

*Kingmakers and/or Factionalists? Framing of ZANU PF Youths in The Herald and NewsDay.*

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Kingmakers and/or Factionalists? Framing of ZANU PF Youths in The Herald and NewsDay.

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

This research seeks to find out how *The Herald and NewsDay* frame ZANU PF youths in the context of their daily reportage and news content, however some scholars who previously studied this interrelated area like Terence Ranger (2005) asserts that in post-independence Zimbabwe there is now what we call patriotic journalism basing on Zimbabwean print media reportage both in the private and public media sector.

The researcher will also look at how *The Herald and NewsDay* have played a major role in adding pressure on the ZANU PF government through framing of the youths. In this study however, the researcher will also look at how Mugabe survive on power for a long period of time depending on the effect of youths as a strong party organ. The party youths coming up with, ZANU PF Youth Interface Rallies in a way to strengthen the party and by inviting Mugabe as way to preserve his position. ZANU PF party is also currently making use of repackaging of history as Terence Ranger (2005) argues, and its use and distortion of legitimate grievances contributed to patriotic blackness whereby Mugabe is touring countrywide on youth interface rallies forwarding his ideology.

ZANU PF is currently maintaining its grip on youths to push its mandate, this can be reviewed by the One Million March which was attended by thousands of Zimbabweans marching through the capital Harare in support of President Robert Mugabe, but their number fell short of the ruling party's goal of attracting a million people. Demonstrators mostly youths attended the event from all over Zimbabwe for the march, organized by the Zanu-PF's youth wing in 2016.

Moyo (2005) argues that, apart from these government controlled media, the Zimbabwean media scene also boasts many independent newspapers, which included *The Financial Gazette, The Zimbabwe Independent, The Standard, The Mirror* which has now transformed into *The Daily Mirror and The Sunday Mirror* and a number of monthly magazines. Of these, *The Zimbabwe Independent, The Standard* and *The Financial*

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*Gazette* have been the most outspoken critics of the Mugabe government, exposing its extremes and providing sharp political observation.

This research seeks to find out how ZANU PF made use of *The Herald* to perpetuate their ideology and rewriting of historiography. Post 2000, drawing from its important role in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle and facing strong political opposition for the first time, ZANU-PF began to repackage and flourish the country's liberation past history. ZANU-PF relied heavily on people like Tafataona Mahoso, the late Vimbai Chivaura, and currently youths among other figures for the production of this recalling chronicle, called patriotic history in the media. Patriotic history proclaims ZANU-PF alpha and omega of Zimbabwe's past, present and future. (Ranger 2005)

## **1.2 Background of study**

Framing of ZANU PF in *The Herald and Newsday* in the previous studies established that there was no break from the past in terms of the pro-ZANU PF and anti-ZANU-PF discourse in media framing of the ZANU-PF and Mugabe being the key product of the party (Chibwe 2017). Waldahl (2004) also asserts that Mugabe and ZANU PF were now in full control of the state apparatus and with the loyal support of the media they also controlled the processes of public opinion formation in the country.

Framing of the ZANU-PF youths are being reviewed in *The Herald and Newsday* whereby youths in ZANU-PF are being represented as active partners in politics keeping it live and visible by *The Herald* whereas in the *Newsday* they are being represented as thugs, nuisance and whenever there is a case of violence, they will be blamed mostly. In the previous studies the state media's pro-ZANU -PF and anti-opposition stance and the private press's anti-ZANU -PF and pro-MDC stance are well documented Chibwe (2016)

Debates in Zimbabwe give the impression that mass media are central to the country's democratization. Focusing on two seemingly unrelated dailies *The Herald and Newsday* but defining framing events in Zimbabwe's political life. A comparative analysis of *Newsday* and *The Herald* was carried out to ascertain how the two newspapers are

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framing the ZANU-PF youths and to judge the extent to which they can be said to be framing the youths. *The Herald* is pro-Mugabe, while *Newsday* is anti-Mugabe.

*The Herald* is one of two daily publications by Zimpapers, a publicly owned but state controlled publisher. *Newsday* is a daily publication belonging to Alpha Media Holdings, majority owned by Trevor Ncube. As noted by Chibwe and Nwafor (2012) the state media which include *The Herald* are criticized for being pro-ZANU PF while the private media support MDC T. Furthermore, there is a perception that *Newsday* supports the Welshman Ncube led MDC although Trevor Ncube himself rebutted those allegations during a public lecture at Midlands State University in 2011. Trevor Ncube and Welshman Ncube are both from Matabeleland and a regional solidarity cannot be ruled out for the perceived *Newsday* pro MDC N reportage.

This study investigates the frames being used by *The Herald and NewsDay* when covering ZANU PF youths.

### **1.3 Problem Statement**

The thrust of my study is to investigate the various ways in which ZANU PF youths are being framed and by *The Herald and Newsday*. The media are regarded as watchdog of society and therefore they hold to account those who are in positions of influence for the good of society, Ranger (2005). The watchdog role calls for fair representation of all groups in society guided by African Ethics among other media ethics. Dye et al (2007) asserts that the media are players in the arena of politics, which means that they do not cover power struggles within a society, but they mostly involved and contributing a stance in participating in those struggles, hence this study will investigate how these frames are being employed in *The Herald and NewsDay*.

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

- Identify the frames used by *Newsday* and *The Herald* in reporting ZANU PF youths.
- To investigate the discourses promoted by the framing employed by the two newspapers *Newsday* and *The Herald*.
- Establish the discourses promoted by the framing employed by the two newspapers

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

- How did *The Herald and Newsday* frame ZANU PF Youths
- What discourses emerged from *The Herald's* framing of the ZANU PF Youths.
- What discourses emerged from *Newsday's* framing of the ZANU PF Youths.

#### **1.6 Significance of research**

The “role of the media is to entertain, inform and educate the audiences and readers. It is against this background that the research is significant as it intends to ascertain the reasons behind the *NewsDay and The Herald's* framing of ZANU PF Youths”. “Moreover, the study is worthy carrying out to assess how diction, semiotics and salience or the wide range of discourses are used in *The Herald and Newsday's* reportage whenever issues related the framing employed by the reporters of both newspapers”. The research will focus on the framing of ZANU PF youths in *The Herald and Newsday*. “The study is important as the issue of media and politics is further analyzed to note how newspapers cover on the issue of framing political parties”.

#### **1.7 Assumptions**

“The media no longer perform their social responsibility role of informing educating and entertaining impartial of any outside influences” “ The researcher notes that the media now tend to take sides when reporting political stories and media are a powerful tool in swaying public opinion”.

## **1.8 Delimitations**

The study will look at the framing of ZANU PF Youths in *The Herald and Newsday*. It examines the discourses around the Zanu PF youths in the two newspapers specifically from the period of June 2017 to October 2017 when the interface rallies were taking place.

## **1.10 Structure of the study**

**The research consists of six chapters which are:**

Chapter One: Introduction, background of the study, research objectives, and research questions.

Chapter Two: Literature review and theoretical framework which will be guiding the research.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Chapter Four: Organisational Analysis of *The Herald and NewsDay*

Chapter Five: Data Presentation and analysis of findings.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations.

