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MA (Media Studies)

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The portrayal of Zimbabwe's presidential candidates in front page mainstream print media in the run up to the 2018 general elections –post Mugabe era. A case study of *The Herald* and *Daily News.*

A research project submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Media Studies.

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Abstract

This study takes into cognisance Zimbabwe's political history and how mainstream media has performed in the coverage of past elections. The 2018 election provided a new Post-Mugabe political terrain and therefore enabled how the media portrayed the highest number of candidates running for the Zimbabwean presidency in history. The plebiscite also saw the emergence of "new" political figures in both the incumbent Emmerson Mnangagwa and the leading opposition candidate in Nelson Chamisa of the Movement Democratic Change-Alliance (MDC-A) party. This study is informed by past political transitions in other African countries and how the Zimbabwean transition shared similarities and differences to others on the continent. Using the mixed methods approach the study reveals how even in a Post-Mugabe era the mainstream print media remains polarised. *The Herald* bias towards the incumbent provided a veiled attempt to multiplicity coverage of other candidates. The less relevant candidates received front page coverage in the state-owned power marginalising the popular opposition candidate. *Daily News* remained biased towards the leading opposition candidate while gravitating towards the incumbent through advertising and coverage. This study highlights the need for a global south framework on comparative media studies in Africa.

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It has been a long arduous journey, typing this page makes me feel a step closer towards this journey coming to an end. It would not have been possible if it were not for some people who came through to make this a success. Firstly, I would like to thank the School of Language, Literature and Media at Wits for offering me place to fulfill my studies. My heartfelt gratitude goes to my family, my brothers Freedom, Humphrey, and Elton. These three have always been a huge pillar of support and made me believe this was possible. Special mention to Yvonne Shumba (Mai Unathi) for the financial and emotional support, so grateful maiguru. My academic supervisor Professor Iginio Gagliardone for accepting to supervise this project, pushing me to read more, availing those hours to chat the way forward and giving me books to help improve this study. Thank you Iginio. To an academic mentor and employer Professor Nixon Kariithi, thank you for believing in me and guiding me through this academic journey, I guess like you said this may only be the beginning.

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Plagiarism Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of a Master of Arts (MA) in Media Studies by Research at the University of Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted for any other degree or examination in any other university.



.....

Ellison Elliot Shumba.

18 February 2021

Abbreviations

Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe – ANZ

Coalition for Unity and Democracy – CUD

Critical Discourse Analysis – CDA

Economic Community of West African States - ECOWAS

Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa - ED

Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front - EPRDF

Forum for Democratic Change - FDC

Movement for Democratic Change – MDC

Movement for Democratic Change Alliance – MDC A

Movement for Democratic Change Tsvangirai – MDC T

National Patriotic Front - NPF

National Resistance Movement – NRM

NC – Nelson Chamisa

Portable Document Format – PDF

Southern African Development Community - SADC

Zimbabwe African National Union - ZANU

Zimbabwe African National Union Patriot Front – ZANU PF

Zimbabwe African People's Union – ZAPU

Zimbabwe Electoral Commission – ZEC

Zimbabwe Defence Forces - ZDF

Zimbabwe Unity Movement - ZUM

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1:1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This study is the first to investigate the portrayal of presidential candidates in front pages of mainstream print media in the post-Mugabe era in Zimbabwe. Political contestations in Zimbabwe have mainly played out in the print media hence the selection of newspapers for this study. The 20I8 elections provided new political contestations in Zimbabwe's pursuit for democracy. This study therefore explores how the ruling and opposition contenders are portrayed in the local media in the emergence of a new political environment. The two publications used in this study are *The Herald* and *Daily News* these two represent mainstream media. *The Herald* is publicly owned under the Zimpapers stable listed on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange and *Daily News* is privately owned by the Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (ANZ). I focused on front page coverage of the two publications from the period since the proclamation of the election date by the incumbent. The period is from 1 June to 30 July 2018 which is the day of the election. Past studies on Zimbabwean elections focused mainly on plebiscites from 2000 and 2008. This is because of the emergence of a vibrant civil society, opposition party and the private press. I also used literature from transitions in other African states to inform my analysis on the Zimbabwean transition from the Mugabe era to the new government.

