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DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

**FRAMING OF BONGANI MAFU AS HIGHLANDERS FC COACH IN THE
CHRONICLE**

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ABSTRACT

Football has become a widely followed 'religion' just like Christianity. This has influenced a growth of scholarship on the subject from different theoretical positions. This study explores the sport world from a media centric standpoint. It looks at sports, particularly football from the lens of the media. It unearths how the media manufactures reality while at the same time exploring the discourses that prevail in the media with specific reference to football coaches. The study is an exploration of the re-presentation of Bongani Mafu during his tenure as Highlanders FC coach in the *Chronicle* newspaper in 2015. Grounded in the framing and Foucauldian discourse theory, the study utilizes a qualitative research approach. Purposively selected newspaper articles on Bongani Mafu were subjected to critical discourse and semiotic analysis. Findings suggest that Mafu's image and reputation mutates during the study period as upon appointment he was framed as a savior, progressed to be a rabble rouser who cannot deliver and finally a complete failure.

Acronyms

AIPPA.....	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
BF.....	Barbourfields
CDA.....	Critical Discourse Analysis
FAM.....	Football Association of Malawi
FC.....	Football Club
FIFA.....	Federation of International Association
MDC.....	Movement for Democratic Change
MIC.....	Media and Information Commission
MIT.....	Multimedia Investment Trust
MMPZ.....	Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe
NDP.....	National Democracy Congress
NFA.....	Nigerian Football Association
NPP.....	New Patriotic Party
POSA.....	Public Order and Security Act
STEM.....	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
UDI.....	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UEFA.....	Union of European Football Association
ZANU PF.....	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front
ZMC.....	Zimbabwe Media Commission
ZMMT.....	Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust
ZNA.....	Zimbabwe National Army
ZPC.....	Zimbabwe Power Company

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Of late, sport has surfaced as the utmost fascinating area of scholarship across the world. The new era has seen Zimbabwean intellectuals expressing interest in researching the nexus of football and mediated communication. Thus the study of popular sport, though in its infancy, is emerging in Zimbabwe (Ncube, 2014).

Imperative to note is that obtainable literature on football dialogue in Africa and Zimbabwe is fundamentally outlined from a sociological standpoint, this research intends to approach the dialogue from a media studies viewpoint. The media it has been argued, are a double edged sword. Just like in the world of politics, where they create heroes and villains, the media also create stars in the world of sport.

This study focuses on the framing of Bongani Mafu, now a former Highlanders football Club coach in the *Chronicle*. Mafu was appointed Highlanders FC coach on 23 December 2014 and subsequently got fired on 03 September 2015 following a string of poor results. During his tenure as Highlanders coach, Mafu enjoyed a love-hate relationship with the media in Bulawayo. At one time, he reportedly labeled Bulawayo journalists as mere vendors who would do anything for a dollar. Given such controversy, it is critical to explore how the *Chronicle* framed and imaged the former Bosso (Highlanders FC) coach during his tenure.

1.2 Background to the study

The media regardless of their shape, size and colour participate in the identity politics (Seleti, 1997). Instead of mirroring reality the media are involved in the creation of reality. Hall (1997) postulates that the media have become interested players in the creation of reality. He argues that discourse plays a vital role in the way media represent certain communities hence he indicates that every framing takes place within discourse and that story patterns are developed within a given discourse.

This research is interested in the *Chronicle's* framing of a former Highlanders FC coach. *Chronicle* is one of the widest circulating daily newspapers in the country. Based in Bulawayo,

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the broadsheet, targets the Southern regions of the country, that is, Bulawayo, Matabeleland North and South. As it has been argued by Moyo (2003) that although these papers under Zimpapers have been declared national media, most of them are regional papers whose main focus is to cover regional events, similarly, the *Chronicle* gives more salience to Highlanders FC. It also covers some parts of Masvingo and Mindlands provinces (Gale, 1962). According to the Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey (ZAMPS, 2013) its niche ranges between 22 and 50 years of age, who constitute the majority of people eligible to support Highlanders FC. However, the majority of its readers are in Bulawayo. In its content, the paper covers mainly political, economic, sports and entertainment news. The newspaper belongs to the Zimbabwe Newspapers (1980) Private Limited. The Government of Zimbabwe is the major shareholder with 51 percent hence the paper is regarded as a public medium. The other 49 shares belong to corporate, organisations and individuals. The company is listed on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange.

Chronicle was chosen for this study because it is based in Bulawayo where Highlanders FC hails from. It then follows that most of the newspapers coverage on sport is on Highlanders FC. Ncube (2014) argues that Highlanders is an epitome of aspirations of Ndebele speaking people in Matabeleland Provinces hence it is noteworthy to ascertain that there is an emotional connection between Ndebeles and Highlanders FC. Although Highlanders FC are the oldest team in Zimbabwe having been formed in 1926 (Ncube 2014), they have failed to win a League championship since 2006. Resultantly, this has resulted in high coach turnover as the club seeks glory. Thus, Bongani Mafu was appointed after Kelvin Kaindu and Mark Mathe's failures to end Dynamos FC's dominance. A lot was expected from him. The study therefore explores the *Chronicle's* response to the appointment of Mafu, his tenure and dismissal unearthing the discourses he was subjected under.

1.3 Research Objectives

By the end of this study, the researcher should be able to-

- Explain how the *Chronicle* framed Bongani Mafu upon his appointment as Highlanders FC coach in 2015

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- Explore whether the *Chronicle's* discourses on Mafu mutated or remained constant during his tenure as Highlanders coach
- Describe whether the *Chronicle's* tone celebrated or mourned the dismissal of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach

1.4 Research Questions

Main Research Question

- How was Bongani Mafu framed by the *Chronicle* upon his appointment and during his tenure as Highlanders coach in 2015?

Sub Questions

- Did the *Chronicle's* discourses on Mafu mutate or remained constant during his tenure as Highlanders FC coach?
- Did the *Chronicle's* tone celebrate or mourn the dismissal of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach?

1.5 Assumptions of the study

- The *Chronicle* positively framed Bongani Mafu during his appointment as Highlanders FC coach
- The *Chronicle's* discourses on Mafu mutated during his tenure as Highlanders FC coach
- The *Chronicle's* tone celebrated the dismissal of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach

1.6 Significance of the study

The research balances existing literature on the landscape between media and sport in Zimbabwe. Many scholars have penned studies around the field of sport and the media with major emphasis on issues to do with gender, politics, hooliganism, ethnicity, identity as well as football as a site of struggle (Giulianotti, 2002; Mhiripiri, 2010; Ncube, 2014). My study however, focuses on the portrayal of football club coaches which is often related to their club's performances by the media hence it zeroes in the coverage of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach in the *Chronicle*. It is said elsewhere that media are conduits through which framing takes place and that they are a fountain of identities hence ascribe identities. This research therefore

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strives to unpack how the media function to ascribe identities to club coaches in relation to the team's performances. The research therefore broadens the literature review in the field of sport and media studies.

1.7 Statement of the Problem

The study seeks to explore how the *Chronicle*-a Bulawayo based newspaper framed Bongani Mafu as Highlanders coach following Bosso's performance since the start of the season under Mafu's leadership as coach. The study is therefore a critical exploration of the *Chronicle* newspapers' framing of Highlanders FC coach exploring how power and ideology influenced his portrayal and how reality was constructed in a context where the team's performance was tearing down.

1.8 Limitations

In terms of the scope of the study, the research was wholly conducted in Bulawayo with specific focus on the *Chronicle*, as a result, the selection of one newspaper from a variety of print media in Zimbabwe might produce less contradictory voices hence short sight the findings of the study. It is however, imperative to note that the paper was purposefully sampled as the researcher deservedly thinks it is in tandem with the objectives of the study.

The research is largely qualitative hence criticism has been levied that samples are small and not necessarily representative of the broader population so it is difficult to know how far one can generalize the results (Patton and Cochran, 2002 cited in Green, 2007). They further highlight that it is difficult to tell how far the findings are biased by the researcher's own opinions, thus, this becomes a limitation on its own to this study.

The research study uses *Chronicle* as its case study and thus, case studies have been criticized for lacking scientific rigor and providing little basis for generalization (Crowe et al, 2011:11).

1.9 Delimitations

This study restricts the researcher to the period between December 2014 and September 2015. I purposefully limit my study to this period because that is when Bongani Mafu was appointed as the coach of Highlanders football club.

1.10 Structure of the study

Chapter 1 has introduced the study highlighting the purpose of the study. Chapter 2 inhabit the literature review and theoretical framework. It is in this section that an existing body of knowledge linked to the study was looked into. Chapter 3 focuses on the research methods and methodology, the focus is on techniques used in gathering data and analysis. Chapter 4 focuses on the organisational analysis or political economy. Chapter 5 dwells on the findings and discussions and chapter 6 focuses on the conclusions and recommendations.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the study. It is a gateway to the whole study as it reflects key components of the study as a whole and marshals the reader to the background, objectives of the study, limitations and delimitations. The chapter also gave the justifications of the study and why the research is carried out. Questions that frame the study were also outlined as well as assumptions of the study. The chapter therefore arrays the nature for the study. In the following chapter the researcher engages with literature significant and applicable to the subject under study and theoretical framework of the study as a whole.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The chapter explores the literature that has been studied in relation to the study and it seeks to identify the gaps this research fills. Framing is the major theory in this study however the researcher made use of Foucault's theory of power and discourse.

2.2 Literature Review

Literature review is an indispensable analysis of the research question in relation to that which is already well-known about the subject. It provides the background and context for the research problem. Literature review is defined by Newman (2006) as an account of that which has been published on a topic by credited scholars, researchers and intellectuals. It establishes the need for research and signifies that the writer is conversant about the area. The literature is thematically presented and debated to show gaps and position the research under study.

Literature review is framed under the following three themes, "media, sport and identity", "media, sport rivalry and hooliganism", as well as "sport as a citizenship and political tool".

2.3 Media, sports and identity

It has been proclaimed that sport and the discourses that frame them have developed into one of the principal chronicles of the twentieth-century philosophy, (Boyd, 1997:9), it is against this milieu that there has been a voluminous body of literature on the study of media, sport and identity. However, while studies on sport celebrity and their identities have been carried out, it is imperative to note that they have been focusing on football players, athletes and golfers together with basketball players. Little to nothing has been said about football coaches hence this study explores the representation and framing of former Highlanders coach Bongani Mafu during his appointment and tenure as Highlanders coach with the intention of unearthing the media discourses he was subjected under which immensely contributed to the shaping of his identity and how he was hailed from the outside.

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Media are at the nexus of ascribing identities but crucial to note is that the process of ascribing identities is not innocent, it is influenced by many factors amongst which is political economy. Media are a reservoir for identity, they are the levy centre through which identities are ascribed. Similarly, with regards to sport, media play a crucial role in attributing identities to players, coaches, sponsors and every party therein. Masses and the general public get to identify some sports icons through the lens of the media, sports icons are identified and hailed from the outside through that which is published in the media. The fact that media are active participants in the identity formation process makes it hard to separate the negotiation of identity from the way it is conveyed and shared by mediasports (Billings and Hundley 2010). Many studies on identity have been largely the examinations of social divides essentially verifying ways in which people divide themselves biologically, culturally, politically as well as socially whilst at the same time revealing inequities in media treatment of these disciplines. Similarly, in the field of sport there is sufficient literature on how media shapes reality, ascribe identities and influence the identification of icons (Hall, 1996, 1997; Gripsrud, 2003; Ferguson, 2004; Billings and Hundley, 2010; Mhiripiri, 2010; Ncube, 2014).

The assertion that sport shapes society in as much as society shapes sport makes individuals involved in sporting activities ripe for examination (Billings and Hundley, 2010). Stuart Hall argues that identities are constructed from within not outside discourse (1996:4) and as such identities are duplicitous, ubiquitous and always in a state of flux (Billings and Hundley, 2010:3). These scholars argue that sport and media inscribes numerous implicit and explicit ideologies that saturate people's culture and sport is no exception. Billings and Hundler (2010) assert that a double edged sword persists within mass media; this is to say that in as much as media might construct a certain identity they are equally capable of deconstructing one's identity. This is no exception in the sphere of sport as sport personalities are built by the media and equally dismantled by the very same media. There are quite a handful of sport icons who have become a darling of the media, whose identities are positively built and on the other hand there is quiet a great deal of sport persons whose identity have suffered at the hands of the media.

Media are powerful ideological institution that functions to define people, they shape public opinions and perceptions in relation to the subject under discussion (Althusser, 1970; Lippman

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1992). 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’. This implies the fact that, media are at the nexus of reality construction. Cohan alludes to the same idea when he argues that the media are not successful in telling people what to think but rather are successful in telling them what to think about hence it can be argued that media have taken the role of storytelling to help the general public make sense of that which is real.

Every reality is nothing but a social construction, media mediate reality and the process of mediation is not innocent hence scholars argue that identities are social constructs and the process of representation is a game of power, it is an act of exclusion hence an act of power and every representation happens within discourse (Foucault, 1972; Hall, 1997). It is therefore against this background that identities are prescribed by the media to sport personalities who are either built or destroyed in their representations in the media.

Scholars argue that identities are performances and just like fashion can be put on and removed (Ferguson, 2004; Mhiripiri, 2010). This implies that an individual can have multiple identities in relation to how he or she performs. As it has been alluded that media actively participate in the identity formation process, it is important to note that similarly sport icons are subjected to different identities which only relate to how they perform as individuals in their respective fields. A great deal of studies have been conducted where scholars looked at the framing of football stars by the media as justified by Foer’s (2008) study on how David Beckham the England football genius was represented and framed by the American media after he left Real Madrid to join the American side L.A Galaxy. The study claims that L.A Times published as many articles about Beckham, which resultantly elevated him to stardom. In this instance it can therefore be articulated that media have the power to construct a person’s identity and through media one can become a worldwide known icon. In this instance, studies that have been conducted only focus on how media elevate sports stars to stardom, seldom researches have been conducted on how the same media can be used otherwise. Malcom X argues that media are a double edged sword, in as much as they can integrate, legitimize, construct and build, they can equally disintegrate, delegitimize, deconstruct and destroy. Therefore, this study focuses on how Bongani Mafu, a

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football coach was framed in the media with special consideration on how his identity was built and destroyed as he continued to lead Highlanders FC.

Similarly, coaches in particular are no exception in this study. Ncube (2014) argues that football coaches are better thought of as the gate keepers due to the kind of power invested in them when selecting team players who are supposed to play at any given moment. They have the power to approve players' presences on the field of play and he argues that they also are emancipated in deciding which player gets to be signed, loaned and offloaded. Schopflin (2000, :1) argues that identities are affixed around a set of moral prepositions that regulate values and behavior so that identity construction involves ideas of that which is right and wrong, desirable or undesirable and polluted or unpolluted. This justifies the notion that identities are not permanent but are always in a state of flux. This study explores the framing of coaches by the media with specific focus on former Highlanders coach Bongani Mafu. This study is different from other studies in that its emphasis is on coaches not football players per say.

