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**Crisis Management Communication and Political Communication in the
Age of Social Media: A case study of ZANU PF from 2015-2016.**

By

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ABSTRACT

With the increase of people and usage of social media platforms intensification, so does the need for crisis management communication. This research focuses on how ZANU PF uses social media to control its Factional crisis post the Joyce Mujuru eras focusing on Twitter and Facebook as platforms for their public relations response to the political damaging series of events the party experienced from 2015-2016. Additionally, the study looks at how the social media users used Facebook and twitter as a platform to reach out to ZANU PF and air out their concerns on the series of crisis that the party experienced. A content analysis of posts and tweets written in response to the predicaments that befell ZANU PF through this it was developed that ZANU PF officials used the two social networks as a way to reach out and communicate on how the party was making things at the same time social media users from both ZANU PF members and from how opposition parties voiced negative opinions about Many other problems that were being caused by the plague of crisis in identifying how ZANU PF used social media and restoration strategies in the wake of the crisis, it is possible to compare their use to best practices that have developed through academic research and present case studies where social media and restoration strategy was used effectively. This can identify why ZANU PF officials' responses where not well received. By ascertaining how social media users used Facebook and Twitter, it is possible to use this case study as an example of the importance of engaging with users and identifying areas of concern. This research has implications for politicians, public relations practitioners and all professionals who are charged with creating crisis communication plans. recommendations and Limitations of the study for upcoming research were included.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

- AIPPA : Access to Information Privacy Protect Act
- MDC : Movement for Democratic Change
- POSA : Public Order Security Act
- ZANLA : Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
- ZAPU : Zimbabwe African People’s Union
- ZANU-PF: Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
- ZBC : Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation
- SMN : Social Media Networking
- ICT : Information Communication Technology
- ZMC : Zimbabwe Media Commission

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
LIST OF ACRONYMS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background of The Study	2
1.2 Statement of the research problem	4
1.3 Objectives of the study	5
1.4 Main research question.....	5
1.5 Research Sub-questions.....	5
1.6 Assumptions	5
1.7 Scope of the study/ Delimitations	5
1.8 Significance of the study.....	6
1.9 Limitations of the study.....	7
1.10 Definition of key terms	7
1.11 Structure of the study	8
1.12 Conclusion.....	8
CHAPTER 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework.....	9
Introduction	9
2.1.1 Literature Review	9
2.2 Social Media As Creators And Resolvers Of Crisis	9
2.3 Social Media As A Political Platform In Shaping Public Opinion.	11
2.4 Developing Nations and The Capability of Internet Based Campaigning	13
2.5 Social Media Potential as a Source of Information.....	14
2.6 Political Communication and Social Media Crisis Management.....	16
2.7 The Merits and Demerits of Online Canvassing for Political Parties	18
2.8 WHAT CONSTITUTES A CRISIS.....	19
2.9 THEORATICAL FRAMEWORK.....	22
2.9.1 Theories	22

2.9.2 Image Restoration Theory	23
2.9.3 Digital Public Sphere.....	25
2.9.4 Framing Theory	25
2.10 Conclusion.....	29
Chapter 3: Research Methodology.....	30
3.1.1 Introduction	30
3.2 Research Approach	30
3.4 Sampling	31
3.4.1 Population of the study.....	32
3.6 Methods of Data Gathering	32
3.6.1 Archival Research.....	32
3.6.2 Questionnaires	33
3.6.3 Skype Face to face interviews	34
3.7 Data Analysis Methods	35
3.7.1 Content Analysis.....	35
3.8 Critical discourse analysis.....	36
3.9 Response Rates.....	36
3.10 Conclusion.....	37
CHAPTER 4: Political Economy of the Organisation.....	39
4.1 Introduction	39
4.2 Historical Background.....	39
4.3 Vision	40
4.5 Values.....	40
4.6 Party Ideology	41
4.7 Funding Mechanism.....	41
4.8 Organizational Structure	42
4.9 Organisation's Core Business	44
4.10 Links with other organisations	45
4.11 Advertising	45
4.12 Overall Discussion	45
4.12 Conclusion.....	46
CHAPTER 5: Data Presentation and Analysis	47
5.0 Introduction	47

5.1 Overview of the study	47
5.2 Social Media as the salvation and plague of Crisis Management Communication	49
5.2.1 Discussion.....	55
5.3 Social Media : An object of molding public opinion.	56
5.3.1 Discussion.....	60
5.4 Factionalism from a social media perspective	61
5.4.1 Discussion.....	63
5.5 Developing Nations and The Capability to Regulate Social Networks and Internet Based Campaigning.....	64
5.5. Discussion	66
5.5 Conclusion.....	67
Chapter 6.....	69
6.0 Introduction	69
6.1 Summary of Findings	69
6.2 Conclusion.....	69
6.3 Recommendations	70
6.3.1 To ZANU PF.....	70
The Four Phase Digital Emergency Plan Model:	71
6.4 Conclusion.....	72
References.....	73
APPENDICES	79
Interview Schedule	79

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig 1 37
Fig 2 37
Fig 3 42
Fig 4 48
Fig 5 50
Fig6 51
Fig 8 54
Fig 9 55
Fig 10 57
Fig 11 58

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The chapter gives a general background of the research study. A well-defined statement of the problem together with the objectives of the study is given as well. The chapter also gives a detailed outline of the significance of the study and assumptions on which the research is carried out. In general the dissertation will explore the role played by social media in crisis management situations by political parties paying particular attention to ZANU Pf from 2015 to 2016. Modern politics are increasingly shaped by the dynamics of public communication with social media coming into the picture political party communication campaigns are shifting to social networks for their crises management. As a consequence, the success of governments that historically are interconnected to the State in general is to a large extent dependent on their ability to communicate effectively to the broader public and in this generation through the social media. Today, Facebook and micro-blogs like Twitter are influential media. Various mobile devices, especially smartphones, have enabled people to designate “Facebook friends” and “tweet” items of interest anywhere and anytime.

Not only do individuals and organizations post and publish their thoughts and opinions using social media, but organizations also advertise and promote their products on social media sites. The emergence of social media in the public relations arena means that practitioners have new communication tools, adding to traditional mass media and Internet media. While traditional mass media management plays an important part in the public relations arena, many public relations experts are now paying attention to social media to supplement traditional media because social media have unique advantages. For example, public relations practitioners can distribute their message through social media and receive reaction from the public almost simultaneously. In contrast, with traditional mass media, it is possible to mass distribute organizational messages, but not to obtain immediate reaction from consumers. In addition, the new atmosphere surrounding social media is compelling public relations practitioners to communicate by sending their messages directly to their key audience instead of relying on mass media outlets.

Public relations practitioners have sought ways to obtain reaction directly from the public; however, the various measurements used in public relations research have not been satisfactory. Research to examine public reaction has been conducted before and after the

implementation of public relations strategies and has demonstrated that public relations practitioners can receive feedback from the public even in the middle of executing their activities using social media. Practitioners can not only obtain measured feedback, but they can also reply through Facebook pages and Twitter posts. On social media, receiving positive or negative reactions from the public regarding public relations tactics helps public relations practitioners quickly adjust or supplement their actions.

1.2 Background of The Study

Crisis management is defined by Fink (2004) cited in Moyo (2015) as the process by which an organization deals with a major event that threatens to harm the organization, its stakeholders, or the general public's livelihood or reputation. In Zimbabwe crisis management has become a defining feature of contemporary governance with a political system that has greatly affected by a lot of factionalism and disunity in the major parties which has seen the shameful career damaging ouster and firing of some politicians from both the ruling party and the opposition parties.

Coombs (2007) lamented that in times of crisis, communities and members of organisations expect their leaders to minimize the impact of the crisis at hand, while critics and bureaucratic competitors try to seize the moment to blame incumbent rulers and their policies. In this extreme environment, policy makers must somehow establish a sense of normality, and foster collective learning from the crisis experience.

Crisis management communication is the application of strategies designed to help an organization deal with a sudden and significant negative event affecting its reputation and relationship with the publics, shareholders and organization Grunig and Grunnig (2008). According to Alvesson. and Sköldbberg. (2016) a crisis can occur as a result of an unpredictable event or as an unforeseeable consequence of some event that had been considered a potential risk. In either case, crises almost invariably require that decisions be made quickly to limit public relations damage or crisis to the organization or an individual. For that reason, one of the first actions in crisis management planning is to identify an individual to serve as crisis communications manager.

Zimbabwean politics of late has been shaken with a series of its own fair share of crisis incidents with ZANU PF experiencing the most incidents. In order for one to understand defining the key terms of the study is essential and the first being Politics, is defined by the Cambridge English dictionary as the activities associated with the governance of a country or an area, especially the debate between parties having power, While the Free Dictionary

defines politics as the activities aimed at improving someone's status or increasing power within an organization.

Andriof, & Waddock, (2012) state that Zimbabwean Politics began in 1966, when a white minority regime under farmer Ian Smith took power, unilaterally declaring independence from Britain and preventing the colony from being released into independence under a government representing the black majority. The settler regime named their new country Rhodesia, only recognized by Apartheid-era South Africa. When the Rhodesian government banned all political activity by the black nationalist opposition, ZANU and ZAPU decided to turn to guerilla war as their only alternative. The civil war ("Chimurenga") cost numerous lives and eventually wore the white minority down, especially after the Salazar-dictatorship in Portugal collapsed under the weight of a similar guerilla war in its colonies of Angola and Mozambique (Tshuma 2004; Ranger 2004). From 1976 Black nationalist forces operated not only from Zambia but also Mozambique to the East Ranger (2004), He went on to say more and more white farmers emigrated to South Africa, Britain or Australia.

In the late 1970s the government finally agreed to negotiations, which eventually led to the country coming independent as Zimbabwe . In 1980 ZANU won an election victory and Robert Mugabe became the new leader of the country. Chung (2006, 2010) stipulates that the country was not to enjoy freedom for very long: Rivalries between ZANU (dominated by ethnic Shona from the North) and ZAPU (based mainly in Matabeleland in the South) escalated into a low scale guerilla war. The government responded brutally, torturing and murdering many ZAPU-supporters and suspects. ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo went into exile in the UK. Later he returned to make a deal with Mugabe and ZAPU merged with ZANU. Peace had returned, but the country had become a de-facto one party state. Fay Chung (2006, 2010)

In 1999 Zimbabwe saw its first effective opposition party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) founded by Dr Morgan Tsvangirai, Tendai Biti, Welshman Ncube and the late Learnmore Jongwe. However ZANU PF managed to win elections and maintain rule as the ruling party up to today but a series of crisis struck beginning in 2015 when ZANU PF fired 89 of its senior leaders amongst them the then vice president Joice Mujuru, Rugare Gumbo, Jabulani Sibanda, Didimus Mutasa, Dzikamai Mavaire were chucked out of the party during the December 2014 congress on allegations of plotting against the president Robert Mugabe and fueling factionalism. In 2015 the factional wars continued under vice president Emerson Mnangagwa 's Ngwenya or Lacoste faction and a youthful rivalry faction led by the

First Lady Grace Mugabe, the shameful dismissal of Dr Joyce Mujuru saw her re-entering the political race through the formation of her new political party named the Zimbabwe People First Party that was officially registered by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission on February 12 2016 as an opposition posing a threat to ZANU Pf, the party's most loyal supporter the War veterans' under fired leader Cristopher Mutswangwa plotted a demonstration against president Robert Mugabe and questioned his capabilities to lead the party and the country April 2016 and finally the alleged 15 billion dollars the nation lost in the mining sector with a lot of fingers pointing at ZANU PF top ranked officials wrangled in the scandal.

Social media is the collective of online communications channels dedicated to community-based input, interaction, content-sharing and collaboration. Websites and applications dedicated to forums, microblogging, social networking, social bookmarking, social curation, and wikis are among the different types of social media. Examples of Social Media are Twitter According to Arlbjørn, J.S. and Halldórsson, (2013) Twitter messenger is a social network that uses the internet to share text messages, pictures, audio and videos from one user to another or a group chat. The application can be installed on users mobile devices with a compatible operating system and model version. This is a fast growing social network in Zimbabwe with more than 4 million users in the country.

Facebook being the second most popular social , Baron (2012) defined Facebook as a popular free social networking website that allows registered users to create profiles, upload photos and video, send messages and keep in touch with friends, family and colleagues. According to statistics from the Nielsen Group, Internet users within the United States spend more time on Facebook than any other website. Facebook is used by many organisations in Africa as an effective marketing and advertising tool with many political parties using it as a platform to lure supporters to join their cause.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

This study seeks to understand the role played by Social Networks in crisis management in Zimbabwean Politics; there is also a need to explore the technological impact that the usage of social networks platforms has in the making and destruction of political careers in Zimbabwe

1.3 Objectives of the study

- To explain how ZANU PF used Twitter and Facebook to manage the factionalism crisis after the expulsion of Joyce Mujuru and her perceived allies.
- To establish the extent to which the crisis management campaign was successful with the users of the two social networking platforms.
- To establish the possible merits and pitfalls arising from the use of Twitter and Facebook for crisis management by ZANU PF.

1.4 Main research question

How has ZANU PF appropriated Twitter and Facebook to manage the factionalism crisis after the expulsion of Joyce Mujuru and her perceived allies?

1.5 Research Sub-questions

- What are the positive and negative aspects that came with ZANU PF's use of social media in crisis management?
- How did audiences react to ZANU PF's use of Twitter and Facebook for crisis management?
- DID ZANU PF crisis management on social media and did it differ from Traditional media coverage?

1.6 Assumptions

It is the researcher's assumption that:

- Social Networks play a vital role in shaping the Political discourses and framework in Zimbabwe.
- Technological political campaign in crisis management is important in the modern Zimbabwe and it will advance and improve people's choices in Zimbabwean Politics.
- Political parties or leaders who use social network platform policy have a better chance of reaching out to larger numbers of the public has become more technologically advanced than others because of the incorporation of technology in the learning area.

1.7 Scope of the study/ Delimitations

The study is not geographically bound as it focuses on ZANU PF which is a national political party and Twitter and Facebook social networks which attract worldwide users, Therefore, this study has been narrowed down and is contextualized to target the virtual community who are actively participating in social network platforms are represented by almost one or more

members of the ethnic and tribal groups in Zimbabwe. Findings from this research are not only geographically bound to the views of only participants in the population selected which is Zimbabwe as a whole but from other social network users connected by the global village. Focusing on Zimbabweans who are active in the social networks will give a more precise report as all sectors are covered, from the elite to the subalterns, from those with an open policy to those with none.

The study shall focus solely on ZANU PF post the Joyce Mujuru, in spite of there being several parties in the country and look at the appropriation themes of new media technology and their discourses in relation to the themes of politics in modern day Zimbabwe. Likewise, there are many political parties or politicians in Zimbabwe that also might take interests in the topic under study in a move to rebuild their careers or party following, but this study has been delimited to the social network users who follow ZANU PF on Facebook and Twitter or those who have head of it on these social networks covering both groups from two different social network forums will help give a balanced argument of the topic under study other than getting one side of the story, the results will end up being biased other than fair

The study focuses on crisis management from a Zimbabwean setup. social networks impact on crisis management communication in the Zimbabwean Politics context in this period because the most active politicians in the country are working to rebuild their images after being fired from parties through factional wars or trying to cleanse of the bad name calling and negative framing by publicly owned state controlled media through the free and unmonitored social networks.

1.8 Significance of the study.

The underlying principle of this study is to unravel the techniques, language and semiotic connotations that ZANU PF carry in order to control or manage such crises that pose a threat to the organisation's livelihood on social media. The popularity of social networking and new media amongst politicians is not unique to Zimbabwe, but it is a worldwide phenomenon. The development of a global youth culture around social networks is a trending lifestyle and topic of academic interest and research. Several studies have been conducted on the use of social networks among politicians in different countries across the world such as Japan, Norway, Finland, USA, and Britain and has seen some governments fall from coup de tat that were influenced by social media like in Libya.

This study adds to the growing body of research by providing empirical information about the impacts of social network usage by politicians to rebuild or further political careers however focusing on a research on crisis management in politics which has not been explored in depth in Zimbabwe. Academic research on social networking usage in crisis management among politicians to reshape political careers and sway in supporters in different areas has looked at various issues such as their use of the internet for communication with friends and family to access news and their use for personal entertainment. However, this case study provides information about the variety of strategies of crisis management used by politicians and crisis managers to reform and refine political careers to appeal to the public. In addition, it also expresses how the social networks give the politicians and the public a sphere to interact in an uncontrolled environment which improves communication.

