

The Press Legitimation of Politicians: The dailynews and Morgan Tsvangirai in the post 31 July 2013 election period.

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

Politics is a complex game and winning the ballot is not everything. Politicians have to find strategies of keeping themselves relevant to their electorate each time they lose power. As such their portrayal by the media in general and the press in particular constructs or deconstructs them. This study therefore, seeks to look at the audience's reception of the *dailynews*' portrayal of Morgan Tsvangirai after the 31 July 2013 elections. Fourier (2007) asserts that media texts do not have meaning but audiences attach meaning to the text. This study therefore intends to look closely at the reasons behind the framing of Morgan Tsvangirai by the *dailynews* and how readers respond to this. The researcher closely analyses the reception approach that the audiences of the *dailynews* had after reading the texts on Morgan Tsvangirai during this period. Cohen (1963) states that while the media cannot tell the public what to think, they have great impact on what the public thinks about in a given context. Hence this study seeks to look at how the production of texts in the *dailynews* influenced audiences' perception of Morgan Tsvangirai even though he had lost the 2013 July 31 elections. The study assumes that *dailynews* is trying to resurrect Morgan Tsvangirai's political life. Through the use of qualitative analysis through interviews and focus group discussions with the audiences of the *dailynews* through selected newspaper articles on Morgan Tsvangirai, the study attempts to assess how the readers of the *dailynews* decoded the meaning of the texts about Tsvangirai after his loss in the 2013 harmonized elections.

1.1 Background of the study

Media polarisation has been one of the dominant themes in the Zimbabwean media. The rise of polarisation started in the 1970s as the struggle for political independence took twists and turns and was widely discussed by scholars like Sinclair, (2006) and McCathy et al (2007).

In Zimbabwe polarisation started during the 1970s as a result of the relationships that existed between liberation movements and the then Smith government that wanted to wrestle power from each other.

The country's liberation movements ZAPU and ZANU used the alternative forms of the media in spreading their message. The private media such as the *African DailyNews* and the *Voice of the People* to propagate their views, whilst the Smith regime used state media.

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During this era two types of press institutions emerged. Newspapers such as the *Rhodesia Herald* and the Bulawayo-based *Chronicle*, their sister weeklies the *Sunday Mail* and the *Sunday News*, as well as the *Financial Gazette*, were clearly aligned with the ideology and interests of the white ruling elite in Rhodesia (Mukasa, 2005).

Mukasa (2005) states that this created polarisation, which in turn aimed at serving the interests of politicians and at the end of the day legitimising their status quo. This study therefore looks at how the political polarisation inherited from these years had an effect on the *dailynews*' representation of Morgan Tsvangirai. This is because the emergence of a major political opposition, the Movement for Democratic Change led by Morgan Tsvangirai in 1999, emerging from a combination of civic and labour struggles, heralded a new phase in Zimbabwean politics, in which a first major broad based alliance of social forces in Zimbabwe mobilised against the party of the liberation movement (Raftopolous, 2005).

As such the ruling party ZANU PF which Masiphula Sithole (1996) says used the margin of terror (use of intimidation) and the margin of error (that is manipulation of election results) in winning their previous elections largely used the media from the year 2000 onwards. The governing ZANU PF party facing the greatest threat to its political security restructured the state resulting in the Department of Information and Publicity being directly under the office of the President and controlling the publicly owned media (Chuma 2013).

This marked the height of polarisation in the Zimbabwean media, with the privately owned media being referred to as the MDC media, while the publicly owned media was being referred to as ZANU PF media (Mazango 2000).

The *dailynews* is a privately owned newspaper formed in 1999 and has its headquarters in the capital city of Harare and has always been accused of being an anti- government tool of communication (Munyuki, 2005 and Chuma, 2013) while supporting the MDC as it sought to label Mugabe a dictator and Tsvangirai a champion of democracy (Sibanda, 2010).

Tsvangirai has been the leader of the MDC from 1999 at its formation, contesting in 3 consecutive Presidential elections in 2002, 2008 and 2013. In 2002 he lost the elections and sighted manipulation as the main reason behind the loss. In 2008 Tsvangirai failed to take over power as Mugabe remained President. Tsvangirai got 47% of the Presidential vote in 2008 while Robert Mugabe got 43% of the votes but could not take over power since the

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country's laws required him to have 50% + 1 vote to win the Presidency (ZESN Elections Report, 2008).

This led to a Presidential runoff election from which Tsvangirai pulled out citing the victimisation and violence towards his supporters by the ruling party ZANU PF. The results of the June run-off elections were disputed and Morgan Tsvangirai had withdrawn from the race leading to the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) by Robert Mugabe of ZANU-PF, Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC-T and the Arthur Mutambara led MDC. The memorandum aimed at establishing a framework for working together in an inclusive government (Masunungure, 2009). The Global Political Agreement (GPA) which was facilitated by the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) led to the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in February 2009 in which Mugabe became the President whilst Tsvangirai became the Prime Minister, with Mutambara as the Deputy Prime Minister (GPA 2009, Article 19).

In 2013 Zimbabwe held elections which put an end to the fractious inclusive government. The elections saw Robert Mugabe defeating Tsvangirai by clinching 62% of the votes whilst Morgan Tsvangirai got 33% of the votes (Zimbabwe Election Support Network, 2013 Report).

Morgan Tsvangirai who did not win the elections declared them as null and void, saying ZANU PF had stolen the 'people's victory' and that it was the mother of electoral fraud (MDC Report on the 2013 Elections). This research looks at how through the concept of representation through images, language and discourse, Tsvangirai was portrayed in the *dailynews* and how this was received by the readers of the *dailynews* during the period after July 31 2013.

The research draws close comparison of the hand of the press in the legitimisation of politicians in other countries and then links it with the representation of Morgan Tsvangirai in the *dailynews* and then fill the gap on how audiences perceived these political messages.

Since the post-2013 elections period, the *dailynews* has played the role of being a defacto MDC T newsletter with Tsvangirai being the main news maker in the newspaper. As such, it is these political articles that this researcher uses to assess the reception it had from the audiences who read the *dailynews*. Though much literature has been said about the *dailynews*

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supporting the opposition politicians, my study focuses at how the audiences decoded the meaning of these texts.

1.2 Justification of study

I seek to underline the role of audiences in the interpretation of media texts on politicians. While other studies like Bartels (2006)'s analysis of the US Press and the relationship with Hillary Clinton and the media, have been conducted on how politicians are made villains or heroes by the media, my study looks at how the *dailynews*' portrayal of Morgan Tsvangirai has been received by the readers of this newspaper in a bid to bring these foreign studies to the context back closer home. I chose to study Morgan Tsvangirai in the post July 31 period because he is the opposition candidate that poses real threat to ZANU PF (Chibuwe, 2013).

Though much literature has been written on Morgan Tsvangirai and his failure to take over power from ZANU PF (Chigora, 2012) and his possibilities in winning future elections (Zamchiya, 2013) among others, my research fills the gap of how the audiences receive the representation that he gets from the private newspapers since scholars like Chuma (2005) assert that the privately owned press tend to support him.

Other scholars like Chuma (2013) and Mazango (2000) have asserted that the privately owned newspaper is mainly concerned about the fight between the opposition parties and the ruling party ZANU PF. It is with this in mind that my research looks at how Morgan Tsvangirai has been represented differently from other opposition leaders like Welshman Ncube, Dumiso Dabengwa and Kissnoti Mukwazhe and how the readers of this newspaper respond to this. It is the assumption of this research that opposition politics in Zimbabwe according to the *dailynews* is not only about removing Mugabe but also about maintaining Morgan Tsvangirai's status as the legal opposition candidate to Mugabe's record 34 year long rule.

The major issue in modern day politics is personalisation, which implies that the individual characters of politicians are over emphasized at the expense of policies and issues affecting the ordinary masses (Van Zoonen, 2005:70).

Waldah (2004) states that the role of the media in politics ought to include the assessment of citizen contribution something which this research will largely dwell on.

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This study therefore seeks to analyse audiences' perceptions on how the coverage of Morgan Tsvangirai as a political individual has impacted on the *dailynews* at the expense of problems bedevilling the country such a national debt amounting to US\$6 billion; liquidity constraints resulting in deflationary demand trends; limited foreign direct investment; lack of a competitive industrial capacity which is also affected by low domestic demand; loss of confidence in an increasingly vulnerable financial sector; lack of transparency and accountability in the key mineral sector; and a widening current account deficit due to the faster growth of imports (Masunungure 2013).

1.3 Statement of the problem

The media and politics are interrelated concepts and often politicians want the media for the sake of publicity whilst the media want politicians so that they can have news. However media messages are meaningless unless they have audiences to interact with them. The study seeks to analyse the reception approach that the readers of the *dailynews* had from this newspaper's coverage of Tsvangirai after his dismal loss in the 2013 Presidential elections to ZANU PF's Robert Mugabe. This research shall further look at whether the *dailynews* constructed a positive image for Tsvangirai or not. In particular this research focuses at the impact of media's representation of opposition political figures.

1.4 Objectives

By the end of this study the research should be able to:

- Establish the different frames that the *dailynews* had towards Morgan Tsvangirai after the July 31 2013 elections period.
- Analyse how the political economy of the media influences the *dailynews*' framing of Morgan Tsvangirai.
- Find out the different reception approaches that the readers of the *dailynews* have about Morgan Tsvangirai
- Find the relevance of the MDC T in the post July 31 elections and if it was significant for the *dailynews* and their leader Tsvangirai the way they did.

1.5 Research Questions

1.5.1 Main Research Question

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- How did the readership of the *dailynews* respond to the *dailynews*' reportage of Morgan Tsvangirai during this period?

1.5.2 Sub- Research Questions

- How did the political economy of the *dailynews* contribute to the portrayal of Morgan Tsvangirai in the post July 31 elections?
- What influenced the *dailynews* in the representation of Morgan Tsvangirai in the post July 31 2013 elections?

1.6.1 Delimitations

This study focuses on how the readers of the *dailynews* perceived Tsvangirai after the July 31 2013 harmonised elections; it is not intended to look at their views before the elections. I chose the *dailynews* so as to find out if the *dailynews* managed to convince the audiences to keep supporting Tsvangirai and how the audience viewed his leadership in the MDC T as presented by the *dailynews*. This is because Morgan Tsvangirai has failed to dislodge Robert Mugabe from the Presidential post and how he is represented by the privately owned media after his 2013 loss since he and his party has been the darling of the oppositional press since the formation of this party in 1999 (Mazango 2000). This research has been only reduced to the studying of the *dailynews* and not other newspapers hence this will limit this researcher in terms of the analysis of this newspaper's coverage of other politicians. I chose the *dailynews* because it has been associated with the MDC since it was formed in 1999 the same year that the newspaper was formed. It was therefore important to look at how a politician of such great magnitude would be perceived by the readers of the *dailynews* after the 2013 defeat. With the rise in the new use of the new media the researcher does not look at the audience on social media but will be strictly restricted to the *dailynews*' hard copy and website stories. This research uses only political stories and not business stories in the analysis of the *dailynews* framing of Morgan Tsvangirai.

1.6.2 Limitations

The main limitations to this research are the use of focus group discussions and interviews to gather information that has to do with *dailynews*. This research may be limited by the fact that I intend to use interviews in the analysis of the audience reception of texts on Morgan

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Tsvangirai which will therefore be dangerous for some participants to respond to the questions, since most people fear victimisation from ZANU PF supporters who are usually known for suppressing dissenting voices. I however managed to counter this by making sure that I did not reveal the names of those who did not want their identities revealed after the interviews. Also, the fact that the research is only limited to the study of Morgan Tsvangirai and no other politicians may affect my research in that I will not compare his framing to that of other politicians in this newspaper. I looked at Morgan Tsvangirai because he is the most decorated opposition political figure, since he came close to defeating Robert Mugabe in the March 2008 elections getting 47% of the votes falling short of the 50% + 1 required vote. The other limitation is that in my analysis of Morgan Tsvangirai I should be reflexive since I sometimes sympathise with Morgan Tsvangirai's political ideologies hence I may find it difficult to objectively analyse his legitimisation by the *dailynews*.

1.7 Assumption of the study

The study assumes that texts are polysemous and therefore audiences of the media products receive according to various cultural, social and economic perspectives. The study also assumes that the *dailynews* as a privately owned media supports the opposition leader and therefore seeks to find out how this kind of assumption will have an impact on the audience reception.