From a global level, for example, it can be articulated that media play a critical role in cultivating ones' identity in as far as leadership of teams is concerned. The appointment of David Moyes by Sir Alex Ferguson as Manchester United Coach saw media plunging into praiseworthy discourses. He was framed as the "chosen one" and considering that he was taking after Ferguson who had ushered Manchester United to a sterling eleven points win in 2013, his framing by the media was positive. The media cultivated a sense of "heroism" and assured the general followers that he was capable of leading and maintaining the winning status of the team. However, when Manchester United's performance declined at the hands of David Moyes, discourses under which he was initially framed mutated, media plunged into discourses of hate where Moyes was framed as a weakling and unsuitable of managing big clubs like Manchester United. Following such framing of him by the media, it is reported that, fans of Manchester United in March 2014 chartered a plane to fly overhead during Manchester United's Premier League's clash with Aston Villa trailing banners with the message "Wrong one-Moyes out" to counter the previously hegemonised discourse of him as the "chosen one". He was portrayed as having made the mess of the season and ten (10) months after his appointment he was sacked.

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Hamish Mackay published a story in the Mirror alleging that indeed Manchester United were right to replace the failed David Moyes with Louis Van Gaal.

Africa is no exception when it comes to sacking football coaches relative of the team's performances. Not to begin by citing old examples, Football Association of Malawi (FAM) this 2015 fired coach Young Chimodzi and his assistant Jack Chamangwana following its 2-1 loss to Zimbabwe's warriors in 2017 Africa Cup Qualifier. It is alleged that these were dismissed following Malawi's failure to solicit many wins as in 23 matches, they managed to win six and drew five then lost twelve matches. West African Nigerian Football Association (NFA) is reported to have sacked Super Eagles coach Stephen Keshi, reason being that Super Eagles were in the bottom of Group A in qualifying for Africa Cup of Nations. Imperative to note is that this does not only apply to the field of football, recently, the South African Springboks Rugby coach Heyneke Meyer came under fire following his team's failure to beat the Japanese team which was beaten by Zimbabwe. The result forced many South Africans to pull out the race card in their endeavours to disrepute Meyer as evidenced by how twitter blazed with the formation of the hashtag #SomeoneTellMeyer.

Zimbabwe is also into the habit of dismissing coaches especially when teams are performing dismally. The coming in of coach Kevin Kaindu, a Zambian by birth, to head Highlanders Football Club saw the media hero worshipping him as a deity who was going to exorcise the demon which had possessed Highlanders for many years as the team failed to break the jinx with regards to beating rivals Dynamos Football Club. In the course of his tenure and as Highlanders continued to underperform, media discourses mutated and Kevin Kaindu was framed as a failure and a sudden call was made for him to be relieved of his duties which led to his dismissal as Highlanders coach in 2014. Couldry (2004:58) cited in Holmes and Redmond (2006) argues that the media construct worlds through which people access reality that matters to them as social beings. He further posits that in as much as media are the levy centre through which the general public access reality, they are also at the epicenter of fame damage which specifically looks at the way media deconstructs the identities of people in the public eye through "salacious, critical and unflattering reportage" which brings negation right on their doors.

As Hall (1997) concurs with Anderson (1991) that identities are nothing but imaginations and that they are not permanent or fixed but rather are in a state of motion and always in shifting frontiers, this study therefore explores the construction of Bongani Mafu's identity during his tenure as Highlanders Coach relative of the team's performance. Furthermore, it explores whether Mafu's identity was mutated, that is, subjected to different identities or remained constant during his term as Highlanders coach. This study adds literature to the existing one in that it looks at how identities of football coaches are framed in the media, it fills the gap that exists in the existing literature in that most studies undertaken with reference to how sports identities are formed focused at football players. This study looks at how a football coach was framed by the media, unearthing the kinds of discourses he was subjected into and how they mutated, hence generates knowledge in that respect.

2.4 Media, sport rivalry and hooliganism

There is ample literature on the study of football rivalry and hooliganism, many scholars have attempted analyzing the underlying causes of sport hooliganism (Roversy, 1991; Wann and Branscombe, 1993; Wann et al, 2000; Hughson, 2001; Giullinaotti and Armstrong, 2002; Giullianotti, 2002; Gow and Rookwood, 2008; Goral, 2008; Rookwood, 2010; Assollant et al, 2012; Benkwitz, 2013; Ncube, 2014).

Sport is not only a competition and a means of entertainment, it emerges as an affection which people create a strong bond with hence react differently when teams lose. Violence in sports has become a worldwide phenomenon that has sparked a lot of interest in the social sciences researchers. Giullianotti and Armstrong (2002) contend that Interest in football spectators does not appear to correspond to the importance of its social brunt, the violence in stadia visa vie the rapid growth of viewers and football sponsors has become a factual social entity of modern-day society (Wann et al, 2001 and Assollant et al, 2012). Giullianoti (2002) emphasizes that of late, football has undergone structural transformations and as a result sporting events often coincide with the expression of mutual feelings hence the game is experienced in stadia stands as it is in the field itself (Wann et al, 2001 and Assollant et al, 2012). It is argued that the highly identified soccer devotees are a central component as teams become an extension of their selves hence inseparable such that the victories and losses of their teams appeal to their emotions hence often

show contempt when the referee call a fault on their teams (Roversy, 1991; Wann and Branscombe, 1993; Assollant et al, 2012).

Hooliganism as defined by Gow and Rookwood (2008) is a term that refers to football disorder or violence caused both inside and outside grounds and reflects expressions of strong emotional ties to the teams. Basing their argument in England and analysing sport Hooliganism from the lens of supporters drawn in England, these scholars argue that too much emphasis has been put on fans and supporters as possible accomplices of football violence. They argue that a lot of scholarship has attempted to theorise football disorder through implicating fans and supporters as the poorly sophisticated products of wrecked homes looking for some kind of belonging as a result class and intelligence have been roped in as an attempt to uncover the possible causes of football violence. I concur with these scholars that indeed a lot of focus has been put on the ‘unfortunate’ fans and football supporters by scholars when theorising football hooliganism and they have turned a blind eye on the possible causes of it as most of the violence is attributed to the background and socialization of the fans where it is argued that those who engage in acts of violence are likely to be from violent family setups which might not be true.

The study draws much from the work of Perryman (2002) who in his attempt to theorise the possible causes of football disorder shifted the blame to other institutions other than fans and supporters. He argues that in as much as the victim culture is evident when describing hooliganism, media, opposing fans, police, football authorities need to be probed as these contribute to the hooliganism behaviour. These scholars argue that, in England the media play a massive part in that with all the publicity it gives to hooliganism people might get involved in it just so they can find themselves appearing in the media or rather invoke anger such that they might seek revenge hence end up partaking in the acts of violence. It is therefore argued that most fans and supporters consider the representation of hooliganism by the media as exceedingly negative, out of context and dependent on sensationalistic language which worsens the situations. In regarding the police, these scholars argue that their presence in stadia gives a false impression that football supporters are all hooligans and positions police as a supremacy ready to face a uniformly violent crowd. The major outcry in this instance is that there is a collective thought of supporters as a homogeneous community, an element rarely true.

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In his attempt to theorise hooliganism, Rookwood (2010) took a similar stance in his attempt to theorise hooliganism as a social phenomenon that has attracted a lot of intellectual output, however he differs from other scholars in that his work involves the perceptions of the very group of individual fans who are said to have their wellbeing affected by the behaviors of hooligans. He theorized hooliganism from the lens of genuine football fans and supporters. He argues that a lot of scholars theorise this phenomenon in isolation yet it is relative. He argues that the media have created a specific demarcation between the “genuine” fans whose experiences are spoiled by the “mindless minority hooligans”. He then realized a gap in that and attempted to look at this phenomenon from the lens of the so called genuine supporters. Taking an ethnographic stance with fans of Liverpool, Everton, Manchester United (among others) in the United Kingdom, his major point of emphasis was that the “so called genuine fans” often demonstrate positive attitude towards football violence and disorder cosseted by others hence the name “hoolifans” to symbolize the admirers of hooliganism who do not partake in it yet glorify it instead. I find these studies crucial simply because they are beyond the obvious and normal in that they look beyond the existence and nature of excuses and focus on perceptions of causality.

These scholars concur in that they all include historicity of teams as the deep cause of football violence, they all agree that football rivalry has historical connotations and that fans fight because of where they are from (ethnicity) hence grudge matches and often, violence gets condoned based on the assumption that it was executed to an “old enemy”. In this regard, fans do not purport themselves as violent but rather as exercising their right to right the past wrongs. The global scholarship has shifted focus from the supporters and tried to explore the concept from different angles, thus, lacking in African as well as Zimbabwean scholarship. I concur with their analysis that a lot of scholarship on Hooliganism tend to focus on the football fans who are often framed in a negative manner.

Giulianotti (2002) categorises football supporters into four in his attempt to theorise the concept of hooliganism. Traditional or hot spectators are defined by Giulianotti as “supporters” who have a strong bonding identification with the team, its locality, culture and whose personal identities are shaped by their clubs. Traditional or cool spectators consists of “followers” whose interests in football are marked by their preferred ideologies, ethnic roots as well as religious inclination.

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Hot or consumer spectators are “fans” who are said to have a strong identification with the club, however, there exist a distance between them and the club a kind of distance that does not exist amongst supporters. A football flaneur is classified as the cool or consumer spectator whose interest is in travelling with teams with an intention of acquiring something, these include researchers.

Taking an ethnographic stance in his attempt to grapple with the notion of hooliganism, Benkwitz (2013) analysed the football fan rivalry between Aston Villa and Birmingham, in Birmingham which is England’s second largest city. He found out that fans partook in hooliganism because of the historical fight over territory, the desire to gain power over certain areas and become dominant. He also noted that the tensions were also based on the historical successes on Aston Villa as it had always been victorious as compared to Birmingham. The desire for their team to win then resulted in fans resorting to violence whenever their team performed dismally. Through participant observation, he also observed that the rivalry stemmed from the socio economic groupings where Aston Villa fans had always been grouped under the middle class whereas the Birmingham fans were classified as working class. Similarly it can be noted that sports rivalry and hooliganism does not exist from the vacuum but are influenced by a lot of historical and social factors.

This brings me to the African and Zimbabwean scholarship on team rivalry and hooliganism which normally has been pinned down to the question of ethnicity as more scholars concur that ethnic variances are the common cause in Zimbabwe as a nation (Chiumbu, 2004; Giulianotti, 2004; Muzondidya and Gatsheni, 2007; Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2009; Mabweazara, 2009; Ncube, 2014). Friddy and Brobbey (2009) took an ethnographic stance in grappling with hooliganism amongst the fans of Accra Hearts of Oake and Kumasi Asante Kotoko in Ghana where they argue that ethnicity and location have a great impact on team rivalries. They argue that these teams represent more than just jerseys as they are formed on the basis of ethnicity and location hence are signifiers of one’s locus within a divided society. They contend Ghana is not different from Scotland where by just supporting Celtic it is assumed one is Catholic and Rangers a protestant or in Spain where if one roots for Barcelona he is a Cosmopolitan Catalan and a Castilian fan of Franco supports Real Madrid. In Ghana, Kotoko is the club for the Asante ethnic

group whereas Hearts are the hub for Gas ethnic group. This study factors in the historical factors that influence hooliganism in that the ethnicity phenomenon just like other studies have alluded to, still play a crucial role in perpetuating hooliganism in Africa. Armstrong and Giulianotti (2004:63) contend that soccer fan sub-cultures exhibit terrestrial and cultural differences amongst a people hence such can be realized with regards to the Ghananian's two dominant teams.

In Zimbabwe, there has never been a smooth relationship between Shona and Ndebele where the former are argued to be enjoying hegemonic status whereas the later are subjected to second class citizenship. The study is not interested in the proliferation of ethnic discourses in Zimbabwe as they are entangled and traced back to colonial times however special emphasis is to be given on how ethnic strife plays out when two giant clubs argued to have been found on ethnic basis clash. Ncube (2014) postulates that a rivalry that is contested on and off the pitch exists between Highlanders and Dynamos FC supporters and is purported to be based on real and perceived historical and contemporary ethnic and regional hostility between Zimbabwe's ethnic dominant groups Ndebele and Shona. Giddens (1971) indicates that ethnicity needs proper treatment as it is one element that can cause discord in nation building. Ndebele culturalism manifests where Highlanders clash with Dynamos FC, it is crucial to note that it is not only Ndebele nationalism but an extreme xenophobic kind of nationalism. In the Zimbabwean landscape, football violence is mired by ethnic strife that exist between two dominant languages Shona and Ndebele and resultantly, the rivalry between the two teams Highlanders and Dynamos FC is centered upon ethnic differences. As my study focuses on a recently dismissed Highlanders FC coach, it is imperative to note that the team's supporters and fans have been mired in the discourse of hooliganism hence I found it paramount for this study to explore hooliganism. While there is an ample literature on football hooliganism discourse, little to nothing has been said on football coaches hence my study becomes unique in that, from a media perspective it explores the discourses that frame football coaches with special emphasis on Bongani Mafu- a former Highlanders FC coach whose fans and supporters are usually alleged as violent and who have previously been involved in calling and baying for coach's blood and head when they perform badly.

2.5 Sport as a Citizenship and Political Tool

Football, which is largely viewed by many as a mere form of entertainment has become more of a site for ideological contestation by politicians. Quite a great number of researches allude to the fact that the beautiful game has been used for political mobilization where discourses of national identity and economic prosperities are spelt out by politicians. Football, therefore, has become the levy centre through which politicians articulate the discourses of the nation as they are the key players attempting to define nation identity, patriotism, sovereignty and nationalism (Hughson, 2001; Chari, 2010).

Smith and Porter (2004) argue that sport has emerged as a foundation ground where nationalistic ideologies that define people's understanding of the nation and nationalism are instituted. Sport has habitually blended with politics, power and cultural hegemony are necessitated by sports. The scholars (Holmes and Storey, 2001; Smith and Porter, 2004) borrow heavily from the idea of Benedict Anderson's concept of a nation as an imagined community hence they argue that nations are constructed and imagined and sport facilitates that imagination. They argue that the community of millions seems more real as a squad of the appointed eleven individuals such that the individual who cheers becomes a symbol of his nation. The researches were conducted with specific emphasis to football, Rugby, cricket and car racing. It encompassed all sporting activities and theorized how these can be used by politicians to accelerate their hegemonic status. Special emphasis can be put on how the beautiful game has been hijacked by those with political muscle to further their interests.