## **1.11 Conclusion**

“This chapter has provided introductory information about the research”. “In this chapter also, the researcher highlighted the background and significance of the study which was considered very vital as it brought out the need to carry out the study”. “However, objectives of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study, assumptions, and limitations of the study and definition of employed terms were also presented”. “The chapter introduced the research problem and highlighted the background of the study and focused on the importance of carrying out a study framing of the ZANU PF youths in *The Herald and NewsDay* which is the basis of the study”.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the researcher has placed study within the context of related scholarly work. It also includes theories on which this study is premised. A literature review is a discussion of all the published work in a subject related area. While it can be a summary of sources on a certain subject, more often, it takes a critical, evaluative approach, showing the relationship between the various writings and how they relate to your own work. Literature review describes the history of the topic and key literature sources highlighting major issues and refining the focus of the research in a way that can ultimately lead to one or more research question (Gray 2009). McKinney (2008) asserts that, literature review summarizes, interprets, and critically evaluates existing literature or published material to establish current knowledge of a subject. The purpose for doing so relates to ongoing research to develop that knowledge the literature review may resolve a controversy, establish the need for additional research, or define a topic of inquiry respectively. As noted by Levy and Ellis (2006) a literature review should clearly demonstrate that new knowledge will be added to what already exists or extends what is already known in the field of that study.

### **2.2 State controlled media is Zimbabwe patriotic history, patriotism and the narrative of land.**

Mano (2005) argues that the news media work to reproduce and reinforce the existing ideological or value system in each society at a given time. Interests of political elites, owners, and advertisers are considered in the production of news (Herman and Chomsky 1988, McChesney 2000). The influential are aware that the news media provide the stuff from which we build our sense of self identity, our insights of the world, social ties with others (Winseck and Jin 2011:12). Mugabe and ZANU (PF) were now in full control of the state apparatus and with the loyal support of the media, they also controlled the processes of public opinion formation in the country.

However scholarly ground will be covered in cross-examining the central narrative of Zimbabwe's past widely known as 'patriotic history' and how it has been relentlessly spread through the state-controlled media which *The Herald* mostly among other media. Patriotic history, a term coined by Ranger (2004), has been a useful analytic framework through which many scholars have analyzed varying aspects of contemporary Zimbabwe including its media, its politics, as well as the concept of nationalism. Post 2013, ZANU PF's political agenda has involved in orienting young Zimbabweans with a version of history in a bid to shape their past especially in *The Herald* in a way to spread their political ideologies, a privilege which the oppositional parties in Zimbabwe does not happen to enjoy.

When ZANU PF sees its grip on the political landscape challenged by the MDC, starting from around the year 2000, the ZANU PF government introduced what Ranger (2005) calls patriotic journalism. Patriotic journalism divides Zimbabweans into patriots and traitors (Ranger 2005). State controlled media including *The Herald* have been mobilized to present a solid history that emphasizes on ZANU PF's role in the liberation struggle. While rebuking ZANU PF antagonists as agents of the British who seek to reverse history and take the country back into the control of the British (Ranger 2004, Waldahl 2005). In that case the Newsday will be viewing the party cadres as nagging and nuisance negatively portraying the youths and taking sides on the current burning factionalism in the party.

Ranger (2005) argues that patriotic journalism is a revival or a variation of the rhetoric of nationalist division in the 1960s. According to Ranger (2005) one of the earliest displays of patriotic journalism was when a ZANU broadsheet chastised ZAPU cadres at Gonakudzingwa restriction area for having bought by supplies from white liberals. The Broadsheet castigates ZAPU for being 'recanting, revisionist, recoiling and infested with white settlers a multi-racial mixed grill (Ranger 2005). Such sell-out tendencies are contrasted with ZANU PF's love for Zimbabwe demonstrated by an oath that they will take an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. However, they go on to say to say that they

swear to avenge bitterly, unceasingly and mercilessly on the enemy as well as to die for Zimbabwe (Ranger 2005).

Ranger (2005) asserts that patriotic journalism prevents any self-reflection on the part of the system because condemnation of any kind will be classified as traitorous and capitalist. Johnson cited by Ranger (2005) defined patriotism as the latter refuge of a rogue. However, viewed this way patriotism becomes some last line of defense for regimes whose affluences appear to be diminishing in the look of prevalent opposition. During the 2002 elections, the state controlled media framed the opposition MDC party as the organizers of the violence that shook the pre-election period (Chuma 2006). However, other reports at the time seemed to show that ZANU PF performed violence more than the MDC (Makumbe 2002). Media coverage seemed to be polarized due to framing of the youths in *The Herald and Newsday* basing on the way the two dailies covers youths events most noticeably current nationwide ZANU PF Youth Interface rallies.

Muzondidya (2010) notes that through patriotic history, ZANU PF framed the land issue as a native settler question and positioned the discourse of nativism to help it to connect with population, especially the older generations with fresh memories of colonialism. Frames matter, according to Polletta (2006) because, asserts that effective frames concur with available evidence, with people's experiences and with familiar stories, values and belief systems. (Gamson 1988 as cited by Polletta 2006). Evidently, the framing of the land issue was crucial because according to Mlambo (2010) ZANU PF's charge that the land has been lost and needs to be revisited clearly reverberated with some segments of the Zimbabwean population. Onslow (2011) concurs with this assertion and argues that this construction of the history of land tapped into existing grievances and beliefs.

Additionally, this framing of ZANU PF party as a sole winner of the independence and sovereignty of Zimbabwe, was resonated with strong feelings about colonialism and insights of Western hypocrisy about human rights. Furthermore, inequality of land ownership was to the story, land hunger and dispossession was plain for all to see which

strengthened the credibility of the narrative (Onslow, 2011). Furthermore, patriotic history mostly targeted at the young youths, with reference to the 2004 Afro barometer survey of political opinion in Zimbabwe, the opposition party MDC discovered to be more attractive to the younger population as compared to ZANU PF (Bratton et al 2004)

Although scholars have taken note of the fact that patriotic history remained specifically targeted at the youth, there has not been any significant attempt at establishing how effective these strategies at framing the youth's collective memory have been. What follows is an investigation into how Zimbabwe's post-independent generation has appropriated, negotiated, rejected or embraced the patriotic version of history which was propagated through state-owned media to influence their memory with historical events that many of them were young to recall. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011), he asserts that teachings of patriotic history were also mobilized to chip the people of Zimbabwe into patriots, war veterans, puppets, traitors, sellouts, born-frees and enemies of the nation.

### **2.3 The media indoctrination of the youth**

ZANU PF party has used the state-owned media to re-construct and re-invent Zimbabwean national identity as part of a strategy in the contestation, usurpation, and closure of narrative space (Muchemwa (2010). This re-construction and re-invention of Zimbabwean identity was carried out through patriotic history. Which was equally variously propagated in courses taught by war veterans, in collections of Mugabe's speeches in textbooks in schools, on state television and radio. However, in the writings of Mahoso and other, ZANU PF members mobilized the media in a way to forcibly indoctrinate liberation struggle history on the nation in general and the youth in particular in an effort to create what it has termed a patriotic citizenry, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009). This forcible inculcation was undertaken through things like advertisements, jingles and songs all centered on land and the liberation war that were played on both radio and television, non-stop Chiumbu (2004).

On the premise that past memory is best located not in the minds of individuals, but in the resources, they share (Irwin-Zarecka 1994), it can be argued that the past memory of young Zimbabweans was framed by a shared exposure to ZANU PF's historical account of the past as it was continually transmitted through the state-owned media. A point that Mazango (2005) makes when he argues that, ownership and control of the largest share of the media market has allowed the government to dominate spaces of public communication and to control an important instrument.

ZANU PF has used the public media especially *The Herald* to mastermind a complex narrative of patriotic and past memory to resurrect the national mood". "It introduced stringent laws that impinge on democracy and freedom of expression, and directed the state owned newspaper to be pro-ZANU PF to serve government propaganda objectives more patriotically (Ranger 2004; Chiumbu 2004; Mazango 2005)". "In reality the state media have been seized and turned into 'ZANU PF' party media, Chiumbu (2004) considering that past memory can be depicted as ideas, images, feelings about the past and recalls that go beyond the individual by and for the collective (Irwin- Zarecka 1994; Zelizer 1995)". "However the researcher is going to find out what is it ,worth noting what kind of ideas, images and feelings have been transmitted to Zimbabwe's post-liberation generation through the state-owned media as well as private media".