From the theoretical point of view, this study contributes to the academic literature by providing evidence for the theories used in this study. By applying the Image Repair Theory from the crisis communication theory perspective, this study shows that politicians use the social media to reshape positive perception about their parties and careers. Through the application of the Press Agency/Publicity which Uses persuasion and manipulation to influence audiences to behave as the organisation desires, Two-way Symmetrical Model, Uses communication to negotiate with the public, resolve conflict and promote mutual understanding and respect between the organization and its stakeholders and Grunig's Situational Theory of Publics this theory postulates that people organize and communicate about issues more frequently based on their awareness of the issue, its level of impact on their lives and their perceived ability to do something about it.

1.9 Limitations of the study

The researcher is likely to face a number of challenges in his findings as opinions of the audiences in other platforms where the researcher will not be able to research on will not be highlighted in the study. The users who participate in Facebook and Twitter forums with participants randomly chosen regardless of the fact that they have a bias toward a certain political party.

1.10 Definition of key terms

AIPPA : Access to Information Privacy Protect Act

MDC : Movement for Democratic Change

POSA : Public Order Security Act

R125041H Crisis Management Communication and Political Communication in the Age of Social Media: A case study of ZANU PF from 2015-2016.

ZANLA : Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZAPU : Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZANU-PF: Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

ZBC : Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation

SMN : Social Media Networking

ICT : Information Communication Technology

ZPF - Zimbabwe People First Party

ZMC - Zimbabwe Media Commission.

1.11 Structure of the study

The research consists of six chapters:

Chapter One is the introductory chapter. Chapter Two will explore related literature and relevant theories that inform and guide this study, while Chapter Three presents the methods of data gathering, presentation and analysis. Chapter Four shall present an analysis of the organization under study – ZANU PF with Chapter Five presenting the findings and analysis of the findings finally Chapter Six - Conclusions and recommendations will round up the research in chapter six.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter has provided detail on what the whole study is all about at the same time acknowledging the limitations and constraints in achieving the set goals. The background has explained briefly on the main subjects of the study. The objectives and significance of the study has been discussed to show the importance of the research. It has also outlined the research questions as a guideline of the study and statement of the problem. The next chapter presents literature review where different past studies on the topics were made and the theoretical framework will briefly show the theories related to the study.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The thrust of this chapter is to appraise and dissect already existing literature in relation to crisis management communication and politics in the age of social media. The existing literature have equipped organizations with the knowledge of how to manage a crisis or prepare future crisis that may befall the organization on social media by creating desire and drive for the political parties and politicians to heed a call to action. Besides zeroing in on related publications, journals, research materials and online press articles, this chapter will also make an insight into relevant theories on the topic under study.

2.1.1 Literature Review

According to Anes and Stevenson (2005) literature review is a formal assessment of creative writings of recognized artistic value done with the intention of instituting change if necessary. Literature review is both a summary and explanation of the complete and current state of knowledge on a limited topic as found in academic books and journal articles. The aim is not to reproduce the already existing knowledge but rather to further elaborate on the unturned stones in the public relations world and politics world as an interested party. The research will be guided and informed by a number of studies. Literature in this study shall be reviewed in a thematic approach manner. Six themes are to be used in the discussion of literature under this section; social media as creators and resolvers of crisis, social media as a political sphere, African nations and the embrace of internet based campaigning, online platforms as areas of discourse exchange and contestation, African politics and social media crisis management, the merits and demerits of online canvassing for political parties

2.2 Social Media As Creators And Resolvers Of Crisis

Crisis management on both social media and mainstream media is a difficult task. However, it is safe to conclude that the development of social media amplifies the challenges facing crisis management teams today. Cross (2015) discussed the birth of social media and the impact it has had on communication. Twitter, a social media site created by Jack Dorsey in 2006, allows users to post 140 character updates on any topic they choose. As of March 2015, Twitter had over 900 million users with about 140 million tweets posted daily. That comes out to almost a billion tweets a day. The site allows for the rapid dissemination of information and has become a resource for bloggers, analysts and journalists alike. Facebook, another popular social networking site, was launched by Mark Zuckerberg in 2004 Cross (2015), It

allows users to create profile pages, where they add photos and share links and comments on various topics with friends. According to Reed (2014), Facebook had more than 1.2 billion users as of May 2014. The development of social media and its high levels of user participation, though beneficial to mass communication, creates two dilemmas for organizations or individuals dealing with a crisis. First, messages and stories can spread instantaneously, because of this first reason my research will focus in discovering the impacts of using these social media platforms for crisis management in the Zimbabwean political framework.

The primary concern is no longer what the Herald or Chronicle will write about you in the newspaper tomorrow but what will be written 15 seconds from now online. The speed of online communication makes it more challenging for the crisis management team to get out in front of a story (Gottschalk, 2002). Cross (2014) posits that It allows for the prolonged discussion of any scandal, she goes on to note that the other problem these sites pose for organizations is that internal members can post information that reflects poorly on the company, creating or augmenting a crisis entirely on its own. Given that a greater part of the world's internet users reportedly spend 13 hours online each week searching for information on their favorite politicians and political parties, it is almost guaranteed that anything published on these sites will be seen and spread fast (Phua, 2012). It is after a crisis broken that a crisis management team (CMT) is forced to employ a series of crisis management or image restoration strategies to minimize the damage. While this is so in the Western world this study seeks to unpack how social media can be used for crisis management in Zimbabwe and particularly to ZANU PF.

Phua (2012) states that social media represents the marginalized groups and fosters horizontal linkages among communities of interest. As proven by the various scholars above, social media provide an 'alternative' view point, different information and interpretations of the world that cannot be found in the usually biased public owned and state owned mainstream media mostly used to push ruling parties in the case of Zimbabwe like ZANU PF , thus this research will also reveal the impacts of the social media crisis management campaigns by ZANU PF post the Joyce Mujuru era as in the mainstream media particularly the public owned media. However, South African scholar Botlet (2009) argues that Social media through its unregulated nurture has made crisis management for the organizational study in Africa problematic because of the African political parties' failure to adopt internet campaign

therefor the study will try to prove Botlet's assumption by investigating how much this applies in the Zimbabwean situation.

Moyo (2012) stipulates that social media's unregulated nature promotes the acceleration of organizational crises as one post or tweet can generate over 1 million likes or comments in a minute in support of a negative comment against an organization thus fueling the crisis or influencing or shaping the negative attitudes and perceptions against the organizational reputation of the company. Thus social media can be said to be a double edged sword that can improve the image of an organization or hurt it at the same time. However Benoit (2016) argues that activities that happen on social networks are just mere emotional outburst that are seldom put into practice and organisations have less to worry about the happenings of the activities that happen on these platforms but rather should focus their campaign on mainstream media where the important stakeholders perceive to provide relevant and useful information instead of the highly speculative social media.

2.3 Social Media As A Political Platform In Shaping Public Opinion.

New digital media offer opportunities to transform political campaigning and representative democracy just as they have shrunk the world, removing many of the barriers of space and time, reshaping the way we communicate (Trade and Learn Reed in Dibiti 2009). This argument points to the fact that the public sphere has been expanded through new digital technologies of which social media is a huge component. Political action is tangible through the relationship among political institutions, the public and the media of which social media has come to play a big part. Grunig (2010) states that the social media constitute a societal carrier for managing politically the public sphere. Social media can therefore be said to not only open the public sphere but a conduit through which the public sphere can be managed. Chan (2006) contends that social media act politically within the framework of the broader societal system, and today their interposition in the polity's operation with the development and the constant evolvement of technology, is powerful. Moyo (2011) notes that a fundamental element of the centrality of the media to today's politics is the near-instantaneous delivery of political events and issues by social media and Internet. By any objective standard, the social media are critically important to government and politics. Most significant is the extent to which politicians use various methods to communicate with their constituencies, which renders the media a linkage institution.

The media may be key elements, or objectively important to government and politics since they constitute a vast economic power. Social media have a critical role in the communication of the government with the public (Chan 2006, Lee 2004). In Zimbabwe some government ministers such as Jonathan Moyo and Saviour Kasukuwere are very active on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter where they enthusiastically defend government policies. It can be argued therefore that there is an acknowledgement that social media helps in the shaping of public opinion. Thus, considering they might shape public opinion, they have a share also in the shaping of the political will. The social media just like mainstream media have several responsibilities within a democratic society being to a) to inform and educate the public accurately and completely and b) to independently investigate claims made by biased sources, most notably the government Smith (2009) cited in Tshili (2016). The last 20 years have witnessed important changes in news content patterns. (Altheide, 2004), argues on the contrary that social media are largely responsible to no one but provide for vigorous contestation of ideas thus my research seeks to understand the patterns and the use of social media crisis management campaigns in the shaping of public opinions.

Throughout the last years there has been sufficient demonstration that the media is in desperate need of reform. The absence of substance in news content has a great deal to do with the structural and organizational constraints that constantly bear on the news content, journalists and even politicians maintaining the gatekeeping function a belief that has been completely changed by the social media Drunn (2016).

This leading role of the social media in political communication and their anagoge to a linkage between government and the public is largely favored by the absence or the weak presence of a civil society in the African countries (Papathanasopoulos 2004). Furthermore, Hardy, C.; Palmer, I. & Phillips, N. (2000) argue that political parties much more their leaderships are now closely dependent on the social media so as to bring themselves forth to public view. Papathanasopoulos (2010) goes on to say that politicians end up adopting the social media logic regarding their public communication. Moreover, the traditional carriers (parliament, direct contact with the citizens) of political communication lose their special weight and subserve the entering of Americanization and telecracy in these countries. Papathanasopoulos (2004).

2.4 Developing Nations and The Capability of Internet Based Campaigning

Social media allows organisations to engage in timely and direct end-consumer contact at relatively low cost and higher levels of efficiency than what can be achieved with more traditional communication tools Nyoni (2016). While many companies globally have jumped on the social media-wave to take advantage of the new and interesting marketing and promotional opportunities it provides this research will try and answer the question of whether the African political organisations also adopted and are successful in adopting the same policies like the rest of the world paying particular attention on ZANU PF. The interactive social media platform has opened up for new marketing and communication possibilities based on social interaction between individuals from which marketers can create and offer new individual value propositions better suited to their consumers (Mayfield 2008). However, many companies have recently gotten to experience first-hand that social media is not only a marketing and PR haven; it is a place for people to interact and hence share their thoughts and experiences which may not always be positive to an organization. Social media breaks with companies' traditional way of thinking, regarding who is influential or not; now anyone can be a major influence in the society. By sharing a bad experience online, the story can easily reach out to the masses. A research by Chambwera (2012) revealed that 78% of consumers or social network users trust peer recommendations, while only 14% trust adverts. Additionally, when knowing how many people are engaging in social media, it is not hard to imagine that the reach for information is tremendous. However this is a Western based research which does not cooperate Africa and my study seeks to find if such Eurocentric findings are applicable to Zimbabwe. To make the information even more accessible, Google recently said "Social computing is not a fad. Nor is it something that will pass you or your organisation by. Gradually, social computing will impact almost every role, at every kind of organisation, in all parts of the world" (Mayfield, 2008:264) . Social media allow for people to gather and create networks within hours, or even minutes, either with you or against you, and it is thus important to pay close attention and react quickly. Birgfeld (2010) assures that while social media has become the weapon of choice for angry masses, it is also the very best asset for crisis management. Organisation engagement in social media can be a great way of connecting with your stakeholders by listening to them, responding and providing customer service.

2.5 Social Media Potential as a Source of Information.

The micro-blogging services Facebook and Twitter have become one of the most important social networking sites, with 200 million monthly active users worldwide, including 68% of all online Americans and 48% of online Africans (Nyoni 2016). While most of the messages that are sent through these platforms are personal updates, their use for political purposes has increased in

the past few years and can be used as statistics or sources of information to resolve a crisis thus this research will analyse how ZANU PF uses information gathered from social networks to manage their organizational crisis through political communication. In the USA Virtually most of the political candidates and elected officials have a presence on Twitter or Facebook and many users rely on both to stay informed about political events (Coombs 2009). He further argues that the content and structure of the political discussion that take place on these platforms, easily accessible for news gathering and research thus represents a unique opportunity this researchers' interest in the study of crisis management communication in social media and public opinion.

The increase in the use of social media has led many social scientists to examine whether specific patterns in the stream of tweets might be able to predict real-world outcomes. Asur and Huberman (2010), for example, show how a simple model measuring chatter from Twitter about political events predicts election outcomes and creates a lot of hype in the media industry. Predictors and journalists applying a similar method are Lampos et al. (2010) who are able to accurately track the prevalence of Influenza-like illnesses in several regions of the United Kingdom through the use of social network information gathering. my research will also focus on finding out if social network information gathering can be used to aid crisis management in a political organization, ZANU PF.

Paul and Dredze (2011) extend this analysis into a broader range of illnesses in the United States, opening a whole new agenda in the field of public health research. In two highly publicized articles in the USA, Golder and Macy (2011) and Dodds et al. (2011) study the temporal patterns of happiness of millions of people in real time based on their tweets. However, a recent study by Wong et al. (2012) contradicts their result and argues that opinions expressed via Twitter tend to be more positive than those that can be found on other website, which reduces their predictive potential thus relying on these social networks for information or news gathering exposes a risk of misinforming the public or tainting research

findings. Another study conducted by Hannak et al. (2012) builds up on this research to show how weather affects aggregated sentiment. Measurements of collective mood states derived from Twitter feeds had already been found to be correlated with stock market indexes by Bollen et al. (2011).

Given the accuracy of these predictions, and the consolidation of Twitter and Facebook as a source of political information, this research seeks to discover how ZANU PF can use social networks as a source of information to manage crisis.

the battlefield for campaigning, on a social network public forum according a research by O'Connor asks if whether "tweets" validly mirror offline public opinion. (O'Connor et al., 2010, p.122) asks a question that "Can we analyze publicly available data to infer population attitudes in the same manner that public opinion pollsters query a population?" Were this approach to be successful, its advantages would be obvious: Twitter and Facebook provide (relatively) easy and free access to millions of public messages in real-time and from most countries around the world. Inferring public opinion from social media messages is challenging, but also potentially very rewarding, given the wealth of this information. The first studies of this kind, in the context of the German legislative elections of 2009 (Tumasjan et al., 2010) and the first two years of the Obama presidency in the United States (Cummings et al., 2010; O'Connor et al., 2010) gave reasons to be optimistic. Tumasjan et al. (2010) found that "the mere number of messages [mentioning each German political party] reflect[ed] the election result and even [came] close to traditional electoral polls". O'Connor et al. (2010), on the other hand, showed that "a relatively simple sentiment detector based on Twitter and Facebook data replicate[d] presidential job approval polls. The results highlight the potential of text streams as a substitute for traditional polling". Similar studies conducted in Singapore Choy et al.(2011; Skoric et al., 2012), United Kingdom (Lamos, 2012), Denmark (Sang and Bos, 2012), Spain (Congosto et al., 2011) and recent elections in the United States (DiGrazia et al., 2013) have also found that, during the elections, "the Twittersphere represents a rich source of data for gauging public opinion and that the frequency of tweets mentioning names of political parties, political candidates and contested constituencies could be used to make predictions about the share of votes at the national level" (Skoric et al., 2012, p.2583). With these results, Cummings et al. (2010) even wondered "who needs polls?".

The response to this set of papers arrived in two recent research articles by Metaxas et al. (2011) and Gayo-Avello (2012). These authors warn against "turning social media into

another ‘Literary Digest’ poll” and claim that the “predictive power of Twitter and Facebook regarding elections has been greatly exaggerated”. They illustrate their concerns with analyses of several Senate races in the 2008 and 2010 US Congressional elections, and find that electoral predictions applying similar methods as those used by the previous authors do not perform better than chance. For example, they point out that if Tumasjan et al. (2010) had not restricted his analysis to parties with parliamentary representation that used twitter to influence the youth to adopt their employment blueprint policies, the Pirate Party would have won the 2009 German elections – it was the party with the highest number of mentions in Twitter (Jungherr et al., 2011). In most these scholars (Metaxas et al. 2011 and Gayo-Avello 2012). view, an accurate prediction of how social networks influence public perceptions and opinions can only come through “correctly identifying likely voters and getting an un-biased representative sample of them”. Self-selection biases, overrepresentation of younger, more educated citizens on Twitter or facebook, and the simplistic assumptions of the existing sentiment analysis techniques are the three most important methodological challenges to overcome, thus with all the above research and findings highlighted from situation were Twitter and at some instances Facebook proved to be effective instruments of gathering information it is certainly possible to use the social network platforms to gather information that can resolve ZANU PF’s crisis or predict an election crisis thus avoiding to deal with a crisis of losing the election to opposition

That is precisely the purpose of my study. Focusing on the 2015-16 ZANU PF crisis management content and structure of the political conversations about each crisis communication campaign that took place on Twitter and Facebook in that period we find that political discussion on Twitter and facebook is highly polarized users with clear ideological leaning are much more active and generate a majority of the content. campaign events increase or diminish inequality in participation on both Facebook and Twitter. These results have important implications for the use of facebook and Twitter data as a source of information about public opinion.

