF party at large lose respect and confidence in Jabulani Sibanda and this led to the ouster of Sibanda together with Gumbo. The cartoon reveals the lack of democracy within the ZANU PF party. This is because Rugare Gumbo and Jabulani Sibanda among others were ousted from the party after they had identified themselves with supporting former VP Joice Mujuru.

*The Herald's* editorial policy which explicitly states that the paper will support the government of the day is why *The Herald* published the cartoon in figure 6. Besides playing their role as the media by informing the audiences about the ouster of Jabulani Sibanda and Rugare Gumbo, *The Herald* used the cartoon as a way of setting an agenda, in the case which was that of shunning the Mujuru faction as it had no future. Sani et al (2012) state that editorial cartoons are used as vehicles of setting social agenda in the media to shape public opinion through recurrent depictions reflecting current socio-political issues at a particular period. As a state owned newspaper, *The Herald* remained loyal to the President and this was overseen by the then Minister of Information Professor Jonathan Moyo.

Also in ouster are two other political figures depicted in figure 7. The cartoon is a depiction of some of Mujuru's close allies who had also been booted out of the party. The cartoon shows Temba Mliswa and his uncle Didymus Mutasa seated on a log with their heads in their hands as they try to come to reality with their ouster from the party.



**Fig 7** *The Herald* cartoon published on 20 February 2015

Each one of them is deep in thought and there is a caption that reads “would console you if I wasn’t hurting also”. The two had been officially expelled from the party and are shown as people who are trying to figure out what their next step should be.

The cartoon depicts two people who were used to seating on luxurious seats in the party, people who were used to holding leadership positions representing the party. This carries the message that there is no life outside ZANU PF because you will lose all your benefits and will be cast out into the cold. The cartoon published by *The Herald* is probably a warning sign to other party members who were involved in factional politics that they could also be axed from the party if they were fingered in “fanning” factionalism. Like the bible verse in Roman 6:23 that reads, “the wages of sin is death....” for the ZANU PF party, the wages of “fanning” factionalism was indeed expulsion. Didymus Mutasa together with his nephew Temba Mliswa also fell from the hierarchy ladder and were dismissed from the party. They were victims of the evil called factionalism. The same idea is carried by the cartoon in figure 8 that was published in the *dailynews* on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February 2015.



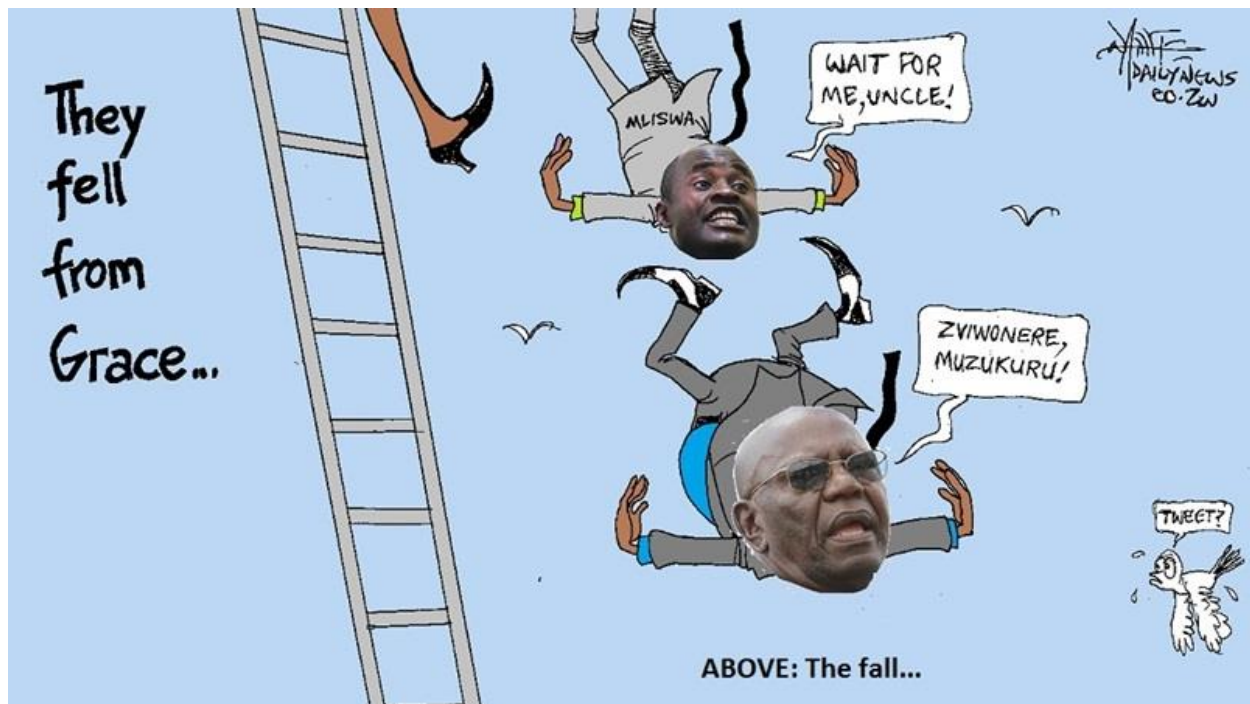


Fig 8 *dailynews* cartoon published on 21 February 2015

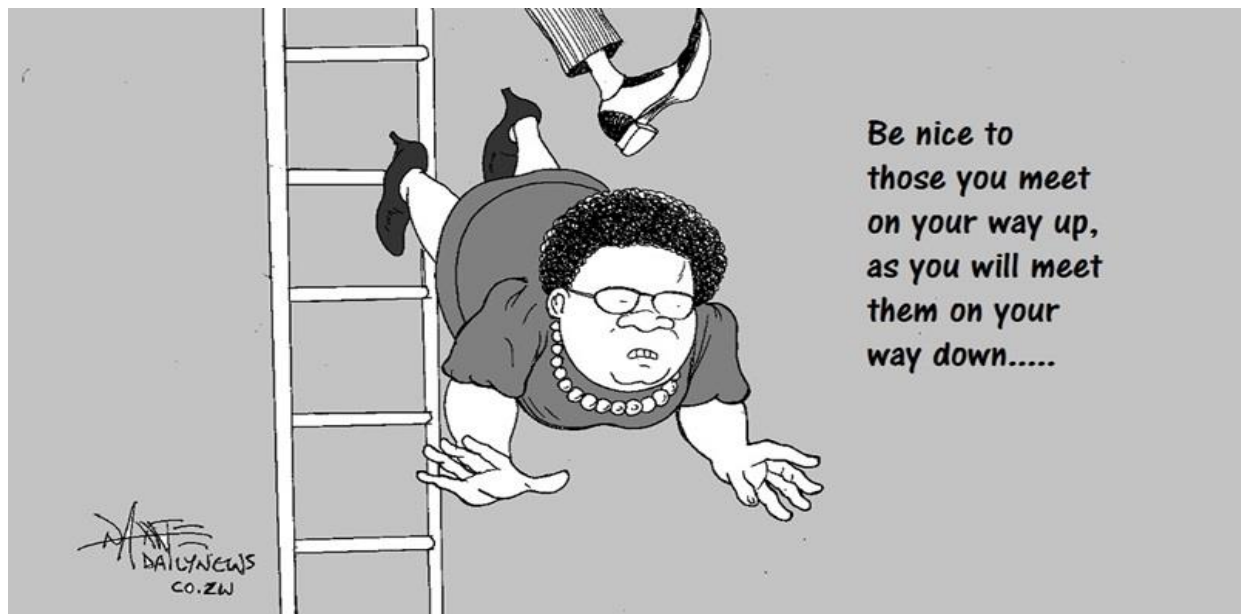
The cartoon depicts Temba Mliswa and Didymus Mutasa being booted out from the ZANU PF party. The only difference between the cartoons in figure 7 and 8 is the fact that the *dailynews* shows a female foot kicking the two men which is probably why they fell from the “throne of grace”.