#### **2.4 Privately owned media and adversarial journalism in Zimbabwe**

"Zimbabwe's daily newspaper market was dominated by Zimpapers publications, *The Herald and Chronicle* from independence until 1992 (Moyo 2005)". "Therefore, the extent to which private media have given voice to the opposition has been questioned, particularly by Waldahl (2005), who argues that while the private media have criticised the ruling ZANU PF party and its policies, they have not particularly been a voice for the opposition as they fear losing credibility". "According to Ndlela (2005) the private media have tended to focus too much on the negatives that they do not acknowledge anything positive by the ZANU PF government this can be supported by some of the *Newsday* articles when they mostly focus on violence exploded during the event" "Day after the burial of ZANU PF cadre Shuvai Mahofa there was a story in the *Newsday* headlined

*'Fuctionalism rocks Mahofa's funeral proceedings'*. "They display a behavior of the distressed which says nothing can ever come out of this wretched government (Mano 2005)". "Ndlela (2005) further notes that the private media benefit from every event and politicise everything so that they can gain political ground". Such kind of attitude places the private media as political actors (Bartels 1996)".

"At the same time Moyo (2005) argues that the independent press has played the role of the opposition, first by strongly opposing the one party state during the late 80s and early 90s, and secondly, by acting as the voice of the voiceless throughout the 90s". "Moyo in using the term independent in reference to private media is however problematic considering, as highlighted by Chuma (2005) that private press in the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence was linked to white capital, therefore it cannot be observed as independent since it endeavored to advance the concerns and fears of the white community who were still coming to terms with the new political indulgence". "However, this study is placed in a context of framing of ZANU PF Youths and therefore seeks to investigate what role the private media specifically *Newsday* assumed to have a different view on ZANU PF youths basing on the way the reporters cover the events".

"Saunders cited in Chuma (2005) argues that in the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence although the government had an argumentative relationship with the private press, the situation was somehow mitigated by government's professed commitment to media freedom". "When *Daily News* was established in 1999, Moyo (2005) asserts that it assumed the role of the opposition press, exposing corruption and holding the government accountable to its actions". "This view is also held by Chuma (2005) who argues that in the absence of a formidable opposition, the private press assumed by default, the role normally played by the opposition". "*DailyNews* adversarial reporting attracted the rage of government Article 19 of MISA Zimbabwe in 2004". "Furthermore, Moyo (2005) asserts that it is arguable that *Daily News* played a midwife role to the birth of the MDC. *DailyNews* also played a role in the defeat of the government sponsored draft constitution in the 2000 constitutional referendum (Moyo 2005)".

“Chari (2010) argues that the press in Zimbabwe was divided along political affiliation after the formation of the MDC in 1999 with the state controlled press unreservedly in support of ZANU PF while the private press adopted a hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil approach regarding the MDC”. “While opposition parties and civil society are systematically denied access to state controlled media (Moyo 2007) the private media provide the opposition the much-needed space while framing ZANU PF as an incompetent party (Chuma 2010) that is leading the country to economic ruin”. “Waldahl (2005:64) notes that in the 2000 elections the private media portrayed ZANU PF as economically reckless, with emphasis on farm invasions consequences for further agricultural development, for banks with large outstanding loans to farmers and for the balance of trade”. “With ZANU PF and the two MDCs in government it is necessary to investigate whether *NewsDay* would continue to unreservedly support the opposition in the same mood as that noted by these scholars”.

“ Mazango (2005) argues that the state can enter the media market to shape the kind of messages and content that has a bearing on political and social life”. “In such a scenario the media become both a crucial setting and a tool of power struggle, with the boundaries of freedom of expression coming under stress as vulnerable governments attempt to influence public opinion in their favour (Mazango 2005)”. “In Zimbabwe Mazango (2005) notes that state controlled media constantly attack private media as instruments of neo-colonialism and Western imperialism”. “This is because the private media carry reports that portray ZANU PF as an enemy of democracy and human rights (Mazango 2005)”. “Thus, in the eyes of the state controlled media and government officials, the private media are permanent adversaries of the ZANU PF government”. “This study seeks to establish if *Newsday* in its coverage of the proposed opposition coalition continued with the attitude of the aggrieved”.

“In a survey of journalists, Mano (2005) found out that many respondents felt that journalists from the private media cannot be expected to write stories that paint ZANU PF in good light”. “The private media seem to have taken a permanent stance as

adversaries of the government (Ndlela 2005)”. “The ZANU PF government has sometimes pointed to foreign interference in explaining its adversarial relationship with the private media”. “As pointed out by Mano (2005) the government post 2000, feeling cornered, accused private and foreign media of going on a campaign to tarnish its image both locally and abroad”. “Mano (2005) acknowledges that there is some truth to the accusations since some local journalists were working for foreign media outlets, some of which have traditionally employed hostile reporting towards Africa”. “However, this view of the government is always interpreted by the private media as well as international media as the type of a government that has a lot to hide and cannot tolerate criticism and scrutiny”.

## **2.5 The use of alternative forms of communication by ZANU PF during election campaigns**

“African political parties, mostly those who were at the fore front of the liberation struggle make use of alternative forms of communication for them to win elections in rural areas and some other peripheries where people have a limited access to the mass media which is used during political campaigns”. “However, Chibwe and Mushuku (2013) in an unpublished document asserts that the assumption that the population in the rural areas lacks in terms of access to information leaves them vulnerable to some political parties which turns to be a disadvantage because they will be left to the machinations of incumbent parties”. “This therefore shows that lack of mass media exposure makes them vulnerable to political parties who would take advantage to spread their ideologies”. “Chibwe and Mushuku (2013) asserts that ZANU PF’s dominance in the rural areas and in Zimbabwean politics may be better understood by focusing more on its use of small media which includes pamphlets, rallies, branded t-shirts, bandanas, flags, cloths, clothes, organizational grassroots structures and communication than its control of the public media or its alleged use of stringent laws to control political activity in the country”. “This then shows that the control that ZANU PF has on the publicly owned media is not the only tool that they use to maintain its dominance particularly during the road to 2018 harmonised elections where by the party suddenly put the youths at the forefront to forward their ideology through the Youths Interface Rallies”.

“However, in another study conducted by Mugari (2008) he asserts that, in Zimbabwe as in many countries the way the rural constituency votes determine the political destiny of the whole nation as it constitutes over 70 percent of the total population”. “Therefore, this shows that ZANU PF to win elections in Zimbabwe it must use the alternative forms of communications which involves even face to face interaction with the ordinary public audience like what it is currently conducting through Youth Rallies nationwide”. “Mugari (2008) also points out the importance of the rural populace during elections as it constitutes much the Zimbabwean population which is therefore used by the ZANU PF party to maintain its ideology in the country’s politics”. “This also shows the failure of the opposition parties, particularly MDC which has been in the politics game for the past 17 years, to come to terms with the need to utilize the rural population as a mechanism to win elections in the country”.

## **2.6 Media coverage and elections**

“The media plays a crucial role during elections as they inform the public about the activities of the participating candidates”. “Louw (1999), Zaller (1999) and Curran (2000) assert that the media educate voters about the contesting political parties and candidates during elections and the media sand between politicians and their constituents”. “Zaller (1999) suggest that media politics refer to a system of politics in which individual politicians seek to gain office and to conduct politics while in office through communication which reaches citizens through the mass media”. “However, post 2013 seems a swift turn of events in Zimbabwe as the politicians are now going to the public audience forwarding their ideologies to safeguard their positions”.