1.8 Ethical considerations

Ethics are the general guiding principles that are designed to lead researchers in carrying out their work. Punch (2011) postulates that ethics are vital and play an important aspect in researches as researches get their information from individuals and about people. In getting in line with research principles and morality, the researcher did not expose respondents that participated in research to harmful information. The researcher avoided plagiarism and cited other people's work and did not plagiarise. The researcher's utmost best is done to adhere to a reasonable set of standards in conducting this research. In upholding research integrity and quality, the researcher did not provide information that might harm the respondents.. In conducting interviews and focus group discussions, the researcher will seek the consent of the respondents and provide accurate information gathered from respondents and documented information.

1.10 Structure of the study

In the first chapter I introduced my study and its general purpose. In the second chapter the research shall dwell on the literature review and theories that inform the study. Various books that have been written about the subject of politics and media shall be reviewed. The third chapter focuses on methodology and research techniques which include data gathering and data analysis. The fourth chapter looks at the organisational analysis and the *dailynews* organisational structure. The fifth chapter then looks at the findings the researcher got from the interviews and focus group discussion. The final chapter which is chapter six dwells on the concluding remarks and recommendations to the *dailynews*.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the introduction to the study, the background of media polarisation and the framing of politicians in Zimbabwe since the colonial era and how this has shaped the framing of Morgan Tsvangirai. The research objectives, limitations, delimitations, justification of the study, assumption of the study, the ethical considerations and research structure were all looked into and will be explained in detail in the chapters to follow.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature and the theories that were used for the purposes of this study. Literature review uses as its database reports of primary or original scholarship, and does not report new primary scholarship itself (Cooper and Pervin, 1988). Theories linked with this study are also looked at in detail to ensure that a comprehensive research is produced.

2.1 Literature Review

Literature review is a crucial test of the research question against that which is already known about the subject. It gives the background and the place of the research statement.

Literature review is a descriptive and analyses the works written on a particular subject by recognised sources and researchers Newman (2006) defines literature review as an account of what has been published on a topic by recognised scholars and researchers. It creates the need for research and an outline how knowledgeable is the writer in a particular the area.

This research will be enhanced by a number of journal articles, books, press reports, and Internet articles have been published, which will empower this research. The purpose of literature review in this research is to find out how other politicians been portrayed by the media. Focus will be on the politicians in Zimbabwe and also those around the globe and how their images have either been constructed or deconstructed by the media.

This will then lead to the research highlight the gap left by these scholars that are the audience reception is these texts. The literature review is presented in four thematic areas which are the relationship between the media and creation of reality, the media and politicians and representation and audience participation.

2.1.1 The media and creation of reality

The concept of the construction of reality is a principle of how people see the world in a certain way and the role of the media in moulding the way they see things. While reality involves the principle of having a balanced view of existence, the society's creation of reality accepts that it is in its nature a subjective experience with reality through the various forms of communication (McQuail, 2005).

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The concept of social creation of reality targets possibly the most dramatic and essential possible effects of the media. To suggest that the media actually represent the public knowledge of an event or in some cases, to say that individuals are able to distinguish between real and mediated events (Shapiro and Lang, 1991) certainly points to a powerful view of the media's role.

In order to have the ability to construct people's reality, the media must have something that the people or audiences want or need- that requirement is fulfilled by information. McQuail and Winddahl (1993) refer to the modern world as an information society with increased trends towards supply and consumption of information. The concept of information society coupled with social construction of reality leads to the conclusion that if one does not attain media information, he does not know reality. This is quite reflective of Ball-Rokeach and Defleur's (1976) media system dependency theory, which in this case, suggests that individuals are dependent on the media to capture reality.

McQuail (2005: 81) notes that 'there can be little doubt that the media, whether moulders or mirrors of society are the main messengers about society'. In modern society the media can be said to have taken over earlier roles of religious activities, the school, and storytelling to help people make sense of reality. The media to a larger extent serve to constitute our perceptions and definitions of reality and normalities for the purpose of a public, shared social life and are a key source of standards, models and norms (McQuail 2005). McQuail (2005) and Defleur (1976) concur that society depends on media to make sense of reality. Therefore the media take advantage of this dependency by the audience on them for information.

Scholars from the Birmingham School for instance are of the view that the media may appear as if they are reflecting reality but the actual fact is they construct it. Stuart Hall (1980) for example says that the mass media tend to reproduce interpretations which serve the interests of the ruling class. As a result they are an ideological field of struggle. Bagdikian (1985) suggests two reasons for media content homogeneity which are based on ownership and advertising as influencing representation. This then means that the ownership patterns of a newspaper could be having bearings on the way a politician is covered.

Though the media are supposed to form a bridge between society and reality, that is giving the audiences a balanced view of the world event they do not do so. Instead, the media

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institutions form ‘part of the structure of the society and its technological infrastructure is part of the economic power base, while the ideas, images and information disseminated by the media as reality are evidently important in every aspect of culture (McQuail 2005).

Gieber (1964) and Schudson (1982) state that news is ‘what the newsman makes it’. Fisherman (1980) suggests that the news is manufactured by the journalists and further states that news is a result of methods employed by the newsmen. It is against this background that this research argues that the media have the potential to manufacture news with the sole aim of legitimising a politician.

2.1.2 Relationship between mass media and politicians

The media and politicians have a relationship which is interdependent as both parties depend on each other. For instance, journalists get their topical news from politicians and also the politicians want publicity from the media, which in turn increases their political capital. Ansolabehere, Behr and Iyerengar (1993) relate the connection between journalists and politicians to a chess game where both sides compete for control. The relationship between politicians and the press can be considerably shaped by the typical sequence of actions regularly followed, interests, resources and different constraints of the various players on both sides. Most scholars who look at the relationship between mass media and the politicians focus on politicians during elections when the politicians want to gain publicity from the media. Therefore my study seeks to focus on representation of Tsvangirai after his loss to ZANU PF in the 2013 elections by the *dailynews*. It then seeks to fill the gap of audience perceptions on this representation of Tsvangirai as a losing candidate since most studies look at winning political candidates.

Moreover, Lance Bennet quoted in Eagles and Johnston (1999:153) further state that “The journalist and politician exist in an anxious association, in which each depends on the other...journalists require preferably current and news worthy information”. The relationship between the media and the politicians become more complicated and even hard to separate due to the fact that the media have the capability of setting the agenda. Politicians maintain the status quo by setting their agenda through the mass media.

Furthermore, it can be seen that media scholars are in agreement that the existing politics cannot succeed in the absence of mass media. Most scholars engage in an ongoing

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conversation about the relationship between the mass media and politicians. Graber (1982) notes that the perception on which political action is shaped by the media since its coverage is the very life blood of politics. Hence, it can be noted that this study shares the same view as Graber's since one of the objectives is to assess if the political economy of the media influences the portrayal of Tsvangirai after he had lost the Presidential elections together with his party the MDC-T. The media go further than determining the political landscape; hence they can be viewed as the political actors. The mass media are the main source of our everyday news and understanding of politics and ultimately have a bearing in who we call ourselves.

The relationship between the mass media and politicians often takes an angle which is in favour of politics, thus using the mass media to fight its opposition and criticism. According to Mazango (2005) politicians have always controlled the mass media by directing the state owned newspapers to serve the ruling government propaganda, objectives and influence people to become more patriotic.

Therefore it can be said that a newspaper helps set the agenda for the representation of a politician and influences what the public should think about, it helps shape the public opinion. Louw (2005) says the media can have a relationship which he calls adversarial or watchdogism with members of the press, which can be done by undermining other candidates whilst propping up the image of the other candidate. This type of relationship put much emphasis on the political personalities, partly because personality and character issues are easier to sell than policy controversy and conflict without necessarily improving the quality of policy making.

The mass media serve as a bridge between people and the politicians (Oates 2008). It is the role of the media to choose whether to cross the bridge or not. As such, individuals remember certain political events through their reportage in the media. Bennet (2000) says it is useful to think about the media's relationship to political power when assessing the impact of media on the audiences.

The media can frame coercive power within societies in ways that can encourage, discourage hide or expose it (Bennet 2000:205). In this process the media tend to be selective in their formal political coverage, reporting on some politicians as heroes while some are viewed as villains.

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The media cover politicians and their activities while ignoring others (Oates 2000). Media therefore transmit values, problem solving and images of people in society that provides resources for people in thinking about their lives and their relations to government, politics and society (Bennet 2000).

Negrine (2005) says the media and politicians enjoy an intertwined relationship in modern society. The tendency where the press tends to take sides in their coverage of political news has created media bias towards certain political ideologies in America and the Western countries (Sinclair 2006, McCarty 1975).

Scholars in the United States of America (USA) discovered through experimental setting that Conservatives and Republicans preferred to read political news from Fox news in the process avoiding Cable News Network (CNN) and NPR, in the same manner Democrats and Liberals had the same characteristic of dividing their attention solely to CNN and NPR hence distancing themselves from Fox News (Sinclair 1996). This therefore means that the audience of the newspapers usually read newspaper with their preferred ideologies, which is the thrust of this study to find what ideologies do the decoders of media texts have on political messages pertaining Morgan Tsvangirai.

In Zimbabwe, Mazango (2000) notes that from the gloomy days of Rhodesia, the dominant classes in society have direct control of public communication. The media have been described as part of the ideological apparatuses (Althusser, 1974) of the government of the day since the colonial era and used to remain in their political offices. In return during the colonial period the black African nationalists had their own alternative media which they used to counter ruling party hegemony, in the form of the private press, such as the *African Dailynews* (Mukasa 2000). Since the media and politicians enjoy a common relationship, in most cases the opposition politicians who require power especially in Africa tend to prefer the use of the privately owned press. Castels (2006) states that the media easily make people rise to power than it can allow them maintain the power. This means that it is easier or the legitimise those who are not yet in the positions of power than it is do so for those already in power.

At the same time Moyo (2005) argues that the private press play a pivotal role in perpetuating and propagating the opposition ideology, firstly by largely opposing the one party state during the late 1980 and early 1990s, and secondly, by acting as the voice of the voiceless in

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the better part of the 1990s.” Hence the private press has always been anti-government, meaning its relationship and that of the opposition politicians has always been friendly.

Due to the growth of the private media, in Zimbabwe there arose two approaches to the coverage of politics in Zimbabwe. One which was supportive of the actions of the politicians and government officials and the other profoundly opposed to the government and politicians’ activities (Linda 2005).

One of the events when the private press’s anti-Government rhetoric was exposed was during the funeral of country’s iconic Vice President DR Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo (Gatsheni-Ndlovu 2009). Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2009) further notes that in their bid to gain legitimacy the ZANU PF government used the media during Joshua Nkomo’s funeral to reinvent themselves. Joshua Nkomo had his status changed from being ‘Father of dissidents to being Father Zimbabwe’. However, at Nkomo’s funeral the only story by the *dailynews* was ‘Mugabe regrets Gukurahundi massacres’. The Gukurahundi massacres refer to the sad period in Zimbabwe where the 5th Brigade trained soldiers massacred 20000 innocent Ndebele speaking civilians (Catholic Justice Commission Report 1997). This coverage of the event by the *dailynews* in 2000 further demonstrates how the relationship between the privately owned press and the government has always been frosty as the private press sought to delegitimise any attempt by ZANU PF to reinvent themselves.

As Mhiripiri (2010) states, the media are a sight of ideological struggle. The private media’s fight with the government can be viewed as an ideological one. Post 2000 Zimbabwe has been viewed as the exact replica of the pre 1980 Zimbabwean scenario, where two ideologies contested each other. While the publicly owned but state controlled showed an anti-colonialism and even socialist ideology, the private media in turn has been induced to the opposition neo-liberal discourses of democracy, rule of law and human rights. It is from this view therefore that one can say that the private press became a darling for the opposition, furthering their regime change agenda while castigating ZANU PF hegemony, such that the choice between privately owned press and the publicly owned press became the choice between ZANU PF and MDC (Mazango 2000).

The media in Zimbabwe have been used to misinform, disinform and serve as a propaganda tool (Mugari 2008). The information about politicians in the media can make them have relative amount of power, legitimising them thus influencing future votes for them.