The cartoon carries with it a hidden meaning as stated by *dailynews* cartoonist that the First Lady was involved in a lot of ZANU PF decision making as she had been nominated to be part of the party’s disciplinary committee. As such, the committee, guided by the politburo were behind the sacking of the two men hence the First Lady’s foot depicted kicking them out. The *dailynews* through the agenda setting theory pushed the agenda that the First Lady was behind most of the decisions that were being made in the ZANU PF party as she was the one influencing the President who was too old and tired to do anything about it. Moreover, the First Lady had assumed so much power in the party that she could oversee the ousting of senior party members and hence, probably this was just the groundwork to her rise in power. This is also seconded by

the caption that accompanies the cartoon that is written “ They fell from Grace...” in as much as the statement means that Mliswa and Mutasa had fallen from elegance which was the ZANU PF party, it also suggests that they had lost favour in the eyes of the First Lady hence their fall from Grace. Grace is written in capital letters to suggest that it's a name of a person. The idea of the fall being from Grace also perpetuated the idea that Grace was the one in control of things in the ZANU PF party and she had the power to boot someone out.

The *dailynews'* issue on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 2014 shows former Vice President Joice Mujuru being booted out. After the December Congress, Dr Mujuru was first given a five year suspension in the party but was later expelled from the party in April 30 2015. Mujuru also lost her position as the Vice President of the party hence the depiction in the figure 9 cartoon where Dr Mujuru is shown falling from the hierarchy ladder. The foot shown in the cartoon is that of the President as he kicked her out from his presidium. Joice Mujuru is shown falling from her glory seat only to become an ordinary card holding member. A caption is also included on the cartoon that reads “Be nice to those you meet on your way up, as you will meet them on your way down....” The caption coined by Wilson Mizner suggests that the former if the former Vice President had sour relations with people that would affect her as she had been dethroned. The statement by Mizner shows that if you are nice to people as you go up, they will definitely cushion your fall when you come down. The *dailynews* through the caption in the cartoon captivates the audiences' attention. It also sends a message to all other party members that if one dares to go against the President, they will surely be shown the exit door.

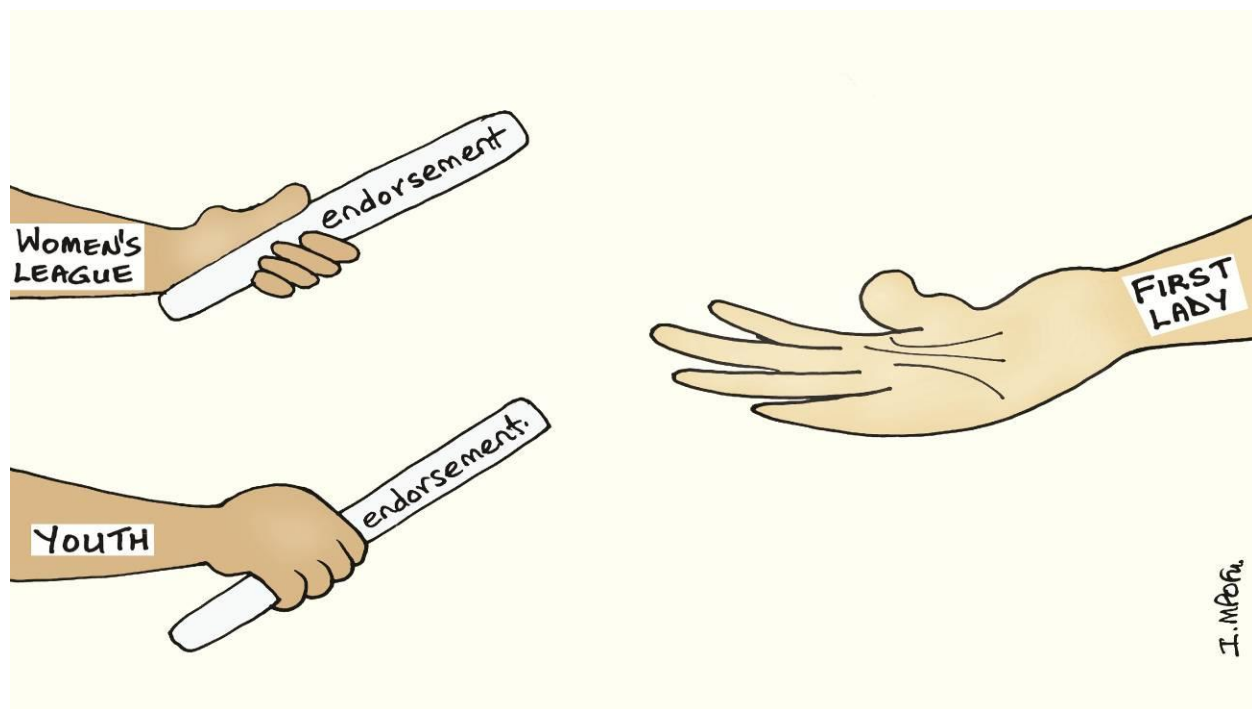




**Fig 9** *dailynews* cartoon published on 13 December 2014

**5.4 Factionalism: A game of power between the First Family and the Mujuru camp**

ZANU PF factionalism has been ongoing for quite some time although the issue has been swept under the carpet by the ZANU PF leadership. *The Herald* started addressing the issue to do with ZANU PF factional fighting after the entrance of the First Lady Grace Mugabe into the political scene.



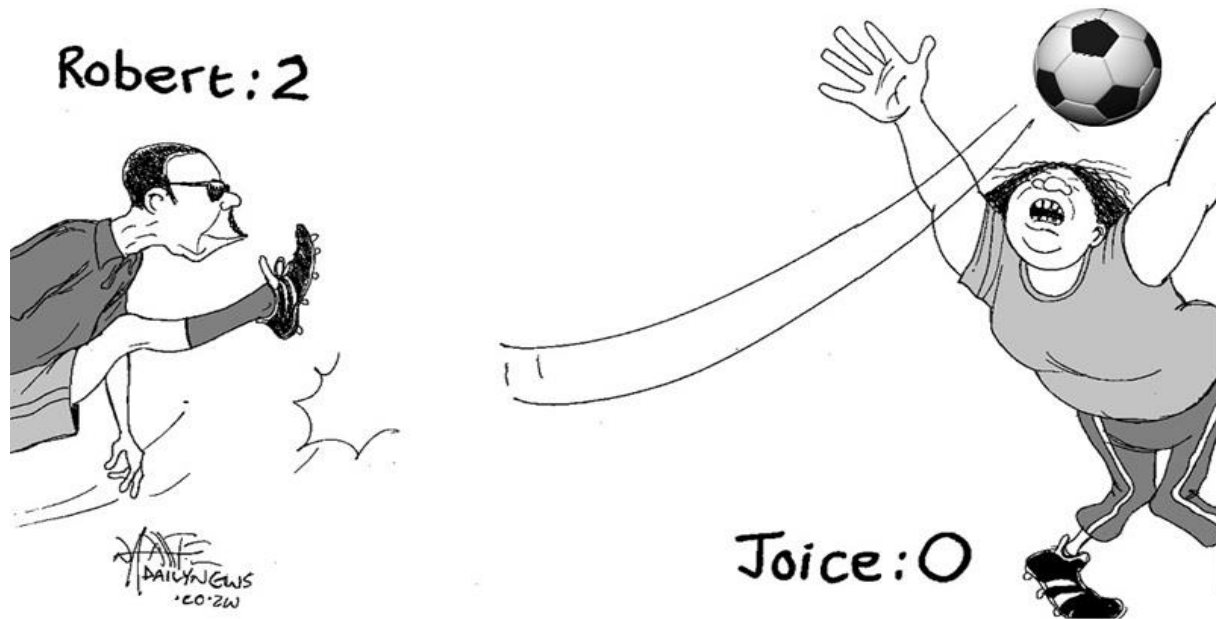
**Fig 10** *The Herald* cartoon published on 9 August 2014