## **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

“The study is going to be informed by a collection of theories among them public sphere theory, framing theory, and agenda setting theory”. “Public Sphere by Jurgen Habermas, Habermas has stated that newspapers, magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere”. “In relation to the study the concept of Public sphere is fundamental in the sense that framing which is taking place in Zimbabwean media is developing from

the public sphere”. “Bak (2005) states that, the function of the theoretical framework is therefore to show where your study fits in the broad debates that have gone before”.

### **2.3.1 Framing**

“Framing theory states that by selecting what to include and what to exclude from a story, the media limits or defines the story’s meaning, thereby shaping people’s interpretation of that story”. “There are various ways in which framing takes place”. “Fairclough (1995) states that framing draws attention to how surrounding features of reporting discourse can influence the way in which represented discourse is interpreted”. “Gitlin (1980) defines frames as principle of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit themes about what exists, what happens and what matter”. “Gitlin (1980) asserts that reality is framed to negotiate it manage it and comprehend it”.

“Considering the foregoing assessment of ZANU PF’s extensive dominance over Zimbabwean politics, media and its successful repackaging of history, it is plausible that it exerted considerable influence over the framing of the youths”. “The ideas of Polletta (2006) relating to the work of framing provide a basis to begin examining patriotic history as a narrative frame since the term ‘frames’ reminds us that persuasion works in part by demarcating and punctuating important aspects of reality, that is, by making events and circumstances intelligible as much as by advancing a convincing point of view (2006:188)”. “However, by emphasizing certain aspects of history and omitting other aspects, patriotic history created a frame and provided a specific context through which young Zimbabweans specifically Zanu PF youths were required to collectively remember the past”.

“Chuma (2005) states that framing refers to the way in which news media resort to interpretive structures to set particular events within their context”. “In light of the foregoing assessment of ZANU PF’s extensive dominance over Zimbabwean politics, media and its successful repackaging of history, it is plausible that it exerted considerable influence over the framing of the youths mostly in *The Herald*”. “Scheufele (1997) states that there are different types of framing which include human interest, conflict, morality,

economic consequences and responsibility”. “Human interest brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue in a way that people relate to it”. “For example, ZANU PF make use public media specifically *The Herald* to forward their interest whilst *Newsday* standing on the other way with its own discourses”.

“Framing is about variations in the mode of presentation of a given stimuli, rather than manipulations of the informational or persuasive nature of messages (Scheufele and Iyengar 2011)”. “This becomes important this study because it is about one event, that is, the framing of the ZANU PF Youths, which seems to have been packaged differently by two newspapers *The Herald and Newsday*”. “In other words, this study seeks to discover the gold frame, silver frame or any other colour frame that is used by the two newspapers in framing ZANU PF Youths”.

“Entman (1993) asserts that frames have at least four locations in the communication process”. “The locations are the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture”. “All these locations are important in analysing the frames that are employed by the two newspapers in framing ZANU PF Youths. In explaining the four locations, Entman (1993) posits that communicators are guided by schemes that organise their belief systems in deciding what to say”. “The text contains frames evidenced mostly by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements (Entman 1993)”. “The receiver, according to Entman (1993), is guided to make conclusions about a communication, by frames that may or may not reflect the frames in the text”. “The culture can be defined as the empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in a social grouping (Entman 1993)”. “It is therefore possible that an idea highlighted in a text can prove difficult for receivers to notice, interpret or remember because of existing schemata (Entman 1993)”.

### **2.3.2 Agenda setting theory**

“The media seen by featuring some issues more prominently, some issues less prominently while other issues are not covered at all gives us a sense of what issues are important and their salience”. “The news media by and large do not set out to persuade but to inform and educate”. “McCombs and Shaw (1972) asserts that the idea behind agenda setting is that communication researchers test the agenda setting impact by obtaining measures of the media, we undertake a content analysis of a news story and assess how much coverage the issue received after the two newspapers publications distribution”. “However to determine the agenda setting of the media ,we undertake the content analysis of a news story and assess how coverage the issue received for example the incident when Emmerson Mngangagwa was poisoned in Gwanda during interface youth rallies, looking at the way the two newspapers covered the story one will see a total difference when *The Herald* reported it as just a normal condition in contrast with *Newsday* whereby they clearly indicated that he was poisoned in the ice cream being supplied by Gushungo holdings”. “However, to test the relative strength of the public and media agendas on each other, communication researchers rely on the cross-legged correlation”. “In relation to the study, it can be highlighted that the media messages distributed to the people through a variety of channels aims to set them on the path of what to think about”.

“According to Baran (2002) the agenda setting theory argues that the media may not tell us what to think but the media are successful in telling us what to think about”. “McCombs and Shaw (1976) assert that the media can transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda”. “The two scholars further affirm that people judge as important”. “Audiences not only learn about public issues and other matters through the media, but much importance to attach to an issue or topic from the emphasis the media place upon that topic”. “The research therefore recognizes the essence of the media in setting the public agenda on the matter under investigation of framing of ZANU PF Youths in effect popularizing the issue for public debate”.

“However, this theory puts forth the ability of the media to influence the significance of events in the public’s mind”. “The media set the agenda for the audience’s discussion and mental order and organize their world”. “McCombs and Shaw (1976) assert that the agenda setting function of the media causes the correlation between the media and public ordering of priorities”. “The research thus therefore dedicated to establishing the extent to which the media prominence on the way the youths are being framed in *The Herald* and *Newsday* respectively”.

### **2.3.4 Conclusion**

“This chapter highlighted literature of other scholars who walk in the same way of research and identifies the gaps they left out to be filled”. “This chapter scrutinizes the various kinds of studies presented in themes that have been conducted with reference to interrogation of power in the post-colony”. “Theories that inform the study were also looked at to locate the study in a theoretical frame”.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

“This chapter focuses on the research methods such as methodology, sampling techniques and data collection methods as well as data analysis methods, which were used to get data relevant to the study”. “Methodology refers to theoretical analysis of the methods appropriate to a field of study or to the body of methods and principles to a branch of knowledge”. “Haralambos and Holborn (1995) This therefore suggests that methodology helps in the production and analysis of data during a research as a way of assessing and answering the research questions”. “The researcher will use qualitative and quantitative methodology as a way of coming up with well-grounded facts about the framing of ZANU PF Youths in *The Herald and Newsday*”.

### **3.2 Research Approach**

#### **3.2.1 Qualitative Research**

“The research employed the qualitative approach”. “Qualitative research is an approach that aims to relate to understanding aspect of social life and its methods which generate

words for data analysis Quinn (2002: pg3)". "Kothari (2004:pg 3) further posits that qualitative approach is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior". "Joubish et al (2011) argues that qualitative research seeks to gain a deeper understanding of why people say the things they say or do the things they do". "It is at this juncture that my study used qualitative approach to find out how *The Herald and NewsDay* framed the ZANU PF youths". "Qualitative research is conducted through an intense or prolonged contact with a field or life situation, (Punch 2005)". "The researcher will use qualitative methods to get an insight of how *The Herald and Newsday* frame ZANU PF Youths". "This method will allow the researcher to get information about the reasons which made the two dailies to frame youths". "How the state media, *The Herald* specifically portray ZANU PF Youths as well as *NewsDay* in taking sides in Zimbabwean politics".

"Qualitative techniques provide an exchange between comprehensiveness and depth, and between generalizability and targeting to specific sometimes very limited populations".