2.6 Political Communication and Social Media Crisis Management

Grunig and Grunig (2013) state that it is now much easier to get in touch, keep in touch, research and campaign with social media. It is far easier for politicians to bring issues to the public’s attention and vice versa although, perhaps ironically it might be considered harder to maintain topical interest and to connect with like-minded individuals. Coombs (2013) contends that the instant society places new expectations on global political organisations

including third world countries as citizens increasingly expect them to be accessible, available and responsive. Globally, citizens are leading the way in the deployment of innovative digital media and this revolution is driven by motivation, mobilisation and expectation, not by the technology itself. Tshabangu (2016) argues that through social media in third world country citizens now use mobile phones to spread messages about electoral and human rights abuses, often contravening state-imposed restrictions, to draw the world's attention to stories that the mainstream media does not cover. An example is the once popular Facebook page Baba Jukwa which was in the habit of exposing alleged human rights abuses by ZANU PF politicians. Meanwhile, advocacy organisations run digital campaigns to put their concerns onto the public agenda. Lee (2013), It is important in view of all these possibilities to establish how ZANU PF may have harnessed such social media possibilities for crisis management in the period 2015-2016.

In some jurisdictions citizens are limited in how they can use the internet during the election campaign period while elsewhere, digital communication is heavily monitored at all times (Mutare 2013, Mlondo 2016). This is the case in Zimbabwe where the Interception of Communications Act is used to monitor communications suspected to be a threat to the country's security. In spite of these limitations, the internet is fast becoming a vehicle through which the opinion of ordinary people can be expressed on matters normally reserved for political leaders. There is currently a #This Flag campaign on various social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Whatsapp where Zimbabwean citizens are being urged to raise the national flag as a message to the government that they are tired of misgovernance and are therefore speaking out. The speed with which online communication is being adopted by political parties and representatives varies according to socio-cultural, economic and democratic context. In general, opposition parties use online campaigns more than do those in government Lee (2013). If opposition parties and their supporters use social media then it may well be a good platform for the opposed party to use the same platform to communicate its own messages hence this study aims to establish how ZANU PF has used it for crisis management. Chesner (2013) states that "toward presidential elections, candidate-led digital strategies have become increasingly significant, while remaining less relevant in legislative and parliamentary contexts although this has potential to change. Major political parties in the developed nations, which once viewed online communication as inherently risky, are beginning to establish a perpetual internet presence; the line between representation and campaigning is becoming blurred. As a result whether launched during elections or run

throughout the year, online campaigns worldwide have become synonymous with a new kind of ‘user generated’ politics, potentially transforming global politics. In the current Republican race for nomination to contest in the 2016 American presidential elections, Donald Trump has been very active on social media, especially Twitter, defending his policies and rebutting accusations by fellow contestants.

. This research also seeks to discover the implications of these trends from a Zimbabwean perspective exploring in detail how social networks are coming into political prominence and how a political party such as ZANU PF has used them for crisis management.

2.7 The Merits and Demerits of Online Canvassing for Political Parties

Social media has played an increasingly important role in electoral campaigns in recent years. The new functionalities provided by these technologies range from their use as a platform for spreading propaganda (e.g., retweets) to

opportunities for generating spaces of debate among politicians and/or citizens (e.g., replies).

On Twitter the content of most messages is publicly accessible to everyone and users are able to interact with each other without prior agreements, such as friend requests. This design encourages message exchange and converts Twitter into a large space of debate.

As seen in other studies on social media, patterns of political communication online are mainly characterized by strong polarization and balkanization, with little interaction between parties (Ackland, 2005; Adamic & Glance, 2005; Conover, Gonçalves, Flammini, & Menczer, 2012; Feller, Kuhnert, Sprenger, & Welp, 2011; Hargittai, Gallo, & Kane, 2007; Lawrence, Sides, & Farrell, 2010).

With such diverse opinions characterizing interaction on Twitter it is important to gain an insight into how a political party, ZANU PF used it to its advantage in crisis management. Furthermore, in developing countries and probably as a consequence of the lack of experience in online campaigning, social networks still seem to be mainly used as one-way flow broadcast media, despite their great potential to facilitate an interactive and two way discussion flow (Criado, Martínez-Fuentes, & Silva, 2012). In this sense it is of great interest to my study to carry out a deep analysis of the communication patterns on twitter and Facebook in order to detect different patterns embedded in the broader context of electoral laws and the regulated presence of parties and their electoral campaigns in social media.

People are turning to social networks, mainly Facebook and Twitter, but this time not to chat with the friends or post a vacation picture but to know about the latest developments of the

General elections. The role of social media in politics is increasing day by day. It can really have an impact on the decision making of the people. So is this increasing role of social media in politics is good or has its own share of downsides Moyo (2013). Coombs (2012:238) states that Whether it is the upcoming events, schedules of the parties or their election agenda, He goes on to say that political canvassing on social media is easy to get the details on Social media plus there is no need of any middle man on the social media allowing the people to interact directly with the party representatives, Hangouts have been widely used in General election to talk to the local people, the Party can appoint a tech-savvy candidate to handle the social media and use it to reach to the people and their problems, Previously people were just voters but now they have become active participants in the entire process. They can engage in an open dialogue through social media. No one can forget the importance of social media in the election campaign designed by Obama. It involved active participation of people. People can get the latest information on their Smartphones even when they are on move. Minute by minute information is updated on social media. Thus the study will try and see if all these arguments by the various scholars are applicable in Zimbabwe

2.8 WHAT CONSTITUTES A CRISIS

Social-political theory on crisis is the realm of cultural symbols and lived ideologies (O'Connor, 1987). Specifically, crisis arises from a breakdown in shared meaning, legitimization, and institutionalization of socially constructed relationships. Empirical research demonstrates that this breakdown can take several related forms. Equating crisis with a “cultural collapse,” Turner (1976) asserts that a crisis arises when shared meanings, which previously served a community well, break from the reality of a particular situation. Weick (1993) echoes these sentiments in an analysis of the Mann Gulch fire disaster, where 13 of 16 highly trained “smokejumpers” (firefighters who put out forest fires) died. Their deaths, according to Weick's analysis, were caused by a breakdown in role structure and sense making in the small organization of smokejumpers. Weick states:

“I've never been here before, I have no idea where I am, and I have no idea who can help me. This is what the smokejumpers may have felt increasingly as the afternoon wore on and they lost what little organization structure they had to start with. As they lost structure they became more anxious and found it harder to make sense of what was happening, until they finally were unable to make any sense whatsoever of the one thing that would have saved their lives.... (1993: 633–634)”

Habermas (1975) offers an alternative but related view on crisis from a social-political perspective. In an analysis of the development of crisis in economic systems, Habermas asserts that a “rationality crisis” occurs when economic decision makers no longer can successfully manage economic growth. A prolonged crisis of rationality triggers a “legitimacy crisis,” where followers withdraw support and loyalty to key Decision makers and replace it with questioning of the current social structure and institutions. The situation eventually can spiral downward into a crisis of motivation, where atomized individualism is displayed and commitment to normative values and collective beliefs is absent (O'Connor, 1987). Habermas's perspective represents a crisis as a failure of followers' belief in leadership, the social order, and traditional values and beliefs is echoed by a notion O'Connor (1987) which states the “masses” become ungovernable, and control and avoidance of social conflict are difficult meaning that they would have failed to influence public opinion and their intended propaganda.

The social-political perspective adds to the current definitions and understandings of organizational crisis in a number of ways. First, it suggests that all crises share in common a breakdown in the social construction of reality. An aircraft explosion, oil spill, or scandal whatever the incident that is viewed as the crisis is actually an artifact of this breakdown in collective sense making Turner (1976) secondly, the social-political perspective suggests that an organization most likely will experience a crisis of leadership and cultural norms following a triggering event. Organizational leadership is likely to come under close scrutiny, and turnover of (or revolt against) leadership may be likely as well (Hurst, 1995). Thirdly, organizational members are likely to question the organization's cultural beliefs and to feel a need for a transformation of the culture Bartunek, (1984, 1988). Finally, the social-political perspective suggests that crisis management is unlikely to be successful in the reshaping of public opinions without a reformation of organizational leadership and culture.

In summary, the social-political view on crisis management characterizes the cause of a crisis as a collective breakdown in sense making and role structuring. The consequence is a meltdown of social order, followership, and commonly held values and beliefs, where extreme individualism, incivility, and violence may increase, thus my study will also question this notion from a Zimbabwean point of view through research of crisis management from an angle of the social media. Weick (1993) asserts that caution can be taken to prevent an organizational collapse, in the forms of improvisation, virtual role systems, the attitude of

wisdom, and norms of respectful interaction. Conversely, Shrivastava et al. (1988) remind us that organizational crises frequently arise in societal economic strife, and they imply that collapse is to be expected, or seen as likely, under extreme conditions. By implication, coping would seem to involve collective behaviors, cognition, and emotions that rectify or reverse the breakdown in shared meanings, social order, and belief in leadership. Thus, the aftermath of a crisis includes the eventual collective adaptation and replacement of old practices and relationships. Having examined psychological and social-political views of crisis, we turn to technological-structural views on crisis.

Coombs (2004) states that organizational crisis researchers already have incorporated some facets of the psychological, social-political, and technological-structural perspectives. However, these perspectives typically have not been considered jointly. Further, there is a lack of common, explicit agreement about the nature and meaning of crisis even within each of these three disciplinary perspectives. The following discussion, therefore, represents the contribution toward a synthesis and interpretation of the various literature regarding its applicability to the topic of organizational crisis and the merits and demerits of online canvassing for political parties or politicians. Scholars have made difficult choices about which perspectives within the various disciplines to pursue, concentrating our analysis on perspectives that are most relevant to the management literature. Some of these perspectives have not been considered by crisis management researchers and, therefore, represent an additional contribution to the field.

To make the analysis more systematic and to facilitate the cross-comparisons between and among the three perspectives discussed below, we apply the “4Cs” framing proposed by Shrivastava (1993). This frame suggests that crisis studies can focus on four key aspects of crises: “causes,” “consequences,” “caution,” and “coping.” Causes “include the immediate failures that triggered the crisis, and the antecedent conditions that allowed failures to occur” (Shrivastava, 1993: 30). Consequences are the immediate and long-term impacts encountered through political canvassing on social media. Caution includes the measures taken to prevent or minimize the impact of a potential crisis. Finally, coping comprises measures taken to respond to a crisis that has already occurred. Through the 4Cs frame, Shrivastava highlight the similarities and differences among these views. It generates a homophile practice of feeding your own followers, normally restricted to those who share your own ideas (endogamous character of political tweets). So its real efficacy on no convinced voters is questionable (Arroyo, 2012).

2.9 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

McGarret (2007) defines theoretical framework as the structure that can hold or support a theory of a research study. The theoretical framework introduces and describes the theories that explain why the research problem under study exists. The theoretical framework of this study will demonstrate an understanding of theories and concepts that are relevant to crisis management and politic in the age of social media and relate to the broader areas of knowledge being considered. Milan and Baldwin (2004) note that Theories are formulated to explain, predict, and understand phenomena and, in many cases, to challenge and extend existing knowledge within the limits of critical bounding assumptions.

2.9.1 Theories

Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT)

SCCT is “a systematic method for evaluating the reputational threat of a crisis and selecting crisis response and post-crisis response strategies designed to maximize the reputational protection of the response” (Coombs, 2009, p. 171). SCCT was developed from attribution theory in its methodology and suggests that publics perceive crisis situations along with initial crisis responsibility, crisis history, and prior relational reputation (Coombs, 2009). He explained that the initial crisis assessment is based on responsibility level in the following crisis types: victim crises, natural disasters, rumors, workplace violence, product tampering/malevolence, accident crises, challenges, technical-error accidents, technical-error product harm, preventable crises, human-error accidents, human-error product harm, and organizational misdeeds (Coombs, 2009). Also, stakeholders assess a crisis by two factors – crisis history, which refers to whether an organization has experienced a similar crisis before, and prior relational reputation, which is how stakeholders have perceived the organization in other cases. An unfavorable prior relational reputation will have an effect on other cases in the future. Both factors demonstrate a direct and indirect effect on the reputational threat posed by the crisis (Coombs, 2004). Coombs (1995) explained that when stakeholders assess the reputation threat, they use two steps. First, they evaluate the initial crisis responsibility followed by the crisis type and, second, they evaluate the crisis history and prior relationship reputation (pp. 246-248).

Recently, many studies on social media and crisis communication have applied SCCT. Schwarz (2012) revealed that postings by publics on relevant bulletin boards showed a response of mainly complaints and blame after the Love Parade tragedy in Duisburg, Germany, in 2010. This theory is relevant to the study as it brings out some of the basic

strategies that organisations apply in situations of crisis After analyzing the posts, the author pointed out that among the organizational strategies available, publics considered blaming and denying responsibility as negative in evaluating the organizational reputation. In addition, the types of media influence the effectiveness of crisis communication strategies (Lee, Seo, Nam, Hwang, & Sung, 2012). For example, a corporate blog is more useful in an accommodative strategy than Internet news. On the other hand, Internet news is more useful in a defensive strategy than the corporate Lee (2013: 77). In addition, the form of crisis information, such as traditional media, social media, and word-of-mouth, and the source, including third parties and the organization, are positively related to the publics' perceptions of crisis response and emotions. Liu, Austin, and Jin (2011) developed the social-mediated crisis communication model (SMCC) through their study.

The number of studies on the use of social media in crisis communication has increased dramatically, as discussed. Some studies have shown how much and deeply public relations practitioners use social media in their practice at global and regional levels. This study seeks to describe the use of social media in crisis communication with a case study approach.

2.9.2 Image Restoration Theory

William Benoit (1995; 1997) developed a theory of image restoration to understand how corporations recover from crises. Thus in this study relevant in explaining the concept of digital crisis management and political communication. The process of image repair is most often framed as apologia, or a genre of public apologetic discourse (Benoit and Lindsey, 1987; Benoit and Brinson, 1994). However, Benoit held that previous rhetorical approaches for image restoration discourse were too independent from one another and were merely descriptive. Benoit aimed to make a more useful and applied image restoration that emphasized prescriptive possibility for rhetorical analysis (Condit and Benjamin, 2009) detailing the post crisis communication strategies organizations use to repair the damage done by some perceived wrongdoing (Seeger and Padgett, 2010). Image restoration has developed into the most widely applied typology of image restoration strategies (Seeger and Padgett, 2010), remaining the most comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding post crisis communication (Seeger and Padgett, 2010). Image restoration theory is based on the assumption that image and reputation have both symbolic and economic value, that threats to an organization's image can occur (sometimes frequently), and that communication can help repair the damage. For Benoit (1997), an attack on one's image has two components: 1) an offensive act and 2) an accusation of responsibility for the act. If there is no offensive act or

no accusations of responsibility for the act, there is no reputational threat (Coombs and Holladay, 2012). In this theory, the organization determines what is threatening its reputation or image and determines which publics must be addressed and persuaded to restore and maintain a positive image.

Benoit's theory is founded on two key assumptions: 1) communication is a goal-directed activity; and 2) maintaining a positive reputation is one of the central goals of communication. In his theory of image restoration, Benoit organizes strategies into five distinct categories: denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action, and mortification. Strategies are subdivided into variants. These strategies are grounded in a belief that communication (words and actions) affects how stakeholders perceive the organization in crisis (Coombs, 1999).

The strategy of denial has two variants. In simple denial, the corporation denies that the act occurred, was performed by the company, or was harmful to anyone. For an example, ZANU PF successfully denied that it had been responsible for the Matabeleland Genocide (Gukurahundi) even though evidence produced by the Chronicle produced evidence of ZANU PF vice president Emerson Mnangagwa praising the five brigade that was tasked to conduct the genocide. The second form of denial involves shifting the blame, whereby a corporation acknowledges that something undesirable has happened but that another party is responsible. For example, during the Missing \$15 Billion the ZANU PF representatives shifted the blame from government responsibility but to the private contracted companies and Joyce Mujuru being tangled in the scandal Moyo (2016) (Benoit, 1995). More recently, in July 2013, an unattended freight train carrying crude oil, owned by Montreal, Main and Atlantic (MMA), derailed in the town of Lac-Mégantic, Quebec and resulted in the fire and explosion of multiple tank cars causing 42 deaths and destroyed more than 30 buildings in the town. Immediately following the disaster, MMA's crisis communication approach was to shift the blame to other actors, first volunteer firefighters and then the engineer (Willis, 2013). This strategy may well be more effective than simple denial, for two reasons. First, it provides a target for any ill will the audience may feel, and this ill feeling may be shifted away from the accused. Second, it answers the question that may lead the audience to accept a simple denial: "who did it?" (Schuetz and Lilley, 1999). This theory will help in the discourse analysis of some of the posts that ZANU PF uses to try and control the Factional crisis.