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Legitimacy in this case refers to the generalised perception or assumption that actions of an entity are desirable proper or inappropriate within the socially constructed norms, beliefs, values and definitions (Suchman 1995). The scholars mentioned above show that the press and politicians have the relationship of water and fish hence they desperately need each other. It is from this background that this research intends to unpack how the *dailynews* related with Tsvangirai in their coverage of his loss.

2.1.3 Representation and Audience participation

In studying media and politics it is important to look at the audience reception of these messages. Berelson (1954) has dismissed the notion that media consumers are easily swayed by propaganda. The relationship between the audience and the media is perceived as a complex and interactive process. It is difficult to isolate the effect of media messages because they are only one factor in a range of political influences. This is made even more complex by the fact that audiences tend to select media that support their pre-existing political view points (Oates, 2008). Oates (2008) further notes that while the media environment and content tend to be rather obvious, the nature of their relationship with the audience often remains somewhat hidden. The information that audience access from the media can either empower them to gain political knowledge whilst some of them are alienated from the political sphere altogether.

David Morley (1980)'s *Nationwide Project* a research on television audience study was done through a news/current affairs magazine programme and was broadcast regularly on week days. To Morley members' decoding is not an individual task but is connected to a person's socio-cultural background. He further argues that a given group of people interpret media messages in a relatively similar way. He therefore argues that members of a given sub-culture tended to share a cultural orientation towards decoding message in a certain manner. Chandler (1997) supports Morley's study by saying its major concern was the extent to which individual interpretation of programmes could be proved to vary systematically in relation to the audiences' socio-cultural backgrounds.

This therefore suggests that the main aim of Morley's *Nationwide* project was to make it clear that making a media text meaningful is more complex than suggested by Hall (1973) in

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his encoding and decoding model as its three views, of the negotiated, dominant and oppositional. Morley therefore added the aberrant reading in explaining the different meanings to media texts. For Morley the groups that have the same class position were found not to be having the same interpretation, but their readings are a result of the social background and experiences and range of cultural knowledge they have acquired in the socialization process. Hence this study showed that audiences have different interpretations to media texts on political messages.

Morley chose to work with groups rather than individuals because studying individuals as atoms divorced from their social context would not have achieved accurate results in an ethnographic study. He had videos that showed two programmes of the *NationWide* to 29 small groups of 2 to 13 people, who came from different socio, cultural and educational backgrounds. After a group had viewed the video, a discussion lasting 30 minutes followed.

His study then proved that individuals decoding of programmes are not direct consequence of social class position, but depended on how social positions merely set parameters to the range of potential readings because it determines an individual's capacity to access different 'codes'. This meaning of texts in Morley's (1980) view can be constructed differently according to the discourse (knowledges, prejudices, resistances) brought to bear by the reader and the crucial factor will be the range of discourses at the disposal of the audiences' thus different readings are reached because individuals in different positions in the social formations interpret texts according to codes and subcultures of a given group or individual.

These scholars are therefore crucial in my research because it seems to point to research to an understanding that the Zimbabwean populace interpreted Tsvangirai loss in the *DailyNews* varied from age, ethnicity, sex and political affiliations among others. This will therefore produce uniform or variant readings of media products depending on their similar or different characteristics.

The reception concept also known as *Rezeptionästhetik*, which appeared in Germany between 1960 and 1980, focused on the interaction between the text and the reading public rather than on the author of the text. It is from this point of departure that I will look at the audience's interaction with political messages that about Morgan Tsvangirai.

Clara Srouji-Shajrawi in his book , *A Model for Applying Jauss' Reception Theory: The Role of Rumors in the Reception of "Memory in the Flesh"* at the Institute for Multi-Cultural

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Research stated that, readers are responsible for determining the meaning of the text, its value and its acceptance or rejection. He further said that for commercial purposes it is the ordinary reader that matters most because there are always going to be more of them than there are members of any specialist group.

This will therefore be looked into in relation to the audience's reception of the texts on Morgan Tsvangirai and find out if they rejected or accepted the paper's attempt to create a certain impression about the MDC T leader.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework is a pool of interrelated theories and concepts that have been used for this research. They offer the basis on which logical conclusions can be brought for a thorough research to be done. The theories on which the dissertation is premised on include representation, political economy and the uses and gratifications.

2.2.1 Representation

Representation is the act of representing a meaning that already exists (Hall, 1997). Alvarado (1987) goes on to define it as the construction in any medium of many aspects of reality of such issues as people, objects, places, cultural identities and other abstract concepts. To represent means to faithfully carry the identity of a group of people and make others aware of it (Hall 1996). This happens in a way that may not be necessarily true. The thrust for this research is therefore going to look at how the *dailynews* carried the identity of Morgan Tsvangirai since according to Hall reality from the news no longer exists but instead the media create news. In this instance the study seeks to find out how the *dailynews* represented Tsvangirai. Foucault (1972) argues that discourse of representation works in four ways. It creates knowledge and truth, says something about the person who talks it and implicates power. From this view the *dailynews* coverage of Morgan Tsvangirai can be said to have occurred in such a manner that discourse was seized. Wendy et al (2000) stipulates that there are three basic theories to representation of how language can connect with the represented phenomenon. There are three approaches to the concept of representation which are the reflective, constructivist and intentional approach to representation (Hall 1997). The reflective approach to representation entails that the media read the mirror of the world as it exists. As such they reflect the true meaning of what happens. Therefore this research seeks

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to find out if the *dailynews* mirrored the reality in their coverage of Tsvangirai after the elections loss. This is the approach that the media ‘supposedly’ take when they are reporting on events as they unfold, politics included.

The second approach to representation is the intentional approach which purports that the media due to their funders and owners deliberately falsify information. This approach informs this researcher on how the writers of particular media content at the *dailynews* determined the representation of Morgan Tsvangirai.

The third approach to representation is the constructivist approach to representation which stipulates that the audiences give meaning to media texts that they read. They construct meaning. This study is largely focused on this more audience centric approach and see how though using the concept of signs and codes the audiences interpreted the *dailynews*’ coverage of the losing candidate. Through this approach there is the encoding and decoding model of understandings the ways in which texts are produced by producers and understood by the various readers. Stuart Hall (1983) states that all texts are encoded and decoded. A (text) is initially encoded with meaning when created and produced, then further encoded when the text is placed in a context or setting. The viewer then decodes the (text) when is consumed’. This suggests that the encoding is a meaning making process which takes place in two distinct phases, which are when the texts is being created (encoder) and when it is being received by the targeted audience in a given context as they receive it. During the moments that the texts are being ‘produced’ the practises of the individuals and or institutions that producers a dominant and at the moment of decoding, reception and interpretation of the reader dominates. Hall (1973) brings to life the issue of the freedom of interpretation on the part of the reader. In the eyes of Hall (1980) as quoted by Tang (2008) ‘... meaning of the text is located somewhere between its producers and the reader’. In his interpretation of Hall’s theory Rafferty (2008) states that:

Hall was trying to construct a communication model in which reception becomes more active, so that the consumption of the texts is itself a ‘moment’, which is the point of departure from the meaning of the text...The encoded message forms the parameters, which contains expectations about meaning and set limits on reading practises, although aberrant reading practises are always possible... When decoded the message must then be ‘appropriated as meaningful discourse’ before it can be decoded.

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The above statement is suggestive of the assumption that texts are open to a variety of decoding positions and are subject to consciously determined readings. It seems to suggest that there is no question to determine within the text, what it means and determine how receivers interpret it.

Hall (1973) also created a model of reading positions he perceived would be assumed by media consumers. He came up with the three possible decoders, dominant, negotiated and oppositional readings. The dominant reading which is sometimes called hegemonic or passive reading has been understood to mean, when the reader reads the connoted meaning, they accept it as it is and decode the meaning according to the reference code in which it has been encoded. In other words it is when a reader totally agrees with the text and adapts the intended meaning. The second reading is the negotiated reading in which the reader accepts some information and rejects some. Decoding within the negotiated readings contains a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements. Readers may accept the hegemony or legitimacy of the text while disputing some elements of the text. The third reading is the oppositional reading. It is also known as disagreeing or rejecting the whole meaning of the text. This happens when the reader contradicts or disputes with the intended meaning or may ignore the intended meaning. The decoding positions within this model move from consent through to dissent. The producer of the text wants the decoder to interpret the message exactly as per intention, but the decoder may choose to interpret it in a way that suits them. Fiske (1986) cited by Tang (2008) stated that according to this theory the meaning of texts is neither a fixed concept nor totally uncertain hence it is polysemous. This suggests that, though media interpretation may not be obvious, it can be categorized into specific groups. This theory is of particular importance to this research as the interpretation of the texts on Morgan Tsvangirai takes place within a set of processes and practices mentioned above. Decoding is therefore not simply a passive acceptance of the intended meaning but is a process subjected to a variety of aspects.

2.2.2 Uses and Gratifications theory

This theory originated from the 'active audience idea' which suggests that people are not simply passive recipients of media messages. Rather they respond to content based on their personal background, interests and interpersonal relationships. This theory identifies interest as the primary reason for media use. The research is based on the structuralist functionalist

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system approach to understanding the relationships between individuals and media content. It is said to have been originally formulated by Elihu Katz, Jay Blumler and Michael Gurevitch. To Stephanie O'Donohoe (2008:52) writing in the European journal of Marketing, titled 'A uses and Gratifications approach to the study of communication was first formally outlined by Katz'. Though its origins may be problematic, its basic concept is that communication research should reverse the traditional question of what the media do to their audiences and ask instead what people do with the media. Unlike the earlier effects approach which examined mass communication from the perspective of the communicator, this theory gives power to the receiver. Uses and gratifications approach brought different perspectives to mass communication study by attaching importance to individual factors of the audience which have influence on the mass communication process. This theory suggests that the media's use of audience is motivated by rational- awareness of the individuals' own needs and an expectation that their needs will be satisfied by particular types of media content.

It also assumes that people use the same media for different purposes. Lin (1996:574) states that 'the primary strength of the uses and gratifications theory is its ability to permit researchers to investigate mediated communication situations via single or multiple set of psychological needs, psychological motives, communication channels, communication content and psychological gratifications within particular or cross cultural context. Zhang (2008) states that McQuail (1987) developed a typology which contained four categories of media use which are information, which suggests the individual's need to know about relevant events, personal identity this means that audiences use the media to enforce their personal identities thus identifying with what is valued in the media and gaining insight into one's self. He further mentions that people use the media for integration and social interaction within the given context and circumstances. Finally he says audiences also use the media for entertainment. This entails being diverted from their existential circumstances and forgetting their social problems. Thus to be able to understand the uses and gratifications research there is need to interview people about why they consume particular media at the same time capturing their kind of satisfaction from the media.

This theory gives the impression that though the media producers have the power to dictate what comes out of their media outlets, the audiences have the power to consume whatever media product they prefer. One is led to understand that texts are open and audiences are active. This therefore means that these theories in relation to the study of concern on Morgan

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Tsvangirai media effects are nonexistent but audiences have the power to avoid exposure and reject influence. This means the audience will use the media for their own gratification or enjoyment.

According to a research conducted by Carl Hovland on America people are very selective in how they use the media topics that they expose themselves to and how they interpret them. From the tenants of this theory one can say it is very relevant for this study as it assists to determine why and how the audiences of the *dailynews* preferred reading the *dailynews* texts on Morgan Tsvangirai and why they did not prefer them.

2.2.3 Political economy

Political economy of the media is the idea of media ownership, the media market and financial support .The way in which the media operate is determined by those who own the media houses, who are led by the market environment and the financial needs. In such an environment, the media creates or manufactures cultural material that sustains the capitalist ideologies (Chomsky 2003).

Political economy is generally the interplay between political and economic relations. The concept itself is open to various interpretations and can several meanings in different disciplines. Political economy is grounded from the Marxist perspective. Murdock and Golding (2005) notes that political economy keeps its distance from the liberal pluralist tradition of analysis with its broad acceptance of the central workings of advanced capitalist societies. Political economy looks at the impact of the economic structure on the diversity and availability of public cultural expression, in other words it questions whether or not a diversity of views are limited by capitalists' control over the media. This is a useful endeavor because there is lot of evidence that suggests that ownership does have an effect on the content of the media products.