To understand the rationale behind this study it is important to highlight the political history of post-colonial Zimbabwe leading up to the 2018 elections. Since gaining independence from Britain, Zimbabwe was under the helm of the late Robert Mugabe. Mugabe went on to contest the presidential election in 1990, 1996, 2002, 2008 and 2013 under the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriot Front (ZANU PF). In 1999, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed led by the late trade unionist Morgan Tsvangirai. In 2000, a constitutional referendum was held, and a vibrant civil society led to a successful "No" vote. The landmark vote was according to Chuma (2010) in (Hammar & Raftopoulos, 2003) "interpreted by both sides as a political victory against Robert Mugabe by the opposition MDC."

The MDC became a formidable force on Zimbabwe's political landscape grabbing 57 of the 120 seats in parliament in the 2000 parliamentary elections. The MDC went on to contest the presidential election in 2002, 2008 and 2013 with Morgan Tsvangirai proving a top contender in all elections. The 2008 elections led to a runoff as neither Mugabe nor Tsvangirai could garner the 50 % plus one vote to avoid a runoff. The runoff period was marred with widespread violence and voter intimidation resulting in the opposition pulling out. Throughout the contestations between Morgan Tsvangirai and Robert Mugabe, the election period was characterized by violence, intimidation, media bias and the lack of freedom of expression amidst allegations of vote rigging.

In November 2017, Robert Mugabe was overthrown through a military coup resulting in the rise of "new" political figures. Emmerson Mnangagwa who had been deposed of his duties as Vice President, returned to the country to be elected as ZANU PF's First Secretary, ultimately resulting in him taking over as head of state. On the opposition front, Morgan Tsvangirai passed on after losing his battle to colon cancer in February 2018, setting in motion the rise of a "new" opposition leader in Nelson Chamisa. Mnangagwa went on to proclaim July 30, 2018 as the election date. At 40, the Movement for Democratic Change Tsvangirai (MDC-T) now under a coalition of opposition parties called the Movement for Democratic Change Alliance (MDC-A) chose Nelson Chamisa as its new leader to face Emmerson Mnangagwa in the presidential race.

The 2018 election provided new political contestations in the pursuit for democracy in Zimbabwe as a total of 23 candidates contested for the presidency. This study explores how the media portrayed the elections in a so called "new dispensation". A first election that had the presidential ballot not featuring two of the usual contenders in Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai.

This study investigates the portrayal of presidential candidates - the first time in 37 years that Robert Mugabe was not a candidate and with foreign observers being invited to observe the plebiscite. This study highlights the representations of other political/social actors in front page print media. Print media remains the dominant media in Zimbabwe with hardly any private TV and radio stations, with the only "private radio stations" being owned by those sympathetic to government. Therefore, this study used print media to understand how political actors have been portrayed at a crucial time in Zimbabwe's history. "Newspapers are used because of their availability, their proclivity to endorse presidential candidates, and because newspapers influence the agenda of local television more so than vice versa," (Mondak 1995;

Shaw and Sparrow 1999). It is from this premise that newspapers were selected as the medium of study. Front pages were also the focus of this study because they are more prominent than any other page and carry the most important news of the day. To justify the novelty of this study, I chose to focus on only the front-page coverage of presidential candidates. Lead stories on a particular day make front page coverage hence the study's focus on the front page than any other page. Past studies have focused on newspaper editorials while neglecting front page coverage thus, to fulfill the gap on studies on electoral coverage in Zimbabwe, this study focused on only front-page coverage.