2.9.3 Digital Public Sphere

The idea of "the public sphere" in Habermas's designates a theater in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk. It is the space in which citizens deliberate about their common affairs, hence, an institutionalized arena of discursive interaction. Social Media is conceptually distinct from the state; it is a site for the production and circulation of discourses that can in principle be critical of the state and organizational communication. Habermas's the "liberal model of the bourgeois public sphere" is the rise and Decline of a historically specific and limited form of the public sphere. It is believed that new form of public sphere (Digital Public Sphere) is required to salvage this arena's critical function and to institutionalize democracy (Fraser, 1990). Deliberative democratic public sphere theory has become increasingly popular in Internet democracy research and commentary.

As various contributions to this special section demonstrate, social media are not simply tools or spaces that can be appropriated for activist purposes. Instead, these media should be understood as technocommercial assemblages, which shape and translate user activity and are very relevant in this study of crisis management and political communication. Deploying techniques such as data mining, user profiling, and targeted advertising, social platforms structure how users can express themselves and connect with each other (Langlois, McKelvey, Elmer, & Werbin, 2009; van Dijk & Poell, 2013). First, social platforms do not, as is often assumed, facilitate horizontal activist networks. Like traditional mass media, these platforms enhance the visibility of particular actors and topics. Of course, this is not done through editorial selection, but through the specific technological architectures of social platforms. Gerbaudo shows how this works in the case of Facebook pages, which "display a strongly asymmetrical architecture of participation." The architecture of pages provides the page administrators with extensive means to shape communication. They control who can add posts to a page or start a photo gallery or event, and they can ban unruly users. Users, in turn, are often restricted to liking, sharing, and commenting on admin posts. This architecture puts the admins of the two Facebook pages examined by Gerbaudo in a perfect position to orchestrate moments of digital enthusiasm, which they did by constructing "hopeful emotional" narratives.

2.9.4 Framing Theory

This study investigates the framing of political parties, ZANU PF, specifically looking at its post Mujuru factional wars. Inevitably the theory of framing informs the study. It is a theory

that has received widespread scholarship around the world and this study explores some of the major discussions around the theory and then takes a stand as to which of the discussions best inform what this research is about.

Framing is a theory with roots both in psychology and sociology (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007, Borah 2011). However this research will be focusing on framing from a social network perspective. In psychology Kahneman and Tversky investigated how similar decision making scenarios presented differently can lead to people making different choices (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). According to Cacciatore, Scheufele and Iyengar (2015), Kahneman and Tversky in their 1981 study concluded that individuals are more averse to risk when presented with making a decision in terms of gains. On the other hand when the same

information is presented in terms of losses individuals are more risk-seeking. This is what has come to be known as equivalency framing. Thus from its psychological roots framing is about variations in how information is presented not variations in what is presented (Cacciatore et al. 2015) this is relevant to the study because when it comes to crisis management campaigns on Tweeter and Facebook people's opinions and perceptions toward that particular crisis are shaped by how the information is presented.

In sociology one of the first scholars to develop the concept of framing was Goffman (1974). He argued that people use schemas of interpretation, that is, "a framework that helps in making an otherwise meaningless succession of events into something meaningful" (Borah 2011: 248). The sociological roots of framing views it as involving the construction of meaning and how individuals manage to make sense of their everyday world (Van Gorp 2007, Cacciatore et al. 2015). This kind of framing has been regarded as emphasis framing because certain sets of considerations are emphasized over others (Cacciatore et al. 2015).

Various definitions of framing have been suggested by different scholars. Entman (2007: 164) asserts that "framing is the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation." Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 11) argue that framing "is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences." Pan and Kosicki (1993: 57) noted that framing is "a strategy of constructing and processing news discourses or...a characterization of the discourse itself." Maher (2001: 86) argued that framing is "a process by which potential elements are either

included or excluded from a message or its interpretation by virtue of a communicator's organizing principles." For Van Gorp (2007) framing is the way in which journalists shape the news within some latent structures of meaning as well as the way audiences view the world as journalists do. These definitions emphasise how there has been a wide variety of conceptualisations and operationalisations of the theory of framing (Cacciatore et al. 2015). For the purposes of this study, however, what emerges from these definitions is that there are organizing principles or ideas used in the construction of reality characterized in with social network posts that help promote a particular interpretation.

In the construction of Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai, *The Herald* and *The Daily News* can be said to have put together some elements of the two leaders' leadership qualities to construct a reality that was reflected in their news discourses. While this study particularly takes the constructionist approach (Van Gorp 2007), it will also explore other approaches to framing. The process of framing makes use of frames that are defined by Gamson and Modigliani (1989: 3) as a "central organizing idea...for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue." Gitlin cited in Gamson and Modigliani (1989: 3) adds that frames are "largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it, and, in some degree, for us who rely on their reports." At the core of this study is a search to explain the central organizing idea(s) that informed the construction of Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai as political leaders, not only of their respective parties but as national leader (Mugabe) and potential national leader (Tsvangirai). The study takes the position that there is a relationship between "the microcosmic elements in a given message and the macrocosmic worldview of the communicator" (Maher 2001 his study investigates the framing of political leaders, Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai, specifically looking at their leadership qualities. Inevitably the theory of framing informs the study. It is a theory that has received widespread scholarship around the world and this study explores some of the major discussions around the theory and then takes a stand as to which of the discussions best inform what this research is about.

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Kahneman and Tversky in their 1981 study concluded that individuals are more averse to risk when presented with making a decision in terms of gains. On the other hand when the same information is presented in terms of losses individuals are more risk-seeking. This is what has come to be known as equivalency framing. Thus from its psychological roots framing is about variations in how information is presented not variations in what is presented (Cacciatore et al. 2015). In sociology one of the first scholars to develop the concept of framing was Goffman (1974). He argued that people use schemas of interpretation, that is, “a framework that helps in making an otherwise meaningless succession of events into something meaningful” (Borah 2011: 248). The sociological roots of framing views it as involving the construction of meaning and how individuals manage to make sense of their everyday world (Van Gorp 2007, Cacciatore et al. 2015). This kind of framing has been regarded as emphasis framing because certain sets of considerations are emphasized over others (Cacciatore et al. 2015).

Various definitions of framing have been suggested by different scholars. Entman (2007: 164) asserts that “framing is the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation.” Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 11) argue that framing “is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences.” Pan and Kosicki (1993: 57) noted that framing is “a strategy of constructing and processing news discourses or...a characterization of the discourse itself.” Maher (2001: 86) argued that framing is “a process by which potential elements are either included or excluded from a message or its interpretation by virtue of a communicator’s organizing principles.” For Van Gorp (2007) framing is the way in which journalists shape the news within some latent structures of meaning as well as the way audiences view the world as journalists do. These definitions emphasise how there has been a wide variety of conceptualisations and operationalisations of the theory of framing (Cacciatore et al. 2015). For the purposes of this study, however, what emerges from these definitions is that there are organizing principles or ideas used in the construction of reality characterized in social network posts and responses that help promote a particular interpretation.

In the construction of ZANU PF’s factional wars post the Mujuru era, the posts and responses of social network users can be said to have put together some elements of the party image and qualities to construct a reality that was reflected in the news discourses particularly the

private media as negative. While this study particularly takes the constructionist approach (Van Gorp 2007), it will also explore other approaches to framing.

The process of framing makes use of frames that are defined by Gamson and Modigliani (1989) as a “central organizing idea...for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue.” Gitlin cited in Gamson and Modigliani (1989: 3) adds that frames are “largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it, and, in some degree, for us who rely on their reports.” At the core of this study is a search to explain the central organizing idea(s) that informed the construction of ZANU PF’s image as political party, The study takes the position that there is a relationship between “the microcosmic elements in a given message and the macrocosmic worldview of the communicator” (Maher 2001: 86): 86).

2.10 Conclusion

Crisis management strategies on social media used by parties, candidates, and citizen activists worldwide vary and need to be contextualised according to democratic context and the local regulatory environment from this chapter Social media seems to be more significant as a campaigning tool for crisis management in countries where large-scale campaigns can be built around individual political personalities more than when they are focused on party structures (the United States of America and European countries being the obvious example here).The ‘cult of personality’ can also powerfully serve to maintain voter interest between elections in contexts where political parties are relatively invisible between elections. The next chapter is Chapter Three and will focus on Research Methods and Methodology.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methods used in the gathering and analysis of data on the topic of study which is crisis management and politics in the age of social media. It is based on both quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the political activities and how they are framed by the social media with specific reference to ZANU PF crises between the 2016 and 2016 period.

In data gathering the researcher is obliged to know the following questions in order to make rightful Decisions what information was used, how would the information be collected, what tools were needed for collection of the data, Where the information would be collected, how many subjects would be used and based on what criterion, what should be done to the collected data?

3.2 Research Approach

The research Approach serves as the outline for tackling the research questions. Methodology specifies several processes that need to be followed. these processes constitute a generic framework. Limiting this research to one particular research method will not do justice to this complex study. with that in mind this research will be informed by qualitative method to collect and analyze data.

I therefore used qualitative research because Murphy and Dingwall (2001) reject the fact that one can mix qualitative and quantitative research paradigms because they are completely incompatible. Qualitative research is a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live in (Atkinson et al 2001:1). It was therefore relevant to use this type of approach since this research seeks to seeks to understand the role played by Social Networks in crisis management in Zimbabwean Politics; there is also a need to explore the technological impact that the usage of social networks platforms has in the making and destruction of political careers in Zimbabwe. This can be relevant to this study since the dissertation seeks to have the perspectives of the audiences towards the social network posts and response legitimisation of ZANU PF. Qualitative research approaches are also used in the exploration of change and conflict. This also further buttresses how this is relevant with this research, since any study on politics and politicians involves conflict. Also qualitative research paradigm claims that the experiences of people are essentially context bound, which is they cannot be free from time and location (Smith 1983). This is therefore relevant with this research since the study is conducted under

a vast array of political, socio and economic context. In qualitative research the views of the Facebook and Twitter users involved in the research and their meanings and interpretations matters most. Hence it was relevant for the researcher to use this paradigm which gives power to the audiences as the premise of this research is based on the power of audiences.

Giacomini and Cook (2000) suggest that the purpose of qualitative studies is to offer a “window-like” or a “mirror-like” view on the specific situation or phenomenon being studied. In qualitative research there is no single definition of reality; reality is therefore based on various versions by those who define it. Each person depending on the change that takes place over a long period determines what is known about a particular subject depending on a given situation or context (Joubish et al 2012). Therefore, this research seeks to get audience views and ZANU PF crisis management communication on the image restoration process

Although findings can be applied to similar situations, the main aim of a qualitative study is to gain a deeper and complex understanding of a particular social context (Mack et al, 2005). As such to gain a clearer and deeper view on the Social media impacts crisis management campaigning, Hence I used this approach.

3.4 Sampling

Sampling can be defined as the selection of units such as people or institutions for study (Searle, 1995). It involves choosing a sizable number of the population (samples) from the bigger group (target audience) that will be used as the basis for estimating or predicting a fact, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group. Sampling is basically a statistical approach with the selection of individual observations intended to yield knowledge about a target population for purpose of statistical inference. Demographic details from the basis of sampling of a target population. Thus in this research the example is Midlands State University selected from a population which comprises of all Universities in Zimbabwe.

According to Fraenkel (2003) in purposive sampling, investigators use personal judgment to select a sample. Elements are selected and then judged if they represent or are typical of the production under investigation and this saves resources as one does not run the risk of interacting with unnecessary people thus wasting time.

A purposive sample is advantageous in that the researcher chooses the most relevant material for study and from it deduces import; it is however, defective in that it is dependent on the researcher’s indicative on what constitutes a representative population, and the researcher may be biased.

3.5 Probability Sampling

In Probability sampling, every element in the population has a fair chance of being chosen for study. Cooper and Schindler (2003:182) say:

“Probability sampling is based on the concept of random selection—a controlled procedure that assures that each population element is given a known zero chance of selection.”

In the study the researcher used probability sampling in a form of simple random sampling in administering of questionnaires and interview in the University to represent all the Zimbabwean Universities. This methodology reduces sampling errors; the method further involves the division of sampling frame into groups in order to ensure that the sample is representative Harambolos and Holborn, (1995). Nonetheless, it is impracticable to include all members of each stratum hence the method can be combined with other forms of sampling to maintain the validity and reliability of the sample.

3.4.1 Population of the study

It is made up of the group of individuals that make up the study, the participants that conduct the study make up the study population. For an example if the research is about sexually transmitted diseases it may consist of people with 18 years and below in the selected community. Participants that will partake in this research are students, staff members and politicians. In this case my population will be the tweets and the Facebook posts as well as the people I interview.

3.6 Methods of Data Gathering

Interviews, Questionnaires and Archival Research were used to gather data. I used focus group discussions because they encourage people to speak more descriptively and in-depth about how they are affected politically by social media (Oates 2008). This is because I wanted to hear the opinions of selected politics enthusiasts in Zimbabwe on how they felt about the crisis management communication and political communication strategies by ZANU PF.

3.6.1 Archival Research

The researcher used online archival research to gather hard news stories and editorial comments about ZANU PF internal power squabbles. These stories were used to investigate how the ZANU PF succession conflicts were reported in the media. This is due to the fact

that online archives are more convenient and can be accessed anyway where there is internet connectivity. Where the need arises, one will use the MSU library newspaper archive to complement the online archive since the university subscribes to all newspapers daily. Stokes (2003) agrees with this notion when he contends that archival research sometimes characteristically needs one to have access to physical products which he is studying and not solely depend on online sources since they sometimes cannot provide full details of the required information. A sample of hard news stories and editorial comments have been used for analysis of the selected newspapers output. Editorial comments have been selected because they give a deep and comprehensive presentation of main issues at hand and also mirror the general perception of the news house. Editorial comments also provide first-hand information about the main issues at hand. Hard news stories have been used since they are the ones which provide serious stories such as political issues. The placement of stories or the page where they are placed in the newspapers under examination is viewed as their level of prominence by the researcher. This means that articles found on the first pages of the publications are of greater prominence at that particular day while the ones at the centre of the newspaper are of medium prominence. In this study, therefore, the prominence of stories has been taken into consideration so as to deduce which stories received great prominence in both selected publications.

3.6.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaires are defined as a set of carefully constructed questions designed to provide systematic information in particular subjects Farrant (1980). This research technique allows the researcher to survey a population of subjects with little, or no personal interaction. The aim will be that of establishing a broad picture of their experiences or views.

Cohen et al (2000;245) says a questionnaire is a widely used and useful instrument for collecting survey information, providing structured, often numerical data, being able to be administered without the presence of the researcher, and comparatively straight forward to analyse.” There is counterbalance of all these attractions by the time taken to develop, of the pilot and refine the questionnaire by the possible unsophisticated and limited scope of data collected, and from the likely limited flexibility of response.

Questionnaires can be structured or unstructured but for the purpose of this study the latter are critical. The researcher used questionnaires, and was structured in such a way that to McMillan and Schumacher (1989:542), “it is a written set of questions or statements assets attitudes, opinions, beliefs and biographic information”. In a questionnaire, the researcher and

respondents communicated via pen and paper whereby the respondent was required to tick for answer on the given question. The researcher availed in a case a tick was not required for respondent to add relevant information which they felt might not be among the options presented.

An additional space for comments was also made available and the questionnaire clearly stated the questions for the respondent to answer in a clear and concise manner. The questionnaire was chosen as a method of collecting data out of the realization that it was the most cost `effective given the large number of respondents, and also its not time consuming and easy to fill in.

Open ended and closed questions were employed, which permit the respondent to provide individual answers and free opinions. This helped the researcher to gather opinions, judgments and understanding of the respondents in the quickest possible way, follow ups on the questionnaire were made without instilling unnecessary pressure on the respondents. This was because some respondents had totally overlooked answering the questionnaires.