Political economy is interested in determining the appropriate scope of public intervention. A political economy perspective gives insights into the effects of corporate ownership of the media that is those who study political economy often neglect the fact that public ownership brings its own set of issues. McMahon (2003) looks at the effects of public ownership from a public choice perspective that and found that state of control of the media introduces its own set of biases. Political economy sees the media as enabling citizens to formerly participate in the democratic processes and that by making cultural goods into public goods instead of

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commodities, everyone can have equal access. This media theory will enhance the researcher in understanding how *dailynews`* ownership and control influence content of both pre and post transformation. Altschull (1984:54) argues that,

“The contents of media always reflect the interest of those who finance them” and the degree of editorial independence is often hard to assess”

However it still remains contested whether owner influence can be deduced from content hence the political economy influence remains a challenge (Schudson 2000).

Herman and Chomsky (1988) in *The Manufacturing of Consent* argue that the media are elitist in nature. They suggested the five filters in their model which are ownership patterns, advertising revenue, news sources, flak and ideology which is anti-communism, since they were using the American example to illustrate how propaganda works. From their analysis one can tell that the media owners and funders have a huge impact on the content of the news produced. The media news therefore becomes a platform through which the audience’s depiction of what is either good or bad is reflected. This is what will inform this research, which is how the political economy of the *dailynews* impacted on the political content on Morgan Tsvangirai after his loss.

2.2.4 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted scholarly views and works relating to the concept of politics and the media. The theories of representation, uses and gratifications and how the political economy of the media has an impact on the content that is produced by the media were all explored. The next chapter focuses on how I collected the data for this research.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines how the research was conducted. Research methodology refers to the principles and ideas which researchers base their procedures and strategies. This is done through outlining the procedures taken from the stage of gathering data to the presentation of research findings. The research paradigm used is discussed together with the unit of analysis, sampling methods, methods of data gathering and data analysis as well as data presentation methods.

3.2 Research Paradigm

There are basically two research paradigms. There is the qualitative and the quantitative research paradigms. Qualitative research largely deals with words whilst quantitative largely uses statistics. Bryman (2001) notes that qualitative research became popular initially because of dissatisfaction with quantitative research.

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 find out how people interpret the representation of Morgan Tsvangirai in the *dailynews*. In the words of Atkinson et al (2001: 7) it is an ‘umbrella term’ and a number of different approaches exist within this type of research. Researchers use qualitative approaches to explore the behaviours, perspectives, feelings and experiences of people and what lies at the core of their lives. This can be relevant to this study since the dissertation seeks to have the perspectives of the audiences towards the newspapers’ legitimisation of politicians. 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

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people 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 on legitimisation of politicians depending on their past experiences with the press.

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 media representation of politicians, I used this approach.

3.3 Unit of Analysis

Gunter (2000) is of the view that a unit of analysis is an entity that is used in an analysis. It is the smallest element of such an analysis. It can be a theme, a symbol, word, or an entire article or story. The study made use of newspaper articles from the *dailynews* that reported on Morgan Tsvangirai after his loss in the elections. The period of concern to the study was from 1 August 2013 to 31 December 2014. In this study it is entire articles that reported about Morgan Tsvangirai that were used. Entire articles were used because preferred frames are usually constituted in the entire story. The audiences of the *dailynews* also constituted the unit of analysis as they assisted in analysing the newspaper article.

3.4 Sampling Methods

Sampling is the process of choosing subjects to be used in a research enquiry on the ground that they provide information considered relevant in solving the research problem (Oppong 2013). MacNealy’s (1999) is of the view that sampling is distinguished between probability and non-probability techniques. Non probability sampling was used for this research. Under non probability sampling there is purposive, convenience, and snowball sampling. In this research purposive and convenience sampling were used.

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Coyne (1997) notes that purposive sampling is the most effective sampling type for qualitative research. Twenty newspaper articles from the newspaper under study were purposively sampled from 87 articles. These articles were those that focused on Morgan Tsvangirai's loss, his possible rise, his interviews in the *dailynews* and his rallies. Only twenty articles from the newspaper were chosen so as to give proper and adequate attention to each since the process of analysing them is time consuming. I used 20 articles of the 87. The 20 I chose were the most relevant ones of the hard news, opinions, editorials and the interviews from the newspaper. The other reason for choosing the twenty of the 87 articles was because there was need for the researcher to conduct focus group discussions with readers of the *dailynews* hence it will be time consuming to both the facilitator of the focus group discussion and the respondents to use all the 87 articles. Of the twenty articles for the newspaper that were chosen from the archives of the *dailynews* focusing on the Morgan Tsvangirai in the period 1 August 2013 to 31 December 2014, thirteen were selected from the website as they contained the most relevant information to the study.

Convenience sampling was used in selecting participants for the focus group discussions. Higginbottom, (2004) defines the convenience sample as consisting of participants who are readily available and easy to contact. Qualitative researchers use convenience sampling, a technique sometimes called accidental (Burnard, 2004, & MacNealy, 1999) or opportunistic (Barton, 2001) sampling. Convenience sampling and purposive sampling are sometimes confused with each other because they are but convenience is used to fulfil an urgent need whilst purposive is used for a particular purpose as stated above. The researcher paid attention to the time frame for the research to be successful. The time when Morgan Tsvangirai's loss hit the headlines was important so stories after the 1st of August 2013 were considered. Within the period under study I also found two editorial stories and one analysis story from the *dailynews* with relevant information that captured key editorial positions on the portrayal of his loss and his supposed rise.

3.5 Methods of Data Gathering

Archival research, interviews and focus group discussions 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 the media (Oates 2008). This is because I wanted to hear the opinions of selected readers of the *dailynews* on how they felt about the coverage of Morgan Tsvangirai.

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Focus group discussions are a quick assessment, semi-structured data gathering method in which a purposively selected set of participants gather to discuss issues and concerns based on a list of key themes drawn up by the researcher/facilitator (Kumar, 1987).

Focus group discussions are largely popular because they provide a fast way to learn from the target audience (Debus, 1988). Since my research was based on audience perception, this tool of gathering became very relevant, in search for information. In media studies, focus group discussion are a cost-effective technique for eliciting views and opinions of media consumers and end-users. They can therefore be used to obtain insights into target audience perceptions, needs, problems, beliefs, and reasons for certain practices. Thus they were very relevant for this research as I chose targeted audiences for the *dailynews* who assisted with focus group discussions for my research. I knew they were audiences of the *dailynews* after asking them a few questions about what they knew about this newspaper.

The quality of questions asked in a focus group can make a large difference in the kind of information obtained. Krueger (1988) states that for one to get desired answers in a focus group, open-ended questions are most appropriate at the start of the discussion because they allow participants to answer from different angles.

In conducting the focus group discussions, I made sure that I used the methods stated by Escalada and Heong (2015) of being able to speak the language spoken by the participants, being culturally sensitive, including not looking down upon respondents, not agreeing or disagreeing with what they said, and not putting words in the participants' mouths.

I used archival research in looking for the articles for the newspaper. This is because the news articles that demonstrated the legitimisation of Morgan Tsvangirai were to be found either in old newspapers or website stories on the newspaper's online version. For my research online archives of the *dailynews* was used to get the relevant material. Archival data are the regularly gathered documentations about a society, community or organisation (Marshall, 2006). Marshall (2006) further points out that it can involve the articles from a newspaper's editorial or getting information from a website. When one is selecting the documents for analysing there is need to take note of the research questions for the particular research, which is what I greatly used. As I sought to establish the frames employed by *dailynews*, I then had to use archival research to find the newspaper articles in which the frames were to be found. I entered the name Morgan Tsvangirai into the search sections of

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the *dailynews* so as to retrieve the relevant articles from the archives. Consequently twenty stories were found. Qualitative research studies typically require considerably more time to design, collect, and analyze data and to report the results than doing quantitative studies, in the process in-depth interviews and focus group discussions are conducted. Since I wanted to find out how the readers of the *dailynews* respond to media messages, I conducted interviews and focus group discussions.

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis

In conducting the research critical discourse analysis was used as a method of analysing data. This was done so as to look at the role that language plays as a powerful tool for the expressing several of ideological and socio-cultural change issues (Bryman 2012). This is therefore relevant to my study since it seeks to find the ideological, socio-cultural factors which led to the legitimisation of the politician in question.

In carrying out the critical discourse analysis I used the methods articulated by Bryman (2012). He stipulates that a discursive event can be analysed according to a three analytical levels. First there is the text level which explores the content, structure and meaning of the text. At the second level there is the discursive practice dimension which looks at the form of discursive interface used to communicate meaning and various beliefs. Lastly there is the social practice dimension which looks at the social context in which the discursive event is taking place. In the case of this study the social context under which the study took place was under various contestations.

In employing the above stated three dimensional approaches I analysed the selected articles at word level, sentence/utterance level, text level as well as higher level concepts as postulated by Huckin (2002). At word level I closed analysed metaphors, classification, presupposition, and register. Huckin (2002) closely analysed these concepts. He said that metaphors are ways of putting across ideas in another light. In this research, metaphors such as “headache” in reference to Tsvangirai’s next move after the elections were analysed. Classification is the purposeful categorisation of objects or people. In my study I was looking at how the loss of Tsvangirai as well as his party was classified, for example the labelling of ZANU PF and Robert Mugabe as ‘electoral thieves’. Presupposition in Huckin (2002) is the use of words or phrases that claim the truth of a statement. In this study the research looked at the deeper meanings of such presuppositions as “the election was a sham, a mother of all electoral theft” in reference to the support of Morgan Tsvangirai’s alleged rigging claims.

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Huckin (2002) further states that at sentence level there is transitivity, deletion, topicalisation, insinuation and intertextuality. He notes that transitivity refers to the agent-patient relations in a sentence. In this study transitivity was found for example in ZANU-NIKUV relationship as responsible for Tsvangirai's loss. Deletion analyses the deliberate omission of information in a sentence. Deletion was analysed for example where a story in the *dailynews* deleted information on Morgan Tsvangirai failure to implement reforms that were necessary before the elections were held. Topicalisation is to place a component at the top of sentence with the purpose of give giving salience and prominence. In the research topicalisation was seen, for instance when the *dailynews* read "We will go for polls before 2018-MDC....". Intertextuality is "the recognisable borrowing of words or phrases from another source" (Huckin 2002:8). Intertextuality was analysed for instance the use of the phrase "democracy" by *dailynews*.

At text level the researcher analysed aspects by Huckin (2002) like heteroglossia, foregrounding, and omission.

3.7 Methods of Data Presentation

Thematic analysis method was used to present data because I analysed the relationship between the portrayal of Morgan Tsvangirai and the audience perceptions of this. As I conducted focus group discussions themes began to come out that I then used to present my findings. Anderson (2007) asserts that thematic content analysis is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006) note that thematic analysis is a way for discovering, investigating, and reporting themes found from the data.

Braun and Clarke (2006) are of the view that a theme captures important ideas about the data in relation to the research question, and it represents some level of patterns response or meaning within the data set. They also argue that the importance of a theme is measured in terms of how much it captures something important regarding the research question. Braun and Clarke (2006) also provide six stages of thematic analysis which I used in the presentation of my data. It should be noted though that the first three phases were part of the critical discourse analysis I had already done.

The first stage is the one in which the researcher familiarises with the data. The data was read several times with the purpose of understanding the deepness of the content. In this case I had to familiarise myself with my selected articles from the *dailynews*. Braun and Clarke (2006)

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note that the time consuming nature of this process is one of the reasons why small samples are preferred. This why I had to used a few stories than all of the stories which wrote about Tsvangirai. An active reading of the data at this point will note the emergence of some meanings and patterns.

The second stage was the generation of initial codes. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) postulates that the process of coding involves the recognition of an important moment and noting it prior to the process of interpretation. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that coding can be done either manually or through the use of modern day technologies in this case, software programme. In this research I used the manual method of coding. This coding as highlighted by Braun and Clarke (2006) involves some analysis as it involves the organisation of data into meaningful groups.

The third stage was the search for themes. Boyatzis in Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) argues that a theme is a pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organises the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of a phenomenon. At this stage the established codes are analysed with the aim of establishing the possibility of linking related codes to form an overarching theme. Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that in this process some codes may result in the formation of main themes and sub-themes while others may be discarded. At the end I had a collection of all noted themes and sub-themes together with all the extracts of data that related to them.