In concurrence, Reclamyr (2013) postulates that nations have sought to use sport to further their legitimacy and thus, it acts as an effective means to understanding governments and their policies. He further articulates that sports rise to popularity made it an effective tool for governments to use to further their interests thus, sport continues to grow as a tool for public policy makers in various governments. The argument raised in his work is that sport is bound by community values and as a result has a political aspect and is seldom free of politics. Crucial to note however, is that Reclamyr's researches differ from other scholars in that he takes a look at sports and how it influences foreign policies.

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African scholars Fridy and Brobbey in their 2009 research explored how football was manipulated by politicians to gain votes from Ghananians. It was through football that political discourses were debated and politicians familiarized and sympathized with the general masses. They further state that the common perception in Ghana was that Accra Hearts of Oak widely known as Hearts was aligned to National Democratic Progress (NDP) whereas Kumosi Asante Kotoko widely known as Kotoko was sympathetic to the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Ghana's two dominant parties. When the two teams clashed it became more of a battle of two dominating and region formed political parties. Their ethnographic study concluded that Kotoko is closely linked to the ruling party whereas Hearts is linked to the strong opposition party in Ghana. Key to note is that these scholars were interested in sport sociology and as a result did not factor in the aspect of the media in how it framed these teams' political affiliation as evident in their study.

Media play a pivotal role in fostering the spirit of nationhood, they remind, encourage, integrate, instill and invoke the spirits of belonging and oneness in nations. Chari (2010) takes a different stance from Fridy and Brobbey (2009) in that he ropes in the aspect of media where he argues that during the FIFA 2010 World Cup, publicly owned media as well as the privately owned media had an ideological battle where public media used football to enhance the spirit of nationhood among Zimbabweans whilst private media questioned the government for its use of football as a propaganda tool to pursue its interests. As a result of the polarized media platform in Zimbabwe Chari contends that while public media pushed the gospel of good patriotism, private media resorted to bad patriotism hence the beautiful game became a site for ideological struggle as Gramsci alludes that popular culture (inclusive of football) has become a terrain for ideological contestation.

Chari's ideas are synonymous with Hughson's (2001:107) analysis that the game is just a game but traits that are attributed to it are usually political acts hence media practitioners are burdened with the liability of deciding on news and how to angle them. Scholars argue therefore that sport journalism, particularly football reporting, should no longer be treated as meant to amuse and entertain masses because it is profoundly implicated in society's power struggles hence journalists become key players in the contest for truth and people's understanding of social

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reality and deserves serious thought made accessible to general audiences (Hughson, 2001; Starc, 2007; Chari, 2010; and Chatterjee, 2012). Chatterjee (2012) further argues that football captures people's imaginations in a way that art and literature rarely do hence exist as a kind of religion that has of late exceeded Christianity in terms of followership (Ncube 2014). Upon realization that sport attracts a seemingly large audience and has become a mass culture, politicians have seen the opportune to instill their ideologies.

While I agree with Chari's work that football has become a political tool utilized by politicians to gain hegemony, it is crucial to note that he looked at sport with specific interest on exploring political economy of the media in relation to sport reportage. I concur with ideas raised by these scholars that popular culture, particularly football, has been singled out by politicians to further their ideologies and agendas as is the case in Zimbabwe where "Independence cup", a winning team is, for example, symbolic of Mugabe's hegemonic status in Zimbabwe whereas the losing team symbolizes the defeat of the Smith regime. There are often historical connotations attributed to this cup hence act as a way of reminding Zimbabweans where they come from. More often than not, such cups begin by long dialogue by the ruling. This resonates well with the idea that in as much as media are the only phenomenon theorized to remind masses of where they come from with regards to their historical backgrounds, sport, particularly football, serve the same interest. .

Seemingly, Zimbabwean sport arena has since seen the Zimbabwean political parties branding sport affiliated slogans to enhance their campaigning strategies hence appeal to the general public. Ncube (2014) alludes to the same fact and argues that the "*Bhora Musedhi, Bhora Musango*" came about as a result of sport influence in politics. He argues that the *Bhora Musango* as a counter discourse effected by MDC-T play can be attributed as having resulted in the Zanu Pf loss of 2008 harmonised elections. He further alludes that the branded *Bhora Musango/Bhora Musedhi* discourse were used during the 2013 election campaign run where Zanu Pf invented the *Bhora Musedhi* discourse to counter the *Bhora Musango* discourse that almost cost them in 2008 elections. Sport has gained popularity and as Ncube (2014) argues it is the most followed religion, politicians have thus seized the opportunity to effect their ideologies

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hence the *Bhora Magedhi/Bhora Musango* slogans explain how football has been used as a political tool in Zimbabwe.

It is also important to note that in as much as it can be argued that sport reconciles nations and necessitates the discourse of nationalism, nationhood, sovereignty and patriotism, the same site might also be used in effecting counter hegemonic discourses to the status quo. Ndebele nationalism often play out when Highlanders FC is up against Shona giants Dynamos FC. Mostly, the Zimbabwean Zanu Pf led government utilizes sport (football in particular) to articulate discourses of nationalism whilst at the same time some cultures, Ndebeles, in particular effect counter hegemonic nationalism as they have seized stadia as a platform to foster their unhealed grievances of the past (Gukurahundi).

Another argument can be made with reference to the use of sport as a unifying agent, I concur with scholars that indeed sport unifies, that act of bringing almost everyone regardless of their culture, ethnicity and social status together. However, similarly sport can also be used to further divide nations, for example, in Zimbabwe the “Unity Cup” has some connotations of uniting Zimbabweans yet in reality it further deepens the rift that exist between two dominant ethnic groups-Ndebele and Shona. I say so simply because Highlanders and Dynamos football clubs often challenge each other for that cup and the fact that Highlanders have for so long been at the mercy of Dynamos FC, chances are slim that the ethnic strife that exist between these two groups will lessen. My study takes a different form, as it has been argued that media are political actors, in this study I therefore argue that the appointment of coaches is a political act hence the appointment of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders coach and the kind of coverage that was attributed to him indicates the politicality of the *Chronicle's* political muscle. As a result, this study therefore explores, not the politics as widely known and discussed, but the politics of signification that media houses tend to give in their framing of certain events. I explore and trace the discourses that the paper attributed to Mafu during his appointment time, his course and his dismissal time, an attempt to ascertain whether they remained consistent or mutated in relation to how the team performed. The stance I take adds knowledge to the existing literature on sports as a political tool in that it ropes in media into the politics of sports politics.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This section addresses the theoretical frameworks that underpin the study. The section discusses relevant theories and concepts that inform the study on the role of the media in the coverage of former Highlanders coach Bongani Mafu. The study is underlined by Framing theory as well as Foucault's discourse, power and Knowledge. These theories offer a basis on which reasonable conclusions can be conveyed for a comprehensive research to be done.

2.7 Framing

A number of scholars have utilized framing theory in their studies. Chuma (2008) utilized the theory in his work on studying how the media framed the 2000 Zimbabwean elections where his focus was on how the media framed the pre-elections, election and post-election period. He specifically looked at *The Herald, Daily News and Zimbabwean Mirror*. Chari (2008) used this theory in his attempt to unearth how women were represented in a male dominated urban grooves music in Zimbabwe. In his 2009 work, Chari also made use of the theory when he was looking at the representation of the Zimbabwean crisis in the local press where major emphasis was on issues of salience and silence by the state owned media versus the privately owned between 2000 and 2008. Vambe (2007) also utilized this theory in his attempt to unearth the depiction of black women in popular songs and some HIV/AIDS poems in post independent Zimbabwe. As noted, the theory can be utilized differently depending on the intentions of the researcher. For this study, I utilize the theory to uncover the portrayal of football coaches by the media with specific focus on the *Chronicle's* coverage of former Highlanders coach Bongani Mafu.

Most scholars have conceptualized framing theory as a theory of the media effects whereby the media are at the nexus of shaping the perceptions of the readers or audiences and marshals them to view matters in a certain way. In the same manner media upholds certain ideas, it can equally eliminate other issues hence it has been argued that they rely on memory to manage events and images. In American history, media engaged in framing to extricate the accepted social groups over the other. Stuart Hall studied how the black class was framed in the British media and argued that the media had a weakness of looking at the other from the spectacle of the other hence media function to other certain classes. Similarly, it can be argued that, the invisible hand

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of the media others other groups hence the other had been othered. As media are at the nexus of producing reality, witnessing events as they unfold and relaying events to audiences, audiences therefore glimpse the world through the lens of the media. Important to note is that, the process of framing is not innocent, it is diluted by the process of mediation hence media are active participants in the creation of reality, villains and heroes.

Framing theory suggests that how something is presented has a bearing in the choices people make. This research is focused on the framing of a former Highlanders coach with the intention of uncovering the kinds of discourses he was subjected under from his time of appointment, that is, December 2014, to his dismissal time on September the third. Media are the conduits through which framing takes place. For the purposes of this study, the researcher, utilizes framing, representation, priming and agenda setting theories as one. Studies have operationalised framing with other concepts and they even suggest that framing is an extension of agenda setting and that these theories are closely linked (McCombs, Shaw and Weaver 1997, Scheufele 1999, Popkin 2004). It is against this backdrop that I intentionally use these theories as one.

Gross (2007) states that frames are abstract notions that serve to structure social meanings. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) contend that framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is portrayed in news reports can have an influence on how it is decoded by audiences. This means that, through framing the news media influences people's decisions. A media frame may draw viewer's attention to specific parts of a news story, de-emphasise other parts, and leave out some aspects completely. Representation is the act of characterizing 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. According to McCombs and Shaw (1972) the core idea is that the media indicate to the public what the main issues of the day are and this is reflected in what the public pursues as the main issue. Agenda setting refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues. Jensen (2010) asserts that media agenda are issues that are given priority with regards to quantity of coverage and the frequency given. In general it can be articulated that agenda setting just like framing theory speaks to the increased issue salience by the media. Priming, according to Weaver (2007) means making

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certain issues or attributes more salient and more likely to be accessed in forming opinions. Priming occurs when the media's attention to an issue increases the accessibility of that information in forming and articulating opinions. Gross (2007) indicates that the Priming theory maintain that opinions and judgments are biased by the most accessible information hence priming works by increasing the accessibility of particular issues. From the given definitions of the theories I argue that they all speak to the same issue which relate to how media constructs reality, give salience to other issues while downplaying other events.

In this study, the Framing theory articulates issues which are common during Team's performances. With this theory, the study explores whether framing was used by *Chronicle* to either construct or deconstruct Bongani Mafu's identity during his tenure as Highlanders coach. Frames in communication matter, that is, they affect the attitudes and behaviours of their audiences (Weaver, 2007) and as Hall (1997) argues that identification, that is, how someone is hailed from the outside is critical than identity, this study therefore explores how Mafu's framing by the *Chronicle* created a "consciousness" in the diehard fans of Bosso which in-turn influenced their behaviours towards him as a coach. Gitlin (1980) problematized framing theory and argued that framing consists of implicit theories about what happens, matters or exists, therefore, frames serve to edifice or organize meanings based on these questions. He further divulges that through media frames, journalists identify information and classify it efficiently for their audiences hence frames organize the world and audiences and readers make sense of the events through media frames and as a result cannot be ignored.

Gross (2007) further postulates that framing works by providing meaning to an unfolding strip of events. However, key to note is that in framing, there can also be political bias in that the media can present issues in a way that triggers certain responses. It has been alluded that media are political actors hence are active participants in reality construction. Gamson and Modiglian (1989) argue that media discourse is relational to the process by which people construct meaning and public opinion is part of the process where journalists develop and crystallize meaning in public discourse (Scheufele, 1999). Framing theory was used in the study because the researcher wants to establish the kinds of frames Bongani Mafu was subjected to in relation to Highlanders

Performances in Premier Soccer League matches. As the study also seeks to establish whether the tone used by the *Chronicle* to frame Mafu during his dismissal times celebrated or mourned him, this theory is crucial in that, as media develops story patterns through frames which are conceptual pillars that guide people's understanding of a phenomenon or reality, the researcher will be guided by the established frames to understand how the coach was primed. The framing theory indicates that the media direct the receiver as to how to apply the information and this indicates that the content of news stories influence people's (supporters) perceptions and evaluations of issues at hand. The framing theory will therefore assist the researcher in understanding whether issues that *Chronicle* covered were presented to advance certain ideologies on Bongani Mafu comparative to his time of appointment, stretch as a coach and dismissal. Chuma (2012:1) asserts that the term 'framing' refers to the way in which news media resort to particular interpretive structures to set particular events within their broader context. The theory is deeply entrenched on the selection and prioritisation of facts, images and developments. Frames are created on basis of prominence and salience as Entman (1993) cited in Chuma (2012) contends. This theory influences this study in the sense that it aids understanding in analysing results to find out what issues were given prominence by the *Chronicle* in relation to Bongani's appointment, his term and dismissal as Bosso coach.

Krosnick and Kinder (1990) in Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 11) argue that:

The more attention the news pays to a particular domain – the more frequently it is primed – the more citizens will, according to the theory, incorporate what they know about that domain into their overall judgment.

Therefore, priming of issues by the media influences evaluations of public figures. This theory will be practical when analysing news stories to find out how important were issues that were given prominence by *The Chronicle* in trying to influence a particular outcome with regards to Highlanders leadership. As frames are conceptual pillars that guide a people's understanding of a phenomenon or reality and that they persist in media discourse as they occur and re-occur, this theory is relevant to the study in that it seeks to occasion the kinds of discourses that Mafu was depicted and how they equally contributed to his identity as Highlanders coach.

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Media develop story patterns through frames and media participate in imaging, imagining, re-imaging and re-imagining reality, however, it is imperative to note that there are different forces that influence media reality construction as Herman and Chomsky (1998) postulate that political economy is at the fore and play a critical role in media production of reality. Basing the argument from these scholars, political economy can be best defined as the study of social relations particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources particularly communication resources. They further devised the propaganda model that stipulates five filters of the media in their attempt to envision how media operate in a capitalistic society. Framing of stories in the media is influenced by the ownership, funding and control patterns. They argue that these always reflect on content and as a result affect the process of news production. Advertising revenue also affects the way story patterns are developed, it is argued that advertisers do not want to associate themselves with ideological enemies as a result media are at the mercy of advertisers for survival as it is the lifeblood of most media organisations hence realism in media discourse is prone to other filters. Symbiotic relationship with news sources also affects the way a story pattern is developed. They argue that sources of information influence the angle through which a story is anchored. Flake, which speaks to fear of negative response, criticism by journalists and threats of lawsuit is also argued to contribute on how a story unfolds and journalists end up practicing self-censorship. Anti-communism is the last filter fingered by Herman and Chomsky (1988) and it entails how media organization associate themselves with ideological perceptions of the day. This was during the ideological battle between the American capitalism and the Soviet Union's communism, in this filter they were therefore, examining how American media functioned to perpetuate capitalism and framed communism negatively. Similarly, media of today position themselves with ideologies reigning in the day, for example, in today's Zimbabwe, public media is Anti-West and Pro-East whereas Private media is claimed to be Pro-West.