3.6.3 Skype Face to face interviews

These forms of interviews allow the parties involved to reach to finer deals of the discussion in a way that can be easily understood by both parties. Face to face interviews wholly depend on interpersonal communication. Researcher and interviewee are in conversation. Answers to questions are recorded. Such interviews provide quick method of data collection as the researcher and the researched engage in talk (Denzins, 1970). Non verbal communication such as body posture, facial expressions and gestures are noticeable and readable in a face to face interview such that the researcher can be in a position to draw certain conclusions from the interviewee. This method of data collection involves the researcher asking respondents open-ended questions. Interviews can range in type, from fixed to free. That is, they can be structured, unstructured, and semi-structured.

My area of study was to some extent complex such that I had to conduct my interviews on both people who are both actively and none actively participating on social networks at the Institution rather than those who actively participate only for a more accurate reading. This to get some kind of first-hand information on the way they perceive ZANU Pf's crisis management communication.

Focus group interviews with the Rank Marshals and fruit vendors who are also part of the community were also conducted basically they were not structured in any way; it was just the

free discussion of topic under study. The researcher asked the respondents their view on their perceptions on ZANU PF's crisis situation after their statements on both social media and mainstream media, its people and societies. A great deal of information was collected, at times obtaining more than other research forms could not have discovered.

I also conducted a telephone interview with a lecturers' in the Politics and Public Management department in to get an intellectual view on Politics and a critical analysis of political communication, the researcher used conversational interview method.

Interviews create a rapport between the respondent and interviewer, the rapport makes it easier to approach certain topics. This helps to build trust and unlock the inner being of the respondent. However, interviews are time consuming and prone to bias, also interviews are flexible and adaptable to the environment. Robson (1992:229) notes that interviews "lack standardization" which raises a lot of questions about reliability. For the purpose of conducting interviews the researcher moved around the MSU campus and surrounding suburbs of Senga, Adelaid Park and Nehosho so as to gather different views from people with different backgrounds.

3.7 Data Analysis Methods

3.7.1 Content Analysis

This concept of research methodology allows the researcher to make generalizations about the overall content of a set of documents in such a way that are easily comparable across groups of documents identified for the purpose of research. Cited in Mubaiwa (2009:27) said that

unpublished works, content analysis can be particularly powerful for analyzing systems of meaning comparatively and historically because it theoretically shows the researcher to track more subtle differences or changes over time than might come to light using more impressionistic methods.

McQuail (1994) notes that the concept of content analysis is considered simplistic as it is more concerned with surface meanings and with strict classification and quantification. It ignores the underlying meanings and tends to treat media content as a reflection of 'reality'. Tuchman (1978) asserts that media are not mere conveyor belts they process information material under concrete conditions- internal and external to the organization, Jensen (1991) and Lindlof (1995) explained that these include semiotics, linguistics, critical discourse analysis and literary analysis.

In this case, content analysis was used in an effort to familiarize the researcher with the actual material produced and published online by ZANU PF as a way to curb the crisis threatening the organization's image. It includes the choice of public relations strategy and social network use. Content analysis is examined in this respect to provide a detailed insight into the intent of the part's crisis management team or "spin doctors". Content analysis has the advantage of providing first hand data in physical form to the researcher, as written texts are easy to document and thus widely available for reference.

More important here is texts. That does not mean either that those approaches cannot be used together with basic content analysis and that they do not involve elements of qualification themselves, what only differs is the purpose for which the quantification are made. In addition to this, content analysis impact on the Image Repair Theory and Two way asymmetric model theoretical framework aspects as highlighted already.

3.8 Critical discourse analysis

Many scholars have highlighted that it is very difficult to define critical discourse analysis. However, Steele (1997:134) defines critical discourse analysis as 'the method which will enable to reveal the hidden motivations behind a text or behind the choice of a particular method of research to interpret that text. It is nothing more than a Deconstructive reading and interpretation of a text. Discourse analysis will thus not provide absolute answers to a specific problem, but enable us to understand the conditions behind a specific 'problem' and its resolution, lie in assumptions, the very assumptions that enable existence of that problem.

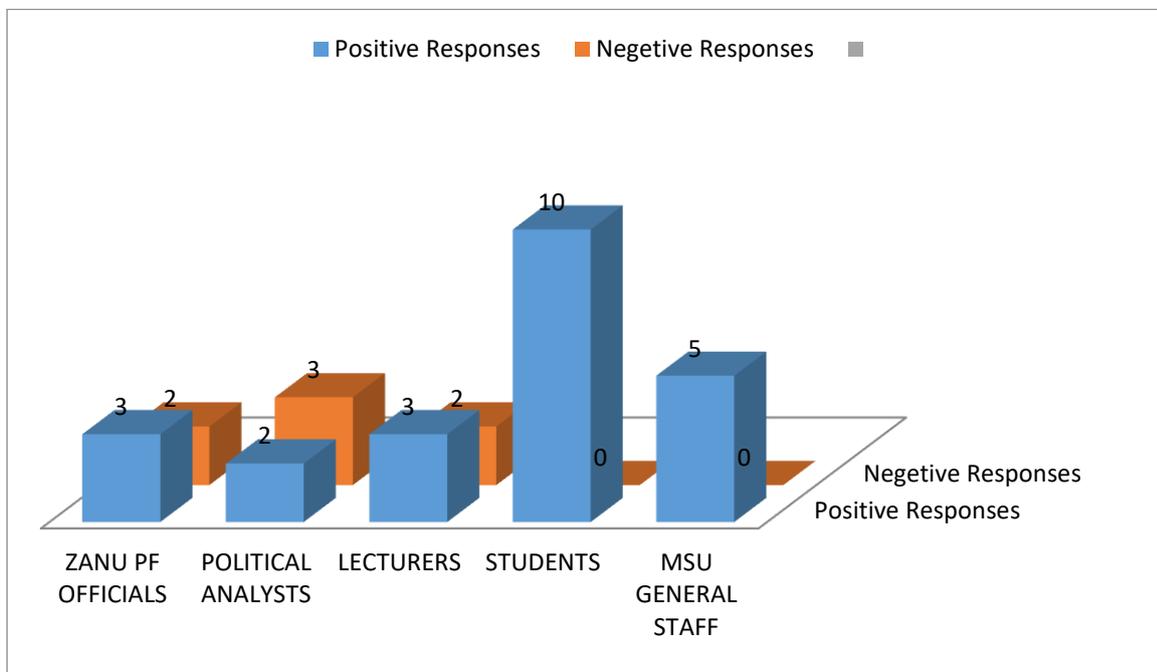
3.9 Response Rates

Of the sources which the researcher sought to gather information from which are the questionnaires, Interviews and online Archival data. The poorest responses were emanated from ZANU PF officials and Political analysts, while a favorable responses came from the randomly selected youth members selected from different departments at the University as far as providing data for the research.

Fig 1 Response at Table

Targeted informants	targeted number	positive response	negative responses
ZANU PF OFFICIAL	5	2	3
POLITICAL ANALYSTS	5	3	2
LECTURERS	5	4	1
STUDENTS	10	10	0
GENERAL STAFF	5	5	0

Fig 2



The diagramme created through the information gathered through quantitative research helps answer the sub research question three which means to find out the reactions of the audiences following ZANU PF on social networks particularly focusing on Twitter and Facebook reactions.

3.10 Conclusion

Conclusively, the researcher observed that the research methods used were equally important in the research under study, as the area under study seeks to hear the views of the youth who follow politics in Zimbabwe. Political communication in crisis management research through

social networks, exposed the researcher to gathering first –hand information. In the same line content analysis helped the researcher to get more information about ZANU Pf crisis management communication plan and discourse analysis also contributed immensely to reveal hidden motivations behind different responses and strategies used by ZANU Pf.

Whatsap focus group discussion also assisted the researcher to have a broader view of the study as different contributions were very useful in one way or the other, the researcher benefited immensely because more new ideas and views on the study were laid by the focus group discussion, quality information was gained from further academic research on the topic. The methods applied above were tactically chosen in this study and with no doubt they contributed enormously to the research under study.

CHAPTER 4: Political Economy of the Organisation

4.1 Introduction

Chapter one introduced the study while also highlighting what the subsequent chapters will look at Chapter two Literature Review and Theoretical Framework, in Chapter three explored the Research Methods and Methodology of the research. This chapter gives an analysis of ZANU PF, its systems, capacity, and functionality in order to increase its efficiency, performance, and output. It focuses on ZANU PF's historical background, an overview of its operations guiding principles and organizational structure. This chapter also seeks to importantly overview the nature of the organisation in relation to its core business and administrative structure. Also of critical importance to be explored in this chapter is how different departments within the organisation relate to each other to achieve its organizational goals, mission statement and objectives scrutinizing the departments' day to day coordination. The funding mechanism of the organization is also looked at as funding is the crucial component of the day to day operations of any media organization.

4.2 Historical Background

According to the Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU PF)'s website, ZANU PF is a total Political, Indigenous Economic Emancipation and a National Liberation Movement Package for Zimbabweans by Zimbabweans prepared to shed their blood in defence of their Sovereignty at all times. It's a liberation movement which thrives on and cherishes National Unity which has created the sound condition of Peace and Security which Zimbabwe has enjoyed and a rare gift many countries dream of. Manhando (1997) says that Zimbabwean Politics began in 1966, when a white minority regime under farmer Ian Smith took power, unilaterally Declaring independence from Britain and preventing the colony from being released into independence under a government representing the black majority. The settler regime named their new country Rhodesia, only recognized by Apartheid-era South Africa. When the Rhodesian government banned all political activity by the black nationalist opposition, ZANU-PF and ZAPU Decided to turn to guerilla war as their only alternative. The civil war ("Chimurenga") cost numerous lives and eventually wore the white minority down, especially after the Salazar-dictatorship in Portugal collapsed under the weight of a similar guerilla war in its colonies of Angola and Mozambique. From 1976 Black nationalist forces operated not only from Zambia but also Mozambique to the East. More and more white farmers emigrated to South Africa, Britain or Australia.

In the late 1970s the government finally agreed to negotiations, which eventually led to the country coming independent as Zimbabwe. In 1980 ZANU won an election victory and Robert Mugabe became the new leader of the country.

The country was not to enjoy freedom for very long: Rivalries between ZANU (dominated by ethnic Shona from the North) and ZAPU (based mainly in Matabeleland in the South) escalated into a low scale guerilla war. The government responded brutally, torturing and murdering many ZAPU-supporters and suspects. ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo went into exile in the UK. Later he returned to make a deal with Mugabe and ZAPU merged with ZANU. Peace had returned, but the country had become a de-facto one party state.

In 1999 Zimbabwe saw its first effective opposition party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) founded by Dr Morgan Tsvangirai, Tendai Biti, Welshman Ncube and the late Learnmore Jongwe. However ZANU PF managed to win elections and maintain rule as the ruling party up to today but a series of crisis struck beginning in 2016 when ZANU PF fired 89 of its senior leaders amongst them the then vice president Joice Mujuru, Rugare Gumbo, Jabulani Sibanda, Didimus Mutasa, Dzikamai Mavaire were chucked out of the party during the December 2016 congress on allegations of plotting against the president Robert Mugabe and fueling Factionalism, in 2016 the Factional wars continued under vice president Emerson Mnangagwa 's Ngwenya or Lacoste Faction and a youthful rivalry faction led by the First Lady Grace Mugabe, the shameful dismissal of DrJoiceMujuru saw her re-entering the political race through the formation of her new political party named the Zimbabwe People First Party that was officially registerd by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission on February 12 2016 as an opposition posing a threat to ZANU Pf, the party's most loyal supporter the War veterans 'under fired leader Cristopher Mutswangwa plotted a demonstration against president Robert Mugabe and questioned his capabilities to lead the party and the country April 2016 and finally the alleged 15 billion dollars the nation lost in the mining sector with a lot of fingers pointing at ZANU PF top ranked officials wrangled in the scandal.

4.3Vision

To establish and sustain a society that cherishes African Values and to create conditions for economic independence, prosperity and equitable distribution of wealth of the nation.

4.5 Values

According to the ZANU PF 2013 manifesto, the political party's values in summary are to preserve and defend the National Sovereignty and Independence of Zimbabwe, to Uphold

and apply fully the rule of Law, Equality before the law and Equality of opportunities for all people in Zimbabwe, regardless of race, tribe sex, religion or origin. Continue to participate in the worldwide struggle for the complete eradication of imperialism, colonialism and all forms of racism, to support and promote all effects for the attainment of the Pan African goal for the complete independence and unity of African states and oppose resolutely, tribalism, regionalism and forms of exploitation of man by man.

ZANU PF promised to Recapitalise and capacitate all sectors of the national economy. using value unlocked from idle assets. Reduce the urban housing backlog by, among other interventions, urgently regularising the tenure of urban dwellers that were allocated housing and commercial stands on periurban farms under the Land Reform Programme. Maintain proficient, technologically competent and well motivated defence and security capabilities. Restore sanity and eliminate corruption, particularly in urban councils. Give bankable leasehold security of tenure to all agricultural beneficiaries of the Land Reform Programme. Institute measures to legalise artisanal mining (makorokoza). Create more and vibrant opportunities for the youth by establishing a 25 percent quota as a threshold for their participation. across all sectors of the state and the economy. Repatriate Zimbabwe's sanctions-bled human capital from the diaspora. Improve the salaries and conditions for civil servants. Stimulate growth in the manufacturing sector through value-addition. Engage Britain and its EU, US and White Commonwealth allies to unconditionally lift illegal sanctions, stop their sustained regime-change onslaught and normalise relations with Zimbabwe by the end of 2017.

4.6 Party Ideology

Munhandi (2013) and Bhebe (2008) coincide that ZANU PF embraced the doctrine of socialism during the height of the liberation struggle which also explains the military assistance extended to the country by countries such as Russia, China and Yugoslavia. Ideologically, socialism has been the trump card of ZANU PF since the days of the liberation struggle.

4.7 Funding Mechanism

According to the ZANU Pf 2013 election manifesto ZANU Pf is funded by contributions from party members and other individuals, organizations, which share their political ideas (e.g. trade union affiliation fees) or which could benefit from their activities (e.g. corporate donations, parastatal organisations) or governmental or public funding with the main funds

coming in from the National treasury that funds all the political parties in Zimbabwe toward election time.

Griffin (2006) notes that Political parties, still called factions by some, especially those in the governmental apparatus, are lobbied vigorously by organizations, businesses and special interest groups such as trade unions. Money and gifts-in-kind to a party, or its leading members, may be offered as incentives. Such donations are the traditional source of funding for all right-of-centre cadre parties. Starting in the late 19th century these parties were opposed by the newly founded left-of-centre workers' parties. They started a new party type, the mass membership party, and a new source of political fundraising, membership dues.

From the second half of the 20th century on parties which continued to rely on donations or membership subscriptions ran into mounting problems. Along with the increased scrutiny of donations there has been a long-term Decline in party memberships in most African political parties which itself places more strains on funding. For example, according to Southern African Electoral Monitoring Board in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Malawi membership of the two main parties in 2006 is less than an 1/8 of what it was in 1980, despite significant increases in population over that period.

4.8 Organizational Structure

Fig 3

<u>Name</u>	<u>Designation</u>
Robert Mugabe	President & 1st Secretary
Phelekezela Mphoko	Vice President & 2nd Secretary
Emerson Mnangagwa	Vice President & 2nd Secretary
Ignatius Chombo	Secretary for Administration
Saviour Kasukuwere	Secretary for the Commissariat
Obert Mpofu	Secretary for Finance
Simbarashe Mumbengegwi	External Affairs
Kembo Mohadi	National Security
Oppah Muchinguri	Transport and Social Welfare
Simon KhayaMoyo	Information and Publicity
Patrick Chinamasa	Legal Affairs
Mike Bimha	Implementation Economic Empowerment Policy
Josiah Hungwe	Production and Labour

CleveriaChizema	Health and Child welfare & the Elderly
Christopher Mushohwe	Economic Affairs
Dr Grace Mugabe	Women’s Affairs
Pupurai Togarepi	Youth Affairs
Joram Gumbo	Education
Thokozile Mathuthu	Gender and Culture
Joshua Malinga	Disabled
Cain Mathema	Land Reform and Resettlement
Prof. Jonathan Moyo	Science and Tech
SithembisoNyoni	Business Development
Prisca Mupfumira	Environment and Tourism
TshingaDube	War Veterans

According to the 2013 ZANU PF manifesto Cde Robert Gabriel Mugabe (born 21 February 1924) is the current President of Zimbabwe, serving since 31 December 1987. He was elected as Prime Minister, head of government, in 1980, and served in that office until 1987, when he became the country’s first executive head of state. He has led the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) as the first secretary since 1975 and represents the political party as the presidential candidate the chain of command then goes to the two second secretaries Emerson Mnangagwa and Phekezela Mphoko each of them are the official pre Decessors of the first secretariat when Mugabe steps down. The two second secretaries’ positions were created as crisis management strategy to accommodate both a ZAPU and ZANU PF candidates a fair chance to be elected the first chairperson and counter succession crisis in the party unfortunately.