When the first lady entered the political scene, *The Herald* cartooned this showing the endorsements of the arms that make up ZANU PF. Figure 10 depicts two major groups within the ZANU PF party endorsing the First Lady's entrance into politics. These two groups are the women's league which was previously headed by Oppah Muchinguri as well as the youth league which was also headed by Godfrey Gomwe. The entrance of the First Lady into the political scene is arguably what triggered the exposure of factionalism within the party. Her entrance on the political scene was a "game changer". The First Lady, Grace Mugabe in her meet the people rallies openly admitted that the ZANU PF party had some unruly elements who were trying to topple the President Robert Mugabe from his presidency.

The First Lady also exposed some corrupt party members and exposed the members who were responsible for purported "fanning" and perpetuating factionalism within the party. In this regard, the cartoon in figure 10 shows the First Lady being given the reigns to take over as the ZANU PF Women's League Secretary. Diagnostic critique shows that there was no democracy

in the ascendance to power by the First Lady. This is shown by the fact that both the Youth League and Women's league had to endorse the First Lady into power. Had the ascendance been democratic, the party members would have used the ballot system to vote her into power. This raises questions to the First Lady's entrance into politics. Was the patronage system used in this case or was it by popular demand that the First Lady got the position as the ZANU PF Secretary for Women Affairs? If it was by popular demand and if it was democratic, why then dismiss those suspected to be opposed to her ascendancy? Did the First Lady get the post because she was well respected by most of the party members as the mother (Amai) of the party?

After the First Lady's endorsement, she took it upon herself to continuously expose as well as humiliate all the people who were responsible for perpetuating factionalism, mainly the Mujuru "cabal". *The Herald's* portrayal of the First Lady's endorsement is probably because the organization is owned and run by the government and as such, the paper perpetuates the ideologies of those who own them. Factors such as ownership and control weighed heavily in the cartooning of ZANU PF factional fighting. Mararike (1997) is of the view that there is no free press and points out that what is published at the end of the day is what the owner of the media wants. *The Herald* had to dance according to the tune of its owners. *The Herald's* editorial policy explicitly states that it will support the government of the day of which in this case is the ZANU PF government led by President Robert Mugabe.



**Fig 11** *dailynews* cartoon published on 28 November 2014

Towards the ZANU PF December Congress, a cartoon by the *dailynews* was published pitting President Mugabe and former Vice President Joice Mujuru. The dress cord of the two shows that they are in a soccer field and the result of the match is two-zero (2-0) in favour of President Mugabe. President Mugabe, by his dressing is a soccer player in this game while Dr Mujuru is the goalkeeper. The cartoon shows the game of power that is between the two individuals depicted. There was a deliberate comparison of the two leaders in a soccer pitch. The game which supposedly started goalless has changed in favour of the President. This game of power is all about presidency. President Mugabe was not ready to take leave of the office while Mujuru was interested in taking office as President. What might have seemed as an achievable goal seems to be difficult to get as depicted by Joice Mujuru's facial expression.

The issue surrounding the depiction of the events that were taking place during the time of publication relates or goes back to the 2013 elections discourse. In 2013 during the period of the harmonized elections, the “Bhora muggedhi” discourse came into play. ZANU PF went into elections against the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) as well as other opposition

parties. The “bhora musedhi” discourse showed that ZANU PF was the better party as it won the elections while for Tsvangirayi and his opposition party, they hit their “bhora musango.” In these regards, Mujuru is depicted as having a score line of zero while the President has tow suggesting that the President has kicked his “bhora musedhi” and Mujuru has kicked her “bhora musango.”

By 28 November 2014, most of the people aligned with the Mujuru faction had since been exposed and were either under suspension in the party or they had been relieved from their duties in the party. The cartoon also suggests the power that President Mugabe has within the ZANU PF party. When the issue of factionalism began to spread and be widely talked about, the President did not comment on the issue that was bedevilling his party. When the President finally addressed the issue, there was a lot of mayhem within the Mujuru camp hence the score line 2-0.



**Fig 12** *dailynews* cartoon published on 7 March 2015

Figure 12 is a depiction of President Robert Mugabe with his wife, Grace Mugabe discussing an issue from the newspaper. The paper has a story headline that reads “Mutasa to contest by-elections as Zanu-PF candidate”. This follows the ousting of former secretary for administration

Didymus Mutasa after he had been implicated as a member of the Mujuru “cabal” which was planning a coup against the President. The cartoon also depicts the First Lady saying “He’s so obsessed with representing our party. We shouldn’t have expelled him. We should have made him our ambassador to Siberia or something” This statement is meant to mock Mutasa in that Siberia which is in Russia is one of the most sparsely populated places on the planet because it is very cold. This statement is therefore closely linked to the cartoon on Rugare Gumbo and Jabulani Sibanda in the dessert as well as the cartoon on Mutasa and Mliswa seated on a log. By suggesting that Mutasa should have been sent to Siberia, it perpetuates the idea and belief that it is extremely cold outside ZANU PF. Moreover, dictatorship tendencies are revealed by the statement itself. Joseph Stalin from Russia exiled his opponents in Siberia hence suggesting that Mutasa should have been sent to Siberia implies that President Mugabe is a dictator.

The cartoon also depicts President Mugabe with wrinkles and it suggests that he is old. The depiction of Mugabe as being old suggests that the First Lady is the one in charge and she is the one calling all the shots. The private press allege that the First Lady is now effectively in control and also suggests that there has been some “bedroom coup.” The cartoon caricatures the First Lady. The number of jewellery that she is putting on, the rings on her right hand, the bracelet, the earrings, necklace as well as the type of spectacles or sunglasses she is putting on are a form of caricature on the First Lady. This implies that the First lady is flashy.

The *dailynews*, because of issues to do with its ownership and control is trying to perpetuate the ideology that the President is old and hence his wife, the First Lady is the one who gives him ideas or helps him out with decisions on topical issues. With regards to the cartoon at hand, the First Lady is depicted as mocking Mutasa who wants to keep on holding to the ZANU PF party even after he had been expelled from the party. Cartoons according to Streicher (1965) are used to communicate with the public. The deeper meaning embedded in the cartoon is that because of her lavish life and her love for some bling, the First Lady has taken over and is in charge of running things within the ZANU PF party so that the President continues holding on to his position while the first family continues enjoying the benefits that come with being in the first family.

The political economy of the media largely influences the cartoons that are published at the end of the day. Findings of the study reveal that media polarization is evident in the cartoons disseminated. Unlike the *dailynews*, *The Herald* in its cartoons never portrayed the President or the First Lady in the negative. The publication concentrated on cartooning members of the Mujuru faction. This is in line with the Political Economy Theory of the media which points out that the media actively frame issues to promote news stories that serve the needs and concerns of the ruling elite (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). *The Herald* cartoonist, Innocent Mpfu states that *The Herald* is guided by its editorial policy. Foucault (1980) states that discourse regulate the sayable and unsayable, the thinkable and unthinkable, the doable and the undoable. This further seconds Gamson et al (1992)'s contention that, ownership of media organisations is of great concern in the context in which media images are produced. As an organisation that is state controlled, *The Herald's* policies come from the government through the ministry of information.