As it has already been articulated that, reality construction process is not innocent but is diluted by the processes of mediation, McQuail (1998) defines mediation as the process through which second hand versions of events which cannot be directly observed by audiences are relayed. There are six mediation metaphors through which reality is constructed and consented. Media as

a window on events and experiences entails how audiences' visions are extended enabling them to perceive what is going on without the interference of others. However, crucial to note is that even though it can be argued that through media as a window people get a glimpse of that which transpires in the world, the angle of the window plays a major role. Media as a mirror of events in society and the world gives the impression that media are at the nexus of giving a reflective depiction of societies people live in and thus making it seem like media reflect that which is true. It is imperative to note that a mirror can be a concave which reflects how media can under-represent certain communities and a convex which symbolize over-representation. It is in the hands of media that certain issues and events are given prominence whilst others are downplayed. Media as a filter or a gatekeeper speaks to how media select parts of experience for special attention while at the same time deliberately closing off others voices and views (McQuail 1998). Media as a signpost, guide and interpreter entails how media point the way and how people then go on to make sense of what is otherwise puzzling or fragmentary. Media are the conduits through which people make sense of the world and media as a platform or forum means that they are the magnitude centre for the representation of information and ideas to audiences with the intention of getting feedback and responses. Media as a barrier serves to highlight that media are at the nexus of blocking certain information from public eye hence framing occurs after all these processes have been undertaken. It is in the hands of the media to decide how a story is tailored hence it can be argued that media enjoy the privilege of representation.

2.8 Discourse, Power and Knowledge

Scholars have utilized the theory of discourse differently. Magosvongwe (2008) utilized this concept in her attempt to discover contrasting discourses of emancipation and empowerment therein in the music of Hosiah Chipanga and Fungisai Zvakavapano. In her work she argues that these gospel musicians put an effort in raising the audiences' consciousness about personal emancipation and empowerment hence their lyrics are loaded with discourses that are not only salvation rich. Vambe (2004) appropriated the concept of discourse in relation to popular music but he differs from Magosvongwe's work in that his major argument is that popular music is engaging because it contributes consciously or otherwise in constructing and ordering meanings

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of events in particular ways. In this study, I use discourse to denote how reality is constructed by the media within discourse.

Media are the conduits through which reality is produced, they are not dormant actors but are active players in reality production. From a linguistics point of view, discourse refers to an analysis done on texts, however, Foucault is not interested in the term discourse in that sense. Discourse as defined by Foucault refers to ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and relations and relations between them (Weedon, 1987:108). Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. Hall (1997) alludes that the term discourse as defined by Foucault refers to a group of statements which provide a language for talking about, thus, a way of representing the knowledge about a particular topic at a historical moment. Simply defined, the term discourse refers to statements that govern a social field at a specific epoch, it is about the production of knowledge through language. This having been said, the theory comes in handy to the study as it seeks to explore how Mafu was framed by the *Chronicle*, framing as a process of representation happens within discourse as a result, the researcher seeks to uncover the kinds of discourses Mafu was subjected to beginning from his appointment to his dismissal time. Important to note is that the study generally assumes that Bongani Mafu's identity mutated, it changed relative to Bosso's performances in the PSL.

Discourse is about language and practice, Foucault (1980) alludes that discourse constructs the topic, defines and produces the objects of knowledge and governs the way a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about. Seemingly, as framing occurs within not outside discourse, it is argued that meaning and meaningful practice is constructed within discourse. As he argues that nothing has any meaning outside of discourse, it is therefore imperative to this study to implore whether the discourses under which Mafu was framed celebrated or mourned him when he was dismissed as Highlanders coach. As it has been said that framing takes place within a given discourse and that story patterns are developed within a given discourse, Foucault attributes knowledge to power where he argues that knowledge does not operate in a vacuum but works through certain technologies and historical contexts. As an ideological State Apparatus,

media are not only key in the process of conveying information and ideas, but also play a crucial role in shaping opinions and presenting particular versions of reality (Gurevitch et al, 1995). Similarly, this study examines the production of knowledge through discourses under which Bongani was subjected to which informed the public opinion about him as a coach.

Discourses are a form of power, and as Hall (1997) alludes that the process of reality construction by the media is not innocent but rather an act or game of power, discourse exist therefore as a regulatory framework that governs the world, defines the thinkable and unthinkable, shareable and un-shareable, sayable and unsayable, doable and undoable as well as the printable and unprintable. Foucault (1980) asserts that discourse operates in four ways; it produces truth and knowledge, creates the world, discourse says something about the person who is talking about it, and it is always implicated in power contestations. He further theorises the discursive realm where he argues that, the moment an individual finds him or herself speaking in a manner that produces knowledge and creates subjects he is in the discursive realm. Similarly, I argue that, the media are always in the discursive realm as they are actively involved in the production of reality through producing knowledge about objects. The theory of discourse, power and knowledge is handy to this study because it answers the research objectives and questions.

2.9 Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the Literature review and theoretical frameworks that inform the study. This chapter exhaustively outlined the kinds of studies thematically that have been conducted with reference to the sport world and the media and the theories informing the study were exclusively analysed while at the same time, highlighting their relevance to the topic. Theories used were meant to assist the researcher unpack the role the media plays in sport. More so, some theories explained the reasons why the media fails to play the expected roles. Therefore during the data analysis stage, these theories will aid incite on whether the *Chronicle* managed to play the roles theorists had postulated or it assumed other roles in its framing of Bongani Mafu. The next chapter explores the research methodology together with data presentation and analysis methods.

CHAPTER 3: Research Methods and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Research can be understood as an investigation for information through neutral and consistent methods of discovering enlightenment to the problem in search. (Dawson, 2002) asserts that the term research comprises of two syllables, *re* and *search*. The former is a prefix substitutable for words like again, anew or over again. Search is a verb meaning to analyze, study closely and carefully or to probe (Dawson, 2002).

Scholars concur that research encompasses describing and redefining problems, expressing hypothesis or recommended clarifications; gathering, systematising and assessing data; making presumptions and reaching conclusions (Dawson, 2002; Kothari, 1985; Kumar 2005). They also support the notion that the main aim of research is to find out the concealed reality about the phenomenon which can be achieved by monitoring that the research must be controlled, rigorous, systematic, valid and verifiable, empirical and critical.

The chapter describes how the research was carried out. From the above definitions of research, research methodology can be ordinarily defined as the standards, principles, ideas and designs with which researchers base their modus operandi, strategies and approach to research. This is achieved in the course of research where researchers outline the methods taken from the stage of crowding and gathering data to the presentation of research findings. The research paradigm used in this research will be discussed mutually with the unit of analysis, sampling methods, methods of data gathering, data analysis as well as data presentation methods.

3.2 Research Paradigm

There are two research paradigms namely quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative research is defined by Davies (2000: 34) as “a formal, objective, systematic process in which numerical data are utilised to obtain information about the world.” This study does not utilize quantitative research in that the data is considered quantifiable, the results are usually numerical (Green, 2002) and that using quantitative research, the larger the sample, the more time it takes to collect, present and analyse the data.

The study makes use of qualitative research. This research paradigm was fundamental to the study because its focal point is on qualitative data, guarantees and enhances the validity and credibility of the outcomes. Bertrand and Hughes (2005) cited by Bassey (2006) describe qualitative research as primarily based on description rather than on measurement of the factors to be analysed. Qualitative research places emphasis on and tolerates exhaustive analysis of words, images and subjective material. The qualitative research method was selected for use in this research due to its strength in explaining and interpreting “behaviours, processes and motivations” (Bassey, 2006). Marshall (2006) concurs that qualitative research is based on analyzing documents to gather and collect information, as a result, qualitative research aided the researcher to understand how *Chronicle* covered Bongani Mafu from his early times of appointment, during his season performance and on his dying times as Highlanders coach and why it covered him in the manner it did. Qualitative research provides valuable insights which might have been missed by any other method. Qualitative research was preferred because it is holistic, that is, it is context sensitive and does not study isolated aspects independently of the situation in which they occur. Qualitative research is researcher oriented as Young (1995) posits

that the main aim for this paradigm is to find the cause for human action. In this research, it came in handy simply because the research sought to unearth whether the discourses on Bongani Mafu remained constant or mutated in relation to the team's performance, hence context becomes significant in analyzing the kinds of discourses Mafu was subjected to in the *Chronicle*.

Disparagement imposed on qualitative research is that the samples are small and not essentially illustrative of the wider populace hence it is problematic to know how far the results can be generalised (Patton and Cochran, 2002 cited in Green, 2007). More so, Patton and Cochran (2002) cited in Green (2007) argue that it is challenging to convey how far the conclusions are influenced by the researcher's own ideas and estimations.

The purpose of a research design is to guarantee that the verification obtained enables the researcher to respond to the initial questions of the study as explicitly as possible. A research design "deals with a logical problem and not a logistical problem" (Yin, 1994: 29). Burns and Grove (2003) cited in Bassey (2006) define research design as a pattern for carrying out a study with utmost control over elements that may meddle with the validity of the results. Parahoo (1997) describes a research design as a strategy that designates how, explicates when and where data are to be accumulated and scrutinised. Polit (2001) cited in Parahoo (1997) contends as well that a research design is the researcher's general frame for responding to the research questions. A research design embraces aid in responding to the research questions and helps play down the chances of drawing inaccurate casual inferences from data (Yin, 1994). This highlights that apt research design is be helpful and necessary in achieving the research objectives.

As its design the research makes use of a case study. A case study as defined by Crowe et al (2011) is a research approach utilized to create an exhaustive, multi-sided comprehension of an intricate issue in its actual life context. There are three kinds of case studies and these comprise of, explanatory, descriptive and exploratory case studies. This research uses descriptive case study. The decision is in line with the study's research questions and objectives, which seek to find out how Mafu was framed as soon as he was appointed, the kinds of discourses subjected to him as he progressed as Highlanders coach and how reality was constructed in the *Chronicle's* coverage of him as a coach. Burns and Grove (2003) cited in Bassey (2006) indicate that a

descriptive research is intended to grant a depiction of a condition as it naturally ensues. The use of descriptive research design was premised on the researcher's attempts to depict an observable fact and conceptualise it inclusive of statements that create and recreate a situation and context as much as possible (Baron, 2001). For the purposes of this study, the researcher utilized the interpretive prism although there are others like the phenomenological and constructivism for the reason that the researcher is more concerned with, among others how social reality was constructed by the paper in its coverage of former Highlanders coach.,

3.3 Unit of analysis

Unit of analysis can be sometimes referred to as the population of the study. Population of a research study is defined by Parahoo (1997: 218) as "the total number of units from which data can be collected," such as individuals, artifacts, events or organisations. Burns and Grove (2003) cited in Bassey (2006: 213) describe population as all the elements that congregate the criterion for inclusion in a study. Scholars such as Babbie (2001) argue that a sample is drawn from a bigger cluster. In this research my population of the study is a maximum of 30 selected newspaper articles from the *Chronicle* where Bongani Mafu is implicated from his appointment era, tenure and dismissal time with special emphasis on how his identity mutated relative of the team's performance.

3.4 Sampling Approach

Sampling is a technique used for first-rating respondents. Sampling is crucial with regards to choosing a sampling method because it seeks to "make sampling more efficient" (Cochran, 1953 cited in Battaglia, 2008). Cochran asserts that using proper sampling methods allow researchers the aptitude to diminish research costs, carry out research more efficiently (velocity), have greater flexibility, and provides for greater precision. Battaglia (2008) posits that sampling grants a means of accessing information about the population without the need to observe the population in its totality. Bryman contends that a sample is a piece of information that is used in a research (2004). Ncube (2011) postulates that sampling is a practice through which a group of subjects over the total population are selected with the intention of yielding knowledge about the population of concern. In general, it is the smaller share of population representative of the larger share. Blumberg (2005) idea that sampling is done to select small amounts of population from the population of interests resonates well with Ncube (2011) idea. The following section

therefore explicates how the population of this study was selected as respondents and objects for analysis in this study. The study uses non random sampling techniques as they are often less complex.

3.4.1 Purposive-Sampling

While there is an array of sampling techniques, this study utilizes purposive sampling. The main intention of purposive sampling is to generate a sample that can be considered representative of the whole population as Battaglia (2008) contends. In Early (1990) purposive sampling is choosing a sample on the basis of the researchers' own understanding of the populace, its features and the knowledge of the research aims. Frey (2000) cited in Early (1990) alludes to the same idea when he says that in purposive sampling the population is non-randomly selected based on particular features and attributes. The researcher purposively selected stories from the *Chronicle* to obtain relevant information useful for the execution of this study. Purposive sampling has an advantage of obtaining anticipated information because stories are selected based on precise questions or objectives of the study. Battaglia (2008) augments that the other merit of purposive sampling is that typical appliance is for undersized samples from a population that is well understood and there is a clear method for picking the sample. All these merits underscore the benefits of and hence the reasons why purposive sampling was used. As is the case with other sampling methods one of the demerits of purposive sampling is that it is disposed to prejudice and bias (Frey, 2000 in Early, 1990). Material and data sourced can be biased as the investigator can purposively select and elect a definite population to validate his/her analysis. Through purposive sampling the researcher managed to ascertain how the discourses under which Mafu was subjected to mutated in relation to Highlanders FC performance hence the fluidity of his identity. A maximum of 30 articles from the *Chronicle* were purposively sampled to gather data for analysis.

3.5 Methods of Data Gathering

Methods of data gathering comprise of, archival research, interviews, questionnaires, surveys and participant observation to reference just a few. These methods are employed when one is carrying a research and amongst these, some are applicable to qualitative whilst others to quantitative. It is at researcher's interest to select which method best suit his/her study. They can

be comprehended as a convention of practices and techniques for gathering and accumulating facts (Dawson, 2002; Kothari, 1985; Kumar 2005). This research utilized qualitative research approach hence the researcher makes use of archival research as a method of data gathering. This is in tandem with the researcher's area of study which explores the framing of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders coach in *The Chronicle*. As a result, the paper's articles are to be examined for the purpose of unearthing the research findings.

3.5.1 Archival Research

It is argued by Mohr and Ventresca (2011) that archival research methods focus on the study of ancient data stored in documents that were engraved in the past and provide information that can be used for future reference. Archival research is done through reading the already existing chronicles of information and more often, it is data gathered and collected from documents stored in the archives (Rutman, 1984; White, 2005). The research focuses on media framing of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders coach from December 2014 to September 2015, hence it is imperative to note that the data analysed is largely textual and as a result, information can be superlatively gathered, collected and obtained through this technique. The researcher, therefore, made use of football articles obtained in the newspaper publishing organization, the *Chronicle* which now utilizes an online system of storing data instead of the old system of library. Relevant articles from the online archives of the organization were consulted. For the execution of this research, I purposively consulted texts, thus sports articles published in the *Chronicle* in order to congregate relevant information on how the organization framed Bongani Mafu for the period stipulated.