From the two second secretaries the chain of command goes to the secretary of administration Ignatius Chombo who oversees the overall administration of all the provincial sectors of ZANU PF and reports to the First Secretary directly, next to him is Saviour Kasukuwere the party’s secretary for Commissariat who has been greatly criticized by party members for chasing away party members and fueling factionalism within the party than his intended job to mobilise more party members, next to him is the secretary of Finance Obert Mpfu who deals with the party’s finances and ranked as one of the 10 most wealthiest Zimbabweans in the country under him is as the secretary for secretary of finance is the Zimbabwean Finance

Minister Patrick Chinamasa also responsible for the party's legal affairs meaning that the man who holds the nation's finances reports to the ZANU PF secretary of Finance, thus the country's parastatal companies that rely on finances from the government or national treasury are controlled by ZANU PF or are greatly influenced by ZANU PF for an example during the ZANU PF Women Affairs secretary Grace Mugabe's meet the nation rallies the rallies advertising was mainly sponsored and done by Zimpapers and Netone while ZBC provided live coverage of the rallies in major cities .

4.9 Organisation's Core Business

According to the ZANU PF website the organisation is a political party that focuses on the running and administration of power in the country. A political party is a group of people who come together to contest elections and hold power in the government. They agree on some policies and programmes for the society with a view to promote the collective good or to further their supporters' interests. While there is some international commonality in the way political parties are recognized, and in how they operate, there are often many differences, and some are significant. Many political parties have an ideological core, but some do not, and many represent very different ideologies than they did when first founded While the ZANU PF 2013 Manifesto ZANU PF is the only political Party which can guarantee Zimbabweans a secure future as the country's liberator. President Robert Mugabe in the manifesto said:

“ZANU PF is the Party of our collective national aspirations. As we campaign for our Party, and when and after we vote, each and every one of us must draw inspiration from the eternal words bequeathed us by our beloved late Vice-President John Landa Nkomo that, “Peace begins with Me; Peace begins with You; Peace begins with all of Us”.

In summary ZANU PF's ideology is to achieve Independence , Peace, Sovereignty , Freedom & democracy, Unity , Non-violence, Security, Tolerance, Respect for the values and ideals , Stability of the liberation struggle , The youth as the future, Patriotism, Employment, Gender equality , Housing for all, Respect for the elderly, Respect for persons with disabilities, Economic prosperity, Development, Education for all, Freedom of worship and Equity

4.10 Links with other organisations

ZANU Pf winning most of the parliamentary seats has gained massive control of the publicly owned state controlled media houses like Zimpapers and Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) in order to advance the party's objectives. ZANU Pf is also linked to both influential organizations internationally and locally. Organisations like the Old Mutual have strong tie to ZANU PF, the ties established from the liberation struggle and have since been linked financially with the political party. ZANU PF's links to communications companies like Net One and Tel-One strategically place the party in a position of dominance when it comes to telecommunication association.

4.11 Advertising

ZANU PF's Influence on the public owned state controlled media houses and dominating broadcasting station gives it an advantage it terms of advertising and political communication to achieve its objectives. McChesney (2005) notes that advertisers end up becoming latter-day licensing authorities and determine what is published or broadcast. In the case of ZANU Pf it holds the majority seats in parliament meaning that the budgeted funds that are distributed to the parastatal media houses and broadcasting services in the country are controlled by the government that is flooded with government ministers, thus the mainstream media cannot bite the hand that feed them, but however when it comes to social media like Facebook and Twitter who are financially stable and privately owned it is a challenge for ZANU Pf to control or influence what is posted or twitted on these social networks

4.12 Overall Discussion

The political economy of ZANU PF as a political party from its origin has been structured in a tactical manner to avoid the crisis of power succession and the reoccurrence of the alleged Matabeleland massacre (Gukurahuni civil war) in other words crisis management in the ZANU PF organisation started on the day that the Unity accord was signed between ZANU under Robert Mugabe and Zapu under the late Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo to create ZANU PF. The structure created two second secretaries as a way to accommodate and both fronts and avert power succession disputes which of late have rocked the party. the party through its strategic placement of cabinet ministers on influential positions has managed to own, control and influence big organisations that have made it ascertain its hegemony over Zimbabwe for the past 36 years and president Mugabe as the only president of the country. The party's association and control over the majority of the mainstream media in Zimbabwe like ZBC, Zimpapers group of newspapers and radio station and the regulatory media bodies like the

ZMC that register and regulate journalists in the country has managed to impose their ideologies on to the Zimbabwean people but however in the age of social media the party has been experiencing quite a huge organizational reputation crisis with a lot of unregulated or controlled negative Tweets and Post on social networks.

The study's main objective was to discover the main role that social networks play in Crisis Management and Political Communication in the age of social and how it affects the youth, through the data collected from the methods highlighted in the method and methodology chapter greatly seem to show that ZANU PF as an organisation have been very successful in managing crisis before the era of social media but seem to be facing quite a number of challenges in doing so in situations or in the type of media which they cannot control or regulate the flow of information. ZANU PF as a dominating revolutionary party is the perfect example of the statement stipulated by Botlet (2009) that Social media through its unregulated nurture has made crisis management for the organizational study in Africa problematic because of the African political parties' failure to adopt internet campaigns and digital image restoration campaigns and on the other hand the organisation seems to suffer a huge public relations crisis as the privately owned media like Daily News, News Day and Financial Gazette seem to use the negative posts about ZANU PF from the social network as sources of news against the ZANU PF propaganda for an example the Women League secretary's over spending habits oversees while the public are struggling to make ends meet or the government is struggling to pay its civil servants.

4.12 Conclusion

The chapter has explored the political economy of ZANU Pf, the day to day runnings of the political party and how it is funded and how its funding or association with other organization influence what is published or broadcast on both the mainstream media and social media networks in Zimbabwe. ZANU PF's historical background has also an influence on the political economy through the associations that it created especially from the communist countries who support the party's cause financially.

CHAPTER 5: Data Presentation and Analysis

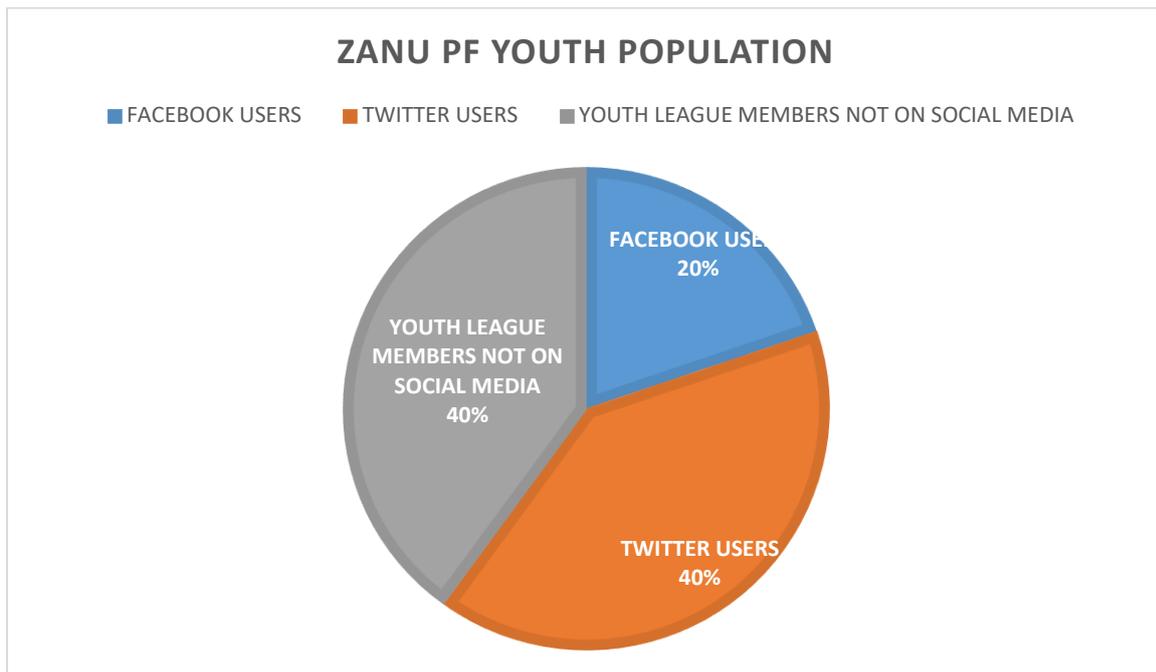
5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the findings that the researcher got from the focus group discussions and the interviews conducted. I used the thematic way of presenting the data. The findings are presented by five themes, and the discussion that arises from the various themes that the researcher got. This chapter presents and analyses findings of the study. Information for this research was gathered through quantitative and qualitative research and critical discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is an attempt to understand ways of representing different aspects of social events, social actors, and processes and so on (Fairclough 1989).

5.1 Overview of the study

ZANU Pf as a political party created one facebook account and one Twitter account both accounts from the two networks attracted a total number of 1 479 024 members registered or following the two accounts with the Twitter account having 1 019 268 with 459 756 following the ZANU PF youth live facebook group thus figures show that the party enjoys a 69 % of the youth that are registered with the party and following ZANU PF youth forums are on twitter while the remaining 39.8% are on the ZANU PF youth live facebook. According to the ZANU PF website the party has about 2 450 678 registered youths in the organization in the beginning of 2016, meaning that only 60.2 % of the total youths can access or get updates on the party's political communication during crisis management campaigns, concurring with Phua (2012)'s notion that "Given that a greater part of the world's internet users reportedly spend 13 hours online each week searching for information on their favorite politicians and political parties, it is almost guaranteed that anything published on these sites will be seen and spread fast."

Fig 4



The research not only proves that social media facilitate in the creation and resolving of crisis as discussed in the Literature review chapter but also through thematic and discourse analysis proved media contents especially press release and internet sources greatly influences human behavior in different ways .For starters people believe in the old idiom that says “where there is smoke there is fire”, which means if a story or report manages to make news both on social network platforms no matter how credible it might not be because of the source there is high probability that its authentic, therefore this makes the audience rely on these tweets and post believing in almost everything they read.

The data collection shows that, most audience who are over 35 years base their conclusions on newspaper articles they don't have interest in reading the newspaper and browse the internet while the youth who are 18-35 years of age regard buying newspapers as pointless expenses .According to the interviews, the most social media active generation is between 18-38 years; however this social media active generation relies mostly on internet sources because they deem buying newspaper copies as unnecessary expenses since they access any newspaper stories that would be of particular interest to them on the internet or social network and be able to scrutinize in an unregulated digital public sphere coinciding with the digital public sphere theory discussed in the theoretical Framework of the study.

The question under this generation is especially when it comes to political communication and crisis management is the authenticity and reliability of local news especially the publicly

owned state controlled media houses like Zimpapers , the youth regard state controlled media as biased and pushing propaganda in favor of the ruling party so the youth resort to independent social media news or platforms like Baba Jukwa, First Lady Chronicles and Zimbabwean for prosperity facebook page are always their reliable source of information and unregulated ,with the development of social networks and affordable internet bundles provided by telecommunication companies ,this generations spends 80percent of the internet time on social networks which also happen to offer news and updates as well as links to international news stations and local independent newspapers.

5.2 Social Media as the salvation and plague of Crisis Management Communication

Both the interviews with Political communication professionals and data gathered from the ZANU PF Facebook page and Twitter highlight that social media makes the audiences feel liberated on their own and are endowed with spontaneous civic humanitarian feelings that makes them react, which approves the Elizabeth Relms argument that any form of media when used unethically can be used to create an uprising against the government or various authorities. the research successfully questioned and revealed the relevance of media in managing political stability and instability. One of the posts on ZANU PF twitter page that solidifies social media as a creators or catalysts of crisis.

Fig 5



The above post on 27 February 2016 shows how the ZANU PF twitter account administrator exacerbates conflicts through managing their crisis of losing or firing once top officials in the party and likening the people first cadres to waste that ZANU Pf dumped. the former ZANU PF members who joined Joyce Mujuru and Didmus Mutasa in their People First (PF) opposition party created a crisis for ZANU PF because now ZANU PF has an opposition party that knows the organisation's weaknesses running against them and the only way that ZANU PF knows how to deal with opposition or an enemy is to mud sling and destroy their reputations in this case they referred to them as useless waste material that has been rejected by ZANU PF, this way of handling a crisis is associated with the Image restoration Theory under the mortification strategy were Benoit says the organisation knows that there is a crisis but shifts the blame to other parties involved to embarrass them in a way to draw attention from their own negative attention accumulated. Through thematic analysis it is safe for one to see from the above post how the organisation on the same day tweets about a crisis and how the Party's first secretary supports local airway company Air Zimbabwe as a way of supporting indigenous businesses in accordance their indigenization and empowerment policy.

In an interview with Political Analyst and Chronicle Political Editor Nduduzo Tshuma through data analysis the research proved that social networks were indeed creators and facilitators of conflict in reference to his uses of professor Jonathan Moyo alleged to be (G40) tweets when he was accusing George Charamba (Lacoste) for intentionally humiliating the

president Robert Mugabe by giving him wrong speeches to read on one national address and opening of the parliament in January and march in 2016.

“Social networks especially Tweeter is surprisingly the cause of many internal crisis incidents in ZANU PF and the government, a good example you can use to show that is how Proffesor Jonathan Moyo initiated and provoked a war of words between himself and George Charamba over the two incidents that the president and first secretary of ZANU PF read the wrong speeches that crisis was fueled by how the Professor commented on the issue,”

The other crisis management communication strategy that this study found that supports the notion of social networks being creators of crisis is how the ZANU PF through labelling People First members as waste material creates a crisis on the side of the PF leaders who are trying to conduct a successful Image restoration campaign after their images were tarnished in their dismissal from ZANU PF.

On December 23 The ZANU PF Tweeter a Facebook administrators retweeted a post were the party’s Information and Technology Officer Proffesor Jonathan Moyo denied the country’s economic meltdown crisis which was very obvious to the world and later on during the year the Minister of Finance Patrick Chinamasa admitted to the economic crisis and announced the introduction of the bond notes to try and resolve the money shortage crisis in the country.

Fig6



The above statement in fig 6 also shows how the ZANU PF through Professor Jonathan Moyo's Tweet on the absence of an economic meltdown also used the strategy of denial as a concept of crisis management on a situation that is obvious was not welcomed by a lot of social network users.

The research also found out that ZANU PF as an organization though it has a secretary of information and publicity the other highly placed officials on social networks can comment and post anything they want on behalf of ZANU PF on their personal accounts about a ZANU Pf crisis and sometimes those posts will be compromising or in contradiction with the official organization crisis management plan that would have been drafted and thus disrupting or worsening the crisis situation which tarnishes the organization's image and good will to its supporters.

The below tweet fig 7 shows the ZANU PF Tweeter account administrator preaching Unity and Professor Jonathan Moyo's Tweet from Facebook preaching the same but Lenon Rwizi just a random Tweeter user makes a rhetoric comment that suggests that Professor Jonathan Moyo is part of a Faction while preaching a different gospel on the crisis.