*The Herald* was dead set on demonizing former VP Mujuru and her "cabal". Although the people involved in the cartoon production process state that the main goal and objective of the paper was to inform while entertaining the public about key issues that were taking place within the country, it is very important to note that that *The Herald* in the process of informing was also pushing certain ideologies for their owners. The media played a pivotal role of being political actors or tools for political parties to push their agendas.

The cartoon published on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November illustrates people's fists in the air. The fist is synonymous with ZANU PF. When ZANU PF members are chanting their slogan, they say "PAMBERI neZANU PF....PAMBERI" while raising their fists to show solidarity and allegiance to the party. Once everyone raises their fists it means that people are in agreement. Also shown in the picture is a question that reads "STOCKHOLM SYNDROME?" This is a question being asked by the cartoonist if whether or not the raising of fists in the air is due to the Stockholm syndrome. *dailynews* editor posits that it is yet to be ascertained if whether or not the people in the picture are genuine or not.





**Fig 13** *dailynews* published on 15 November 2014

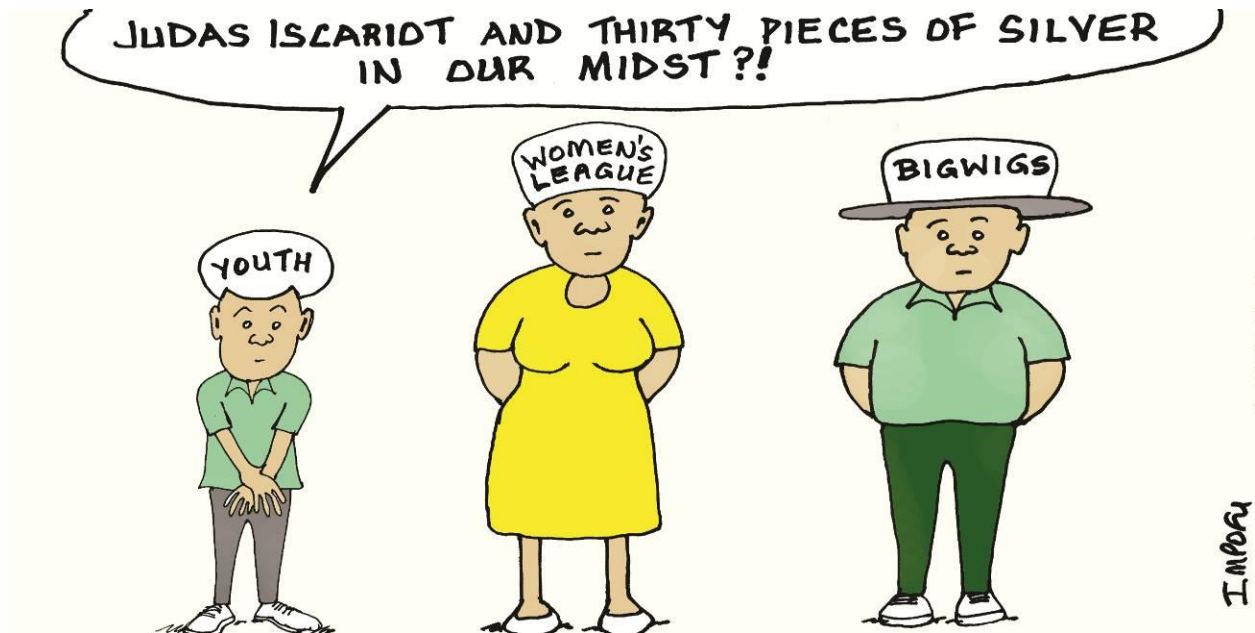
Stockholm syndrome is a condition in which one starts liking someone even if that person is otherwise oppressive or hostile to them. In this cartoon the question that comes to the fore is if the fists raised in the air are genuine fists or if these people have the Stockholm syndrome and don't want to be othered especially at a time when the issue of factionalism was at its peak. Are the people genuinely supporting the leadership in the party or they are in a situation where they can't speak out? Is the positivity towards the ZANU PF party genuine? The cartoon in figure 13 is closely linked to the cartoon in figure 10 on the First Lady endorsement. It shows that ZANU PF party members are quick to endorse in fear of victimization therefore there is no democracy in the party. The cartoon also brings out the discourse of the patronage system where there is unequal distribution of power but the people accept it as it is in fear of being labelled or being ousted from the party.

The period in which the cartoon was published is very important in that many ZANU PF members who were implicated in factional fighting were being ousted from the party during that



period. As a result, members of the party wanted to safeguard their place and position within the party and avoid the humiliation of being ousted for fanning factionalism within the party.

**5.5 Those accused of factionalism as sell-outs: *The Herald***



**Fig14** *The Herald* cartoon published on 4 September 2014

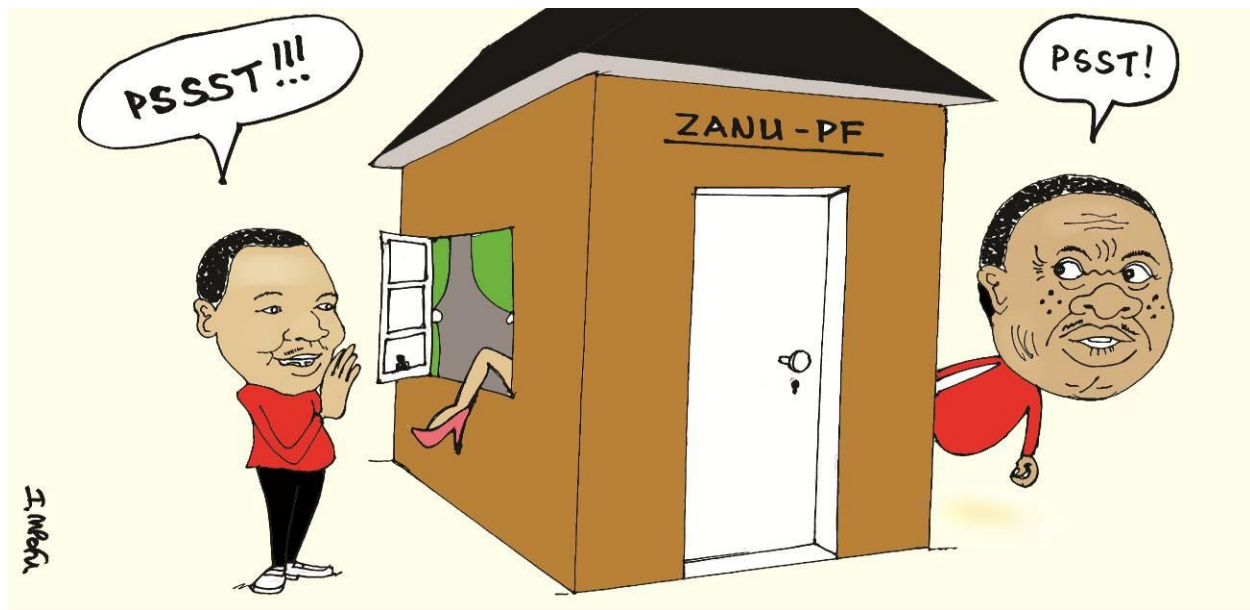
The Herald cartoon published on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September 2014 depicts three people, one from the youth league, the second one from the women's league and the third one representing the bigwigs. There is a caption written to show what the youth is thinking and it says "Judas Iscariot and thirty pieces of silver in our midst". From the bible, Judas Iscariot is well known for selling out the whereabouts of Jesus and was paid thirty pieces of silver for it. As such, in the ZANU PF context, the cartoon shows that within the three groups being represented, there are some unruly elements who have sold off the party and have brought in divisive elements. The three people depicted represent the three most powerful arms of the ZANU PF party. Within the three arms,

there were people who were “fanning” factionalism trying to take over the party and they were simply doing this for money.