The fourth stage involved the reviewing of themes. This is the phase in which themes are refined (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The refinement process saw some themes being thrown away for example if there was no sufficient data to support them while others ended up being collapsed into one theme. The validity of the established individual themes were used in relation to the data set.

The fifth and final stage involved defining and naming of the themes. There was careful consideration of what each theme was about and I had to be clear about what aspect of the data any single theme captured. There was also identification of the interesting points of the content of the data extracts. Names that the themes would assume in the final analysis were thought about in this phase. Braun and Clarke (2006) contend that the names need to be concise, punchy and convey a sense of what the theme is about.

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Phase six was what is known as production of the report. The data collected needed to tell a story and this story had to be presented in a “concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting way” (Braun and Clarke). Data extracts were provided to demonstrate the authenticity and prevalence of a theme. Finally the argument presented had to be linked to the research objectives and questions.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter laid down the methods used in the conducting the research. The research methods used here are not the only methods I could have used but I believe the ones I used are sufficient to produce a meticulous research. The next chapter looks at the organisation analysis of the *dailynews* and how it has an impact on the legitimisation of Morgan Tsvangirai.

CHAPTER 4

ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the *dailynews* and explores its historical background, ownership structure, funding mechanisms and editorial policy and discusses how it has an impact on the *dailynews* coverage of Morgan Tsvangirai after his loss in the 2013 elections.

4.1 Organisation's Historical background

The *dailynews* is a Zimbabwean privately owned newspaper published in the capital city, Harare (Munyuki 2005). It was founded in 1999 with its first editor being Geoffery Nyarota a former editor of the publicly owned but state controlled *Bulawayo Chronicle* now *The Chronicle*. The newspaper at its inception used the motto "Telling it like it is". Nyarota is a veteran journalist with the history of being a government critic. He was suspended from the publicly owned but state owned press in the 1980s for exposing the Willowgate scandal. This was a corruption scandal in which government ministers bought cars at a local car assembly and sold them at exorbitant prices (Ayite 1998). Hence it can be said that with Nyarota as the *dailynews* editor one can say the *dailynews* was posed to be a threat to the existing government hegemony.

Nyarota, who had spent some years in exile, set up the *dailynews*, as an independent daily newspaper. The paper stated that it would not support the government or the opposition parties. Instead the newspaper claimed it would be a source for dialogue among the diverse political, social, religious and other groups of Zimbabwe. However, nothing from this can be said to be true, since Mazango (2000) notes that in Zimbabwe the press is divided between the ZANU PF media and the MDC media, with the publicly owned press supporting the existing government of the day whilst the private press supports opposition parties. Also Mukasa (2003) says in the period post 2000 in Zimbabwean media its either you are with us or with them, thus the *dailynews* can be said to be oppositional or dissent press from its formation. The newspaper also said it would fight for press freedom and freedom of speech. These were the discourses supported by anti- government civil society groups and the then newly formed Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

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The newspaper's first issue was on March 21 1999 a few months before the MDC led by Morgan Tsvangirai was formed. Mukasa (2003) notes that the setting up of this newspaper created a serious challenge to the control and ownership of the mainstream press by Zimpapers. By the year 2000, the newspaper had more circulation than the state-owned *The Herald*, with a daily circulation of 105,000 copies; *The Herald's* circulation was reported to have fallen by 50% during the same period (Munyuki 2005).

The *dailynews* swiftly became Zimbabwe's most popular newspaper as there was no platform for dissenting voices at the time of its formation. With the opposition MDC gaining popularity mostly in urban areas during its formation, the *dailynews* gave a platform to the opposition politicians to comment and as such legitimised their status quo.

President Mugabe accused the paper of being a mouthpiece for the Movement for Democratic Change, a political opposition party to his rule, while Nyarota asserted that the paper was independent and criticised both political parties.

Mukasa (2003) notes that, copies of *dailynews* in rural areas were banned as a way that was aimed at silencing a voice that had emerged and had given the once voiceless society a chance to speak. People who were seen reading copies of *dailynews* during that time were tortured or beaten. Government militia thugs were reported to have been hired to burn copies of the newspaper. The government seemed to be keen in silencing any voice that seemed to go against its rule, thus the paper was then banned.

During Nyarota's tenure as the Editor of the *dailynews*, he was arrested six times. On 1 August 2000, the *dailynews* reported that Zimbabwe's secret police, the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), allegedly sent a man named Bernard Masara to kill Nyarota; however, after meeting Nyarota in a lift at the *dailynews* offices, Masara changed his mind and warned him of the plot. Masara then called his employer with the paper's editors listening so that they could verify the source of the plan.

The newspaper was at loggerheads with the ZANU PF aligned civil society Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWVA), a group blamed by human rights advocates and civil society of intimidating voters and invading white-owned farms on behalf of Mugabe's government, during the controversial land reform program.

Chenjerai Hunzvi the Chairperson for this organisation on 6 June 2000 gave a warning to the *dailynews* saying it should stop criticizing Mugabe. ZNLWVA members burned copies of the

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dailynews in the country's small town of Kwekwe three after Hunzvi had threatened the newspaper.

The government then enacted the obnoxious Access of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) a law that infringed on media freedom in Zimbabwe. This law was described in Parliament by a government minister Edson Zvobgo as 'the greatest assault to our liberties' (MISA-Zim handbook 2007). The law gave birth to then Media Information Commission (MIC) now the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC). Under the law, the commission was given the powers to accredit local and foreign journalists and also register all print of media houses. Associated Newspapers in Zimbabwe (ANZ) refused to be registered with MIC claiming it was a protest in forcing the government to allow for a free media landscape.

With ANZ failing to comply with this directive, the government got its alibi and cancelled the license from the *dailynews*. The *dailynews* defied a Supreme Court order to register with the Media Information Commission as per the requirements of the Zimbabwean law.

The government's face Professor Jonathan Moyo, the then Minister of Information and Publicity said ANZ's failure to comply with the requirements of the law would lead them failing to operate. He claimed that the *dailynews* and its journalists were operating illegally which was inconsistent with AIPPA.

The paper also suffered two bombings, allegedly by Zimbabwean security forces. After being forced from the paper by new management in December 2002, Nyarota left Zimbabwe. The *dailynews* was banned by the government in September 2003 after its failure to register. Though the paper briefly tried to publish online (Mapuwei 2009) it lost its popularity since most people had no access to the internet during this period.

4.2 The *dailynews* after reopening in 2010

In May 2010, the government appointed a media commission which gave the right to publish today's newspapers to various publications among them the *dailynews*. The period 2010 was after the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) which ushered a Government of National Unity (GNU) in which ZANU PF, MDC T and the smaller faction of the MDC led by Professor Welshman Ncube shared power (Chigora 2012). Article 19 of the GPA stated that the government was supposed to ensure access to information through licensing newspapers and opening the airwaves. This is the clause which gave the *dailynews* an

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advantage, coupled by a new Zimbabwe Media Commission which comprised of commissioners appointed from across the three political parties. When the *dailynews* reopened it had a new motto 'Telling it like it is... without Fear. Without Favour'. The use of such a motto is largely contested since private citizens who own media do so for money and power (Rusike 1990).

With the seemingly polarised Zimbabwean media environment the *dailynews* continued to take sides within the GNU government partners as it supported the MDC T ministries and the then Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai while it largely demonised the President Robert Mugabe for being a dictator who was not prepared to share power nor to implement the necessary reforms that were envisaged at the signing of the agreement.

It must be noted that Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (ANZ) was allowed to register after prolonged legal battles and lobbying (MISA Zimbabwe 2007). However, its relations with the government after the 2013 elections have not been overly critical, with the newly appointed Professor Jonathan Moyo visiting the newspaper's offices after his appointment. The researcher conducted the research using the newspaper to find out how Tsvangirai is portrayed after his loss. Since the *dailynews* has always supported the opposition from its inception, as highlighted in its brief history, it is the purpose of this research to explore how Tsvangirai is represented after losing the elections and how the audiences respond to this.

From the historical background and the structure of the *dailynews* stated above one can say that the newspaper can be best described as oppositional press. The newspaper has always had adversarial relations with the government while on the other hand supporting the opposition ideology. While the publicly owned media (both the print and the broadcast) have assisted in furthering the agenda of the ruling government, the privately owned press (the *dailynews* particularly) has assisted in furthering the human rights and neo-liberal discourses of the opposition political fraternity.

4.3 The dailynews Editorial policy

The editorial policy of a newspaper refers to the institutionalised objective of the paper (Barret and Newbold, 1995). These include but are not restricted to the way the paper infuses its culture to all the aspects of the newsroom. The editorial is usually the one that guides the reporters and dictates the news angles that the writers of the newspapers must take. Usually in

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print journalism there is what is referred to as the news slant which is the angle that the reporter of a newspaper must take, this is the one that is directed by the editorial policy.

The editorial policy, is influenced and determined by the mission statement and therefore output of the paper and ultimate goals and final objectives. So in this case it is the *dailynews* editorial policy influenced how the newspaper framed Morgan Tsvangirai.

4.4.0 Editorial Structure

The Group Newspapers editor is the head of the editorial section followed by deputy and assistant editors then line editors and reporters.

4.4.1 Group Editor

Stanley Gama is the current ANZ's Group Editor. According to the ordinance that governs the newspaper, the editor has full control of the paper. Part of the ordinance reads:

“...full control of newspaper is vested in the hands of the editors – who, alone shall determine all content including advertising, and appoint, dismiss, deploy and direct editorial staff.”

The Group Editor is at the top of *dailynews* editorial. Gama as the paper's editor has the final say on everything in the editorial department and also has authority over the entire diary meetings. This therefore means that Gama can be held responsible for all the publications in the newspapers that he supervises namely *dailynews*, *dailynews on Sunday* and the *Weekend Post*; being the one who occupies the role of editor, he is the one who takes the heat if the paper is slapped with a lawsuit. In line with this research the group news editor was the one who determined the content about Morgan Tsvangirai published in the newspaper.

4.4.2 Executive Deputy Editor

The *dailynews* deputy editor, Chris Goko, takes over duties of the Editor if absent. The editor and his deputy work together in decision making processes. He also helps in deciding stories according to order of importance and newsworthiness. In this case he determined the important and newsworthy story about the MDC leader.

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4.4.3 Senior Assistant Editor

The assistant editor of the *dailynews* is Guthrie Munyuki. The main duties are to do the duties of the deputy editor when he is absent. He was relevant for this study since he conducted most interviews with Morgan Tsvangirai during the period.

4.4.4 Line Editors

The *dailynews* has line editors who include Politics Editor Thelmar Chikwanha, Business Editor Eric Chiriga, Entertainment Darikai Mashava, Special projects Roadwin Chirara, Community affairs Editor Chinowaita and Parliamentary Affairs Editor Chengetai Zvauya. With reference to this research only the politics and business editors applied. Thelmar Chikwanha wrote most stories on Tsvangirai's rallies and the lead stories. The business editor wrote stories that only sanitized Tsvangirai's presence as giving hope to the business community in the country.

4.4.5 Reporters

Reporters are responsible for news gathering and writing. They report to line editors depending on their beats. Those relevant to this research are those in the hard news and current affairs beats which they submit to their line editors for gate keeping. In this case the reporters are the ones who either practised self censorship or newspaper policy influenced them to negatively or positively cover Tsvangirai.

4.4.6 Chief Photographer

The chief photographer for the *dailynews* is Annie Mpalume. She is the one who contributed most photos that framed Morgan Tsvangirai. Through the photos, some were analysed to determine how they were responsible for influencing particular responses by the readers of the *dailynews* readers.

4.5 Ownership structure and control

According to Munyuki (2005) the ownership of the *dailynews* is as follows had the following Shareholders, Meditation Investments (Pvt) Ltd – 50% , Africa Media Investments – 32%, Diamond Insurance Company of Zimbabwe – 1%. Munyuki (2005) notes that Communications entrepreneur Strive Masiyiwa, the owner of Econet, Zimbabwe's largest telecommunications company, bought into ANZ in 2002 through his company Meditation Investments. The rest of the shareholding of 17% is spread among Southern Life Association,

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Intermarket Life Assurance, NDM Investments (Pvt) Ltd, Batanai Capital Finance (Pvt) Ltd, Dr Ali Mohamed and Judith Todd.