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis

Realising that the framing of Bongani Mafu by the *Chronicle* can be best understood within its circumstantial and social practices, the researcher made use of critical discourse analysis and semiotics analysis. These methods of data analysis were used to critically engage with data gathered in the *Chronicle* sports pages.

3.6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

In analysing data gathered from the *Chronicle* through archival research about the coverage of Highlanders coach Bongani Mafu the researcher embraced the use of Critical discourse analysis

and semiotic analysis. Critical discourse analysis is used to draw three detached forms of analysis inclusive of written or spoken language texts, analysis of discursive events and discourse practice. In analyzing data gathered I employed critical discourse analysis as expressed by Bryman (2012) who states that a discursive event can be analysed relative to a three dimensional scaffold. He indicates that the text dimension examines the actual content, structure and meaning of the text, the discursive practice dimension examines the form of discursive interaction used to communicate meaning and beliefs and the social practice dimension looks at the social context in which the discursive event is taking place. Critical discourse analysis is aimed at assessing written and spoken messages to expose bias, inequalities and dominance and how they are maintained and reproduced within the social context. Critical discourse analysis looks at the role of language as a dominant tool for the expression of ideological and socio-cultural change issues (Bryman, 2012). Van Dijk (1995) asserts that ideologies are articulated and replicated in the discourse hence my study sought to find the discourses under which Mafu was framed in *The Chronicle*. For this study CDA was utilized to analyse the ideologies embedded in the news articles of the *Chronicle* about Bongani Mafu. Moyo (2011) contends that CDA is an apt method of data analysis because it is professed to be critical in understanding how discourse is implicated in the replicating myths upon which individuals or events are framed. Fairclough (2003:27) concurs with Moyo that texts are rich in detail hence concurrently represent the physical, social as well as the mental world. My analysis pays attention to what was said, thus, inclusion and how it was said, thus, semantics and modality. I critique the choice of words and diction as well as the figurative language that constructs a certain reality. As this research seeks to uncover the discourses under which Mafu was subjected to, CDA therefore becomes critical in that it shows how language is not innocent but reflects reality in an ideological manner.

3.6.2 Semiotic analysis

Images tell a story without any use of words, this study therefore makes use of semiotic analysis to decipher the knowledge and meanings depicted in the paper's pictures of Bongani Mafu. Semiotics is widely known as the study of signs and Curran and Gurevitch (2000) argue that semiotics is an analysis done on texts. Texts can be in the form of words and images hence

semiotic analysis is utilized in this study to look at hidden meanings of pictures used by the paper in its framing of Bongani Mafu.

3.7 Data Presentation

I utilized the thematic analysis method to present information because as I analysed newspaper articles, themes propped out that I then used to present my findings. Anderson (2007) asserts that thematic content analysis is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data. Moreso, Braun and Clarke (2006:6) make a note of that “thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data”. Numerical data coding is where a statistical value is given to each variable. This method of data analysis is an effective tactic of handling bulky volumes of data. Descriptive or analytical data coding is the way of making sense of data in a narrative form, usually from interviews and focus groups discussions but in this case in form of newspaper articles. The researcher acknowledged key themes and conceptions from newspaper articles analysed for the purpose of this research. The research effectively used descriptive thematic coding. This helped to understand the role *Chronicle* played in elevating Bongani Mafu to the post, how then the discourses on him changed as a result of the team’s failure to perform and how the discourses in the Chronicle celebrated rather than mourn his dismissal.

Braun and Clarke (2006:10) postulate that “a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and it represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.” They further reveal that the significance of a theme is measured relative of how much it captures something essential vis-à-vis the research questions. They further tabled the kinds of phases that a researcher is likely to undergo in the section of presenting data utilizing the thematic approach. These include, acquainting oneself with relevant data to be analysed. In this phase researchers are prompted to read around the subject under study, closely scrutinise the data primarily to understand the gravity of the content. Since the researcher for this study is basing on archival research as her data gathering method, she selected articles from the Chronicle which she extensively read to understand as well as occasion relevant themes for data presentation. The scholars argue that for effective execution of this phase of data analysis, time consuming as it is, smaller samples are the most preferred hence the researcher had to select articles that specifically answer to her research questions. This happens prior to interpretation of

data. Coding of data has been explored. However, for Braun and Clarke (2006) this phase encompasses the organization of data into reasonable and meaningful assemblage. This entails that the researcher had to then re-group the data from articles to effectively come out with content I later used for establishing relevant themes for the study as well as content that validate and feed chosen themes. Coding of data then leads to the generation of themes which is a phase that, according to Braun and Clarke (2006), entails comprehensively reading the coded data to arrive at a point where a collective subject is personally agreed upon and it is in this phase that main themes and sub themes are deduced.

The establishment of themes that make up one's findings does not necessarily mean the end of the world in the field of data presentation as the already established themes need to be reviewed. Reviewing themes as postulated by these scholars entail refining and sanitizing them and the process results in the disposal of some arrived at themes. In this phase, the researcher had to ascertain that there was enough data to substantiate the arrived at themes and in cases where the researcher could not discover sufficient and adequate justifying data, themes were purposively rejected. The scholars argue that the next phase include defining and naming themes and they go further to say that names are supposed to be concise, succinct and express a logic of what the theme approximates. With reference to this phase I argue that it can be assimilated to the phase where themes are established because in my opinion establishing a theme entails naming it with reference to the coded data. In this research I purposively merged this phase with the one I established themes because as I instituted themes I was naming them. The last phase proposed by these scholars is identified as the production of a report and the articles analyses have to tell a story and the story should be articulated in a "concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting way" (Braun and Clarke, 2006:6). For authenticity of this research, the researcher provided some extracts of articles analysed that specifically answer to how themes were arrived at. Furthermore, themes established largely answered to the research objectives and questions.

3.8 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the research paradigm and design informing this study. Scholarly views for and against the methodology were also pointed out. The population of the study was clearly shown while sampling methods and procedures were outlined. Various methods of data

gathering tools employed during this research were discussed and justifications for their choice and use were given. Data presentation and analysis methods were also addressed. The next chapter delves at organizational analysis.

CHAPTER 4: Political Economy of the *Chronicle*

4.1 Introduction

The chapter provides an analysis of the *Chronicle* newspaper with specific consideration to its systems, aptitude, and functionality in order to upsurge its proficiency, performance, and productivity. Its emphasis is on the historical background where political economy of this paper is explored while giving a synopsis of its operations guiding codes and organizational structure. The chapter also explores the nature of the *Chronicle* newspaper relative to its fundamental business and administrative structure. The funding mechanism of the newspaper was explored.

4.2 Historical Background

A voluminous body of literature reveal that upon Zimbabwe's gain of Independence, the South African based Argus Press relished a monopoly and domination of the press in Zimbabwe through its subsidiary Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company which operated two Dailies and three Weeklies where the Dailies comprised of *The Herald* and the *Chronicle* whereas Weeklies consisted of *The Sunday Mail*, *Sunday News* and *Manica Post* respectively (Rusike, 1990; Saunders, 1999; Ronning and Kupe, 2000; Moyo, 2003; Chuma, 2005; Chari, 2009; Williams, 2009; Mabweazara, 2011; Chari, 2013). During the era of Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) it is argued that these papers signified what could be better explained as the white minority public sphere where these served only to promote the cause of white settler minority (Rusike, 1990; Saunders, 1991; Chuma, 2005).

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The Zimbabwean government with the aid of Nigerian government bought the Argus Press shares and with a regulatory picket renamed it Zimbabwe Newspapers Pvt Ltd 1980 (Chuma, 2005; Chari ,2010) which has widely grown to be known as *Zimpapers* in contemporary Zimbabwe. The purchase of shares from the Argus company resulted in the ZANU PF led government establishing the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) for the management of newspapers under the Zimbabwe Newspapers 1980 stable (Chuma, 2005). He further argues that the establishment of ZMMT was meant to provide a buffer between the state and the public press and the process reflected the new government's commitment to media freedom. ZMMT's creation and establishment was an enunciation of media dogma and was in standard inspired by the impression that the press should be free, non-partisan, accessible, mass oriented, should expand the public sphere and that it should be responsible for national interests (Saunders, 1999; Ronning and Kupe, 2000). In principle, ZMMT was supposed to be autonomous, however, immediately after assuming majority ownership of Zimbabwe Newspapers, the government through ZMMT in 1981 is argued to have begun a process of indigenising individual newspapers by venturing into editorial appointments and contending on editorial policies that only reflected on the government's developmental and transformational agenda (Chuma, 2005). In line with this argument Ronning and Kupe (2000) argue that Zanu Pf government had vowed to adhere to traditional democratic freedoms during the Lancaster negotiation with Britain, however, as the party thrived to ascertain hegemonic status over political sphere, ZMMT and its constituent media became progressively inundated in partisan skirmishes. Rusike (1990) argues that the conceptual and strategic weakness of ZMMT and its financial reliance to the Ministry of Information previously headed by Shamuyarira was a gateway for the Ministry of Information to become core agents in public formation policy.

As it has been alluded above, *Chronicle* newspaper falls under the stable of *Zimpapers* which came about in 1981 after the Zimbabwean government bought shares from Argus and as scholars argue, the Rhodesian full state control of the media by the government was fully asserted soon after Zimbabwe was born in 1980. Bratton (2005) argues that the cessation of political universe in Zimbabwe is blatantly illustrated by the government's determination to monopolise the tide of political information. Running and Kupe (2000) reveal that there emerged a skirmish concerning the editorial, journalistic impartiality and the desire to place the press under government control

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which somehow resulted in the acquittal of editors and journalists in Zimpapers. In 1983, three years after Zimbabwe obtained its independence and a year after ZMMT was established, journalist Willie Musarurwa was fired as *Sunday Mail* editor for giving salience to what the government of the day termed opposition, Geoffrey Nyarota is said to have been dismissed from his editorship post in *Chronicle* following his exposure of corruption in the Willowgate scandal in 1988 and in year 1987 it is reported that Henry Muradzikwa was sceptically promoted as it was the government's way of punishing him for publishing a story critical about the treatment of Zimbabwean students in Cuba (Ronning and Kupe, 2000). These given examples entail the political economy of *Zimpapers*, a stable for *The Chronicle* Newspaper and is very critical in one's understanding on how the paper operates.

In his work to uncover how year 2000 Zimbabwean elections was framed by the Zimbabwean media, Chuma (2008) argues that papers under the Zimbabwe Newspapers stable were positioned to ascertain that the dialogue by majority Zimbabweans was skewed in support of the governing Zanu Pf. He further argues that MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai was given space only when these papers cast him in a bad light. Chari (2009:10) notes that in Zimbabwean media landscape the public press is impenitent and unrepentant in its support for the ruling party while the private press seem to have engaged in an agreement with the opposition to perceive 'no evil', 'speak no evil' and 'see no evil' with regards to the opposition's affairs. Mabweazara (2011) posits that the Zimbabwean press is branded by a discernible polarity between public press which is state run and the private press whereupon the so called public press functions as a mouthpiece to spread government policy and suppress nonconformist opinions and views whilst private press provides platform to dissenting sights and questions government policy (Ronning, 2005). He argues that, while the private press adopts an anti-government editorial line, the public press is strikingly parochial and non-hostile towards the government. It is argued that by year 2000, the state-run press had presumed a relaxed position in mainstream media for the reason of the regular gagging and silencing of the private press by Zanu Pf administration through the enactment of veto constitutional mechanisms such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) (Ronning, 2005; Mabweazara, 2006; Mabweazara, 2011). Mabweazara (2011) further argues that the state's

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controlling power and grip over Zimbabwe Newspapers is compelled by the fact that in the ownership structure of this stable of public media, the government owns a larger share.

Crucial to note is that at independence Zimbabwe inherited hordes of Rhodesian media laws however, the emergence of private press and the formation of MDC in 1999 resulted in the government tightening its grip on public media and devising means to stifle critical views and opinions from the private press which was gaining momentum. Moyo (2003: 11) argues that as a result of the appointment of Jonathan Moyo as the Minister of Information working directly from the President's office in 2000, direct control of the media and manipulation became incessant, ruthless and unbearable. Chari (2009) further weighs in by arguing that the formation of a strong viable opposition party and the *Daily News* a conduit for political dissatisfaction saw the government promulgating the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act in order to ascertain its hegemonic status in Zimbabwe. It is argued that the Act called for the registration of journalists, accreditation of foreign correspondents, media houses local journalists and news agencies with the Media and Information Commission (MIC) (Willems, 2004). The *Daily News* and its sister paper *The Daily News on Sunday* is reported to have decided not to register with MIC but rather sought to challenge the provisions of the Act in the Supreme Court which in its ruling concluded that these had to comply with the provisions of the Act which resulted in their closure in 2003 (Willems, 2009; Chari, 2009).

It is further argued that the closure of many private newspapers which contributed to diverse opinions and views in the media, the likes of *Daily News*, *The Daily News Sunday*, *The Weekend Tribune*, *The Weekly Times*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Business Tribune*, and *The Sunday Mirror*, saw the state attaining a lion's stake of the media galaxy (Chari, 2009). The government's focus on media policy drives the idea that there is media in Zimbabwe however there is no Zimbabwean media as Moyo (2003) argues. He further postulates that, ever since, the public press have functioned as the ruling party's propaganda tool hence the plurality and diversity of ideas, opinions and views is self-evidently lacking in the public media.

4.3 Ownership and Control of the *Chronicle*

There is a significant body of literature that explores the effects ownership and control have on the day to day operations of the media (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Chuma, 2005; McQuail, 2005). Graham and Murdock (2000:78) postulate that critical political economy of the media is mainly concerned with the array of powers that execute control over the manufacturing of cultural perimeter or liberate the public domain. As it is asserted by Munyuki (2003), 51% is owned by the Multimedia Investment Trust (MIT), a body that took over the reins from ZMMT following its thaw in year 1993. Similarly, as was the case with ZMMT, the ZANU PF government maintained its interference hence it can be argued that it indirectly owns the largest percentage in the shareholding of Zimpapers hence wields more power in the control of Zimpapers. Chuma (2005) reveals that, to unearth the grip of the government in media post-independent Zimbabwe, the best example is that of Minister of Information who in the 1980s was tasked with the appointment of editors for influential newspapers such as *The Herald* and *Chronicle*, a move that resulted in the expulsion of several editors and journalists. Herman and Chomsky (1988) developed a propaganda model in their attempt to uncover how media operates, they came out with five filters, with which the first filter emphasises on ownership and control where they argue that it has traceable discourses within the media. Studying media in the Great Britain, they argued that the political ties of the media and the government have been remarkable as media strive to protect themselves from the legal dependency contingency through lobbying for the cultivation of political relationships. In Zimbabwe, public media (*Chronicle* included) does not face much of the harassment through laws by the government and it has been scholarly argued that the enactment of stringent laws like AIPPA and POSA amongst others was meant to curb the growing government scrutiny from the private press hence McQuail (2005) argues that the media are habitually linked to the prevalent structure of political power. Herman and Chomsky (1988) further talk of anti-communism as a filter where they argue that the media aligns itself to the prevailing or dominating ideology which helps mobilise the populace against “an enemy”. In light of their explanation of this filter, it can be articulated that, similarly, *The Chronicle* advances the ideologies of the state and is used as a tool to counter discourses prevalent in the private press and thus justify McQuail’s (2005) notion that due to the ownership

and control patterns, media disseminate a partial and employ an identical interpretation of the universe moulded by the standpoints of the ruling.