It is precise to note that in past elections, public owned media such as *The Herald* and *Chronicle* had bias towards the outgoing heads of state. While privately owned media chose to have a slant more biased to the opposing candidate. This study evaluated whether the emergence of a "new dispensation" in Zimbabwe relatively led to the creation of new democratic media spaces or relatively stuck to past biases. I explored the existence of newfound freedoms of expression in relation to print media, investigated the tenets of democracy in Zimbabwe, the role of the army in the election process and its legitimacy.

1:2 DEFINING KEY TERMS

The term Front-page may be relatively self-descriptive, but according to the Oxford dictionary (1989) front-page refers to appearing on the first page of a newspaper or similar publication and containing important or remarkable news. The term front-page therefore refers to the first page of a publication carrying the most important information for that publication. For newspapers, the front page carries the most important news of the day.

Portrayal is defined by the Oxford dictionary (1989) as the depiction of someone or something in a work of art or literature, a picture. The term portrayal can also be defined as a description of someone or something in a particular way, a representation. Therefore, portrayal can be interchangeably used with the term representation, thus these two terms are in fact synonyms.

I would define the term Presidential candidate as someone vying for a presidential office. The term presidential candidate refers to an individual seeking election or elevation to a presidential office. The term president refers to an elected head most used to refer to a head of state.

1:3 MEDIA IN CONTEMPORARY ZIMBABWE

The 2000 constitutional referendum in Zimbabwe resulted in the emergence of a vibrant civil society and the emergence of active private media. Moyse (2009: 43-44) noted that:

> *"In many ways the constitutional referendum of 2000 defined the nature of today's media landscape, as civil society, in collaboration with the independent press, and particularly the relatively new Daily News, overcame a tidal wave of propaganda in the government-controlled media campaigning for acceptance of the draft constitution."*

Significant debates focused on the emergence of privately owned media namely *Daily News* and providing media coverage to the opposition MDC. *Daily News* was established in 1999 by the former *Chronicle* editor Geoff Nyarota as the first independent daily publication in Zimbabwe. In 2003, the paper was banned only to be reopened in 2010. The re-emergence of *Daily News* and the establishment of *Newsday* in 2010 gave the dominant Zimpapers stable competitors over coverage to opposing political views resulting in alternative media coverage.

Waldahl (2005) suggested that the emergence of *Daily News* meant that main contesting political parties had newspapers expressing their different political stances. This study examined whether the 2018 election provided similar media coverage from the main competing parties in the two big dailies namely *The Herald* and *Daily News*. The effectiveness of the private media in Zimbabwe is largely viewed by how much it backed the opposition MDC - Alliance. Consequently, I explored the emergence of a multi-party democracy in Zimbabwe and how private media reacted in terms of coverage of smaller parties. The existence of numerous opposition parties meant that media outlets both private and public owned had more than just two parties that required coverage hence it is important to analyse how then their political messages were packaged and conveyed. I therefore explored issues of the various candidates given prominence over others and at what frequency in the two publications.

1:4 RATIONALE

This study investigated how issues are framed in newspaper front pages in the first post - Mugabe election. This study focused on the representations of political actors on front page coverage. My study is the first that investigated electoral coverage in Zimbabwean print media in the post-Mugabe era, how presidential candidates are framed in the creation of a democratic space. Front page coverage is the most prominent newspaper coverage and generates most

attention. The significance and importance of front-page coverage was the main reason that drew this study to focus on how presidential candidates were portrayed on front pages. This study draws from the framing and cultural studies theories to focus on the representations and portrayal of presidential candidates in Zimbabwe's 2018 election. These theories will explain and reflect on the data obtained in the front-page coverage of the various candidates in the election. Stratified sampling was used in the collection of front pages that portray a specific presidential candidate during the timeframe from the presidential proclamation of the election to the election day. The selected sample was then coded and analysed according to a designed coding framework. This study adds on to past studies on Zimbabwe and election coverage by highlighting how the media portrayed specifically presidential candidates in a post- Mugabe era. This study contributes to media and election coverage in a post Mugabe era.