The Mujuru led “cabal” was painted as the greatest perpetrators in fanning factionalism. Because of such statements such as “Judas Iscariot”, there followed a series of exposing and ousting of these elements from the three arms. From the youth and the women’s league, figures such as Olivia Muchena, Joyline Porusingazi, Loveness Mutezo as well Constance Shamu were fingered as the “Judas Iscariots”. The bigwigs fingered include Webster Shamu, Nicholas Goche, Tendai Savanhu, the late Amos Midzi as well as Kudakwashe Bhasikiti.

*The Herald* through the cartoon did not mention any names but directed people’s thinking. As stated by McQuail (1987) the agenda setting theory suggests that media give the audience what to think about, it sets an agenda for the audience. The media disseminates information that they want the audiences to pay particular attention to. *The Herald* through this cartoon was able to direct the people’s attention to the issue concerning this “Judas Iscariot” so that people would start wondering as to who this person was and why they had earned themselves that name. *The Herald* cartoonist, states that in political cartoons, an issue is brought in like a joke yet it is actually taking a dig on particular people. He believes that a cartoon is there to provide a lighter side to serious socio-political issues. As emphasized in chapter 2, editorial cartoons are able to hold members of the public office to account since they act as vigorous critiques of their actions (Willems, 2011).

The media might not have been involved in the formation of factions within the ZANU PF party but it fuelled the tensions and brought wider drifts amongst party members. Due to the media’s cartooning and dissemination of information surrounding ZANU PF factional fighting, party members started fingering each other and there were more people ousted from the party because of the involvement of the media. The media played a major role of being political commentators through cartoons.



**Fig 15** *The Herald* cartoon published on 21 November 2014

A semiotic analysis of the cartoon in figure 6 shows an illustration of a building, probably the ZANU PF headquarters because the building is written ZANU-PF. On one side of the building is a face of someone peeping and saying “psst”. Because of the depiction of the person with dotted cheeks and a round face, the researcher can conclude that the person is Morgan Tsvangirai. On the other side of the building, there is an open window with one woman’s leg coming out of the window. Another person is standing by the window also saying “psst” as the individual seems to be communicating with the woman .

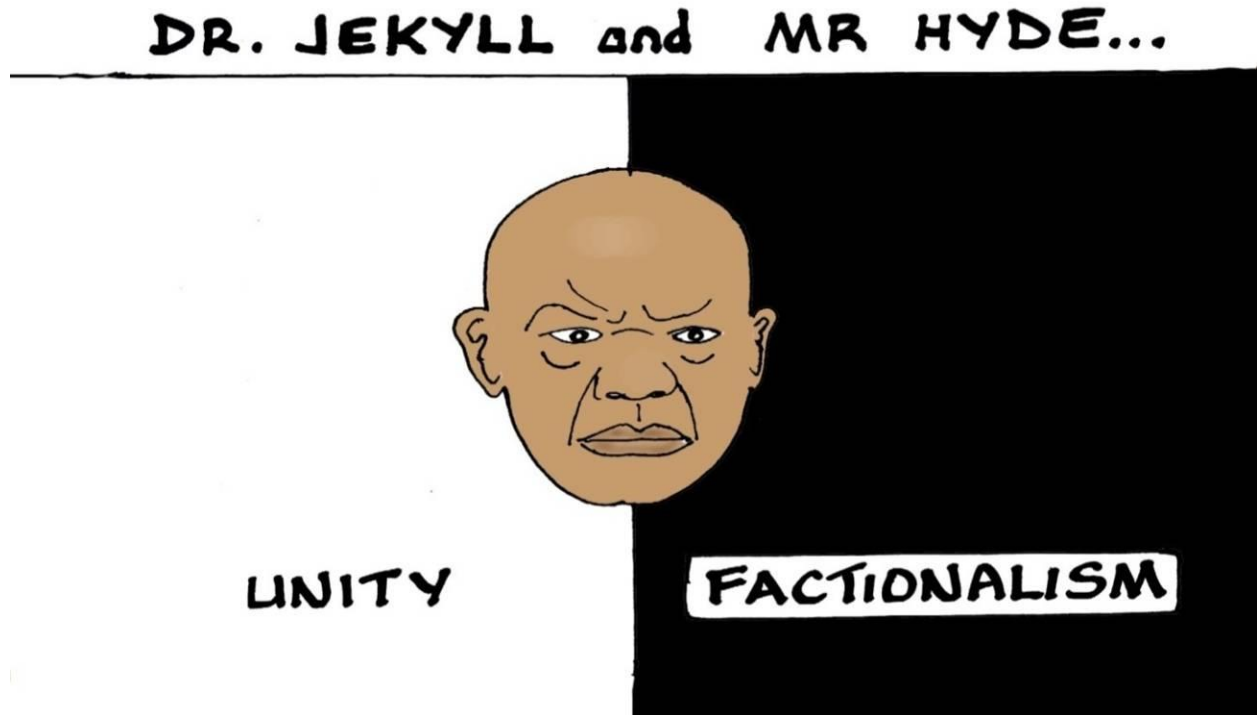
The woman with one leg out of the window can be said to be former VP Mujuru who was entertaining Job Sikhala and Morgan Tsvangirayi therefore being depicted as a sell-out. The former Vice President Joice Mujuru has been extensively reported on by the media and allegations were brought forward that she was scandalous and corrupt. Wikileaks revelations showed that sometime in 2014 when the President was out of the country and Mujuru was the Acting President, Mujuru met with United States Ambassador without her security and purportedly held a discussion about unseating the President. This therefore painted Dr Mujuru as a sell-out. She was painted as a “Judas Iscariot” who went by night trying to come up with ways

of dethroning the President. *The Herald* was more sympathetic to one faction of the ZANU PF party while it demonised the Mujuru faction. This is clearly depicted in the figure 15 cartoon. Wikileaks reports suggested that the former VP was prepared to sell off the country and its independence for money and her personal upliftment. *The Herald* cartoonist states that the cartoon was simply trying to unpack the discourses that were at play at that moment. Joice Mujuru was purported to have been in alliance with the leaders of the oppositional party, MDC T and as such the cartoon depicts Mujuru as being a sell-out. The fact that the whole body is not shown but the leg is already out of the window shows that former VP had been “sleeping with the enemy” while pretending to be in one accord with fellow ZANU PF members.

The main aim of the cartoon was to hammer the fact that the actions of the then VP were unacceptable as her love for money and power had turned her into a different person altogether. *The Herald* conveniently forgot to provide cartoons that had something to do with the rival faction with which the Mujuru led faction was battling with. By not cartooning the rival faction, *The Herald* was trying to satisfy the demands of the government. The then Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Professor Jonathan Moyo who was a major decision maker and was involved in the selection of texts to be published in *The Herald* was allegedly aligned to the Mnangagwa faction. As per the agenda setting theory, certain issues were given prominence while other issues were left silent hence the salience transfer of the agenda setting theory on public opinion.

The next cartoon published on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 2014 depicting Didymus Mutasa as a two faced individual. In biblical terms, Judas Iscariot was a two faced person who was preaching love while selling out Jesus Christ. Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde is a metaphor used to mean a double faced person. The cartoon in figure 16 is a depiction of Didymus Mutasa's face flanked by two colours, black and white. White in the cartoon represents day while black represents the night. Mutasa is being described as being two faced, failing to stand on his own feet. According to the cartoon, during the day Didymus Mutasa masqueraded as someone who was an advocate for unity and bringing together people who were at logger heads. At night, Mutasa would masquerade as a totally different person who was “fanning” factionalism and was helping former

VP and other party members to plot against the President. During the day Mutasa was “Dr Jekyll while at night he was Mr Hyde. Mutasa’s depiction can be equated to a Janus faced creature which has two faces.