4.4 Funding mechanism

It has been alluded that the *Chronicle* operates under the stable of Zimpapers whose major interests are to maximise profits hence advertisers play a critical role in the funding of the newspaper. Critical to note is the fact that the paper advances the ideologies of the state hence most of the advertisers are institutions that are pro-government as well as parastatals partly because the government is the highest shareholder of Zimpapers. Herman and Chomsky (1988) contend that the advertiser's choices impact media proclivity and survival. They further argue that the major interest in today's media is to attract audience quality, the kinds who have the buying power as affluent audiences trigger advertiser interest hence have become the later day licensing authority. Advertisers do not associate themselves with ideological enemies hence they align themselves with the media that advance ideologies not critical on them, resultantly, discourses critical of government institutions and parastatals are filtered in the paper. The vision of the paper is to maintain cordial relations with the people in commerce and industry and to promote good group image. From the vision of the paper it can be argued that the essence of creating good relations with those in commerce and industry is money oriented hence the paper operates in a dual manner where in as much as content is sold to audiences, audiences are simultaneously sold to the corporate world. This brings me up to media economics where it has been argued that audiences have been taken as a potential market hence media organisations are no longer concerned about quality but quantity as the more audiences they have the more likely they are to attract advertisers and as a result, audiences have become a major source for both the media and advertisers.

4.5 Chronicle's Core Business

As a subsidiary of Zimpapers stable, the fundamental businesses of the *Chronicle* is to publish articles and stories during the weekdays to Saturday. The paper covers local news and it is divided to cater for the diverse populace of Zimbabwe as it is sectioned to provide and satisfy all age groups and interests, for example, there is the political section, business, farming, arts and entertainment, sports, features and educational sections for youth and Christians. It also covers international news in the sphere of politics and sports where audiences are not only furnished

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with local events but also get a glimpse of that which happens internationally. On Sunday the paper is often substituted by *Sunday News* which is also a paper under the Zimpapers stable and is located in the region. As it has been alluded above, the *Chronicle* falls under the Zimpapers stable which translates to the fact that its political angling of stories is biased towards the government as it holds many shares in Zimpapers. Mazango (2005) argues that the Zimbabwean media has a polarised media system with a well-defined political affiliation and that it has a specific polarised element. Similarly, the *Chronicle* newspaper can be argued to have a well-defined bias towards Zanu Pf where it has been used as the conduit through which the party's policies are articulated. The Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (MMPZ) report of (2005:87) reveal that polarisation that subsists in today's society is best articulated in the press. It is revealed that Zimbabwean newspapers take either a pro or anti-government stance in their reporting hence sacrificing objectivity in order to satisfy the needs of their chosen position. The paper under discussion functions as a mouthpiece for the government, it lauds government projects and policies and such antics date back to and can be traced from the colonial times. Similarly, as it was used by the Smith Regime to nip nationalism in the bud, it is now used by the government to curtail dissenting views from the so called antagonists. The mission of the paper is to produce newspapers, computer paper, cheque books, Directories, Diaries, Calendars, and other printed material including packaging of the highest quality. To give fair and balanced presentation of each day's news, this adequately reflects the principal happenings in all parts of the world. To create new markets and seek to continually expand the existing ones. The objectives of the paper include the maintenance of good relations with commerce and industry and foster the company's reputation for fair dealing, prompt service, dependability, integrity and courtesy, provision of working conditions and opportunities for advancement hence attract and retain the best type of employee, building through planned selection, development and training, a climate conducive to co-operation, good will and loyalty to all staff, practicable quality on a profitable basis, serving the best interests of the community and the company as well as maintaining within sound financial limits the highest possible levels of modern technical production in the face of competition from newspapers and the media.

Media are ought to serve a certain purpose, McQuail (2005) contends that they are alleged not only to have definite impartial effects to societies but also to serve a social purpose. He posits

that the normative media theory unearths micro and macro chosen resolutions about how the media ought to conduct themselves. It has been noted that the media serves to inform, educate and entertain however such processes are diluted by the processes of mediation. A research conducted by MMPZ (2000) on the coverage of the elections reveals that the media failed its role as an educator. Crucial to note is that, mediation metaphors play a critical role in determining what gets published and not in the *Chronicle*. In as much as it can act as a window, the angling of events and images determine the outcome of a story, in as much as it can act as a mirror, through convex some events are over-represented and through concaves other events are under-represented. In some cases, the paper acts as a barrier and gatekeeper whilst in some it acts as a signpost. The paper offers space where audiences give response with regards to stories published hence it can be articulated that in some ways it acts as a platform or forum.

4.6 Links with other Organisations

Traced from the colonial times, the *Chronicle* has always had a good relationship with the government as under the Smith regime it was utilised to further the interests of the minority white settlers. Similarly, the paper has a solid relationship with the government post independent Zimbabwe. This entails that, it has become a conduit through which the government and politicians articulate the discourses of the nation. As has been the case since the days of land redistribution, the paper is a site where national policies are disseminated with the recent example of the *ZimAsset*, the nation's move to ban the use of electric geysers and switch to solar powered system as well as the recent debate on the government's move to introduce the STEM- Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics driven educational programs to boost the economy of the country. It is because of this symbiotic relationship that the paper has with the government that all these discourses survive all the filters and see the light of the day. The relative relationship this paper has with the government has enabled for easy accreditation of its journalists as well as easy access to classified information held by public bodies which might take shorter than provided for in the AIPPA provisions.

The paper also coordinates and networks with other sister papers in different parts of the nation, especially in Mashonaland. It is rare for the papers' journalists to travel all over the nation to cover certain stories, however, through networking with its sister papers, stories that cover events nationwide are found in the paper. *The Herald* has been said to be the paper which the *Chronicle*

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relies on for stories hence in the paper there are stories attributed to as “Harare Bureau” and in *The Herald* as well some stories are attributed to as “Bulawayo Bureau”.

The history of Zimpapers revealed that papers under its stable enjoyed, right from its conception, relative relationship with ZMMT as Chuma (2008) argues that the government’s interference with Zimpapers began after the launch of ZMMT. Similarly, the paper still has a strong relationship with the contemporary media body known as the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC) which is a government institution whose mandate is to issue licenses to media houses and accredit journalists on a yearly basis. The organisation tows well with the entity and thus have a strong bond.

It has been alluded above that in as much as this paper relies on public funding, it also have interests in accumulating profits hence accommodate advertisers. The paper shares a good relationship with the corporate world as its vision clearly says that it strive to create good relations with people in commerce and industry. Space is given to advertisers and so common are the adverts by three communication entities in the country that consists of Econet, Netone and Telecel. Parastatals and other government institutions place their adverts in the paper be it statements, congratulatory messages, bids or condolences messages.

4.7 Editorial Structure of the *Chronicle*

4.7.1 The Editor

The editor is the most senior and is responsible for the publication, he or she determines whether the story is newsworthy or not. He is also responsible for the selection of news releases to publish centred on his personal and professional capacity. He or she acts as the gate keeper, sees what gets published and what does not. The editor of the *Chronicle* is Mduduzi Mathuthu wh assumed the reigns in year 2013 after his appointment by the then Minister of information Honourable Jonathan Moyo. The Minister was disputed for the appointment of Mathuthu following the history that he once worked for the *Daily News* whose mandate has been to critic the government. He also came under fire following his appointment of Edmund Kudzai as *The Sunday Mail* editor in the same year following that the guy in question worked for an international paper that often criticised President Mugabe. Mathuthu came under fire in 2014 following his antics in defending the alleged Edmund Kudzai as Baba Jukwa using his Editorial

section. Critics revealed that his move to use the national paper to defend Baba Jukwa who was accused of terroristic tendencies questioned his innocence in the process and his dubious appointment by the Minister was revisited.

4.7.2 The Deputy Editor

The deputy editor's major task is to look after the organisation, see to it that duties are executed effectively and he assists the editor where need be.

4.7.3 Desk Editors

The paper has six desk editors namely the news editor, business editor, features editor, gender editor, showbizz editor, sports editor and the political editor. Clemence Manyuke is the paper's news editor and he is responsible for refining stories written by reporters, correcting and removing the kind of information unnecessary in a story as well as approving the angling of stories. Prosper Ndlovu is the business editor and he is tasked with fine tuning business related stories in the paper, he decides which business stories get published and so he acts as the gatekeeper in the desk. Arnold Mutemi is the paper's features editor, Chronicle do have feature story writers among them are Gibson Mhaka. The editor therefore filters what features are to be featured in the paper. He works hand in glove with the paper's feature writers. The gender desk was established in year 2014 and Daisy Jeremani is responsible for this desk. She pens gender educative articles and gives space to specific individuals who respectively work under gender forums. The showbiz desk is headed by Melissa Mpofu and it is responsible for entertainment as it is a normative aspect for media to entertain. Nduduzo Tshuma heads the political desk and works with reporters who report on political issues and he approves the angling of stories.

4.7.4 The Sports Desk

Given this study looks at sport, the researcher finds it imperative to explore and clarify production contexts of some of the stories. A lot of questions have been raised by Bosso supporters that relate to what could be wrong with the team. Having had a high turnover of coaches and still facing same challenges it can be argued therefore that *Chronicle* plays a critical part in setting agenda for public debate. The paper usually entertain critics on coaches and shields Bosso executives from public scrutiny. People see reality through the lens of Bosso executive, this is to say that, sports reporters in the paper, amongst which are Ricky Zililo and

Sikhumbuzo Moyo enjoy a symbiotic relationship with Bosso executive. Herman and Chomsky (1988) indicate that symbiotic relationship with news sources have an impact on the dimension of news content. They argue that dominant people are given legitimacy and leverage by journalists. Similarly, in the paper, visible voices are for those who are pro-Bosso executive as blame is often cascaded to the team's coaches and technical bench. Demagogues like Daka and Zulu are usually privileged to comment on the happenings of the team and more emphasis is often given to the coaches who are labelled as underperforming. As a result, coaches always come under fire and the executive is shielded from scrutiny.

4.7.5 Sub Editors

These are responsible for checking the stories for accuracy, layout and design pages. They also have the mandate to change headlines and replace them with preferable ones through use of their personal and professional prowess. They also insert by-lines and attach photographs that ensemble the angle of a story in news articles. Kenneth Mhlanga and Never Ndlovu are among the sub editors for the paper.

4.7.6 Reporters

These are responsible for coming up with diary items that they submit to their respective desk editors. They gather news, follow events, conduct physical and phone interviews and they read around documents to obtain stories after which they write and edit before submitting to their desk editors. Reporters are always encouraged to peer-edit each other's stories as it is often troublesome to edit that which one would have written. Framing takes place and it is the sole determinant of how a story would look like when published. It is at this stage that reporters take note of what Herman and Chomsky (1988) termed news sourcing where they argue that reporters have a symbiotic relationship with news sources. This study focused on sports reporters who attend Highlanders matches to report on the events of the day. Sikhumbuzo Moyo and Ricky Zililo among other sport writers are a major focus for this research as it seeks to unearth the stance these took in the framing of Bongani Mafu relative to Highlanders performance. For the purposes of this research, the study focused on and explored their use of discourses under which Mafu was framed and strives to determine whether their reporting tone celebrated or mourned the dismissal of the coach.

4.7.7 Proof Readers

They are responsible for reading through the written articles in an attempt to uncover mistakes therein that would have escaped the sub editors and the whole of the editing chain, from the reporter through desk editors to the editors themselves. They are endorsed with power to reconstruct sentences and change diction in an article through use of their personal and professional expertise. *The Chronicle* has three proof readers.

4.7.8 Photographers

These are responsible for taking pictures which appear on the paper and they go along with reporters to cover events. Pictures often tell a story and they clarify the theme of a story such that the intentions of an article are easily decoded by audiences. Pictures that accompany stories speak volumes, they detail the story with no wording and it is therefore the responsibility of the paper's photographers to capture stories through pictures.

4.8 Conclusion

The chapter looked at the political economy of *The Chronicle* tracing it from the historical background. It explored the ownership structure and funding mechanism and how these impact on the content and have a traceable effect on the actual content produced in the paper. The organogram detailing the structure of the case study organisation was given and explored respectively. The following chapter presents the research findings in tandem with the research objectives and questions that inform the whole study.

CHAPTER 5: Data Presentation and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study, it analyses the findings of the study in relation to its objectives. The objectives of this study are to explain how the *Chronicle* framed Bongani Mafu upon his appointment and during his tenure as Highlanders Football Club coach, to explain whether *The Chronicle's* discourses on Mafu mutated or remained constant during his tenure as Highlandes FC coach and to explain whether the *Chronicle's* tone celebrated or mourned the dismissal of Mafu as Highlanders FC coach. Therefore, the presentation and analysis of data is entrenched in the research objectives, informed by issues outlined in the literature review and also the theories discussed in the theoretical framework. The presentation and analysis of data

looks at the discourses perpetuated by the paper on Mafu and images of him as they tell a story without the use of words. These findings are presented thematically and from the data gathered through the archives of the *Chronicle* I came out with three broad themes which are extensively discussed to fulfil the objectives of this study. The themes are as follows, “Bongani Mafu as a Saviour”, “Bongani Mafu as a complete failure” and “Bongani Mafu as a rouble rouser who cannot deliver”. The themes were arrived at after the researcher familiarised herself with the kinds of sport stories the paper covered on the so called Highlanders coach. It springs from these themes that the tone of the paper on whether it celebrated or mourned his dismissal will be established. The study initially discuss the themes so as to establish his framing during his appointment and whether the discourses under which he was framed remained constant or changed and from such discussions, the tone of the paper was established.