It is the first study that focuses on Zimbabwean mainstream media front pages and their portrayal of presidential candidates in a post- Mugabe era. The study was interested in investigating how the newspapers portrayed the 23 candidates that participated in the election. This is because the 2018 election witnessed the highest number of presidential candidates in Zimbabwe. I investigated the various characteristics exhibited in the portrayed of the candidates, from policy articulation to human caricature among other attributes inherent in presidential candidates. The study builds on post-colonial political transitions in Africa and how the media performed in enabling political transitions.

1:5 CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION

How has front page newspaper coverage portrayed presidential candidates and their parties in the post- Mugabe era?

What does the coverage indicate about the roles and functions of the Zimbabwe press in the post-Mugabe era, and to what extent this echo (or does not) what is happening in other parts of Africa?

1: 6 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The rest of this novel thesis will be presented in the following outline. **Chapter 2** discusses the literature of past studies on Zimbabwe election coverage and political transitions in post-colonial African states. The chapter will also highlight the theoretical framework that best applied to this study. **Chapter 3** discusses the research design and methodology used to gather data for this study. **Chapter 4** presents the findings of this study. **Chapter 5** analyses and discusses the findings of this study. **Chapter 6** is the conclusion and recommendations on future studies. With this outline determining the course of this groundbreaking study, I turn to discuss the literary scholarship on Zimbabwe and African political transitions in my next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2:1 INTRODUCTION

Democracy in Africa has often been described as the normative ideal of liberal democracy, although it has been argued that the liberal democracy model that is ascribed to in Europe does not necessarily apply to the African context. According to Willems (2012), "a significant part of scholarship on media in Africa has adopted the normative ideal of liberal democracy which defines democracy primarily as electoral democracy." Media institutions, in this regard, are considered to play an important role in strengthening the democratic process and making government more accountable to its citizens. It is from this ideal normative description of the media that it is viewed as "playing a central role in strengthening the democratic process and making government more accountable to its citizens. "(Willems: 2012)

Most scholarship on Zimbabwe and election coverage has focused on the media playing this central role as alluded by Willems (2012). It is therefore the purpose of this study to investigate the media's role in the first post Mugabe election. In this chapter, I discuss past research on election coverage in Zimbabwe and the trajectory set by scholars in the field. The chapter further discusses the theoretical framework applicable to understand continuities and transformations on how the media portrayed the 2018 elections. Studies by Chari (2010), Chuma (2005), (2008), Ranger (2005), Moyo (2005), (2010) Tsarwe and Mare (2019), Munoriyarwa and Chambwera (2020) constitute a solid base on which I developed this framework to analyse media election coverage in Zimbabwe. Ranger (2005) and Chuma (2005) traced the history of post-colonial Zimbabwe clamoring for a one-party state in the first decade after independence to the emergence of a vibrant opposition and a multi-party democracy thereafter.

Most scholars focused on the forms of journalism used in past elections by the public and private media with biases towards the ruling ZANU PF and the opposition MDC. Issues pertaining to land reform, sanctions, the economy, and patriotism dominated the election coverage debate. This research takes stock of and extends these previous scholarly efforts interrogating how the framing of the various political actors has progressed in the post Mugabe

era. Scholarship on African studies has also explored transitions like that experienced in Zimbabwe. My study draws also from literature from similar events in other African countries on how the media portrayed political actors. In the following sections, I illustrate which specific categories emerging first from literature on the representation of electoral contests in Zimbabwe and second from literature on other transitions in Africa are being applied to understand the unique features characterizing the Zimbabwe elections in the post Mugabe era. This chapter will also review the theoretical framework, used to better understand the portrayal of presidential candidates in the post – Mugabe era. The concept of patriotic journalism is the starting point in my literary review.