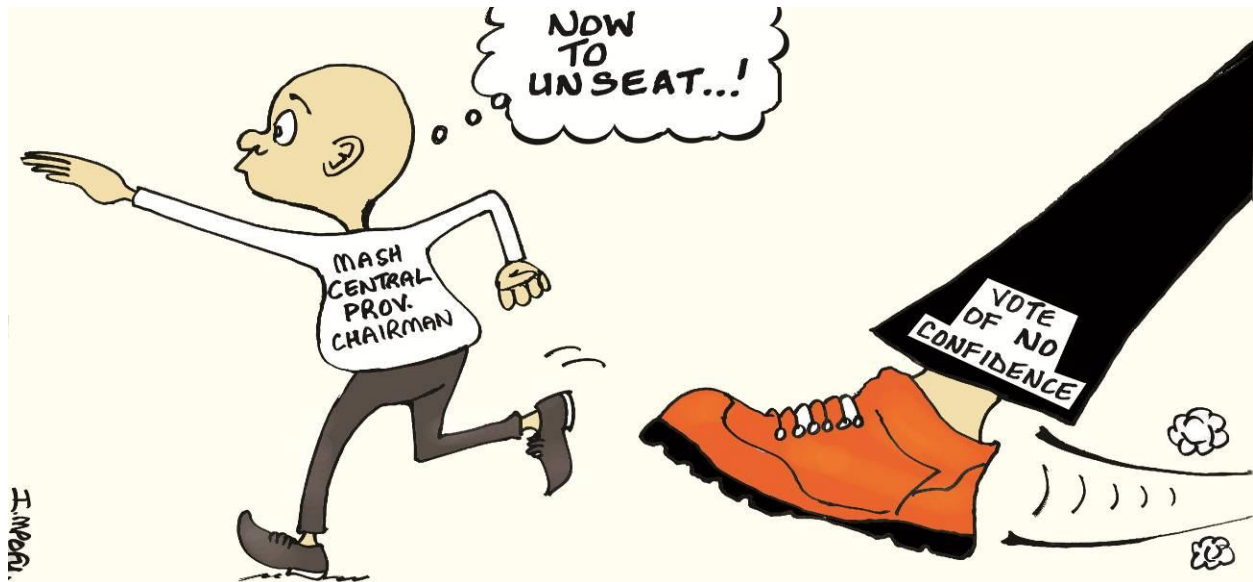
**Fig 16** *The Herald* cartoon published on 22 November 2014

Mutasa in one of the ZANU PF rallies before he was ousted from the party talked about the ZANU PF party being infested by weevils and suggested that the weevils should be destroyed by gamatox. By making such suggestions he seemed to be against the issue of factionalism and seemed to be in total support of the President only to be later implicated as a member of the Mujuru “cabal”. The two colours, black and white are a clear disparity that is representative of the ZANU PF party. White represents the light, it represents unity, it represents those who are loyal to the President and do not have ideas of bringing him down. As for black, it represents darkness, those who have evil intentions of toppling the President, it represents the group of

people who were now working against the party leadership and wanted to assume power and control. Black represents the sell-outs who had ulterior intentions for the party and the country at large.

### **5.6 Vote of no confidence as the weevil infested ZANU PF was fumigated**

The cartoon in figure 17 suggests that there was some clean up taking place in the provinces.



**Fig 17** *The Herald* cartoon published on 20 November 2014

*The Herald* cartoon published on the 20<sup>th</sup> of November 2014 is a depiction of a person with clothing written “MASH CENTRAL PROV. CHAIRMAN”. The person in question has thoughts in his mind of unseating someone. A big leg kicking the individual carries a caption that says “VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE”. The revelation of factionalism within the ZANU PF party brought a lot of unrest to some party members. A lot of trust had been lost and as such members of the party were voting out of power all the people aligned to the Mujuru faction. The cartoon in figure 17 is a portrayal of what was happening during the period of publication (November 20 2014) Many chairpersons as well as members who held high positions within the party were

being exposed and being cast out in the cold through the passing of a vote of no confidence by other members.

In the cartoon studied in figure 17, Mashonaland Central Provincial chairman at that time was Luke Mushore. Mushore was accused of “fanning” factionalism as well as joining faction leader Joice Mujuru in planning to topple the President. This led the researcher to think that the person depicted in the cartoon was Luke Mushore. Many other provinces had gone through the same process of casting votes of no confidence on party members suspected and accused of perpetuating ideas of removing the president Robert Mugabe from power. Provinces such as Mashonaland East had passed a vote of no confidence on Ray Kaukonde; Midlands had passed a similar verdict on Jason Machaya as well as other senior party officials such as John Mvundura among others. The theory of agenda setting states that “through repetition and consistency across the media, the public begins to adopt the news media’s agenda and believes that these same events, people and issues are salient and important”(Perse 2001:98). As such *The Herald* by constantly cartooning members of the Mujuru “cabal” was creating a belief with its readers that these people had no good intentions for the party and the nation at large as they were sell-outs who were only after unseating the President and making money.





**Fig 18** *The Herald* cartoon published on 9 December 2014

The cartoon shows a building with an open door and an open window and is written ZANU PF. Just outside are elements which seem to be dead. Also pictured is a man in yellow safety clothing who is carrying a knapsack and there is a caption saying “with the exception of Mash East maybe, the house is fumigated.” The cartoon illustrates the fumigation of the ZANU PF house. This clean up had taken place at the National People’s Congress where Mujuru and her “cabal” were dealt with decisively with other members being given two year suspensions from the party while others were given five year suspensions. *The Herald* appropriated Mutasa’s own use of the imagery of fumigation where “gamatox” was being sprayed on the “weevils” so as to clean up the ZANU PF house. People such as Webster Shamu were suspended from taking part in any ZANU PF activity and he was stripped of his position as the ZANU PF commissar.

The discourse of ‘weevils’ and ‘gamatox’ was being used to refer to party members who had gone rogue. By depicting a fumigator, this shows that there had been some clean up within the ZANU PF party and the President of the party had gotten rid of the “weevils” who had brought rot into the party. The fumigator in this situation can be the President himself since he had the power to suspend or otherwise expel unruly elements in the party. Schudson in Murdock and



Golding (2005:63) argues that “political economy relates the outcome of the news process directly to the economic structure of news organisations”. As a newspaper whose major decision maker was the Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services, *The Herald* had to help the greater strategy of demonizing the Mujuru “cabal” and hence *The Herald* cartoons succeeded in so doing. Loyalty of the paper rests with the President and anyone seen to be against the code of conduct becomes a person of interest. Unlike *The Herald*, *dailynews* cartoonist said their paper is privately owned and hence they make the decision of what to give to the people.

### **5.7 Conclusion**

This chapter presented the findings of the study and discussed what the findings meant in relation to the objectives of the study. The findings also tried to answer the research questions presented in chapter 1. The findings were presented thematically under the following themes: **ZANU PF a party divided, Mugabe responsible for ZANU PF factionalism: *dailynews*, “Its extremely cold or hot outside ZANU PF”:** *The Herald*, **Factionalism: A game of power between the First Family and Mujuru camp, Those accused of factionalism as sell-outs: *The Herald* and Vote of no confidence as the weevil infested ZANU PF is fumigated.** The Main argument in the findings is that the cartooning of the ZANU PF factional fighting was a game of power in politics. *The Herald* constantly attacked former Vice President Joice Mujuru and perpetuated the ideology that she was not fit to assume presidency because of her corruption. The *dailynews* not only cartooned the Mujuru faction but also portrayed President Mugabe as a cunning leader who was responsible for perpetuating factional fights in his party.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.0 Introduction**

This chapter summarises the study and draws conclusions based on the findings of the study. It also makes recommendations as informed by the findings.