"But at best, the survey can elicit only a few, often artificial reasons for this gender difference". "On the other hand, separate focus groups a qualitative technique related to a group interview conducted with small groups of men and women students will provide many more clues about gender differences in the choice of science majors, and the extent to which the special science program changed or reinforced attitudes". "The focus group technique is, however, limited in the extent to which findings apply beyond the specific individuals included in the groups".

### **3.2.2 Research Design**

#### **3.2.3 Case Study**

"A case study is defined as an intensive study of a single unit with an aim to generalize across a larger unit Gerring (2004)". "The research also seeks to answer the question why the two newspapers under study deployed certain frames in their reportage of the rift thus, using a case as case study was relevant". "The researcher employed the use of case study, this method enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific

context”. “Case studies in their true essence, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon and detailed contextual analysis”. “This research employed the case study design as the study explored the differences and similarities approaches used by *The Herald and NewsDay* in reporting the frames used by the journalists”.

“Research design outlines the relevant structures which will be a guideline to the research procedure to come up with well-grounded facts about the topic being studied”. “Krippendorf (2004) asserts that, a research design consists of the detailed specification that guide the handling of data and make the research reproducible and critically examinable at a later point in time”. “The researcher used qualitative research to answer the research questions”. “However, qualitative research method used interviews which provided the relevant answers to the questions of the topic”. “This enabled the researcher to get information on the various frames used by the two dailies, *The Herald and NewsDay*”.

### **3.2.4 Target population**

“Research population refers to the people or objects which a researcher studies to get relevant information which is of importance to the research”. “Punch (2005) population refers to the total target group who would be in DuPlooy (2001) asserts that population does not only refer to people but can also be defined as any group or aggregate of individuals, groups, organizations, social interactions and events”. “However, this was the case in the research as the population did not focus entirely on the people who were spearheading the party interest, the public who were asked for their perceptions with regards to how they perceived ZANU PF Youths but the reporters since they are the ones who write the stories”. “David and Sutton (2004:149) asserts that, the population is simply every possible case that could be included in a study. This therefore illustrates the reason or the inclusion of other things in some newspaper articles”.

### **3.2.4 Sampling methods**

“Sampling involves the selection of the population to be studied as a way of utilizing the limited time and resources when carrying out a research”. “Krippendorf (2004) asserts

that sampling is said to be a representative of a population, it also leads to conclusions that are approximately the same as those that one would reach by studying the whole population”. “The researcher used non-probability sampling methods which included purposive, convenience which proved to be more relevant to the study as the researcher selected people and newspaper articles which reveals the frames”. “The non-probability sampling methods enabled the researcher to save time and money”.

### **3.2.5 Purposive sampling**

“The researcher used purposive sampling in selecting people specifically reporters from *The Herald and NewsDay*, and articles that are relevant to the study”. “The size of a universe of possible texts is reduced to a sample containing ideally a manageable number of relevant texts, (Krippendorff 2004)”. “Purposive sampling was used when the researcher selected articles which were published in both two dailies in the framing of ZANU PF youths only”. “David and Sutton (2004) asserts that units in purposive sampling are selected according to the researchers own knowledge and opinion of which ones they think will be appropriate to the topic area. Articles from *the Herald and NewsDay* were selected to analyze this framing”.

### **3.3 Methods of data gathering**

“In qualitative research methods of data collection refers to the ways in which information about the study is going to be compiled”. “Bernard (2002) posits that data collection becomes crucial in any research because it contributes to a better understanding of the theoretical framework”. “Data collection can be categorized in two that is the primary and secondary methods”. “The primary methods constitute of information gathered through interviews, and secondary methods involve data gathered both the primary and secondary methods of data collection”. “Methods of data collection are influenced by the type of research as well as the targeted respondents”. “The methods used are qualitative”.

### **3.3.1 Archival research**

“The research used archival research as a method for data collection because articles from *The Herald and NewsDay* which carried information about the framing of the ZANU PF youths by the reporters were found in old newspapers and on the two newspaper websites and at their libraries”. “Rutman (1984) defines archival research as the collection of information from already published documents and records kept in archives”. “This information is usually used as reference points during researchers or other uses”. “This is a primary research which involves seeking out and extracting evidence from original archival records”. “These records may be held either in institutional archive fountains or the custody of the organisations, *The Herald or NewsDay*, that originally generated or accumulated them or in that of a successor body”. “This research can be contrasted with, secondary research which can be undertaken in a library of an organization or library, it involves identifying and consulting secondary sources relating to the topic of enquiry which is the framing of ZANU PF Youths in this case”.

“However, with other two types of primary research and empirical investigation such as fieldwork and experiment, archival research is generally more composite and time consuming than library and internet research, presenting challenges and identifying them, locating and interpreting relevant documents so the researcher is going to employ the use of library and internet research”. “It is in this case that the researcher could use the already existing news articles that were in *The Herald and NewsDay* as they were the newspapers under study”. “The archival articles from the two newspapers were extracted from the two newspapers web pages, this helped the researcher in accessing stories that reported on the framing of the ZANU PF Youths by the reporters”.

“Beins and McCathy (2012) argued that in archival research you use the existing literature records or information which will work to your advantage in answering your research question”. “With archival research, information can be traced historically as well as using multi-sources to address the research topic basing on the previous news in print newspapers”. “However, in relation to this study archival research played a significant

role in the sense that gave the researcher access to many previous printed and online news which is adequate information from different sources, *The Herald and NewsDay*". "Moreover, archival research also helped the researcher to acquire previous stories up to date, looking at the framing of ZANU PF Youths in the news coverage of the two dailies".

"According to Marshall (2006) when choosing the documents for analysis one must bear in mind the research questions". "As the researcher sought to establish the frames employed by *The Herald and NewsDay*, it follows that the researcher had to use archival research to find out the newspaper articles in which the framing of the youths was to be found like library, online papers as well as *The Herald and NewsDay* circulation department".

"Key words related to the framing of ZANU PF Youths were entered the search sections of the two newspapers to retrieve the relevant articles that were previously published". "This will be relevant to my study because I will be able to trace back the reportage of the ZANU PF Youths in the state media, *The Herald* which mostly seen as the mouthpiece of ZANU PF basing on the way it presents events linked to the party as well as in the *NewsDay* as it also reports events taking sides in the drumming of factionalism in ZANU PF". "Post 2013 can be viewed mostly as the time whereby the youths recognized and started to participate in ZANU PF politics just after the downfall of Joice Mujuru and that's the time when the war veterans started losing trust in ZANU PF and thus caused the party to abandon them valuing the 'energetic' youths to spearhead the party's interests".

### **3.3.2 Interviews**

"An interview is conversation usually between two people where an interviewer seeks to response for a purpose Gillham (2004). Berger (2014) further defines an interview as a conversation between a researcher and an informant". "Chibuwe (2016) further argues that face to face interviews make it easier to discuss topics such as behind the scenes attempts to influence news content". "An interview has an advantage that, the researcher could get information that cannot be gained from observation".

“Matthews and Ross (2010) posits that interviews are one of the major methods used by social researchers thus taking into consideration that this study is under Media studies which is a social science, the researcher opted to employ the use of this as a way of data gathering from respondents”. “An interview is defined as unidirectional conversation involving two people or more people (Matthew and Ross 2010)”. “Hancock et al (2009) stipulates that interview is a two-way conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee with the former asking a wide range of question”. “In simpler terms interviews can be better described as structured dialogue between an interviewer and interviewee with the former leading the conversation”. “A point to note is that there are plethora types of interviews and these include structured, semi-structured, unstructured interviews”. “The researcher used semi structured interviews which are non-standardized since they facilitate the attaining or aggravate in-depth information in the respondents and the information gathered can also be stored and used by someone in near future”.