2:1 PATRIOTIC JOURNALISM

The concept of patriotic journalism is a key category I used in this study. Ranger (2005) traced the history of print journalism in Zimbabwe from the days of *The Bantu Mirror*, *Chapupu* and *The Daily Journal* among early nationalist publications. He alluded to the nationalistic sentiment drawn from these publications as Zimbabwe sought to liberate itself and adds that the nationalistic element had become what he defined as "Patriotic journalism" in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Ranger (2005) illustrated the history of "patriotic journalism" during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle and the emergence of a different form of "patriotic journalism" in the 2005 elections.

Patriotic journalism is described as bordering on "patriots" and "sell outs." This form of journalism is mostly practised in the public media namely *The Herald* through the *Nathaniel Manheru* column which consistently reiterated how the opposition and civil society were foreign funded, seeking to push the agenda of their foreign donors. Patriotic journalism is therefore premised on dividing Zimbabweans into what Ranger (2005:14) defines as "patriots and traitors, while the rest of the world is divided into supporters and imperialists." Chuma (2008) in investigating the framing of front-page news coverage and editorials on political parties contesting the 2000 Zimbabwean elections also alluded to patriotic journalism. He argued that "three models of journalism, namely, patriotic, oppositional, and independent nationalist" could be applied to frame the election. The study was based on three publications, namely *The Herald, The Daily News* and *The Zimbabwe Mirror*. The study leaned on the ideological framing of the issues pertaining to the 2000 elections, this was because of the overtly competitive nature of the election due to the emergence of a vibrant private press and the formation of the opposition MDC a year earlier. Part of my research design investigated

whether patriotic journalism as alluded by Ranger (2005) and Chuma (2008) continued to be practised by journalists in the coverage of elections in Zimbabwe in a post Mugabe era. The findings of this research build on and expand the concept of patriotic journalism according to how the media performed in the 2018 presidential elections.

2: 2 CONVERGENCE OF OPPOSITION POLITICS IN ZIMBABWE AND THE PRIVATE PRESS

Post-colonial Zimbabwe faced the challenge towards ZANU PF 's needs to create a one-party state and the emergence of opposition within the first decade after independence. It is precisely on this basis that the emergence of a vibrant opposition to ZANU PF rule is a key category in my literature review. Although the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was the earliest challenge to ZANU's one-party state in the early years after independence, resulting in the Gukurahundi massacres and eventually the signing of the 1987 Unity accord. The Unity accord led to the creation of ZANU PF and ultimately bringing closer the achievement of creating a one-party state in Zimbabwe. It is from this violent background and history that political opposition in Zimbabwe emerged and the defiance of multi-party democracy ensured vibrant political opposition and the private press.

Chuma (2005) wrote on how the state media covered four elections and their bias towards the ruling party. Chuma (2005: 56) "focused on the coverage of elections (both parliamentary and presidential) in 1990, 1995, 1996 and 2000 by the public press stating that it was largely biased in favour of the ruling party" (Moyo, 1992; Makumbe & Compagnon, 2000). "In the 1990 general elections, ZANU PF, facing stiff competition from the newly formed Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), manipulated both the public press and state-owned radio and television to run adverts that equated voting for the opposition with choosing death" (Moyo, 1992: 74). Chuma (2005) highlights a pattern on how the Zimbabwean public media covers elections and the portrayal of the opposition in the public media. While contributing in this regard towards political biases, this study expands on whether these biases in public and private media have continued in the post Mugabe era with relation to media coverage of the incumbent and the opposition in the public media. Chuma (2008)'s work seems to lean on the public media's perceived biases towards the incumbent and fails to address whether the private media is equally biased towards the opposition candidate.

Chuma (2005: 57) states that "the Minister of Information personally took to rapid interventions on a regular basis, and between 2000 and 2003 he fired at least five editors (including deputy editors) from *The Herald, Sunday Mail, Sunday News* and the *Chronicle.* In most cases, editors were fired because they were perceived to be "not aggressive enough in their defence of the government and the ruling party," Chuma (2005). The realignment of editors at the public media in Zimbabwe was heightened whenever the ruling party faced stiff opposition as seen in the period 2000 and 2003 with the emergence of the opposition MDC. Therefore, the maintenance of a bureaucratic system in the emergence of political opposition to maintain the hegemony of the ruling elite is witnessed in the first decade upon attaining independence.