### **6.1 Summary of the study**

This study explored the cartooning of ZANU PF factional fighting in *The Herald* and *dailynews*. The study sought to investigate how editorial cartoons were used by the two papers to portray the ZANU PF factional fighting.

Literature from other scholars that focused on editorial cartoons was reviewed. It was divided into sub themes to help contextualise the literature to this study. These themes were: media as political actors and tools, editorial cartoons in Zimbabwe as political commentary and political cartoons as a vehicle of agenda setting. Under every sub theme, arguments and assertions by other researchers were provided in relation to editorial cartoons. These assertions were also contextualised in light to this research making them relevant to the topic under study. While studies on editorial cartoons had been carried before, the uniqueness in this study is that it sought to look at how two different publications cartooned one political party, ZANU PF's factional fighting unlike previous studies which had compared to different parties.

The Agenda Setting theory as well as the Political Economy of the Media theory were used as the theoretical framework for the study. The study made use of the qualitative research methods and the research design used was the case study design since two different newspapers were used. Archival research was used to retrieve as well as analyse the newspaper cartoons that were purposively sampled for this research. The research also made use of the critical discourse analysis as well as semiotic analysis as methods of data presentation and analysis. Data was presented thematically and reference was made to the literature review and theoretical framework in support of the findings.

Major findings of this study were that *The Herald* was more inclined to one faction of the ZANU PF party in its cartoon representations. *The Herald* only cartooned the Mujuru faction and never cartooned the rival faction led by Mnangagwa. *The Herald* was used by the ZANU PF party to demonise former VP Mujuru through its cartoons as it portrayed her as a sell-out who was corrupt and was plotting to unseat the President. Mujuru and her “cabal” were all portrayed as sell-outs who pretended to be in allegiance with the President while they had ulterior motives. The *dailynews'* cartoons on the other hand perpetuated the agenda that President Mugabe was responsible for factionalism in his part and he wanted to use this to his advantage so that he could continue leading the party. The newspaper depicted Mugabe as a Machiavellian politician who used cunning ways to remain in power. Both papers acknowledged that the ZANU PF party was marred with factional wars but had different reasons for the existence of factionalism. Another finding from *The Herald* is that there is no life outside ZANU PF. The factional fighting within ZANU PF was merely a game of power between the First Family and former VP Joice Mujuru. Both parties wanted power.

The research also revealed that the political economy of the media has great influence on what is published in the newspapers. Media ownership and control play a key role in determining what cartoons are published in the newspaper. There was consistent government interference in the packaging of *The Herald's* newspaper editions. This was evidenced by *The Herald* which was hard hitting at former Vice President Joice Mujuru together with her “cabal”. The editorial policy of *The Herald* which explicitly states that the paper will support the government of the day is what guided the paper's production of editorial cartoons. As such it was guided by the Ministry of Information to safeguard the interests of the President. As for the *dailynews* which is privately owned, it was more liberal to cartoon what was happening within ZANU PF hence cartoons to do with the President's “divide and rule” cartoon.

Findings also revealed that the two papers set an agenda for the audiences. The cartoons played the role of giving the audiences what to think about. They kept the audiences' attention captured.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

The researcher recommends that the media should be objective and credible. The media should play its role as the fourth estate without an external interference. The media must give balanced reports when they disseminate information. The media should give fair coverage on all issues regardless of their political or ideological affiliation. The media should also come up with alternative ways of getting revenue so that they are not used as tools to disseminate information according to advertisers.

A media house should have more than one cartoonist so that there can be diversity in cartoons and it can maintain its audience. One cartoonist's work can end up becoming monotonous and hence the media can lose audience. Both *The Herald* and *dailynews* should stop being mouthpieces of propaganda for political parties. They should just play their role of informing, educating as well as entertaining the public rather than perpetuating political party ideologies.

## **6.3 Areas for further research.**

The study carried out by the researcher focused on the cartooning of ZANU PF factional fighting in *The Herald* and *dailynews* from 1 August 2014 to 30 April 2015. Further research needs to be carried out where audiences can be interviewed so that their views on cartoons can be noted. Inasmuch as cartoons speak louder than a thousand words, audiences may fail to unpack certain discourses that are carried by cartoons. It would be very interesting to find out how audiences decode cartoons and what messages they think are carried by cartoons.

## **6.4 Conclusion**

This chapter concludes the study by giving a summary of the findings of the research study. It also gave a summary of the research methods that were used to carry out the study. Recommendations to *The Herald* as well as *dailynews* were provided as well.

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**Newspaper Cartoons**

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Namate, T (2014), *dailynews* Cartoon, 22 October

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Namate, T (2014), *dailynews* Cartoon, 15 November

Namate, T (2014), *dailynews* Cartoon, 28 November

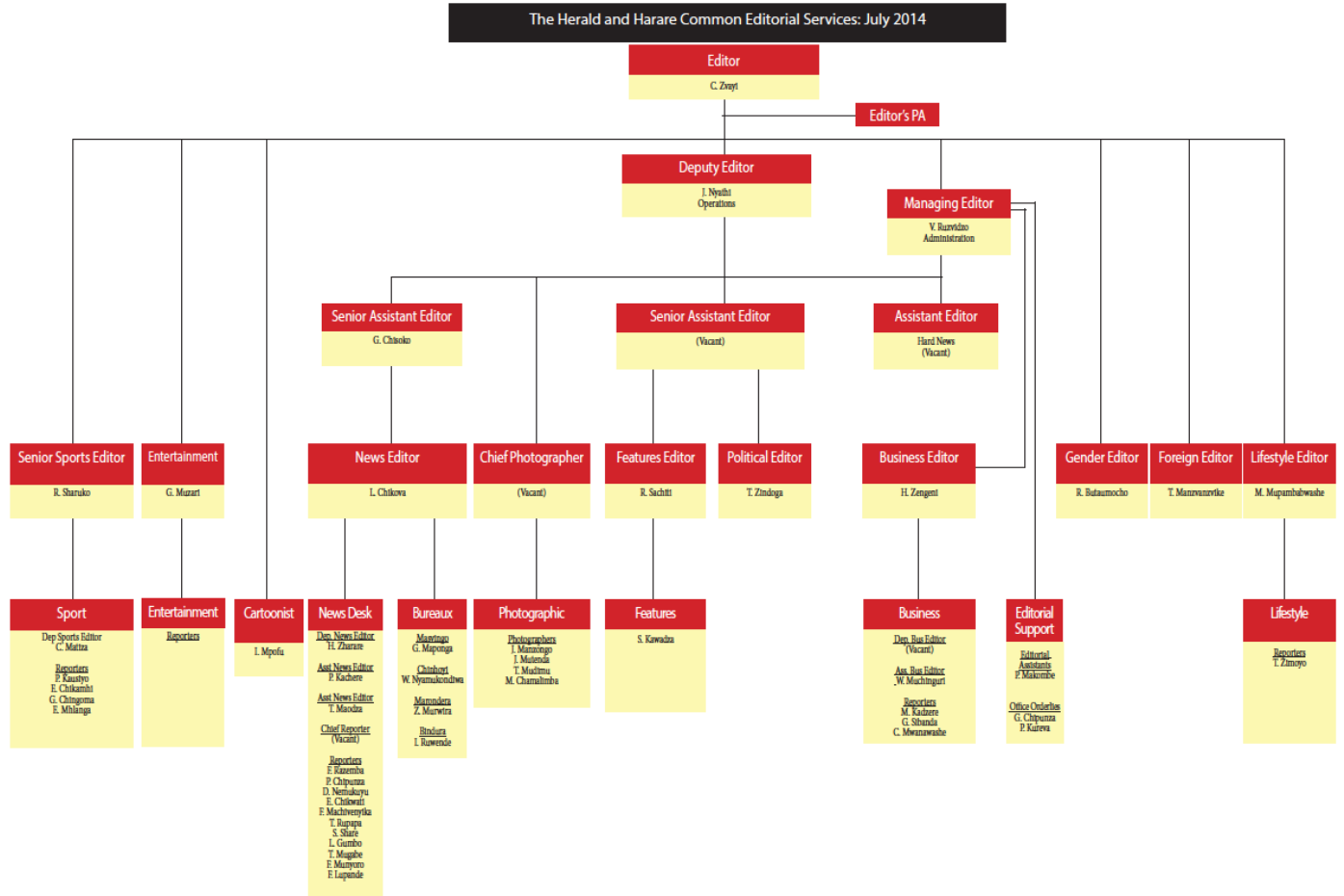
Namate, T (2014), *dailynews* Cartoon, 13 December