As Professor Moyo was Chanting "Pasi nemafaction" Away with Factionalism the comments on the post were as follows

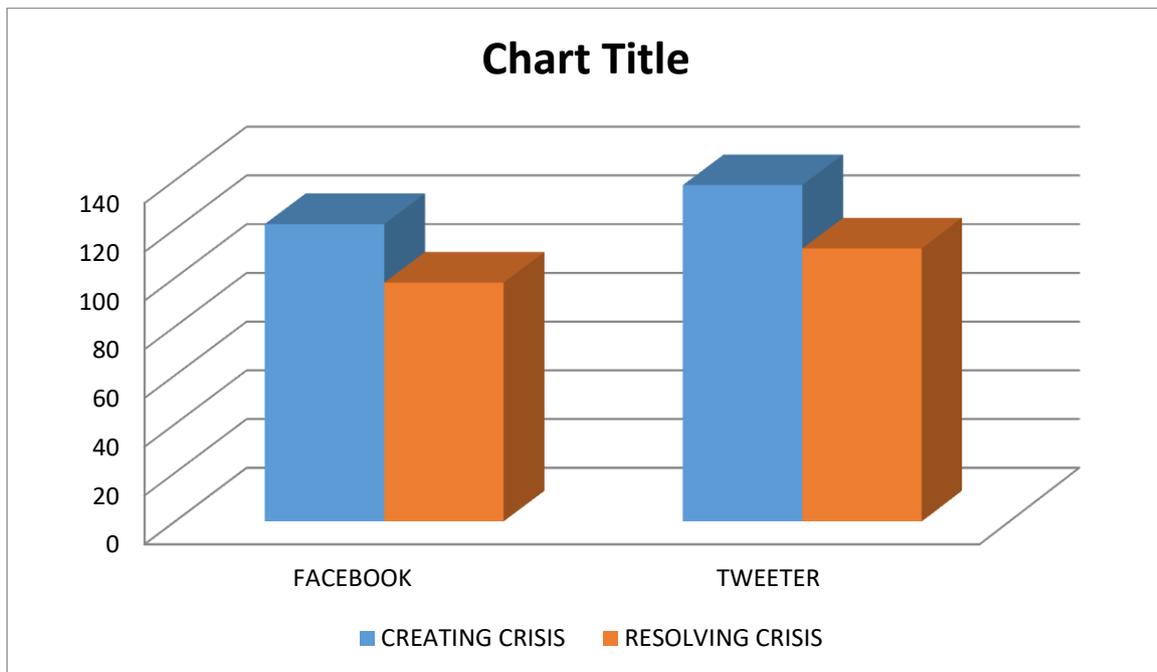


The comments to the researcher's understanding and analysis show how the majority of the responses are negative in nature and that according Lee (2013) in accordance to his view that a failed crisis management plan, is highlighted by just only negative comments from the publics, but however Tshili (2014) argues that the negative comments do not necessarily mean that the crisis management communication and plan is a failing but simply means that the followers who respond are willing to hear and understand the organisation's side of the story thus the negative responses are expected so as to initiate the following step of renegotiating or reshaping the respondents's opinions. the data analysis from the online archives. The final nail to the Zanu PF political crisis instability ending with the expulsion of the alleged factionalist cadre from the Lacoste likes of Chris Mutsvangwa, Daniel Mckenzie and other "Lacoste" loyalists was at the top priority of social media agenda. Under the third stage, the social media presented the issue to the audience with an open and balanced strategy from the ZANU PF Facebook and Twitter pages however in the case of Zanu PF social media seems to act as a plague to the organization and crisis management plan considering that from the 10 response situations that were selected the comments were highly negative with the

party’s spokesperson Professor Jonathan Moyo on the issue himself accused to be the main man behind the factional wars.

Fig 8 shows the number of tweets and facebook posts that prove media creating and resolving ZANU PF crisis.from Dec to May 2016.

FACEBOOK POSTS		TWEETER POSTS	
CREATING OR FUELING CRISIS	RESOLVING	CREATING OR FUELING CRISIS	RESOLVING
117	96	134	118



The data from both the fig 8 graph and table prove to answer our sub research question that asks What are the negative aspects that come with technological politics in the Zimbabwean political system? Evidently Tweeter dominates in the negative Tweets that accelerate the organizational image of ZANU PF the reason might be because after the announcement of Jonathan Moyo’s use of Tweeter to interact with the people at a more personal level created a major interest to the social network with most of the Zimbabwean journalist paying particular attention to the posts that are directed to his account and his reaction to the posts with most of them making the front pages of most Newspapers, after that Tweeter saw more ZANU PF

officials join in the Tweeter craze with Saviour Kasukuwere opening an account, while on Facebook Patrick Zhiwawo and even the ZANU PF official Tweeter account announcing that the 92 year old president Robert Mugabe would dominate the American imperialist social network and control their space as they attempt to interfere with Zimbabwean politics, all this highlighted in the post in Fig 9

Fig 9



Data gathered from the questionnaires that were randomly given to MSU community members presented that the youth in the region are greatly interested and prefer in the political events that happen on Facebook and Tweeter as they find that buying newspapers or relying on mainstream media is a waste for both time and money considering that most of the publications or broadcasting corporations are either biased or linked to ZANU PF or the opposition parties and will be pushing the political parties propaganda or setting an agenda for the people to think about what they deem as topical at the time and not the people's interests. The questionnaires as shown in fig 1 of the research received the most outstanding response rates and greatly influence the findings of the research.

5.2.1 Discussion

Judging from the finding from this research it is plausible to conclude that social media is indeed a creator, catalyst and resolver of crisis. Smith (2009) notes that exposure to the social media can alter the receiver's perception. This, he says, is created by an amalgamation of the personal and public spheres hence there is no clear separation of the two spheres in an individual 's internal process of thinking and Decision making. In other words, as a result of this merge, an audience watching a video clip of the ZANU PF or government spokesperson justifying the introduction of bond notes and replacing people's hard earned US\$ in bank accounts, finds himself (personal sphere) in touch with the war" tension (public sphere) that is ongoing in the government offices and social media users against the bond notes.

This research revealed that social media through its social media has transformed the ways in which people share and consume information, thus altering the whole dynamics of organization crisis management campaigning especial in the third world politics sphere were the ruling political parties were still very dependent on mainstream media or old media for crisis management campaigns social media through its instantaneous nurture excessively speeds up the way information that might harm the organisation's reputation and any uncalculated personal posts or tweets by any member of the organization on these networks are associated with the organization and thus at times create crisis or exacerbates the crisis while on the other hand due to the instantaneous nurture of the social network platforms in the words of Phua (2013) it is easy to distract the social network audiences by merely bringing up a new topic that will drive the attention away from the organisation's crisis as compared to the mainstream media which has to waited for a day or a specific news bulletin schedule to create a diversion or implement a crisis management plan.

The figures that are shown in fig 8 clearly show prevalence of negative use of crisis communication by ZANU PF and its officials compared to the positive use of social media that results in the possibility of a crisis being resolved. 69 posts that indicate the fueling of a crisis while only 4 posts show the organisation's social network administrator practicing a good crisis management plan or strategy

As highlighted in the findings the research strengthens unpublished scholar Moyo (2016)'s notion that in third world nations especially in Africa the people greatly interested and prefer in the political events that happen on Facebook and Tweeter as they find that buying newspapers or relying on mainstream media is a waste for both time and money considering that most of the publications or broadcasting corporations are either biased or linked to ZANU PF or the opposition parties and will be pushing the political parties propaganda or setting an agenda for the people to think about what they deem as topical at the time and not the people's interests but however disagrees with Botlet' (2009)s view that social networks have made crisis management a problem for political parties because of their failure to adopt them in their campaigns evidently some of ZANU PF'S officials are actively involved on Twitter and Facebook, according to the ZANU PF Tweet on Dec 21 proves that the 92 year old president also plans to dominate Tweeter.

5.3 Social Media : An object of molding public opinion.

Social Media plays a vital role as a political platform in shaping public opinions and the source of information in the 21st century, through the interviews the research proves without

reasonable doubts that social media in Zimbabwe has indeed played a huge role as a platform for political communication and is successfully shaping public opinion thereby answering our main research question. The role of social media in crisis management and political communication in the age of social media is to act as an open conduit or platform for communication, image repair, public relations and shaping or manipulating public opinions.

In Fig 10 the t

Fig 10



The research through discourse analysis particularly on the discourse used by ZANU PF on social media when questioned about the war veterans doubts on the first secretary's capabilities to rule due to his old age a part of the president's speech that was posted on the party's Facebook account was

"Some of you have been speculating that President has gone to Singapore therefore he is not well. He will die soon. Noo. I am not dying," said president Mugabe.

Reshaping the public's opinion of denying his old age made him incapable to lead. Denial of the accusations of his old age making him unfit for office is considered as a form of crisis management strategy as highlighted in the image repair theory that is based on the assumption by Benoit that "image and reputation have both symbolic and economic value, that threats to an organization's image can occur(sometimes frequently), and that communication can help repair the damage". In this incident ZANU PF communicated admitting on the trips to Singapore and old age at the same time reshaping the public's opinions that Mugabe's age is associated with wisdom rather than death

Through skype interviews with Doctor Themba Nyoni and political analyst Doctor Nkululeko Ncube the research got a new insight on how ZANU PF was trying its level best especially toward the 2018 presidential elections is trying to manipulate the social network space in a way to spin or influence public opinion to favor their line of thinking and policies. the research found out that As the biggest ZANU PF followers the War Veterans started to question the ability of the first secretary to lead the party their main focus is now using the younger generation of their officials like Patrick Zhiwawo, Saviour Kasukuwere, young at heart Jonathan Moyo and the provincial youth Leaders to mobilise support and campaign for the political party side to side with the mainstream media to successfully shape the public opinions especially the ones that are considered to be radical and have the utmost freedom to question and Decampaign ZANU PF on social networks which is uncontrollable and unregulated as the other media in their control.

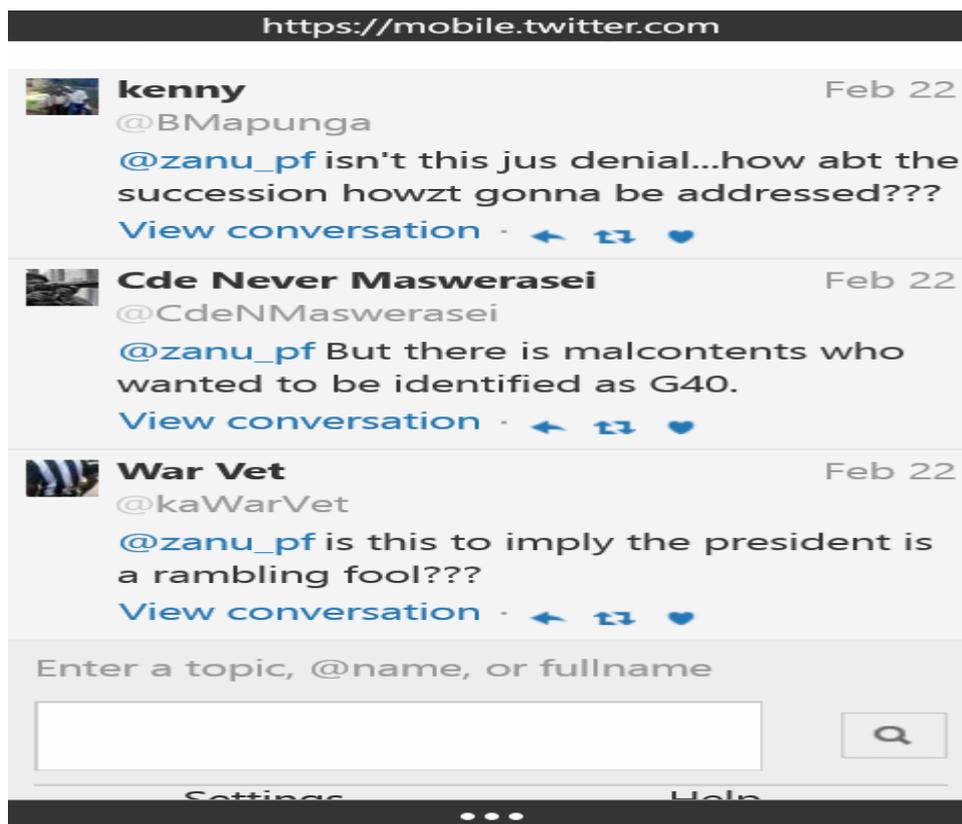
Fig 11



The questionnaires produced results on the subject of study that lead to the research's conclusion that as much as ZANU PF can try to manage their crisis or chain of crisis events with the unregulated nurture and power social network give to the audiences it is easy for anyone to create a false organization Tweeter or Facebook account and negatively present the organization's interests making it hard for the political party to control the situation a good example would be of Fig 10 of the findings.



ZANU PF's attempt to mold or reshape public opinions through denial and threats like openly stating that discussing about factionalism is treasonous as a strategy yielded negative responses. The same responses as they were using Apology as a strategy to reshape the virtual community perceptions and opinions about the post Joyce Mujuru factionalism crisis but to no success per day still received the negative comments thus the public opinions of the virtual communities evidently are still negative and thus keep a huge dent on the organization's image. Coombs (2013)'s notion that the success of a crisis management plan on social networks is to successfully change or alter the opinions of the public, thus in this instance ZANU PF failed to completely mold the public's negative comments to positive comments.



5.3.1 Discussion

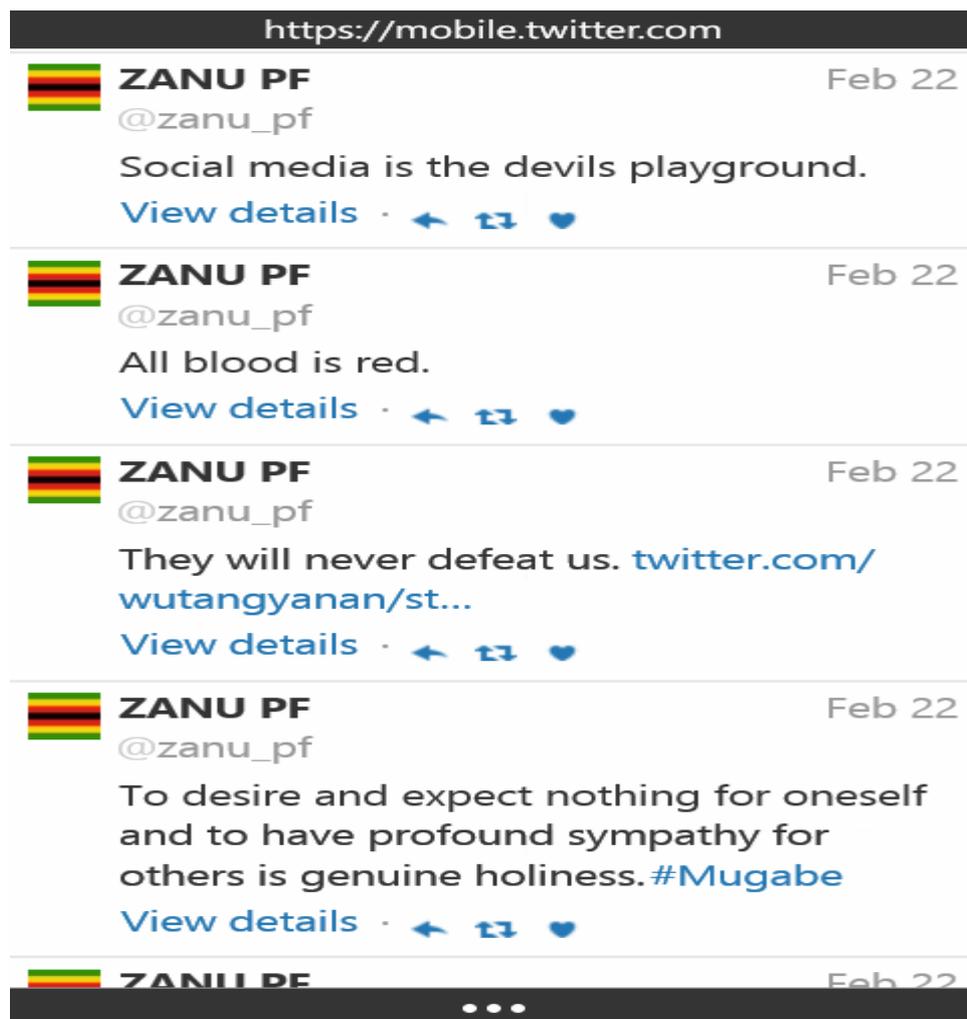
According to Dibiti (2013) social networks worldwide thrive in their ability to control, influence and maintain power and social media especially to the developing world which has not fully grasped the idea of how to shape opinions through these internet mass communication tools tends to face a huge challenge in influencing or shaping public opinion thus using ZANU PF as an example tend to take an attack or a situation of crisis that occurs on social networks and tries to control or manage it from with the mainstream media which most of the times does not work because by the time the newspaper is published the next morning because of instantaneous nurture of social networks a new topic or crisis or several topics would have arisen for an example while ZANU PF was dealing with the war veterans grievances on the very day the Lumumba and minister Patrick Zhiwawo saga was already stealing the show and in the morning most of the people were looking for copies of Lumumba's video uploaded on Facebook, Tweeter, WhatsApp and YouTube paying less attention to Herald and Chronicle publications on that day. The Online public relations guide suggests that organisations should try their level best to control a situation of crisis on social network sites or digital public spheres that continuously rely on the old media because the digital world spreads the word faster and gets to appeal to the ordinary audiences at a

personal level with less resources and effort used thus creating a greater chance of influencing or making that particular individual to accept or believe the message portrayed.