In Tsarwe and Mare (2019)'s study on weekly newspapers in Zimbabwe they identified a pattern that emerged in three newspapers. Tsarwe and Mare (2019) found that *The Financial Gazette* approximated what they defined as "aspirations of peace journalism." According to Tsarwe and Mare (2019), "*The Financial Gazette* particularly used the voices of political victims, civil society, women, and youth. The *Sunday Mail* and *The Zimbabwe Independent* both took clear positions which were overtly blatant and sometimes relied on unidentified sources about who were the perpetrators of political violence." The newspapers adopted biased positions based on their allegiance to political parties – that is, *The Zimbabwe Independent* took the side of the opposition MDC and *The Sunday Mail* took the side of ruling party, ZANU PF. Tsarwe and Mare (2019) noted that in 2008, journalists assumed a "positioned" reporting style feeding on the political fodder of hate speech, name calling, divisive politics and propaganda which, they characterised as 'warlike journalism.' This study investigated whether the allegations and counter allegations to win the vote emerged in the form of "warlike journalism" or "peace journalism" in the run- up to the 2018 elections and identify any forms of positioned reporting that may have been undertaken by the publications.

Like Tsarwe and Mare (2019) study, Chari (2010) analysed the discourse of the 2008 election in the two weeklies focusing mainly on a two-horse race between Mugabe and Tsvangirai. Chari (2010) asserts that *The Zimbabwe Independent* emphasized President Robert Mugabe's old age as evidence that he was no longer fit to hold political office, while MDC's Tsvangirai was presented as symbolizing generational change. Chari (2010) centers on the framing of the 2008 elections by two weekly publications namely *The Sunday Mail* and *The Zimbabwe Independent.* Like Tsarwe and Mare, Chari (2010) argued "that framing of the 2008

harmonized elections demonstrated how elections and conflicts impose technical limitations on the press forcing it to operate at the service of hegemony and counter hegemony while professional detachment is shunted to the margins as the press become participants in an asymmetrical war." Chari (2010) notes that the two weeklies covered "only presidential candidates of the big political parties, namely President Mugabe of ZANU PF, Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC and Independent Candidate Simba Makoni received the lion's share of coverage while another Independent candidate, Langton Towungana was scarcely mentioned, often described as *"little known Langton Towungana"* if at all he was mentioned."

The Zimbabwe Independent went on to use adjectives such as "*Grandfather Mugabe*" or "*useless geriatric*" to describe Mugabe. Chari (2010) states that *The Sunday Mail* portrayed Mugabe's age as representing "*maturity, legacy and wisdom."* The weekly likened Mugabe to the biblical Moses therefore resembling a Messiah. The religious imagery in Zimbabwean political discourse is also cited by Moyo (2012: 189) in a study by Chitando (2005) stating that, "the discourse on the land issue in state-owned media assumed mythical proportions, with the government appropriating religious imagery from both the Bible and Zimbabwean oral history to endear itself to the masses. President Mugabe himself had been projected as a messianic figure, as the biblical Moses sent to deliver his people to the Promised Land." The use of adjectives and biblical connotations highlight what Entman (2004) referred to as the "bias" or "slant" and perceived interpretation of a candidate. In relation to my study, I have investigated the use of imagery and other forms of purposeful representation in the portrayal of presidential candidates in the run up to the 2018 election in newspaper front pages.