“Chiyadzwa and Maunganidze (2013) notes that interview is effective in that all information can be gathered or collected in a flexible manner and responses are instant”. “This will then help the researcher to use face to face interviews with many reporters from *The Herald and NewsDay* to get valid information about the framing of ZANU PF youths, from the hosts to avoid wasting time”. “Interviews are also good in such a way that the researcher will end up getting unexpected information on the topic along logical flow and response to the question entertained by the interviewee”. “However, the most bad side of this method is that some respondents might offer responses that were not relevant to the research topic hence making it difficult for the researcher to extract relevant information depending with one’s political affiliation”.

“The researcher manipulated the advancement of issued phone interviews since it is possible for the interviewer and the respondent to communicate (Matthew and Ross,2010)”. “The researcher conducted interviews with the editors and reporters of *The Herald and Newsday*”. “This worked to the advantage of the researcher in that the editors are the ones who regulate and chooses stories which should be published or not, hence

relating to the research to have in-depth information pertaining the coverage of ZANU PF Youths in the two newspapers”. “Another issue which worked to the advantage of the researcher is that it was easy to reach the respondents and flexible as to have face to face with them was not easy as they are busy people”. “However, the problem encountered with the afore mentioned technique is that the respondents choose what to speak out and this will lead to bias of the study, because most people and fear when some address issues linked to political parties”.

### **3.3.3 In-depth interviews**

“In-depth interviews are one type of interviews used in qualitative research as they provide detailed information prior to the study”. “In the study in-depth interviews were used as one of the methods of data collection”. “The interviews were carried out between the researcher and the reporters of both *The Herald and NewsDay*. In-depth interviews can be contacted face to face, on telephone or email Morris(2015)”. “The research used deployed structured interviews in carrying out the study”. “Structured interviews have set of questions and in this case the interviewer is expected to stick to the question set and the order of questions Morris (2015:pg 9) The questions in structured interview were centrally closed as predetermined possible answers to questions were expected”.

## **3.5 Methods of Data Analysis**

Dennis List (2005) defines data analysis as the method for summarizing any form of content by counting various aspects of the content. Livine (1996) states that data analysis is a body of methods that helps to describe facts, detect patterns, develop explanations, and test hypotheses. Content analysis and discourse analysis were used to analyse the data collected.

### **3.5.1 Qualitative Content Analysis**

“Qualitative content analysis has been defined as, “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh and Shannon,2005). “According to Mayring (2002) qualitative content analysis is “an approach of empirical, methodological

controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification". "The study in analyzing the data made use of content analysis as certain words and literature was employed by *The Herald and NewsDay* to deploy certain frames in the articles reported on the framing of the ZANU PF youths".

"Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as a research technique for the objective, systematic and qualitative analysis of the manifest content communication". "The use of documents often entails a specialized analytical approach called content analysis". "The raw materials for content analysis may be any form of communication, usually written materials, textbooks, novels, newspapers, email messages or academic journals". "Historically content analysis was viewed as an objective and neutral way of obtaining a quantitative description of the content of various forms of communication thus counting the mention of specific items was important (Berelson,1952)". "As it has evolved, however, it is viewed more generously as a method for describing and interpreting the artifacts of a society or social group". "However, in real research work the researcher found out that the two approaches are not mutually exclusive and can be used in combination". "Weber (1990) also pointed out that the best content analytic studies use both qualitative and quantitative operations". "However, the researcher intends to use qualitative content analysis because qualitative research techniques are essential for uncovering the extent of the framing of ZANU PF youths".

"One characteristic of qualitative content analysis is that the method, to a great extent focus on the subject and context, and emphasizes differences between and similarities within codes and categories on the reportage of the two dailies, *The Herald and Newsday*". "Moreover, another characteristic is that the method deals with manifest as well as hidden content in a text". "The manifest content, that is what the text says is often presented in categories, while themes are expressions of the hidden content that is what the text is talking about". "It is in this case that content analysis was used to analyse meanings deployed by the two newspapers in the framing of the ZANU PF youths". "The

analysis of the articles helped the researcher to explore and explain how the two newspapers framed the case under study the forces behind this framing”.

### **3.5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis**

“The researcher made use of critical discourse analysis in analyzing the articles extracted from *The Herald and NewsDay* in the reportage of the case under study”. “Critical discourse analysis is concerned with the role of language as a power resource in the articulation of ideology and socio-cultural change Bryman (2012)”. “Djik (2001) asserts that critical discourse analysis focuses on how social power, abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political counters”. “In short critical discourse analysis is concerned with how language as a discourse is used to present power relations in society, in this case the researcher analyzed the kind of diction that was used by the two newspapers in the construction of certain frames in their reportage of the ZANU PF Youths”.

“Discourse itself reflects human experience and at the same time constitutes important parts of that experience, (Punch 2005)”. “This enabled the researcher to understand the hidden meaning”. Dijk (1988) defines critical discourse as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse dominance and inequality are enacted reproduced and resisted by the text and talk in the social and political contexts. “This is used to analyse the discourse used in way the two newspapers write about ZANU-PF youths”. “Critical discourse analysis is therefore interested in the content, organization and function of the text”. “Critical discourse analysis also helped the researcher in analyzing the words which were replied by the people through questionnaires”. “Critical discourse analysis also helped the researcher in analyzing the words which were replied by the people through questionnaires”. “Macdonald (2003) asserts that critical discourse explores the power relations that exists in texts”.

“Language used in a text functions to represent power relations Richardson (2007) , thus in analysing the two newspapers the researcher explored how by language discourse power relations within the two institutions were contested ,this is so because when

framing events newspapers tend to employ the concept of othering others within its framing”. “In the case of the framing of ZANU PF youths in *The Herald and NewsDay*, the two framed the two differently through diction selection employed by the two newspapers, different frames emerged”.

### **3.6 Methods of data presentation**

“In the presentation of data, the researcher used thematic analysis as the researcher analysed the frames deployed by the two newspapers in the framing of the ZANU PF youths, as well as forces behind all the frames”. “In the process of analysing the reportage of the two newspapers relationship with each other and its differences and similarities themes emerged. Braun and Clarke (2006) posits that “thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data”. “The researcher uses thematic presentation of data as it is used in qualitative research”.

“Presenting data in themes helped the researcher to capture the research question as argued by Braun and Clarke (2006) that in thematic analysis they are patterns that need to be followed”. “The critical discourse analysis was used by the researcher thus the other pattern in familiarizing with the data”. “The researcher through archival research could read thoroughly the articles published by *The Herald and NewsDay* pertaining the framing of the ZANU PF Youths hence in the process the researcher familiarized with the data in this case it was the newspaper articles”. “Another phase the researcher used in thematic analysis was the search for a theme within the information being used for data collection”. “The researcher in so doing could note different themes that emerged in the two dailies under by thorough reading how the two newspapers captured certain headlines and words”. “This helped the researcher in coming up with themes in line with the research question. Muir Cochrane (2006:4) argues that, “a theme is a pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of a phenomenon”. “It is at this end that the researcher through the newspaper articles could extract themes that interpreted the research question”.

“Data collected was subjected to explanatory interpretations and thematic analysis and presented qualitatively”. “Priest (2010) asserts that themes are “recurrent and distinctive features of participants” accounts addressing relevant perceptions or experiences which the researcher sees as relevant to the research question”. “Bar graphs and pie charts are used to present data”. “It is vital to note that the presentation of research findings using both qualitative and quantitative methods serves to enhance the credibility of the study”. “Qualitative data presented ensures that the research can be repeated using the same yardstick to assure a replicable research, while the in-depth qualitative data presentation adequately interprets the data analysed to reveal the reliability of the techniques applied”.