5.2 Bongani Mafu as a saviour

The study noted that upon the appointment of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach in 2015 was celebrated by the *Chronicle* as the beginning of better times. The discourse of analysed stories appear to indicate that Mafu was going to be saviour or Messiah to Highlanders perennial problems. Following Bosso’s string of poor performance under the Zambian born coach Kevin Kaindu and Mark Mathe who acted as an interim coach, after the dismissal of Kaindu, in 2014 Premiership, Bongani Mafu was the chosen coach for the team. Imperative to note is that Bosso has had a string of coaches prior to Bongani Mafu’s appointment and came under media spotlight. In its framing of Bongani Mafu as the team’s appointed coach, the paper presumed him as a needed redeemer who was capable of delivering Bosso from its failing encounters in the PSL.

In a story headlined “New coach for Bosso by X-mas”, on the 19th of December 2014, the paper acknowledged that the new Bosso gaffer (name withheld to create suspense among Bosso supporters) was believed to have the technical prowess and stamina to lead Bosso. Such discourses create in the minds of followers the agitation and hope that whoever is to take over the team is going to lead it to good ends. When the paper announced that Bongani Mafu was the appointed Highlanders coach in 23 December 2014, it went on to divulge how qualified he was as it emptied all the kinds of experiences he has. In a story titled “Latest: Mafu appointed

Framing of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach in the Chronicle

Highlanders coach”, on December 23rd 2014, the former Highlanders gaffer was framed as a holder of a UEFA coaching badge, an element that distinguished him from other coaches who also had interests in leading the team. The paper reported that:

His best achievement to date remains guiding Chikwata to a second place finish in the Zimbabwean Premier League 13 years ago” and that, In the UK he has been Head-coach at Sherborne town where he won titles With the under 16s and 18s teams.

The above quotations give the impression that Mafu was the supposed antidote for the team, the fact that he once led a team to success means that 13 years after his experience has grown hence is capable of ushering Bosso to where it once was. As Hall (1996) argues that the media conveniently remember and conveniently forget certain facts in order to manage events and images, the same can be seen with regards to how the paper dug into the past of Mafu to conveniently place him as a better candidate to usher Bosso out of misery. If he had successfully led teams in the United Kingdom where he scooped titles, the paper positioned him as someone who would be curtailed by nothing in successfully leading Bosso. Such framing of him makes him a suitable choice and cultivates the spirit of believing that he can do it.

In a story written by Ricky Zililo titled “Bosso to parade new signings” it was revealed that, “Mafu admits that he has a healthy headache to select his starting team”. Such reporting puts him as a capable candidate ready to re-structure and re-strategize and take Bosso to new heights. The paper also reported that Bongani Mafu has a human science qualification which could come in handy in rehabilitating players. Bosso players have been for so long haunted by the failure to break the jinx against their rivals Dynamos FC. Mafu was framed as a cure, able to study his player’s psychology and ready to offer possible solutions to them with his experience in human science. He was framed in a way that situates him as Bosso’s solution, an antidote to all the ailments the team has suffered from and as a deity capable of exorcising the demon haunting the team.

In an article written by Ngqabutho Moyo in January 15 2015 titled, “Bosso in sync: Mafu”, the coach was framed as satisfied with the kinds of signings he had done and was looking forward to give other teams ‘hell of a game’.

Framing of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach in the Chronicle

The paper indicated that, “he said he is working with the most talented players who needed just to be coached in the right direction to produce the expected results”. Affirming these words by the coach, the paper endorsed him as having the prowess to coach, meaning that all along Bosso has had talented players who only lacked a coach who would lead them into the right direction. When Highlanders FC were held by nine men Chapungu FC players in a February pre-season match, Ricky Zililo adjudged that the team’s preparations were work in progress hence endorsed Mafu as a person who has what it takes to lead Bosso to where it is anticipated to be. Commenting on the tactics employed by Mafu, he declared, “Highlanders coach Bongani Mafu then made two technical changes...a move that brought stability in their midfield...”. Such framing position Mafu as able to make critical changes that change the whole form of the team’s performance hence expectations for good results are elevated by such portrayal.

Upon Bongani Mafu’s appointment as Highlanders coach, it was all smiles as depicted by the kinds of images that the paper used to frame him.



Newly appointed Highlanders FC coach (Right) Chronicle

The images used by the paper in his appointment times were those that showed how lively Bongani Mafu was. His presence at Bosso brought happiness and joy as the team’s executive strongly believed he was the right man to save Bosso from all the humiliation the team suffered in the 2014 PSL. The picture above depicts the joy engulfing the club as a result of the appointed new coach Bongani Mafu. There were great expectations as the saviour had been appointed. This study therefore established that during the appointment of Bongani Mafu, he was framed in the paper as a saviour whose appointment would yield positive results. He was framed as a supposed antidote to all the ailments the team suffered from. Bosso having been a team that have struggled

to win the PSL title in many years and failed to beat their rivalry Dynamos FC, Bongani Mafu was therefore framed as the much needed “god” of the team who will deliver it from all the failures the team have endured.

5.3 Bongani Mafu as a rabble rouser who cannot deliver

The study noted that the *Chronicle* re-presented Mafu as a rabble rouser, a rabble rouser denotes a person who is capable of inciting people with his ideas such that they end up buying into their ideologies without any practical backup. Despite being framed as a hero and a saviour upon his appointment, Bongani Mafu was, in the same paper framed as a rabble rouser who cannot deliver. He was framed as an all talk coach with no pragmatism. In other words, his sting was felt through words whilst in matches he was proved wrong. The idea of a rabble rouser posits Mafu as the team’s demagogue able to win popularity by appealing to their feelings yet delivering nothing.

Following the protest by Highlanders FC supporters calling for the team’s executive to fire the underperforming Bongani Mafu, the coach is quoted to have been said “even Jesus can’t coach Highlanders”. The statement was uttered following Bosso’s defeat by the toothless Chapungu which invoked anger amongst the supporters hence leading to the demonstration. In a story written by Ricky Zililo on the 16th of July titled, “Mutizwa Strike saves Bosso”, the paper reported that

Highlanders FC coach Bongani Mafu must be a very brave man to still insist that his boys remain in contention of the premiership title despite collecting only three points from their last four games.

Coach Bongani Mafu is framed in the paper as one brave man because of his resilience in thinking that he could save the sinking Bosso ship despite the underperformance of Highlanders FC. Despite the recurring losses by Highlanders FC, coach Bongani Mafu is framed in the paper as a man good with words but less skilled in producing results. The paper went on to say,

Mafu is adamant that he could still turn around Bosso’s fortunes in the second half of

Framing of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach in the Chronicle

the season and finish strongly with the title chasing pack.

In this instance, “adamant” gives the impression that the coach was hell bent in believing that he had what it takes to lead Bosso yet the results proved elusive. An adamant someone does not yield to results hence in this instance Mafu’s belief that he would take the team to strong finish was framed as a self-delusion. In the same article, Ricky laments,

Yesterday’s performance made a mockery of Mafu’s confidence as his team struggled

to reach second gear, losing possession in dangerous positions.

The statement above attests to that what Bongani Mafu often said and what would transpire in the field of play were completely different. “Performance made a mockery of Mafu’s confidence” phrase signifies that through his words he framed the team as strong and was confident in soliciting wins yet on stadia its performance would be otherwise hence his words spat back at him.

To further heighten the theme that Bongani Mafu was a rabble-rouser who failed to deliver, Ricky Zililo published an article titled “Bosso members turn heat on Mafu (June 22) where he clearly stated that Mafu should stop hiding behind words and start to deliver as expected of him as a coach. “...Mafu should stop talking too much and concentrate on finding winning solutions for the team”. This statement highlights that Mafu weighed in heavily as a coach through words yet coaches were expected to deliver through play. Mhiripiri (2010) argues that identities are performances and in the light of this, it can be argued that the paper framed Bongani Mafu in the way it did in light of how he performed as a coach. Defending losses by the team, defending players after losing, defending his technical bench as well as promising to deliver when Bosso displayed feeble play resulted in his framing as a talkative coach who cannot deliver.

Dingilizwe Ntuli, the paper’s sports editor penned an article titled “Mafu eats humble pie” on the 21st of August where he analysed how the coach’s rabble-rousing tendencies are often compromised in every Bosso’s game leaving him biting the dust.

“...Mafu landed a strange stinging rant at FC Platinum dismissing their tactics as

appalling, but failed to back up all the talk yesterday...”

Framing of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach in the Chronicle

The above statement reveals how Mafu is often betrayed by his team's performance regardless of the effort he puts through words in trying to scare away opponents and build confidence amongst his players. He is framed as a coach who is good at words but a complete failure in pragmatising that which he would have said. In other words, he fails to live his words hence the chosen theme of him as a rabble rouser who cannot deliver.

The same publication goes on to highlight that, "...Zvishavane based outfit responded on the pitch with a convincing performance to silence the loud mouthed coach" The statement differentiates the coach from other football coaches in that, while he is busy firing straws at them through words, they are busy teaching him a lesson in the fields of play leaving him smarting from defeats. "Loud mouthed coach" denotes how Mafu was easily heard while at the same time easily silenced through field of play. This kind of framing posits him as a folk tongued, venom spiting coach whose bark is worse than his bite. His attacking efforts were through words whilst his team lived to fail his words.

As Hall (1997) argues that the media bank on memory, the paper is no exception because in its framing of Bongani Mafu it relied heavily on the promises Mafu had supposed to clearly back up the framing of him as a rabble rouser who failed to deliver. Sikhumbuzo Moyo on the 1st of September in a story titled ' "Daka laments Bosso decline" highlighted that:

Mafu first assumed his coaching role at Bosso bubbling with confidence and even went to the extent of warning that other teams would find it difficult to beat the Bulawayo giants.

The paper relied on memory In that in its attempt to frame Mafu as a failed rabble rouser, it recalled what he promised during his appointment, promises that he has lived never to deliver for Bossolonians. The fact that he had cautioned other teams that his team will be difficult to beat positioned him as a much needed coach, however, the paper has taken a jibe considering his failure to deliver the much anticipated results hence his portrayal as a rabble rouser who is all talk and none pragmatic. The paper went on to reveal that, "He boldly stated that the teams would be smacked by the team he would build but the sad reality is that his side has been running on empty..." The statement attests to the unsatisfactory achievements by the coach who initially took in the ropes with loads of promises to lead Bosso to victory. His failure to deliver then has resulted in the

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paper framing him as a rabble rouser through which nothing from his mouth is to be believed to come true.

The choice of headlines, the way they are crafted also is something paramount in this study's attempt to determine how Mafu was framed as a rouble rouser who cannot deliver. The headline, "Muffled!...Mafu silenced as FC Platinum come from behind" empties how Mafu's failure to deliver after having talked a lot exposes his tactical ineptitude.

5.4 Bongani Mafu as a complete failure

Although the study established that during his appointment as Highlanders FC coach, Bongani Mafu was framed as a saviour, discourses of him mutated as soon as he played his first game of the Castle Lager Premiership. Prior to the start of the season, this paper relied on the man's experience, the things he had achieved and the promising words he articulated in its framing of him as a saviour and a supposed antidote for the second largest team in Zimbabwe. During his tenure and as a result of the way Bosso performed, discourses on Mafu changed and took a complete turn from what he had been supposed to be.

Mafu discourses as a saviour took a complete turn upon his first League match against ZPC Kariba in March 23. The paper relied heavily on memory to image this event. The headline of the *Chronicle* was boldly, "Bosso loss a first in 18 years". Sikhumbuzo Moyo went on divulge that, "Bongani Mafu became the first Highlanders coach in 18 years to lose an opening match of the season...". Framing him this way presupposes the accomplice as a failure in that he has ruined the team's historical achievement which makes him the first in 18 years to lose an opening match. In other words, the reality produced by the paper was that it has taken Bongani Mafu, and only him that the top flight team Highlanders has lost an opening match of the season. To further reveal how Mafu has failed, Ricky Zililo in his May 6 article dug heavily on the past to paint Mafu as a complete failure following Bosso's defeat by Caps United and to subvert the reality the paper initially published in its coverage of the man as a saviour. He indicated that, "The loss to Caps United was Highlanders' first league defeat to the Green Machine at Barbourfields since 1997". This kind of framing puts Mafu at a disadvantage in that it does not gunner him any positive remarks,

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however, positions him as a scoundrel who has failed to maintain the achievements of Bosso. It positions him as a villain whose mandate is to dismantle the little achievement Bosso is known for. Him being framed as the first coach to ever be defeated by Caps United in 18 years paints him as a complete failure and taints his ability to usher Bosso to victory. It has been argued that discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning, they are a game of power as Hall (1997) argues. In this instance, it was Mafu's failure not Highlanders' loss per say. In the same article, Ricky goes on to attest that:

Mafu was also the first coach to lead Highlanders to a league loss in week one in 18 years.

He has set yet another record as Bosso has lost to Caps United for the first time in 18 years.

The statements highlight that Bongani Mafu's presence as Highlanders coach has indeed produced results, unanticipated and un-celebratory results which presuppose him as a failure to nurture that which Bosso had achieved prior to his taking over. His framing as the first coach to lead Highlanders to failure in the first week of the season produces the knowledge that although past Bosso coaches failed, their failure cannot be equated to Mafu's. His failures are framed as beyond that which has ever been known in Highlanders FC history. Ricky goes on to divulge that, "The scoring record is the worst for the Club and can only be comparable to the four goals scored after seven matches in 2009". This statement justifies the notion by Hall (1997) that the media are not innocent purveyors of reality but are actively involved in the production of a reality. The statement gives the impression that under Bongani Mafu's leadership, Bosso's scoring history declined beyond normal and such framing locates Mafu under a spell of failure. The reality is that under his wing, he has failed to elevate the team's scoring margin but rather declined it to the worst ever charting in the team's history.

Dingilizwe Ntuli, the paper's sports editor penned an article titled, "Ref save Bosso Blushes" on the 8th of June where Highlanders as a team was framed to have put up a poor performance and have the referee to thank for awarding them a dubious penalty. This kind of framing exposes Mafu as a non-strategist who can neither fairly win nor draw except through the referee's intervention. He said, "So poor were Highlanders that even their die-hard fans celebrated the stalemate as if the game had been won...". This statement reveals how the team's poor performance has impacted all stakeholders including fans as they now celebrate a draw as a win all as a result

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of the failing Mafu to deliver. This framing situates Mafu as the chief culprit in the team's failure to produce good results. He goes on to say, "Before the turn of the millennium, Barbourfields was a slaughter house for any visiting side". Meaning that before Mafu took over the charge of the team, Highlanders never performed poorly at home. The reality produced here is that, at BF Highlanders FC ruthlessly butchered their opponents which has now become a thing of the past as Mafu has led the team to be hammered both home and away hence his framing as a complete failure. He further indicates that BF was every visiting team's nightmare but because of Bongani Mafu, draws are now major accomplishments at BF. The then Highlanders FC fortress (BF) has become a ground where the team is slaughtered by other teams including small ones. It is therefore Mafu's failure that Highlanders FC are now slaughtered at their own fortress.