Chari (2010) reflects upon the state of the Zimbabwean economy as being among the issues that dominated coverage on the presidential elections. *The Sunday Mail* blamed the economic sanctions placed on Zimbabwe for the country's economic woes while *The Zimbabwe Independent* blamed the Mugabe administration's policies for the country's economic woes. With Zimbabwe still facing economic sanctions, I investigated how issues were framed in relation to economic sanctions and political campaigning in 2018. Therefore, my study investigates the dominant frames in the run-up to the 2018 presidential election in relation to past elections in Zimbabwe, to observe if the same frames have dominated electoral discourse. Chari (2010) also stipulates how *The Sunday Mail* consistently portrayed Mugabe as willing to protect the "*gains of independence*" through advancing and concluding land reform in Zimbabwe, while the opposition candidates Tsvangirai and independent Simba Makoni were

portrayed as *"sell-outs"* that were *"pinning their hopes on foreign money*." Therefore, patriotic journalism continued to exist in the coverage of the 2008 elections. This research investigated the nuances regarding the land reform and empowerment issues given prominence in the discourse of the 2018 elections coverage.

2: 3 LIBERAL PLURALISM PARADIGM IN ZIMBABWE AND POST – MUGABE DISCOURSE

The Liberal Pluralist paradigm is used as a subset to explain the convergence of opposition and the multiple developments of private media in Zimbabwe towards the third decade after independence. This paradigm explains the media environment in relation to the political economy of the content in the private media. Berger (2002: 22) states that "most striking of all is the reliance in much of this writing upon unreflective, conventional wisdoms about the way that 'media' is an important element in 'democracy' – which 'wisdoms' in turn tend to be limited to a liberal pluralist paradigm." Although the existence of multiple private media stables in Zimbabwe is viewed as a step towards achieving a liberal democratic society, the liberal pluralism paradigm may not be applicable to the African set up. This is because in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular the existence of multiple private media platforms did nor entail a more democratic society. Berger (2002) concurs with this argument when he noted that "a final and compelling reason why we need to go beyond the taxonomic and analytical approaches associated with liberal pluralism is because these assume, inextricably, a modernist environment characterized by many competing elite interest groups and a dense media environment. This is not the case in much of Africa" (Berger 2002:23).

Moyo (2010) on a study focusing on new technologies and their impact on the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe illustrated the role of private media and how liberal pluralist model in Zimbabwe did not result in a more democratic society. Moyo (2010) argued that "throughout the world, ownership and control of communication means had always been seen as critical aspects of political power since time immemorial." Moyo (2010) notes that "most African countries, where governments own and control a sizeable number of newspapers and radio stations, the so-called independent media was seen as the true monitors of democracy" (Ronning & Kupe,
2000). However, "these 'independent media' also come with their own sets of problems the dependence of some of these private media on donor support meant that sometimes they exaggerate issues in order to please their sponsors," (Moyo 2010). Chuma (2005) asserts that the independent press in Zimbabwe were largely elitist isolating coverage on political issues

and manifestos of the opposition. As Makumbe & Compagnon (2000: 205) argue, that "the private newspapers were too busy criticising the government and ZANU PF for alleged corruption and mismanagement to do any serious reporting on opposition parties' campaign activities, let alone write any critical assessment of their election manifestos".

Moyo (2005) writes on the emergence of the *Daily News* and the rise of the independent press in Zimbabwe as having been the creation of oppositional press. Moyo (2005) asserts that it had "been suggested that in countries where opposition political parties are weak or non-existent owing to state repression, the 'independent' press can occupy that role of opposition (Ungar 1996; Rønning 1998; Hyden and Okigbo 2002)." According to Moyo (2005) "in Zimbabwe, the 'independent' press has played this role, first by strongly opposing the one-party state during the late 80s and early 90s, and secondly, by acting as the 'voice of the voiceless' throughout the 90s." In his study Moyo (2005) argued that *Daily News* did not just provide an alternative to the state-run media but became an opposing force to the public media. Moyo (2005: 114) notes that:

"There is no doubt that the Daily News made immense contribution to the further opening up of political space in Zimbabwe by bringing to public attention that other side of the story which had, over the years been suppressed by the state controlled media."