### **3.7 Ethical consideration**

Ethical considerations are the pinnacle of the study as they set parameters for the data collection process. “The researcher observed ethical considerations in extracting data from respondents”. “First and foremost a mutual understanding was reached between the researcher and the respondent before data collection commenced”. The researcher observed the respondent’s right to privacy and confidentiality. Above all anonymity of the respondents was highly acknowledged.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

The chapter explained the sampling techniques applied as well as qualitative data collection employed. “The methods of data analysis were also highlighted as a way of indicating how the data collected was analysed”. The researcher structured relevant themes and categories within the body of content and thus sets the foundation to provide a rich description of the social reality manifest in those themes and categories as they are lived out in a setting.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

### **5.0 Introduction**

“This section presents, analyses, interprets and discusses research findings pertaining to the framing of the ZANU PF Youths in *The Herald and Newsday*”. “This chapter also gives a clear outline of what the researcher got from the findings”. “Data to be presented and analysed in this chapter was gathered using archival research mainly in which the researcher analysed the stories published in *The Herald and NewsDay* with respect to the research topic”. “Interviews from the two newspapers were also conducted as part of the data gathering process”. “The data was analysed using the critical discourse analysis and the findings are thematically presented”. “However, data is presented in light of trying to answer the research objectives which were based on the need to investigate how The Herald and NewsDay newspapers reported on the ZANU PF Youths”. “The study also wanted to establish why the newspapers covered the ZANU PF youths in a manner it did as well as compare and contrast the coverage and frames used in the reportage of the youths respectively”.

### **5.1 ZANU PF Youths as bootlickers in *The Herald and NewsDay***

“*The Herald* employed the use of diction which comprises words like an angel, Jesus, resemblance and names like Messiah”. “ZANU PF youths framing Mugabe as their rightful leader using the powers which was vested in them by Mugabe following the fate of war vets by the ruling party”. The article published by *The Herald* on 5 July 2017 by Nunurai Jena, titled, *Mugabe equal to Jesus:Chipanga*. The following statement indicates the frames used by the reporter to depict ZANU PF Youths authority in ZANUPF,

“Yes, President Mugabe’s middle name is Gabriel. He was given that name by the prophets after realizing he has some resemblance,”

“He is our Messiah, just like Jesus Christ when he liberated the world. Jesus when he come, liberated the world and when President Mugabe came, he liberated us in this age...we honour God, then Jesus Christ and President Mugabe.”

The ZANU PF Youths are likening Mugabe to Jesus and more like putting him to the same level with Jesus.

“Hence according to Foucault (1989) language is the instrument and the way human beings are communicating through written or spoken words, in other words the method of

human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way. However, the knowledge is a way gained by human experiences then developed to skills in order to understand things and situations in proper and probably accurate ways facts, information, and skills acquired through experience or education the theoretical or practical understanding of a subject. The researcher found out that the use of language by *The Herald* depicts element of power using powerful language seeing Mugabe as their redeemer”.

From the data gathered, the researcher found that *The Herald* in its coverage of the ZANU –PF Youths portray Mugabe as the equitable leader. The editorial comment published on 30 June 2017 in *The Herald* which read, *Youth rally livens up sleepy Masvingo*, to the researcher seems to clearly point out *The Herald's* stance on ZANU – PF party and the youths. It brings out that the paper really is supporting ZANU-PF Youths. This was a *Herald* editorial article which clearly showed that the paper is fully behind ZANU-PF Youths in its coverage, from which the researcher quotes:

*The Youths in Masvingo are expected to take advantage of President Mugabe's rally to push for their participation in two major projects worth \$1,33 billion that were commissioned by the Head of State and Government.* (The Herald 30/06/17)

*The Herald* was biased in favour of the ZANU-PF youths who were depicted as the rightful party vanguard and Mugabe as the right leader of the party. *The Herald* is trying to rebrand Mugabe as a viable politician worth of the people's vote but in my opinion, it is just a publicity stunt by the publicly owned newspapers, politicians are using the media to further their own personal agendas. The researcher also found out that the frames being used depicts agenda setting concept in their reportage.

## **Discussion**

This article written in *The Herald* by one of the influential people in the newsroom, the editor is conclusive in the researcher's understanding of *The Herald's* positive stance on ZANU-PF Youth and the party as a whole. The researcher found out that *The Herald* is seen to portray itself as the mouthpiece or representative of the whole populace of Zimbabwe, by the statement, “*We held this carnival to raise awareness that tomorrow*

*Kingmakers and/or Factionalists? Framing of ZANU PF Youths in The Herald and NewsDay.*

*Masvingo youths and the rest of the people from this province will be honoured by President Mugabe's visit.*" This is because *The Herald* has taken ZANU-PF side and therefore showing how the media have become polarized serving the interests of the political parties they affiliate themselves to.

## **5.2 ZANU PF Youths league as factionalists**

This study also observed that there are different discourses emerged in the *The Herald and NewsDay* in the reportage of the ZANU -PF Youths in the way that depicts fanning of factionalism and causing some divisions within the ZANU PF party. The researcher established this when contacting archival research of the two dailies previous publications and in the published stories the researcher found the discourse of power, political discourse, argument discourse employed. However, the way these two newspapers reports on ZANU-PF youths clearly reveals some negative connotations on the issue of factionalism which had rocked Zanu PF party. In a story covered by *NewsDay* on 19 October 2017 headlined, '*Zanu PF youth fight over Grace*'. The researcher finds out that the reporter used argument based discourse, there are some statements in this story covered by *NewsDay*, forwarding factionalism in Zanu PF party which reads,

*The party's Young Turks, also known by the monicker G40, are allegedly plotting to use the event to either push out Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa and replace him with Grace or create the post of a third Vice-President to sneak the First Lady in.*

In the above story the word "G40" reveals that the reporter who covered this story was writing this story without employing absolutism theory, by reviewing the alleged existing but assumed to be non-existing faction comprised some selected individuals in Zanu PF. However, this term used in the story clearly a point out that G40 is fighting a cold silent war with Team Lacoste which another faction led by Vice Mnangagwa.

Whilst in *The Herald*, of 21 January 2016 there was a story headlined, '*Politics of Factionalism*,' The researcher finds out that the headline was already cunning factionalism, the story is revealing factionalism within ZANU-PF party, the way the story

was crafted by *The Herald* Reporter Reason Wafawarova was crafted in a manner that puts some key elements of factionalism in a bad light,

*THE pestiferous culture of factionalism makes the concept itself a complex one, and it is not easy to give an easy definition of this inevitable scourge in politics. It is neither true nor factual to assert that the factional infighting within Zanu-PF is a new phenomenon, just as it is a fact that political parties*

The researcher realized that the article clearly shows that there were noticeable divisions within ZANU-PF which are escalating and causing confusion every day. The researcher found out that current Zimbabwean politics is now centered on the factionalism in ZANU-PF party. However the researcher also found out that the reporter used poetic discourse when writing the article in a way to depict ways to present feelings and emotions in factional fights within the party. In an article published in the *NewsDay* on 12 September 2017 titled *Grace is a liar: Ex-Zanu PF youth leaders*, the researcher found out that common words used to appeal ways like accusations, insubordination and disrespectful clearly indicates the element of fueling of factionalism in ZANU PF party. However, on the other hand the reporter who covered this story from the oppositional newspaper, *NewsDay* has got some negative connotations and biased in his writing because he is anti ZANU PF, in the story he covered there is a clear indication that he is pro ZANU PF because there is an element of judgement in his story.