To further show how Mafu is a failure, the sports editor pens that, "Mafu's objective is sure to remain a pipe dream. His men have...struggled at home...and dropped far too many points". The statement gives the impression that Mafu's objectives are wasted as he simply strives to build castles in the air. Framing the coach's objectives as remaining a pipe dream gives the impression of a coach whose ideas will forever remain utopia. The phrase "pipe dream" denotes how unachievable and unfeasible his objectives for the team are hence will never come to fruition.

Media bank on memory and historiography and as it has already been alluded to that they conveniently remember and conveniently forget certain events to manage images, the paper, in its attempt to frame Mafu as a failure, juxtaposed Mafu along former Highlanders coaches. In an article titled, "Mafu survives" on the 25th of August 2015, Sikhumbuzo Moyo alleged that of all the coaches Bosso has ever had, Mafu has seemingly been treated with kid gloves compared to his predecessors. He wrote:

Kelvin Kaindu was fired in 2014 when Highlanders were on 39 points, seven behind the log leaders Dynamos....Methembe Ndlovu was also relieved of his duties when the team was second on the log...

The history of the dismissal of Bosso former coaches is given in the paper to create a realistic situation that, a badly performing coach has stayed for too long as compared to those who had been sacked even though their performances greatly exceeded Mafu's. This kind of framing

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cultivates and calls for the dismissal of the poorly performing coach. As it is argued by Chuma (2012:1) that framing looks at the way in which the media resort to a particular interpretive structure to set particular events within their broader context, the paper therefore resorted to historiography to frame Mafu as a complete failure.

Bongani Mafu's failure to deliver also resulted in the paper failing to acknowledge the wins. In a story by Sikhumbuzo Moyo titled, "Bosso win...Clinch narrow victory over PSL newboys" it is articulated that:

Judging by Bosso's performance, Mafu still has a lot of homework to do and the learned gaffer cannot really draw much comfort from yesterday's lucky goal.

His failure to lead Bosso to victory and a series of losses Bosso suffered at his hands led to the paper's failure to praise the gaffer. His wins were framed in such a way that his failures were visible. When Highlanders FC beat Dynamos FC in a ZNA Charity Cup Sikhumbuzo Moyo went on to emphasise that he still needs to beat their rivalry in a league match. The article reported that:

Although Mafu became the first coach to beat Dynamos in open play, he has to wait for next season to attempt this feat in a league match if he still will be with Bosso.

The paper acknowledges that he indeed was the first Bosso coach to beat Dynamos in years. However, he is also framed in a way that does not celebrate his achievement as he still has a mammoth task with the current team. This kind of framing also casts doubt on the future of the coach at this Club.



Framing of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach in the Chronicle

Bongani Mafu: Source-Chronicle

The picture above depicts a man who has run out of clues, the paper often used this picture in stories that covered Bosso losses. Unlike the one the paper utilised when Mafu was appointed where he was bubbling with joy, the above one frames him as intently watching but with no direction. He is framed in such a way that he looks hopeless and helpless.

Mafu's tenure as Highlanders coach was also framed by the paper as having caused a lot of friction amongst the supporters who felt short-changed by his failure to lead the team to their expectations. This kind of framing presupposes Mafu as the first Highlanders coach to ever face the agitation from the team's supporters. In an article titled, "Daka laments Bosso decline", on the 1st of September 2015, Sikhumbuzo Moyo notes that:

The Mafu question has turned the relationship between the club and its loyal supporters toxic and most can't understand how a coach who has repeatedly expressed satisfaction with the declining performances of his team no matter the result, continues to hold onto one of the biggest jobs in domestic football.

The statement above positions Bosso supporters as loyal yet in many occasions the paper would frame them as violent and impatient. This kind of framing, in my analysis, calls for the ouster of the coach. The fact that "most cannot understand" how Mafu is still reigning as a coach creates a reality that a correctional measure has to be taken. Coaching Bosso is framed as one of the biggest jobs hence in need of reputable individuals who ought to produce results than decline them as Mafu is framed to have done.

He goes on to posit that, "...Mafu doesn't have a get out of jail card...", a statement that depicts Mafu as someone who has run out of clues, it positions him as a complete failure in that no idea of him can come to fruition and see Bosso attaining good anticipated results. He is framed in such a way that positions him as a cornered man who possibly cannot escape the kind of situation he finds himself in. He further states that, "Under Mafu the players have looked paralysed by fear...the players have looked confused for far too long...". The statement affirms that Mafu has failed as a prescribed antidote for Bosso and its players, his human science qualifications, initially framed as crucial in rehabilitating players, are proving to be futile as players are framed

Framing of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach in the Chronicle

to have been confused for far too long under his supervision. He also contends that Bosso executive and board chose to remain mum with regards to how Mafu performed yet something needed to be done to bring Bosso back to its victorious grandeur. I contend that the paper somehow cultivated the spirit of Mafu's expulsion as the team's coach hence the tone celebrated his dismissal.

The study also established that the tone of the paper celebrated Mafu's dismissal, in a story that officially announced his ouster on the third of September, Sikhumbuzo had this to say, "Highlanders flagged a decision on Mafu's future after a hat-trick of embarrassing losses". Hat-tricks in the soccer arena are known to be unimaginably well scored goals, in this instance, the paper framed Mafu as having led Bosso to a hat-trick of embarrassing losses. This serves to mean that his failure to yield positive results was unimaginable and it creates the reality that his tenure as a coach for Bosso was strikingly failure oriented. He declared that:

The UEFA B youth football coaching badge holder has presided over one of the worst seasons for Highlanders which has seen the once mighty giants becoming punching bags for almost every team.

In this instance, Mafu is framed as a failed coach whose qualifications and historical achievements proved to be ineffectual in leading Bosso to success. He is framed as a coach whose badge of honour betrayed him in that the once "mighty giants"-uneasy to beat team has come to its knees. The reality produced here is that being learned in the area of sport does not automate one as a good coach as the learned Mafu proved otherwise.

The study also established that under Mafu, Bosso's referral discourses mutated from being known as the Bulawayo giants, Mighty giants to being known as the "Crestfallen Highlanders FC", "Wasteful Highlanders FC, and "Fading Bulawayo giants". These discourses on the team point out the failures of Bongani Mafu as a coach. Sikhumbuzo Moyo and Ricky Zililo concurred on their September the second articles that Mafu had been underperforming since his first game of the league and that Highlanders' form had been so bad that, "...even the realistic chance of a top four finish they had at the half way mark, has now vanished...".

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The paper celebrated the dismissal of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders coach as justified by the article penned by Sikhumbuzo Moyo where he divulged that:

Highlanders FC executive has resolved to fire head coach Bongani Mafu today after a series of poor results that have left them on the verge of joining the relegation battle.

The statement delights in the ouster of Mafu as its emphasis is on how he has led the team down. The phrase “a series of poor results” points out that losses had become the order of day and a norm for the team hence the executive is given the green light in its stance to do away with the head that led to these obscenities.

To further reinforce its celebratory tone on the expulsion of Mafu, Sikhumbuzo Moyo on the September fourth article applauded the coming in of a new technical Bosso team headed by Cosmas Zulu, he highlighted that:

The trio came in sweeping changes to the technical team that saw the entire Highlanders bench led by Mafu being shown the door after a string of poor results whose highlight was a hat-trick of losses last month

The statements bring afore its celebratory remarks for the in-coming Bosso technical team and applauds its stance of doing away with the whole Mafu technical bench. Such framing produces the knowledge that the root of all failure has been centred upon Mafu and his technical bench hence if the team has to be taken forward, uprooting the whole Mafu technical bench was the way. On a similar note and on the fifth of September the sports editor, Dingilizwe Ntuli heavily weighted in when he declared “The truth is that under Mafu, Bosso has been in freefall for months...the executive was jolted to its senses and cut ties with the underperforming Mafu...” In this regard, Dingilizwe is giving as reality that, realistically Mafu performed badly and in some way is endorsing the stance by the Bosso executive to completely do away with Mafu. In some ways, he is celebrating the dismissal of Mafu who has led Bosso for months to nothing but doom. The idea that the executive was “jolted to its senses” gives the impression that it had been patient enough but could no longer hold still as Mafu continued to lead the team to misery.

5.5 Overall Discussion of the findings

The study established that the paper relied on memory to frame Bongani Mafu, this is evident when he was juxtaposed with other former Highlanders coach in its attempt to reveal how worse a failure he is comparative to those who previously had coached the team. As Hall (1997) contends that media conveniently remember and conveniently forget certain events in their attempt to manage events and to image reality, *Chronicle* subsequently remembered how in the past Bosso had performed comparative to the present performances under the leadership of Bongani Mafu. He was therefore imaged as a failure and the first Bosso coach to be beaten by Caps United, to lose the first game of the league and to have the worst scoring results ever. To unearth these kinds of knowledge, the paper had to rely on historiography hence the argument by Hall that media rely on memory and historiography to manage events and images is justifiable.

Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. Hall (1997) alludes that the term discourse as defined by Foucault refers to a group of statements which provide a language for talking about, thus, a way of representing the knowledge about a particular topic at a historical moment. This study established that the *Chronicle* utilized discourses that produce knowledge about Bongani Mafu, initially, he was framed as a savior who will take Bosso to new heights, the kinds of discourses used in the paper positioned Mafu as the supposed antidote for the team and the knowledge produced about him was that of his ability to lead Bosso to victory. However, as he continued to lead the team discourses on him mutated and was framed by the same paper as a villain, a failure. Mhiripiri (2010) alludes to the fact that identities are performed, in this study Bongani Mafu's performance as a coach determined the kinds of identities the paper prescribed about him. Hall (1997) argues that identities are more about routes and less about roots hence they are always in a state of motion and an individual can have multiple identities. In line of this thought, the study established that Mafu was subjected to different identities relative to the team's performance. During his appointment days, he was framed as a savior determined to take Bosso to new levels and as he progressed he was framed as a rabble rouser whose bark is worse than his sting and towards his dismissal times, the paper framed him as a complete failure.

5.6 Conclusion

The chapter presented the research findings in tandem with the research objectives and questions and linked the analysis to the theories that framed the study. The study established that the *Chronicle* framed Bongani Mafu as a saviour upon his appointment and ascendancy to the leadership of Highlanders FC. It then observed that the discourses of Mafu did not remain constant but mutated in relation to how the team performed hence his framing as a rabble-rouser who cannot deliver and as a complete failure. The study also established that the paper's tone did not mourn his dismissal but rather celebrated his ouster. The next Chapter summarises the findings, makes recommendations and conclusion of the study as a whole.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the research findings, draws conclusions and is a quick synopsis of the research as a whole. Based on the research finding, this chapter also gives recommendations. This research studied how the Southern based newspaper *The Chronicle* (a paper that purports to be a mouthpiece for the team) framed Bongani Mafu, now a former Highlanders FC coach

following his dismissal this September. It sought to explain the kinds of discourses he was subjected under and how reality was produced in the paper.

6.2 Concluding Remarks

Football emerges as a widely followed religion just like Christianity hence has attracted a lot of scholarship whose stance has been looking at sport from a sociological perspective where issues to do with identity, ethnicity and gender have been implored. This study took a different stance in that it sought to explore how reality is manufactured in the media in relation to sport. It looked at sport through the lens of the media hence brought a new dimension to the existing literature on sport studies. It has been acknowledged that media observe reality as it occurs and then relay it to the audiences who then view the world through the lens of the media. Similarly, in sport, media observe games as they are played in stadia and are tasked with reporting on them to audiences who possibly would have not attended matches as they took place. Imperative to note is the fact that, media do not just relay or mirror reality but are active participants in the production of that reality. This research therefore, sought to explain how Bongani Mafu was framed in the *Chronicle* as he succeeded Kelvin Kaindu who resigned at the height of Bosso failure to solicit a win in the PSL. It has been alluded to that frames persist within media discourse hence the study established that Mafu was subjected to different frames from his appointment time, progression and dismissal.

As the study sought to explain whether the discourses on Mafu remained constant or mutated as he progressed to lead Bosso in the Premiership, it made use of Foucault's theory of discourse, power and knowledge. It has been levied that story patterns are developed not outside but within a discourse hence the concept of discourse was useful in the proliferation of this study. Discourses under which Mafu was implicated were implored to come out with necessary themes that the researcher utilised in the previous chapter. It was also at the researcher's interest to explore whether the tone of the paper celebrated or mourned the dismissal of Bongani Mafu as Highlanders FC coach and as a result, discourses that the paper used enabled the researcher to establish whether it celebrated or mourned his dismissal.

The study established that during Mafu's appointment he was framed as a saviour, a supposed and needed antidote to treat Bosso of all its ailments however, during his course as the coach,

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discourses on him mutated as he was framed as a rouble-rouser who is all talk but cannot deliver anything on the field of play. Towards his dismissal time, Mafu was framed by the paper as a complete failure and the paper was agitating for Bosso executive to act as it alleged that the team would be relegated to division one if no action was taken.

The objectives of the study sought to explain how the *Chronicle* framed Bongani Mafu upon his appointment, explain whether the *Chronicle's* discourses on Mafu mutated or remained constant during his tenure and to explain whether the tone of the paper celebrated or mourned his dismissal. Given the findings of the study, it can be articulated that the research objectives, questions and assumptions were achieved.

This study sought to unearth the kinds of discourses that Mafu was subjected into and given such the researcher qualitatively engaged with the data and made use of qualitative research because it places emphasis on and tolerates the exhaustive analysis of words, images and subjective material and focuses on description other than on measurement of factors to be analysed. For the purposes of data gathering, the researcher utilised archival research which involved going through the *Chronicle's* online archives to recover the articles written on Bongani Mafu, as a result, the findings of this study cannot be generalised to other papers and coaches respectively, hence a limitation on the methodology chosen.

6.3 Recommendations to the Chronicle

To the paper I recommend that in its framing of football coaches it also ought to explore other recurring factors that might be contributing to the team's poor performances. Football players also need to be fingered out as the contributing forces towards a team's performance other than focusing on a coach. Bosso executive has always been mired in scandalous acts and corruption which might as well be a contributing factor to how the team performs. Executive and boards for these teams need to be assessed.

6.4 Recommendations for further studies

Research study often exposes further problems and introduces more questions, it is against this backdrop that after conducting this research I realised that a receptive study can be done on how audiences and readers make reality of the knowledge they obtain from the press and how that then influence their ways of identifying the implicated individuals in as far as sport is concerned.

This study limited itself to exploring the discourses under which Mafu was framed hence as it has been argued that identification and how one is hailed from the outside is crucial than identity, a study can be done along this line.

6.5 Conclusion

This is the final chapter of the whole study and it explored in brief whether the research objectives, questions and assumptions through the findings the study established. It also highlighted whether the theories chosen in the study were useful. Recommendations for further studies and to the *Chronicle* were given.

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Appendix

Editor

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