Namate, T (2015), *dailynews* Cartoon, 21 February

Namate, T (2015), *dailynews* Cartoon, 7 March

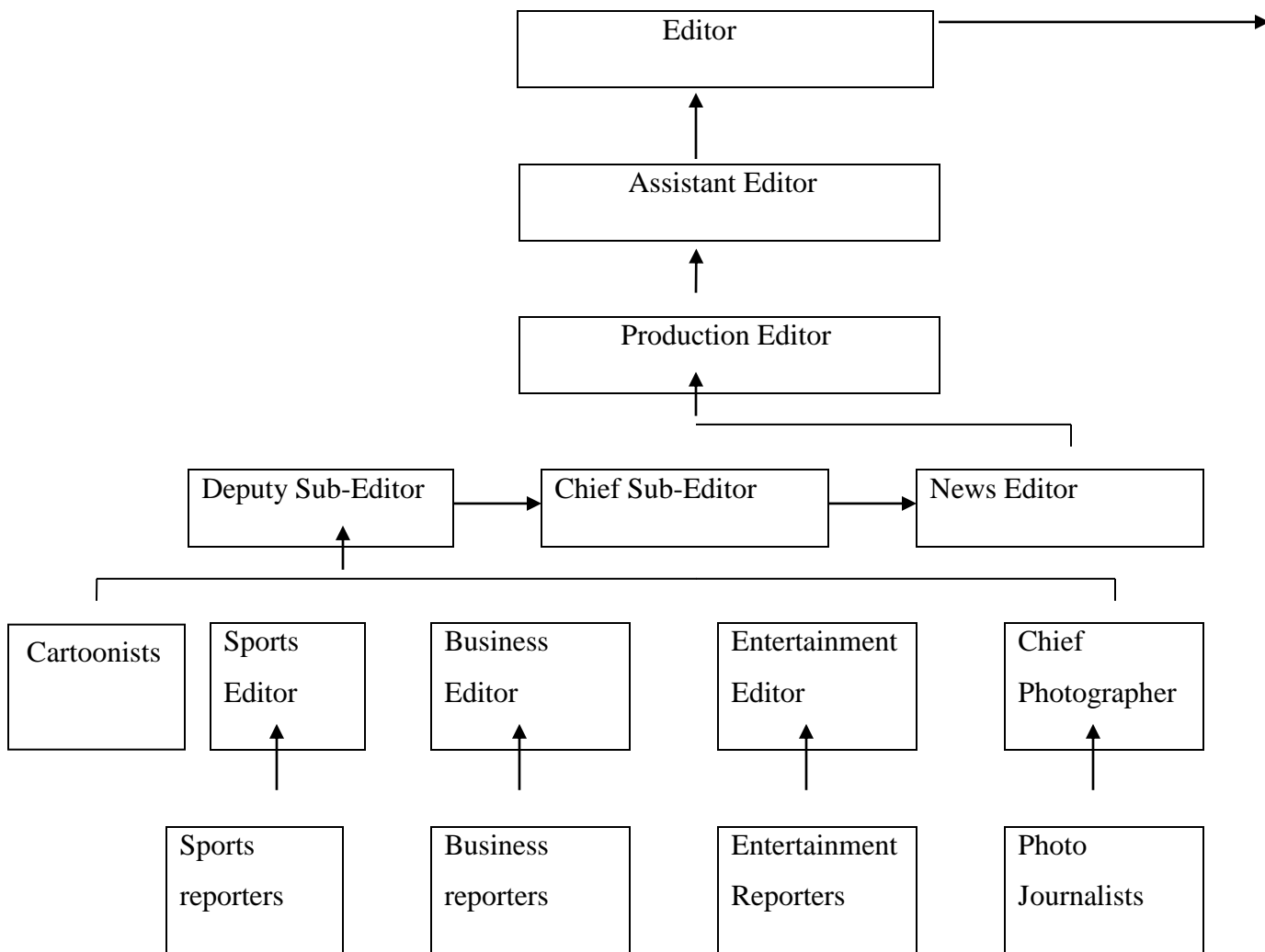
Appendices  
APPENDIX 1

The Herald Organogram



**APPENDIX 2**

***Dailynews Organogram***



### **APPENDIX 3**

#### ***The Herald's* Shareholding Structure**

ZMMT	51.09%
Old Mutual Life Assurance	10.24%
Hamilton & Hamilton Trustees Ltd-Nnr	6.76%
Hotair Investments	4.72%
Zimpapers Employees' Share Trust	3.41%
Zimbabwe Newspapers Pension Fund	3.39%
Willoughbys Consolidated Plc	2.08%
Messina Investments Limited	1.84%
National Social Security Authority	1.45%
The Bexley Trust	1.35%
Zimpapers Manager's Share Trust	1.12%
Hamilton & Hamilton Trustees	0.77%
Stanbic Nominees (Pvt) Ltd	0.69%
Hamilton Insurance (Pvt) Ltd	0.48%
Hotair Investments (Pvt) Ltd	0.45%
Kamba Thompson Togarepi	0.45%
Datvest Nominees (Pvt) Ltd	0.39%
Wabatagore Biriam	0.35%
Workers Compensation Insurance Fund	0.31%
Hooper Adian Charles Norgate	0.28%

## **APPENDIX 4**

### **Interview guide for editors**

1. What is the purpose of editorial cartoons in your paper?
2. How much influence do you have as an editor in the images produced by the cartoonist?
3. What factors do you consider before you approve a cartoon's publication?
4. How do you come up with a cartoon concept? Is it discussed in an editorial meeting or the cartoonist just comes up with his own idea.
5. What factors influenced the cartoons you produced during the period under study, August 2014 to April 2015?
6. Do you think your cartoons are a correct reflection of the socio-political issues in Zimbabwe, in particular, the ZANU PF factional fighting debacle?

## **APPENDIX 5**

### **Interview guide for cartoonists**

1. In your view as a cartoonist what is the purpose of editorial cartoons in your newspaper?
2. How much influence does your editor have on the images that you produce?
3. Where do you get ideas for the cartoons that you produce?
4. What factors influence the cartoons that you publish in your newspaper?
5. (*Herald*) as a state owned media house, how independent are your cartoons from government influence?
6. (*Dailynews*) as a privately owned media, what factors determine your representation of socio political issues?
7. What were the predominant themes reflected by your cartoons during the August 2014 to April 2015 period?
8. Do you think your cartoons are a correct reflection of the socio-political issues in Zimbabwe?