5.4 Factionalism from a social media perspective

The research found that ZANU PF's personal communication by means of social media managed to bring politicians and the virtual public members closer to their potential voters who participate in the specific social networks but however the personal communication was more to the negative side. According to Coombs (2013) social media at a crisis situation allows politicians to communicate faster and reach citizens in a more targeted manner and vice versa, without the intermediate role of biased mainstream media. While Grunig (2012) states that negative reactions, feedback, conversations and debates are generated online as well as support and participation for offline events. Messages posted to personal networks are multiplied when shared, which allow new audiences to be reached as described in chapter two of the study, with the two scholars statements the study deduces that since ZANU PF received negative comments it failed in containing the factional crisis as the most of the detrimental comments can be tweeted and retweeted to over 1.5 billion users while it received only 20 likes most probably from party loyalists, thus it is safe beyond no reasonable doubt that the organization's failure to take charge efficiently exploit social networks has intensified its crisis situation and might only be over when another interesting or controversial topic arises.

The comments and posts below show how the organisation's communication is aggressive and hostile toward social network usage and the public using it that on its own is against the principles of the Apology, and Image Repair Theory which again is a weakness on the strategic planning which might lead one to think that Zanu PF does not at all have a crisis management plan that it enforces on social networks.



The below posts and comments from the ZANU PF administrator shows how the political party's negative attitude towards the use of social networks in both political communication and crisis communication contributes to the negative comments and responses the organization gets from the virtual publics, thus their failure to shape public opinions.



However, the interviews showed that, although the presence of social media is spreading and media use patterns are changing, online political engagement is largely restricted to people already active in politics and on the Internet. Other audiences are less responsive as discussed in the first objective. However the research proved that television news together with print and online newspapers are still the most important sources of political information in Zimbabwe especially to the older generation between 35-60 years of age.

The study has also produced results that prove how today's social media have helped make real the idea of a "global village", first put forward by communications theorist Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s, and suggests the claims of a "flat world" by twenty-first century essayist Thomas L. Friedman are true. thus filling the gap of the research that answers the main question which is finding out what is the role played by the usage of social networks in crisis management in Zimbabwean Politics?

5.4.1 Discussion

According to Friedman (2007), personal computers and the speed of the optic cable in the transfer of information have marked the modern revolution and almost removed the limitations of time, geographical restrictions and space. Social media's quick development into an important way to influence society is part of the advancement of information and communication technologies, thus coinciding with the research findings that seem to favor that social network political canvassing or campaigning has gained hype or popularity especially from the youth and the most successful way to reach out and influence the youth now is through the devices they spend most of their time glued to which to them are

affordable and save a lot of time for them. Munhando (2013) argues in support of the research findings that political campaigning on social media seem to draw the attention of the youth between the ages of 18-35 years as he terms them the “social network generation” and furthermore highlights how it is asy to educate or influence that generation by a Tweet that an academic textbook.

5.5 Developing Nations and The Capability to Regulate Social Networks and Internet Based Campaigning

The concept of appearance and reality is still veiled in obscurity basing on the data acquired thorough the interviews. People make their own political judgment using their political and moral beliefs, the use of political scientists and analyzed information is still not recognized in most of the developing world that is according to the data gathered in interviews with political analysts.

In order for ZANU PF to manage the problem of social media, although there has not a direct attempt to block or filter internet content but there is the Interception and Communications Act 2007 which allows the state to intercept messages deemed to be subversive on email, post and telephones. This act requires resources which the government might not afford but it can contribute significantly as a tool to manage unregulated media that can trigger political uncertainty. However the study through analysis found that if the rulling party was to act on the law and try to filter it would create a crisis on its self thus going against its objectives of promoting a free Zimbabwe thus instead they try to discredit social networks through the same social network.



Accountability of political gestures by politicians, party members should be given a fair platform to be accountable for their actions regardless of their position or power in the hierarchy of politics. . accountability might not be a panacea to the effect of social media on politics or it will surely not end political crisis and civil unrest but will make people to make informed Decisions when embarking on a political activity



The attempt to regulate social media will only prove that there is something ,it should interpret political activities with a professional opinion ,the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation should consider employing journalist and reporters who have knowledge and at least an honors degree in political science ,this will make their news more reliable .Political

scientists cannot be involved on social networks so the regulated media should provide that platform of publishing professionally weaned political news to distinguish themselves from social networks.

5.5. Discussion

The Online Amazon Defense Coalition report of 2016 suggests that the level at which the third world countries are developing technologically does not creates a challenge for the governments to control or regulate social media as it is a very expensive process., from the themes and data above it is evident that ZANU PF as an organization has not grasped the concept of crisis management on these platforms and the Amazon Coalition report in a way suggests that most of the political parties in the underdeveloped world will face this challenge up to until the countries develop to the standards of the west, from the theme developing nations and the ability to regulate social media the data provided shows how the organization as a whole fails to manage a Facebook and Tweeter account posting numerous apologies and at ties insults to the ordinary users who challenge their authority instead of spinning the situation that might result in the audience perception of the crisis changing or shaping their opinions.

Social Media has rapidly grown in importance as a forum for political activism in its different forms. Social media platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube provide new ways to stimulate citizen engagement in political life, where elections and electoral campaigns have a central role. Personal communication via social media brings politicians and parties closer to their potential voters. It allows politicians to communicate faster and reach citizens in a more targeted manner and vice versa, without the intermediate role of mass media. Reactions, feedback, conversations and debates are generated online as well as support and participation for offline events. Messages posted to personal networks are multiplied when shared, which allow new audiences to be reached.

Although the presence of social media is spreading and media use patterns are changing, online political engagement is largely restricted to people already active in politics and on the Internet. Other audiences are less responsive. For example, television news together with print and online newspapers are still the most important sources of political information in most EU Member States.

The data also reveals how the Party try through their younger generation top officials initiate political communication through these digital public spheres, but clearly failing to utilize the enormous members that the two have from one comment the party comments are judged by the number of likes they get but however every post ZANU PF make does not get more than 20 likes per comment on platforms that have over 1 million users this sign proves to show the failures of ZANU PF in their social media political canvassing compared to the statistics produced by S., Husted and Rahman (2013) of the US Republicans Party that gets to over 900 000 likes on a single post per day. Increasingly accessible internet connections have enabled people to be online wherever they go; if not in front of their computer, people use their smart-phones to e.g. share thoughts, report on their actions or happenings in their vicinity, connect with friends and family, post pictures of distinctive events etc. In order for an organisation to gain the best reputational effects in the aftermath of a crisis, I believe the company would have to focus more on two-way communication aimed at involving the audiences or party members, rather than just pure informative one-way communication that ZANU PF has been enjoying for 37 years(e.g. press releases, national addresses, newspaper articles etc). Recently, Valenzuela et al. (2012) contended that, based on the different results of studies about Internet effects on mobilizing and reinforcing participation, there is justification for viewing online and traditional participation as separate constructs. A clear delineation of the components of online participation is lacking in current research, although a recent study showed that online political participation should be identified as a distinctive type of participation (Oser, Hooghe, & Marien, 2013). Researchers have investigated individual aspects of online political participation (e.g., Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010), but have not developed an overall model.

5.5 Conclusion

The main objective of this chapter which is data presentation and analysis chapter is to provide the findings in summary of the research questions and objectives. In this researcher's view, a focus on the role of social media in the ZANU PF political communication and crisis management is an effort to unveil how the different forms of media managed to influence political parties and assist in the generation of political instability within the ZANU PF party and in Zimbabwe at large regardless of different legal regulative mechanism to control the power, influence and implications of media

Social Media provides media freedom which is essential in any reporting endeavor or information sharing. It is not a privilege especially on mainstream media in Zimbabwe, but an obligation for media stakeholders to apply its use responsibly in the advancement of democracy and other human rights. Although Zimbabweans on social media enjoy wider freedom compared to other countries, political and commercial constraints hinder their independence and integrity. The manner in which the social media participated in the fueling ZANU PF factionalism generated and intensified deep seated national divisions. Various media houses took obvious positions for or against the political divide. This paper establishes that social media played a role in enhancing political communication and crisis management in the ZANU PF party as well as inspiring efforts to build transparency and good governance but however failed to resolve the factional crisis in the organisation.

Chapter 6

6.0 Introduction

This chapter assesses the whole research, concludes the arguments made earlier on. It also makes recommendations to the crisis management teams, managers, academia and organisations on how to handle, manage and avoid crisis on social media

The main question of this study was: How has ZANU PF appropriated Twitter and Facebook to manage the factionalism crisis after the expulsion of Joyce Mujuru and her perceived allies?

?. The main goal of this study was to highlight the increased importance of social media to political parties in the developing nations paying particular attention to ZANU PF. My argument was that the emergence of social media has brought with it new challenges as well as possibilities for crisis management. The research aimed to examine how political parties today can utilize and incorporate social media into the crisis management plan to improve the communication with the party supporters or potential supporters. My assumptions and claims have been based on existing theories on the topics of crisis management, political communication and crisis communication, in particular

The lessons taken from the analysis of this political organization “ communication efforts through social media have been the basis for my final proposition and recommendations, which will be outlined shortly, on how social media can be implemented as a communication tool when dealing with a crisis.

6.1 Summary of Findings

True to its hypothesis, this research found out that ZANU PF as a political organization in a developing country that recently adopted social network for its crisis management and political communication has understood that social networks are a social and conversational platform not a propaganda tool, focused on the candidate as a person rather than as part of an institution. So they find to a greater extent the social network community rejection in most of their political and crisis management campaigns.

6.2 Conclusion

While ZANU PF as a political party is in pain of admitting that the dynamics of communication are continuously changing in the age of social networks. Birgfeld (2010) argues that “the principles of crisis communications have not changed in today’s social network world , but the conditions have”. In other words, successful crisis handling of the

factionalism crisis is no longer just based on responding quickly, consistently and openly, it is also about utilizing the right communication channels in order for these original conditions to be met efficiently. As we have seen, the age of social media has contributed to making people more informed and hence empowered; the online community works as a democracy where each voice has a say, which allows people to demand more from their political parties. Increasingly accessible internet connections has enabled people to be online wherever they go; if not in front of their computer, people use their smart-phones to e.g. share thoughts, report on their actions or happenings in their vicinity, connect with friends and family, post pictures of distinctive events etc, but for ZANU PF social network has proved to be a nightmare for the organisation's crisis communication.

In order for an organisation to gain the best reputational effects in the aftermath of a crisis, I believe the company would have to focus more on two-way communication aimed at involving the audiences or party members, rather than just pure informative one-way communication that ZANU PF has been enjoying for 37 years(e.g. press releases, national addresses, newspaper articles etc). As for mentioned, social media is built on traditional notions of human interaction/communication and social media sites are thus particularly important in this manner, allowing for audiences, e.g. civil society groups, journalists and party members, to engage and share information with each other. The increased use of online communication has contributed to making the stakeholders more enlightened and hence empowered. This has had an impact on e.g. the notion and demand for corporate social responsibility, which was particularly noticeable in the cases of ZANU PF's series of crisis in 2016-2016. Matt Goulart (2010) stipulates that Social media is about the people! Not about your business. Provide for the people and the people will provide for you.

6.3 Recommendations

A recommendation according to (Coombs 2007) is usually a positive advice or course of action prescribed to a person or organization in need of it so as to achieve better results

6.3.1 To ZANU PF.

The researcher advises the political party to first of all employ a trained qualified communication expert to manage their social network accounts rather than just giving the responsibility of such a magnitude that can affect the organizational image and reputation. After employing experienced and qualified communication practitioners the party should also try not to look at social networks as tools that are meant to influence or impose western

tendencies that are a threat to the party's livelihood but try and use it to communicate and educate the people of Zimbabwe to adopt their policies that they feel can recover the Zimbabwean economy.

With that in mind I propose that the party adopt a Four Phase Digital Emergency Plan to deal with its crisis that is explained below:

The Four Phase Digital Emergency Plan Model:

Regardless of the industry, every company faces its own share of risks. Being able to anticipate potential threats is crucial to ensuring that your organization is well positioned to manage crisis situations. I believe that the following four phase emergency plan are the cornerstones of any successful crisis communications strategy on social networks.

- **Readiness** – A sound crisis management strategy starts with preparation long before the onset of an actual crisis. While it's impossible to plan for every future scenario, examine your company, facilities, people, products and environment to assess areas of significant risk and identify the potential threats that are both most likely to happen and most likely to cause harm. When a crisis breaks, things are going to accelerate and you need a solid response plan in advance in order for your organization to react quickly.
- **Reaction** – Crisis moments rupture normal day-to-day operations. As a result, they demand an immediate response. This means it's often necessary to respond before your organization has had a chance to assess all of the facts. Begin by acknowledging the situation, as well as its impact on all affected parties, and commit to a full investigation. Remember, acknowledging a crisis is not synonymous with accepting responsibility. However, by responding immediately, you demonstrate to the public that you're taking the incident seriously, and ensure that your company's message is a part of the narrative right from the start.
- **Reassurance** – Following the initial response, effective crisis management requires conducting an investigation and developing an action plan that seeks to rectify the situation at hand. From the implementation phase to the plan's intended outcomes, reassure the public that their needs are being adequately addressed by communicating all of the pertinent details. Demonstrate your commitment to transparency and let the public know that your organization intends to share the results of its investigation as well as take corrective action.

- Recovery – Ultimately, managing a crisis is about more than just stopping the bleeding in the short term; it's also about restoring a company's long-term health and reputation and preventing reoccurrence. Reestablishing public trust and consumer loyalty often require going above and beyond immediate action. Operational and cultural changes may be necessary to ensure that history does not repeat itself. Ongoing communication regarding company-wide changes is an important part of demonstrating your organization's responsiveness and continued commitment to making things right.

6.4 Conclusion

The major goal of this research was to assess the role played social networks as a communication tool in crisis management in Zimbabwean Politics in the 21st century in particular reverence to ZANU PF from the year 2016 to 2016. From the data collected from the Social Network users, Political analysts, journalists and officials from ZANU PF and qualitative content analysis of the online posts on the party's social network accounts, it is beyond any reasonable doubt that ZANU PF have no visible and effective crisis management communication plan to help them solve their problems on social media and the failure of the party to adapt to social media campaigning. Thus to greater extent the objectives of the research have been met.

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APPENDICES

Interview Schedule

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF RESPONDENT

Tick where appropriate

Gender: MALE FEMALE

Age	Tick where appropriate	Working experience (years)	Tick where appropriate
20 to 25		0 to 2	
25 to 30		2 to 4	
30 to 35		4 to 6	
35 +		6 +	

QUESTIONS

1. Do you know anything about ZANU PF’s Social Network Page?
YES () NO ()

If yes,

2. What do you know about ZANU PF’s page

.....

MEDIA HOUSE STAFF MEMBERS

3. Do you use Information found on ZANU PF social network pages?
YES () NO ()
4. What was the role social media pages played in the factionalism of ZANU PF
 - a) Constructive ()
 - b) Destructive ()
 - c) Mediator ()
 - d) Informative ()

5. Does your company consider social network information as credible ?
Yes () No ()

6. What do you consider in news to be deemed worthy printing?

.....

7. In your experience, would you say the social media contributed to the demise of Joyce Mujuru and other fired members of the party?

YES () NO ()

If your answer is YES, can you explain HOW?

.....

8. Does social media provide a fair platform for interaction between Party officials and the public)

Yes () no ()

What do you think about the role of social networks (Tweeter ,facebooketc) in ZANU PF'

.....

ZANU PF PARTY OFFICIALS

9. What media sources did you use to inform party members about the crisis in the party?

**NB: Tick where appropriate
 : Tick as much as relevant**

Television news		Newspaper		Internet		Social networks	
ZBC NEWS		HERALD		WEBSITES		WHATSAPP	
		NEWSDAY		BLOGS		FACEBOOK	
		KWAYEDZA		E-MAIL		TWITTER	
		CHRONICLES				YOUTUBE	

Other

10. What was the role of social media in tacling factionalism of ZANU PF

- e) Constructive ()
- f) Destructive ()
- g) Mediator ()
- h) Informative ()

11. Exposing the alleged factionalists through the social media, how did you expect the audience to react?
- a) Fight ()
 - b) Accommodate ()
 - c) Condemn ()
 - Other.....

12. Social networks have caused defamation of character amongst other crimes .What is your recommendation to the government in order to manage social networks?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Whatsapp Focus group discussion Guide

- 1) Does ZANU PF effectively use Social Networks?
- 2) How Effective is the use of social networks for political canvassing?
- 3) How effective are their posts in shaping public opinion?