This means that the *dailynews* is a business entity and therefore any of its coverage is based on business imperatives. Therefore their coverage of the *dailynews* was influenced by their quest for money.

4.6 Associated NewsPapers in Zimbabwe (ANZ)

Conrad Nyamutata, the banned *dailynews*' first Chief reporter, now in England wrote in one of his articles that ANZ, 'is made up of youthful enthusiastic employees with professional experience, but operating like a candle in the wind'.

ANZ goals have a direct bearing on its historical background, the mortality of the private media and the fact that any corporate entity may seek to dominate the market.

ANZ seeks to challenge the state media by creating a different angle of reporting. This is shown by its motto, "Telling it like it is ...Without fear .Without favouring its endeavour to create diversity", ANZ claims to report on issues that are taken as soft spot by the state owned media like ZBC and *The Herald*.

The company seeks to create more freedom of operation that is not limited. It also seeks to improve the quality of the paper, save and provide information to the public. At ANZ all departments are encouraged to conduct weekly meetings where everyone is given a chance to share ideas.

ANZ is also concerned with maintaining modern technological production especially among its competitors from other media houses. ANZ therefore seeks to create a conducive environment for its advertisers and reader's. Advertising is given priority together with news. ANZ also seeks to operate on the highest level of professionalism through recruiting employees who have strong media backgrounds.

4.7 Funding Mechanism

The *dailynews* is a commercially run publication under Associated Newspapers in Zimbabwe (ANZ). Just like all the commercial organisations, the *dailynews* operates in a dual market. The government does not subsidise or offer grants to the *dailynews*. The Board of Governors injects money into the organisation in times of crisis or when there is need for the expansion

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of the organisation. According to Newbold et al (2002) the most determining factor in any organisation is the funding. Therefore it can be noted that funding plays an important role in influencing the editorial policy of any media organisation. The leading newspaper publisher in the country is ANZ. The organization has highly complex and modern equipment in their newsroom. Due to its modern equipment, the organisation can be said to be donor funded. The newspaper has been accused of being the Western mouthpiece hence its tense relationship with the state.

Moreover it can be noted that ANZ gets most of its income from the advertising sales. Therefore basing on an economic perspective it can be seen that advertising is a selling cost. Kotler (1990) argues that advertising can be viewed as means of non-presentation of ideas, goods and services by an identified sponsor, addressed to specialized target groups with the selling objective. The *dailynews* is rated by ZAMPS as the second most popular widely read paper in the country after *The Herald*. According to Storey (1994) advertisers are interested in the media that attract consumers and communicate content that is ready for consumption. The newspaper relies mostly on Econet Wireless and TN Bank for advertising revenue. However there are some other companies which advertise in the paper. Therefore, the researcher would access and analyze how funding influences the articles on Biti.

ANZ is also a self-funding organisation which relies on its products for sustainance. ANZ sells its newspapers daily at \$1 each copy, this therefore brings money to the company as direct income. ANZ has also minimized expenses through having its own printing press called Print Co. The machine is believed to be sophisticated, expensive and fast in printing 15000 copies in less than an hour and ANZ is believed to be the only owner of the machine in Zimbabwe. Newspapers are printed in Harare and distributed to other towns across the country.

4.8 Advertising

Advertisers develop power and control over media due to the fact that they buy and pay for audience attention (Chomsky 1988, Napoli, 2003) .ANZ provides a wide advertising space in newspapers it publishes. The *dailynews* newspaper offers a choice of display and classifieds advertising. Display advertisements range from a small corner to a full page in either colour or black and white. The classifieds are usually black and white but colour ones can be provided at an extra cost. This department generates more revenue for the company that is 65

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percent. In moving with the information age, the department also has online advertisements, which also generates money for the organization.

4.9 Links with Other Organisations

The *dailynews* like any institution in Zimbabwe does not operate in a vacuum. It has relations with both governmental, private institutions and the civil society. The newspaper was welcomed with mixed feelings from most sectors of the government as the paper was critical of the ruling party. The government through the Ministry of Media and Information created media laws which are designed to closely monitor and control the operations of independently owned media houses. Stanley Gama, the newspaper editor was constantly summoned to the courts for breaking various media regulations.

Grunnig (2001) postulates that no organization is capable of existing in a vacuum but is surrounded by stakeholders who can enhance or constrain its business objectives. Hence this means that in order for organizations to survive in any business environment it has to manage its relations with its neighbours. At the moment Zimbabwe has three players in the newspaper industry which are ANZ, AMH and Zimpapers. As a result it can be noted that in order for the paper to continue to stay in the media industry it has to compete with other players in the industry. This therefore means that in order for people to prefer one product over another, there has to be something within that particular paper to give it the competitive edge over the other.

ANZ is reported to never been on record to have any clashes with other organizations. Hence it can be seen that these publications only compete in attracting readers. As per the newspaper's motto "*no fear, no favor, telling it like it is*" one can argue that indeed the paper does live up to its motto as it tells it like it is. The paper has been noted as the most critical paper on the government. This stance has given the paper the lead when it comes to readership. Therefore, this research seeks to find out how the paper framed Morgan Tsvangirai.

ANZ relies much on the internet for printing and publishing of *dailynews* and its two sister papers *dailynews on Sunday* and *The Weekend Post*. Therefore it can be seen that the organisation has relations with the Internet Service Providers (ISP). These include Ecoweb, ZOL, Africom and Liquid. All departments rely on internet, for example they use the internet for emailing stories to the production desk, Google images and other stories.

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The *dailynews* is also a member of the self regulatory Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe (VMCZ), Zimbabwe National Editors Forum (ZINEF) and the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA). These are nongovernmental organisations which advocate for freedom of expression and access to Information something which the government has not been able reluctant to allow for civil society organisations.

Also the fact that the *dailynews* journalists are part of the civil society organisations such as MISA Zimbabwe and the VMCZ which have been described by the government as ‘regime change agents’ makes the newspaper more of an oppositional press than not. These civil society organisation have for years campaigning for a free media and freedom of expression which government officials are sceptical of. For instance witness Mangwende the former Minister of Information once said they is nothing like a free press, saying the press must serve the society under which it operates in, with great responsibility. Hence one can say that the *dailynews*’ relationship with ruling party politicians is that of a cat and mouse while, the newspaper and the opposition politicians/ anti- government organisations is that of water and fish.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the historical background of the *dailynews*, the mission statement and the administrative structure among other issues. Since the *dailynews* is a profit oriented organisation, the news content that this newspaper publishes is largely determined by the ideologies of those that own this newspaper. The structure of the *dailynews* newspaper and the impact it has on the content which the paper produces. This research will therefore seek to find out how through the ownership and ideologies of those that founded and fund the *dailynews*, the coverage of Morgan Tsvangirai was influenced. The next chapter discusses the research findings and data presentation.

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CHAPTER 5

DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 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 into three themes, and the discussion that arises from the various themes that the researcher got.

5.1.1 Tsvangirai framed as the legitimate leader of both the MDC T and Zimbabwe

The MDC party led by Tsvangirai is portrayed by the *dailynews* as the only alternative to the long standing opposition to the ZANU PF 34 year old hegemony.

The *dailynews* reported that for the past 15 years since the inception of the MDC, Tsvangirai has been winning the Presidential elections. One reader interviewed indicated that the *dailynews*' mention of Tsvangirai as a leader who has won the elections since 2002 simply implies that he is the legitimate leader of the country. This what the reader said,

‘When I read an article that Tsvangirai has been winning the elections since 2002 my overall impression was that Tsvangirai is the ruler of the country only denied his right to rule by ZANU PF’

One can therefore say that the *dailynews*' reference to the previous elections is the tendency of the media, which is banking on memory so as to either construct or deconstruct the politicians. In this case the *dailynews* emphasized on the previous elections especially the 2008 elections which Tsvangirai had the highest percent but failed to gunner 50% + 1 required for him to win the Presidency. However, in 2013 he lost dismally, something which the *dailynews* denies as parts of its efforts to sanitize and glorify him as the legitimate leader.

From the focus group discussions conducted, the participants noted that as they read the *dailynews* they felt the *dailynews* gave Tsvangirai the legitimacy as the President of the Movement for Democratic Change and the country. One of the participants Mavis Gudza noted:

The fact that the *dailynews* uses the term President to refer to him (Tsvangirai) gives me the impression that he is the lawful President of not only the party but also the country’

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From the above quote one can note that the *dailynews* deliberately created a leader who had won the elections despite the fact that Tsvangirai had lost the polls. This shows that as has been highlighted by scholars the press legitimises politicians. They can either create heroes or villains as political images. The *dailynews* in this instance went on to write stories in which they only interviewed opposition aligned analysts in their claims to make Tsvangirai the chosen leader but who has been robbed of his leadership by the ZANU Pf regime. This was highlighted in an interview by a female participant who noted that while she was reading a story on the election results the *dailynews* quoted MDC aligned analysts in a bid to set an agenda known to them. She said,

‘As I read the story in which they quoted one, Alex Magaisa claiming that Tsvangirai had not lost fairly I understood that the newspaper gave the impression that Tsvangirai was still the lawful leader’

One can therefore say that from this quote the newspaper deliberately chose to use particular analysts in pursuit of their agenda instead of objectivity. This is in line with what Schudson (2003: 154) explains, ‘political institutions and media are ... so thoroughly engaged in a complex dance with each other, that it is not easy to distinguish where one begins and the other leaves off’. Soon after casting his vote Tsvangirai had made it clear that he would accept the outcome of the elections and that the elections were going to reflect the people’s will. However, after his loss the paper, forgot this fact so as to delegitimise the image of the winner Robert Mugabe in a bid to create political capital for Morgan Tsvangirai.

During the focus group discussions conducted one noted that in the *dailynews* of 23 August 2014 a story titled ‘Tsvangirai raises alarm’ the *dailynews* meant that Tsvangirai was still having what it took to be the state President, he had not lost the elections but was ‘waiting for the SADC, AU and other observers to make the final decisions on the polls, when in fact they had presented their reports describing the elections as ‘free and fair’. The interviewee said:

‘When I read the story on Tsvangirai raising alarm bells, I had the impression that Tsvangirai was still in charge of the situation and that soon SADC would intervene and call for fresh polls which he would possibly win’.

Therefore one can note that the newspaper’s headline and content on the above story did not only forget about the results announced as final, but also sought to give hope, to the

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audiences, in the case MDC supporters who might have lost hope by the MDC's crushing defeat to ZANU PF.

A similar sentiment was raised by one reader who said the fact that the *dailynews* insisted that they would be polls soon was a clear sign that the paper wanted to give legitimacy and political authority to the MDC leader. The paper read,

‘The battle lines for the next election which he (Tsvangirai) said will result in the MDC forming the next government’

Explaining about this statement a participant said he when read this story he understood that the MDC had been given a life line to join the government. He said he had thought the MDC was still part of the government, even after the elections. As such a totally different explanation to the elections is a clear indication that the MDC leader was legitimised by the newspaper and its readers were getting an explanation that gave Tsvangirai a slight political mileage.

Furthermore, one of the readers said the fact that the *dailynews* had a headline like ‘Let’s have fresh polls’, in the *dailynews* of 19 August 2014 was as if they were encouraging Zimbabweans to ‘gear up’ for fresh elections. Such headlines do not show that it is Tsvangirai’s opinion but instead they sound like it is the opinion of the majority of the Zimbabwe. Thamsanqa Ndlovu noted,

When I read, the headline, ‘let’s have fresh polls’, I thought it was an opinion by various sections of Zimbabweans interviewed by the newspaper, only to realise that it was Tsvangirai’s opinion, such a headline confused my opinions on the polls.

In their quest to legitimise Tsvangirai the *dailynews* do not admit Tsvangirai’s failures as having contributed to his dismal loss but instead referred to issues such as NIKUV, coercion of villagers to vote by ZANU PF militia and thugs in the rural areas and the failure of ZEC to provide the voters roll for the MDC T. One of the participants noted that he viewed this as a way of showing that they had trust in Tsvangirai’s leadership abilities.

In a story titled ‘Tsvangirai raises alarm’ the *dailynews* referred to Tsvangirai as simply ‘opposition leader’. One reader said this gave him the impression that in Zimbabwe they was no other opposition parties but the MDC-T was the only opposition party to talk about.