### **Discussion**

These articles covered by *The Herald and NewsDay* clearly highlight some element of fanning factionalism through different discourses emerged and the way the reporters have presented their facts whilst writing the stories. Antinomianism is lacking somehow because the reporters are now operating without considering the ethics in journalism as well as guidelines which should be taken into account. The researcher found out that the reporters are mostly involved in the fanning of factionalism because they are setting an agenda to the audience and more like concluding the facts on their own. They are presenting the issues clearly showing that they are taking sides when it comes to the ZANU PF youth coverage and on the other hand the *NewsDay* is presenting, their stories are more judgmental.

### **5.3 ZANU PF Youths as the vanguard of the party**

The researcher found that the ZANU PF Youths are being depicted as the vanguard of the party in *The Herald*, *The Herald* gave ZANU PF power as the only party in Zimbabwe through the images they depict in portraying the youths. The researcher also found out that ZANU PF Youths are given more voice and space in the paper. In *The Herald* of 2 August 2017 headlined, *Ward Youth Interface rallies for Masvingo* the reporters stated that the youths have got that capability of forwarding the party's ideology further and as a potential powerful party organ to work with Mugabe especially towards 2018 elections.

As quoted in the story:

*“Zanu PF Masvingo provincial secretary for finance Dr Killer Zivhu yesterday unveiled youth interface rallies that will be undertaken at ward level to give youth leaders in the province an opportunity to spread President Mugabe’s message at the grassroots level.”*

In an article of *The Herald* of 28 September 2017 titled, *ZICOSU to mobilize students for ZANU PF Byo rally*, the reporter clearly shows the powers ZANU PF youths have and they are being framed as the kingmakers of the party whereby they are basing on them in mobilizing the masses to come and attend the rally in numbers, the youths are depicted as a powerful party organ after they snatched the favours from the war vets who used to be at that influential position of mobilizing the masses, the article partly reads:

*“I am very confident that it is possible to mobilize and present 5 000 students to the Zanu PF youth league before the President comes as almost everyone is willing to attend. With the student interface coming soon after the youth interface rallies, we are appealing to the superiors to acknowledge the efforts made so far by the patriotic and loyal union,”*

This article is portraying ZANU PF youths as the drive force organ and life blood of the party through the assignments which the party is assigning to them. The researcher found

out that this is a strategy by ZANU PF to boost their ideology in its mobilization campaign ahead of 2018 elections.

According to Chandler (2000), Chomsky and Herman (1988) contend that the powerful are able to fix the premises of discourse, to decide what the general populace is allowed to see, hear, and think about, and to manage public opinion by regular propaganda campaigns. In the case of Zimbabwe, and indeed insofar as this study has been able to ascertain, ZANU PF has established itself as a powerful elite that has been able to fix the premises of discourse and especially to decide what the post-independent generation of Zimbabwe is allowed to see, hear and think about concerning the nation's history. This is evidenced by the fact the respondents in this study variously described Zimbabwe's state-owned media as biased, partisan and monotonously propagandistic in advancing the political interests or agenda of ZANU PF. In *The Herald* of 23 October 2017, titled 'When poetry, journalism meet. Death of the Commissar' The researcher found out that the headline already is bringing out the concept of patriotism, rewriting of history by the ZANU PF party in a way to safeguard their interest on the political circles. The way the story was crafted by *The Herald* reporter Stanley Mushava was presented in a way that brings out the concept of patriotism,

*He writes with one foot in Zimbabwe and another foot in South Africa, maxing out on history, headlines and the familiar themes of love, hunger, power, solitude and war with a pictorial facility and a patriotic bassline.*

## **5.5 Data Analysis**

"Data analysis is the process of systematically applying statistical and logical techniques to describe and illustrate, condense and evaluate". "However various analytic procedures provide a way of drawing inductive inferences from data collected". "Data analysis commenced with an assessment to ensure that all questionnaires were completed properly". "Information gathered through interviews was transcribed into word documents". Research findings were carefully coded according to various related themes and presented as outlined in the discussion that follows.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

“This chapter gives a summary of research findings and discusses the recommendations which were being made to the framing of ZANU PF youths in *The Herald and Newsday*”. “I will also make recommendations to both *The Herald and NewsDay*”.

### **6.2 Summary**

“The purpose of the study was to find out the various ways in which ZANU PF Youths were framed in *The Herald and NewsDay*”. “The research made use of qualitative and quantitative methods in gathering the information that was relevant to the study”. “The research was qualitative in nature because it used interviews, critical discourse among others”. “It was qualitative because I employed the use of questionnaires”. “I am gathering information relevant to the study”.

The researcher found out that *The Herald and NewsDay* the ZANU PF youths are being framed as the kingmakers , youths as vanguard of the party that is by *The Herald*, kingmakers, drumming violence, sell-outs. “These were the various ways in which the

youths were being framed in the two daily newspapers”. “The researcher also found out that ZANU PF used *The Herald* sole publicly owned newspaper being funded by the state to forward their interests whilst *NewsDay* was on the other way bombarding the idea exposing the party’s shenanigans”. “However, the researcher found out that ZANU PF used *The Herald* because of political economy to disseminate their ideologies putting forward the youths labelling them energetic generation which they say it is the vanguard of the party, whilst the *NewsDay* on the other hand was exposing the secret behind the putting forward of the youths in most of the activities in campaigning trails in a way to push forward their interests”.

“The negative framing of the ZANU PF youths mostly in *NewsDay* were meant to decamping the youths, the researcher found out that most people who responded through questionnaires confessed that they were not influenced by the framing, whilst on the other hand in *The Herald*, responder’s views were that ZANU PF has dumped the war vets because they have awakened them and because of that they had turned their back, now only way to go is to use another party organ which is the youths”.

### **6.3 Recommendations to MSU**

“Zimbabwean media should not have a hostile relationship. Kupe (2011) states that, the African media carry contradictions which have roots in the colonial period, when newspapers and broadcasting mainly served the needs of the colonial administrators”. “As evidenced by *The Herald’s* headline that *NewsDay* under fire over falsehoods’ there are hostile relations in the main stream media”. “For the media to play the important role of watchdog, they need to work together, not think alike but advance views freely”.

### **6.4 Recommendations to *NewsDay* and *The Herald***

“I recommend that both media houses adopt an objective stance in their coverage of events”. “Furthermore, in adopting to digitalization”. “Alternative views should be accommodated by both presses through online engagements”. “As much as the government has the right to own a media house, it must do that in the interest of the public not on partisan interest”. “The study recommends the depoliticization of the

newspaper so that people can have a public platform to freely discuss issues of their concern”.

### **6.5 Areas for further study**

“The researcher recommends that further research be carried out on the role of the journalists to report on objectivity, transparency, accuracy and taking into consideration African Ethics”.

### **6.6 Concluding remarks**

“This study sought to investigate the degree of bias in the coverage of the ZANU PF youths framing”. “The two main newspapers *The Herald and NewsDay* have widely covered youth’s activities with the papers either supporting or downplaying their significance”. “Henceforth the research looks at the similarities and differences in how the two newspapers covered the ZANU PF youths as well as the effects of the frames employed”.

### **6.7 Conclusions**

“The research concluded that intention of this research was to explore how the political polarization of the media in Zimbabwe has affected the reporting of ZANU PF Youths in *The Herald and NewsDay*”. “Through the findings presented in this research found out that the issue at hand is covered in diverse ways by both newspapers exposing the weaknesses of the two newspapers”.

*Kingmakers and/or Factionalists? Framing of ZANU PF Youths in The Herald and NewsDay.*