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This was further agreed on by another participant who read the same newspaper article saying the reference to unnamed analysts that warned that Tsvangirai's 'fight' with the government would raise serious tensions in the country, was a sign of Tsvangirai's imagined political power deliberately created by the newspaper.

'I always had problems, with the use of unnamed sources, especially, in the raising alarm story; the *dailynews* undermine our intelligence by presenting their opinions as news, in a effort to make us have sympathy for Tsvangirai'

This view by the reader quoted above means that the *dailynews* newspaper went on to either use sources that were supporting Tsvangirai or that they disguised their opinions as analysts' views all in a bid to make Tsvangirai a leader who still had the political muscle to unsettle ZANU PF.

In their bid to construct Tsvangirai's image as that of a political hero, the audiences noted that the story in the *dailynews* 15 September 2015 titled 'Tsvangirai won't back on job demos', Tsvangirai reportedly calling for dialogue with Mugabe, was a clear indication that the paper had an agenda to pursue. Zenzele Mkhwanzi noted:

'The story titled 'Tsvangirai won't back down on demos' ,the part which referred to Tsvangirai now withdrawing from calls for dialogue with Mugabe and focusing on mobilisation, made me convinced that he was now learning, the concept of a revolution, working with the people and not the oppressor'

From the above quote one can say that the *dailynews* made Tsvangirai a man of the people. Through the use of critical discourse analysis, one notes that there was topicisation by the *dailynews* in the sense that, they made it news that he was mobilising people and had the numbers on his side. From the negotiated reading noted by Morley (1980) and dictated from the reader mentioned above, it can be concluded that the *dailynews* mobilised and rallied support for Tsvangirai, making him a leader who wanted more for the people than for himself.

From the same story titled 'Tsvangirai won't back down on demos', the newspaper made it seem as if Tsvangirai had initiated demonstrations already and that he was the only leader who could lead Zimbabweans from the front in their demand for service delivery.

Commenting on this story a reader who preferred anonymity said,

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‘The story on demos, made me feel that he was the one involved in demos, when in fact it was the 3 guys mentioned latter in that same story’

Hence through critical discourse analysis, I noted the deliberate omission of this very important aspect in the story to do with the demonstrations in the country. The newspaper only highlighted Tsvangirai’s eagerness to hold demos, unlike the eagerness of those whom; he was addressing who had in fact been arrested at the Victoria Falls airport for demonstrating to SADC heads of states for Mugabe to step down.

Among the readers, one of them confirmed that the *dailynews* had sounded as if because of Tsvangirai’s letter to the SADC, President Mugabe would not assume the SADC Chairmanship. The reader Sydicks Sithole had this to say:

‘In the story about Morgan Tsvangirai’s so called damning letter to the SADC, the *dailynews* claimed Tsvangirai had given the letter to the SADC Troika and not the Chair as was the norm indicating that Mugabe was illegitimate as Chair’

One notes that the newspaper deliberately chose words and phrases to use so as to give hope to Tsvangirai and his supporters that the Zimbabwean situation would soon be on the SADC agenda and bring back Tsvangirai’s relevance after the thunderous ZANU PF victory.

Despite the fact that a SADC representative, Director of the Troika, Lieutenant Col Tanki-Mothae, interviewed by the *dailynews* in a story on 19 August 2014 ‘Let’s have fresh polls’ about Tsvangirai writing to SADC, demanding fresh polls, they chose to give less prominence to this fact. Mothae indicated that SADC would not interact with the opposition leader’s complaints, but the *dailynews* chose to write this statement in the last sentence of their story. This shows that the newspaper, conveniently ignored the fact that SADC was tired with Tsvangirai’s grievances so as to suite their agenda on propping up his image

The *dailynews* further went on to make claims that since Tsvangirai’s loss in the 2013 polls, the country was sliding back to the pre- 2008 situation in which the country was on an economic dilapidation. This was confirmed by a reader, who said:

‘While the economic situation is really bad, the *dailynews* erred by writing that 4 in 5 Zimbabweans are unemployed ever since Tsvangirai left office’

The use of unconfirmed figures can be said to be the newspaper’s way of proving that the *dailynews* was trying to cause, uncertainty among Zimbabwe and that without Tsvangirai the

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nation was poised to remain at stand still. The audiences of the *dailynews* said in reading this newspaper they thought it did not accurately cover the issue of Tsvangirai's loss. From the 1st of August the *dailynews* carried the headline 'Another SHAM election'. In this story the paper said the election was a 'mother of all rigging and electoral fraud'. Explaining the use of these words, one of its readers interviewed, Peter Muleya, said:

'When I read about the electoral fraud alone, I was not satisfied because, I thought the *dailynews* did not effectively give us other issues, like Tsvangirai's failure to take advise from the SADC not to participate in the elections'

One can therefore say that the fact that salience was given to the stories where the MDC cried foul, and the MDC editorial reading 'elections stolen again', is a clear indication that the newspaper had the agenda of covering up for the shorting comings of its favourite candidate Tsvangirai (McCombs and Shaw).

The *dailynews* was also referred by some interviewees as a 'defacto MDC Public relations office', as they said it helped the MDC lie to the people about its alleged defeat in the polls.

'I feel pity for myself and other audiences of the *dailynews* for we were deliberately fed with propaganda; the *dailynews* became an MDC form of *The Herald* newspaper' said another reader

Analysing these discourses from the audiences one can say that the *dailynews* played the role of bringing back Tsvangirai to political form and making him remain relevant even though it was clear that he had lost the plot in the elections.

5.1.2 'It's about Tsvangirai other opposition candidates are not relevant'

From the interviews conducted it seemed to the readers that as they read the *dailynews* they felt that the elections in Zimbabwe were about Tsvangirai whilst other candidates are just 'participants' in the election processing.

Commenting on the *dailynews* coverage of the MDC T split one of the readers had this to say,

'The reference by the *dailynews* to the MDC Secretary General Tendai Biti as 'an opportunist who was being manipulated by ZANU PF and Mugabe are a sign that the newspaper is not interested about anything *chiri* (not)Morgan'

This shows that from the way the readers interpreted the newspapers' coverage of the other splinter group within the party; they still took sides with Morgan Tsvangirai because of the

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paper's coverage. Stuart Hall (1999) states that in the concept of representation there is marginalization by inclusion and exclusion. In this case opposition groups that are anti Tsvangirai were marginalised by inclusion.

As Foucault (1979) notes, representation cannot be only through language and discourse, it can be also through images, one reader had this to say about Tendai Biti's images in the *dailynews* after he split with Tsvangirai,

'When the fallout between the SG (Biti) and Mogiza (Tsvangirai) took place, the paper went on to use images of an ailing Biti. Maybe they wanted us to believe that we must vote for a healthy Tsvangirai not Biti *anorwara* (who is sick)'

This therefore demonstrates how for the *dailynews* after the 2013 polls, the opposition in Zimbabwe only relevant if was led by Tsvangirai, outside Tsvangirai there is no life. This is buttressed by the newspapers' reference to the MDC T as a 'Big Tent'. This means that Tsvangirai's party is portrayed as the political force to reckon with.

Even when the MDC Renewal led by Tendai Biti, Sekai Holland, Samuel Sipepa Nkomo among others, the newspaper was quick to label these people as 'rebels'. Commenting on this portrayal of the renewal team Tendai Makomborero noted,

'The fact that Biti and crew were labelled by this newspaper as rebels by the *dailynews*, made us feel, they were not for the right cause, *vapanduki vedemocracy vakatumwa neZANU kuparadza zvido zvevanhu*(enemies of democracy sent by ZANU PF to derail the people's wishes)' he said

One can therefore say that the *dailynews* easily 'othered' the 'other', making a clear distinction between the 'rebels' and the 'democrats', while in the process Tsvangirai enjoying the praise as the face of the so called democratic revolution in Zimbabwe.

One of the readers of the paper made a very crucial comment pertaining to the Independence Day messages. He noted that while they were many opposition parties in the party which include, ZAPU led by Dumiso Dabengwa, MDC led by Professor Welshman Ncube, Mavambo, DARE, Transform Zimbabwe, among others, the fact that the *dailynews* chose to give Tsvangirai a special interview during national holidays like Independence Day shows that he was being favoured.

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5.1.3 The *dailynews* as an alternative to ZANU PF propaganda against Tsvangirai?

While some of the readers of the *dailynews* were sceptical of the newspapers' coverage of the opposition leader, some indicated that the way Tsvangirai was covered was what is expected from a newspaper of its nature. They stated that because the publicly owned newspapers, especially *The Herald*, did not provide another angle of the elections results, the *dailynews* did exactly the right thing by exposing the election fraud that had been noticed during the elections. One of the interviewees had this to say:

'We cannot blame the *dailynews* for supporting Tsvangirai, because they presented a reflection of what had occurred, for example the story in which they exposed the bussing of voters during the voting period'

This reader said this in reference to a story titled in the *dailynews* of 2 August 2013 'Biti exposes rigging' in reference to the July 31 polls. The story had pictures of people running away from cameras and being taken out of ZUPCO buses, after allegedly having been bussed from rural areas to vote in Harare. One can say that while we would love to be overly critical of the way the *dailynews* coverage of this event, in some cases it was justified.

Some people linked the *dailynews*' writing as being fair for a country like Zimbabwe with a polarised media environment arguing that as the *dailynews* defended for instance his stay at the Highlands government acquired house, they were presenting what was rightful his.

'I think we will be a bit unfair to MT (Morgan Tsvangirai) if we criticise the coverage of issues like the acquiring of the Highlands Government house, because it was his pension as per the law, so the *dailynews* debunked the myth by *The Herald* that MT was benefiting from ZANU PF benevolence'.

This therefore shows that while other readers of the *dailynews* viewed the paper's coverage of the MDC leader as giving publicity to him, some viewed it as an alternative to the ZANU PF ideological doses which criticise anything and everything about Tsvangirai a leader of the second most supported political party. This therefore shows that the *dailynews* is indeed a sight of ideological struggle. These is in unison with what Fiske (1994) who states that news text themselves do not mirror or reflect the truth, but are always a site for ideological contestation in the struggle for attributing meaning and salience to events. In this case the

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dailynews fought on Tsvangirai's side and thus the paper became a battle field for the politician in question.

Some audiences of the newspaper interviewed also asserted that they did not have problems with the way the *dailynews* covered Tsvangirai, arguing that there was no platform for Zimbabweans to read the story of the 2013 elections than in the *dailynews*. One of the participants, Wisdom Chaibva, in a focus group discussion noted:

‘The way the *dailynews* reported on the NIKUV saga is what we wanted, because honestly speaking no one voted for ZANU PF, the truth is the elections were stolen, the *dailynews* narrative is the truth to what happened.’

From such a response, one notes that the readers of the *dailynews* were satisfied by the newspapers' coverage of the politician. Despite the fact that newspapers do not produce reality but they manufacture it (Chomsky 1988) the audiences still believed the newspapers' stance on Tsvangirai having been rigged, thus the newspaper succeeded in giving the politician enough capital for any future elections.

This was further buttressed by a response by one of the interviewees who said that the *dailynews* was a powerful media tool which had succeeded in warning Tsvangirai not to participate in any polls, considering his stance not to do so in the by elections that have followed after the 2013 polls. Alfred Ngulube noted,

‘ Polls in Zimbabwe are very contested and members of the press are informed of the truth on the ground than politicians themselves, in this case I think the *dailynews* succeeded to do so as their stories managed to influence Tsvangirai not to participate in any elections until reforms are made’

From the view of this reader one is made to believe that it might be true that the newspaper influenced Tsvangirai's stance with regards to the future polls. In one of their editorials, the newspaper wrote on 13 September 2014 ‘no elections without reforms’. In this article the paper encouraged Tsvangirai not to take part in any polls until they got reforms necessary for free, fair and transparent polls. This clearly demonstrates that the newspaper became a political actor in the political battlefield of Zimbabwe.

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Some of the readers of the *dailynews* noted that it was very difficult to say the *dailynews* was biased or favoured a single political party, because unlike *The Herald*, it also looked at the other side of the Tsvangirai story on the election drama. Sibongile Mlotshwa had this to say,

‘It is better to read the *dailynews* than reading the foolish news from *The Herald*, where they do not expose the better side of the opposition leader. I would rather spend my dollar on the *dailynews* than buy *The Herald*’

This therefore shows that this reader could be an MDC-T supporter, thus the *dailynews* to some was justified to write the way it did specifically looking at those audiences who are hard core MDC supporters. A negotiated reading was noted from these kinds of readers as they preferred to be fed with *dailynews* propaganda than any other media especially the publicly owned *The Herald* newspaper. This was confirmed by a reader who preferred anonymity and noted,

‘I find solace in reading the *dailynews*, it is not propaganda, because to me propaganda are the lies, we listen to on ZBC or read in *The Herald*, *dailynews* writes the truth’

This is therefore a clear indication that the readers of the *dailynews* viewed the newspaper as an alternative to the publicly owned media. Thus with such readers gaining trust with the paper it was easier for the newspaper to influence the readers to follow the newspapers’ stance on the legitimisation of the politician.

5.2 Discussion

In their quest to legitimise Tsvangirai the *dailynews* did not live out the matter of the country’s largely controversial economy. According to the majority of the audiences of the *dailynews* who participated in the focus group discussions, the newspaper made it seem as if the only solution to the Zimbabwean economy was Tsvangirai’s presence. The paper constantly made reference to the pre- 2008 period in which Zimbabweans were suffering, with no food in the stores and hospitals closed while the basic service delivery was almost closed. When writing these stories the *dailynews* went on to quote the MDC Tsvangirai officials who in turn blame the ZANU PF government of Robert Mugabe as responsible for this melt down in the process giving credibility to their leader for arresting the malaise during his stint in the government of national unity. The *dailynews* further makes use of economic figures that point to a completely dying economy soon after the expiry of the GNU while indicating that the economy will further get worse so long as the question of illegitimacy is

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not resolved in the country. The legitimacy that they talk about is the fact that Mugabe is in Tsvangirai's position. Furthermore the readers of the *dailynews* referred to the stories in which the *dailynews* wrote about the so called dying economy. In these stories ZANU PF was presented as clueless, with headlines like 'Where are we going with these men?' the *dailynews* claimed that Mugabe was recycling the so called deadwood who could not rebuild the country's economy. In turn they said Tsvangirai's ministers were the only ones who could save the dying economy. From the way this newspaper covered the opposition leader one can note that the press are an ideological sight of struggle as noted by Mhiripiri (2010). The *dailynews* played the role of fighting for MDC neo-liberal ideologies whilst being against the ZANU PF post colonial and Look East policies. The *dailynews* contest reference to discourses of human rights, rule of law and democracy was a clear indication that they wanted Tsvangirai back in power as they mentioned him as the 'face of the revolution'. The fact that all members of the MDC who ever tried and 'transgress against discourse' in Foucauldian terms, by questioning Tsvangirai's ability were demonised by the *dailynews* clearly demonstrates how they gave him legitimacy. In fact it is those politicians who blamed Tsvangirai that found themselves in 'political oblivion' as the *dailynews* tended to ignore their cause as they propped by Tsvangirai's image. For the audiences the *dailynews* wanted to make it a point that very soon they would be hope and Zimbabweans would be 'free' because Tsvangirai had learnt from the past mistakes.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter the researcher, highlighted the findings that I got from the focus group discussions and the interviews conducted. The findings generally highlighted that the audiences felt the newspaper supported the opposition leader. However it must be noted that even though the audiences knew about the legitimisation of Tsvangirai they did not take the texts homogenously. Some of the audiences felt it was justified for the *dailynews* to report the way it did, arguing that the paper became an alternative voice for the often suppressed opposition political discourse. Some of the readers said there was need for the newspaper not to overly support a certain candidate as this exposes it as biased, hence losing the paper credibility as has been the case with the publicly owned *The Herald* newspaper and other newspapers. The next chapter shall give the recommendations to the *dailynews* and then give concluding remarks for the research.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings of the research as well the methods used to conduct this research. I make recommendations to the *dailynews* as well as areas for further research.

6.1 Concluding Remarks

This study was carried out to establish how the *dailynews* portrayed the opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai in the period after the 31 July 2013 elections. The period after 2013 was characterised by uncertainty as Robert Mugabe had defeated Tsvangirai who was the favourite to win these much awaited 2013 elections, after his controversial failure to take over power after the March 2008 Presidential elections. The study sought to find out how the audiences of the *dailynews* responded to the framing of Tsvangirai. Literature from other scholars that focused on the portrayal of politicians in Zimbabwe and the world over was reviewed. It was found out that while studies have been carried out about framing of political parties, the study on audience perceptions on the newspaper's coverage is still at its infancy, hence the study sought to find out how the audiences felt about how the politician had been framed by the newspaper after 31 July 2013 elections. While scholars had focused on the framing of the ruling party ZANU PF, this study looked at the framing of an opposition politician who had lost elections; hence it was unique in seeking to find out how the *dailynews* gave a 'Lazarus' moment to a candidate who had dismally lost elections and audience reaction to this. It was a period after a GNU which had consisted of three political parties of different ideologies ZANU PF, MDC and MDC-T.

The theories used for this study include the representation theory, agenda setting theory and political economy. The theories were used so that the study would determine the factors which led to the newspapers' coverage of the loss of Morgan Tsvangirai in the polls. The study acknowledged that audiences views of the newspapers' representation of Tsvangirai are not homogeneous but shaped and influenced by different levels of audience's cultural and social backgrounds. Qualitative research was used to conduct the study since I was interested in establishing meanings of *dailynews*' coverage of the MDC leader's loss. Archival research was used to get the material that was used for analysis. Focus group discussions were then conducted with readers of the newspaper to find out how they felt about the reasons behind

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the publication of *dailynews*. Interviews were also conducted to come up with the relevant information for the research. Critical discourse analysis was then used to analyse the data which was presented thematically.

For this study it was established that even though it was a period after the loss of the MDC, the *dailynews* remained in support of Tsvangirai and tried by all means to provide a Lazarous moment to the politician who had lost power. This was accepted by some audiences as normal hence the researcher could safely say the newspaper legitimised the politician. Other audiences however noted that they were annoyed by the *dailynews* as it became overly partisan. The research further established that some audiences found the way the *dailynews* reported about Tsvangirai refreshing since for them it provided an alternative to the long standing ZANU PF media dominance. The research also established that the *dailynews* was using words, phrases and images that legitimised Tsvangirai's status and in turn it become the politician's source of revival. However some audiences suggested that it should be objective in its analysis so that it does not lose credibility.

6.3 Recommendations

The research found out through interviews and focus group discussions that the private media in Zimbabwe remains largely polarised along political lines, I recommend that there is need for consideration of the watchdog role of the media. The media should religiously follow their role of keeping their audiences informed so that they make informed choices. If Zimbabweans are to be able to make informed political choices I recommend that the media try to give balanced and objective stories about the activities of political parties. While it may be chimerical to think of a media that are totally objective in Zimbabwe the media have tended to openly mirror ideologies of political parties either ZANU PF or MDC-T. The media should not aim for objective reporting not only before elections but also after elections. They must thrive to articulate issues and policies rather than focusing on propping up images of individual political leaders. While the *dailynews* play a pivotal role of keeping the government at its toes, they should not do so by misinforming the public on their preferred candidates. The *dailynews* needs to inform the public in such a way that they know the weaknesses of the opposition candidates and not only focus on his strengths. The newspaper also needs to avoid the tendency of being partisan when reporting political parties but needs to question each party's leaders and what it is offering to the voters.

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I would also recommend that the *dailynews* should not provide their opinions or the opinions of analysts as news. This kind of reporting exposes them as a biased newspaper that seeks to further an agenda of supporting politicians. Also the *dailynews* should try by all means to interview ordinary people in their political stories as they do with other stories. This will help them spread the public opinion not the opinions of the elites and those who are out of touch with reality. Lastly the *dailynews* should desist from the tendency of bringing MDC T aligned analysts and instead bring credible analysts for them to provide credible, objective and unbiased news. Even though the newspaper is an alternative to the publicly owned media, they should do so by providing the voices of all political parties to create an informed society.

6.4 Suggestions for further study

There is potential to look at the study of audiences who use the new media particularly *Facebook*, *Twitter* and *WhatsApp*. While this study looked at the readers of the *dailynews* in the traditional media there is still a gap in studying how audiences in the cyberspace respond to such coverage of politicians. It would be interesting to find out how readers interpreted the texts differently online than they did from the traditional media. Further studies can also be carried out to find out if the public opinion of the general masses is changed by reading the newspaper and if that has impact on the opposition politician's fortunes in the electoral ballot.

6.5 Summary

This chapter concluded the research giving a summary of what was found out during the study. It also summarised the methods that were used to carry out the research. It further gave recommendations to the *dailynews* owners and controllers as well as recommendations for further study.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide with readers of the *dailynews*

My name is Mlondolozu Ndlovu a level 4.2 student studying towards attaining a BSC Media and Society Studies (HONS) Degree at Midlands State University (MSU). I am conducting a research as partial fulfilment of the requirements of my Degree programme. The research is titled **The press legitimisation of Politicians: The *dailynews* and Morgan Tsvangirai post 31 July 2013, elections period.** May you kindly assist me by responding to the questions below. Information provided for this research shall be treated with great confidentiality and shall be used only for academic purposes.

Please kindly respond to the following interview questions

- 1 What are your views on the *dailynews* coverage of Morgan Tsvangirai after his loss to Robert Mugabe in the 2013 elections?

- 2 Do you think the *dailynews* fairly and objectively covered Tsvangirai's loss?

- 3 Do you think there was any political bias in the *dailynews* coverage of Morgan Tsvangirai?

- 4 Do you think the reasons suggested by the *dailynews* such as ZANU PF rigging the elections as the responsible for Tsvangirai's loss can be justified?

- 5 What do you think contributed to the *dailynews* covering Morgan Tsvangirai the way it did?

- 6 Would you trust the *dailynews* as a credible source of news considering their coverage of Tsvangirai during the period after the elections?

- 7 Was the *dailynews* effective in covering the loss of Morgan Tsvangirai?

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8 From the *dailynews* coverage of Morgan Tsvangirai can you say the Press legitimises politicians who have lost elections?

Appendix 2: Focus Group Discussions Guide for readers of the *dailynews*

My name is Mlondolozu Ndlovu a level 4.2 student studying towards attaining a BSC Media and Society Studies (HONS) Degree at Midlands State University (MSU). I am conducting a research as partial fulfilment of the requirements of my Degree programme. The title of the research is; **The press legitimisation of Politicians: The *dailynews* and Morgan Tsvangirai post 31 July 2013, elections period.** May you kindly assist me by participating in a Focus group discussion that I am conducting on the audience views of the *dailynews* portrayal of Tsvangirai during the period between 1 August 2013 to 31 December 2014. Your participation in this FGD shall be very help to ensuring the success for my studies. The information provided for this research shall be treated with great confidentiality and shall be used only for academic purposes.

The Focus Group Discussion is as follows:

1. The objective will be to understand how the audiences of the *dailynews* articles respond to the messages on the portrayal of Morgan Tsvangirai.
2. The discussion shall be broken down into following topics: a) *dailynews* and the reportage on Morgan Tsvangirai after announcement of the election results b) the *dailynews* and the portrayal of Tsvangirai after the break away c) *dailynews* and the coverage of Morgan Tsvangirai in the run up to the MDC T Congress.

Questions for the Focus Group Discussion.

- 1 What do you understand from the *dailynews* coverage of the 2013 elections results?
- 2 Was the *dailynews* biased towards Morgan Tsvangirai or not in their coverage of this event?

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3 Do you think the *dailynews* should have portrayed the election victory differently than it did?

4 Do you find the reasons brought about by *dailynews* on Tsvangirai's loss relevant or they sought to legitimise him as a politician?

6 Did the *dailynews* provide an unbiased view of Moran Tsvangirai during the MDC T split?

7 Did the *dailynews* provide an objective view on Morgan Tsvangirai and the leadership renewal within the MDC T?

8 How did the *dailynews* favour Tsvangirai over the splinter faction led by Tendai Biti?

9 What are your personal feelings over the *dailynews* coverage of Tsvangirai handling of the MDC T split?

10 What's your view on the *dailynews* coverage of the run up to the MDC T congress?

11 Did the *dailynews* not favour Tsvangirai to win the elections at the party's congress?

12 Did the *dailynews* fairly cover other candidates who participated at the congress?

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