Moyo (2005) argued on the *Daily News* role in exposing the political inadequacies of the ruling party that had not been previously exposed in the media. Therefore, this study investigated how the *Daily News* portrayed presidential candidates in the 2018 elections and whether it had been critical of the incumbent in a similar way as in the past or whether it had changed. Moyo (2005: 114) states that "it has even been suggested that without the *Daily News*, the opposition forces in the country could not have made the strides they did since 1999." Therefore, it is succinct to note whether the *Daily News* continued to be a mouthpiece of the MDC or not and if so to what extent.

Studies on Post - Mugabe discourse have highlighted mostly the transition from Mugabe to Mnangagwa's rule the changes in the run up to the elections specifically the environment before the election process. Most of these Post – Mugabe studies fail to delve into how the public and private media framed the presidential candidates, rather they focus on social media and how Mnangagwa chose to differentiate himself from Mugabe before the 2018 election. Munoriyarwa and Chambwera (2020) argued on the use of twitter in the run up to the 2018 elections in Zimbabwe and how the social media platform enabled free and unfettered political

contestations. According to Munoriyarwa and Chambwera (2020: 78) "the intense contestations between supporters of Emmerson Mnangagwa and Nelson Chamisa were visible both physically and on social media platforms." They stated that "social media assumed great importance in a country that had limited freedoms during Robert Mugabe rule" Munoriyarwa and Chambwera (2020). The limited existence of other mainstream platforms for free and unfettered expressions made Twitter and Facebook important platforms for the mediation of the elections (Munoriyarwa and Chambwera 2020:78). Munoriyarwa and Chambwera (2020) focused on the use of social media specifically twitter in the run up to the 2018 election and how the main two contenders used hashtags to generate support among netizens. Although it is important to note that the twitter study on Zimbabwe's 2018 election expressed the binary polarity in Zimbabwean politics where hashtags and the twitter discursive space was dominated by supporters of the two main candidates in Nelson Chamisa and Emmerson Mnangagwa and relegating the 21 other candidates to the peripheries. My study is therefore the first that looks at the portrayal of presidential candidates in the print media in the 2018 election.

According to Helliker and Murisa (2020: 10) *"the transition to Mnangagwa, about which scholarly work is now emerging (Hodgkinson 2019; Beardsworth, Cheeseman, and Tinhu 2019), hence may simply involve a shift (and not a dramatic shift) within Mugabeism such that the 'era of Mugabeism' remains in place." "At the same time, as Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) also acknowledges, Mugabeism is a complex and contradictory array of tendencies so that, over time, Mnangagwa may prioritise certain tendencies and downplay others."*

Beardsworth, Cheeseman, and Tinhu (2019: 5) argued that "it initially looked as if Mnangagwa had managed the electoral process perfectly. The government allowed the opposition to campaign in rural areas, generating a palpable sense that political space had been opened up, but it was also careful to retain tight control over the media, especially in rural areas, and this, along with low-level intimidation of opposition supporters meant that the government enjoyed considerable advantages of incumbency." Beardsworth, Cheeseman, and Tinhu (2019). Beardsworth, Cheeseman and Tinhu (2019) discussed how Mnangagwa created an enabling environment for a peaceful 2018 election with the hope of getting international approval of what they termed a "military assisted transition." Their study focuses on the environment preceding the 2018 election and its ability to deliver a competitive election process while maintaining ZANU PF hegemony. Hodgkinson (2019: 983) argues on the periodisation of the change to Mnangagwa being referred to as a new era. Hodgkinson (2019) argues "that considering

whether Mnangagwa's rule is the start of a new era requires us to reflect on how we should understand political change." Hodgkinson (2019)'s study focuses rather on the problematisation of "regime type" classification from a global north perspective. This study acknowledges the emerging discourses on the Post- Mugabe era but focuses mostly on the electoral campaign period and how the various presidential candidates where portrayed in both private and public media front pages.

2: 4 Hallin & Mancini's Comparative Media Systems Framework

The second central question to this research focuses on how the Zimbabwean political transition echoes or does not echo, other political transitions in other African states in terms of media performance. This study therefore applied Hallin and Mancini (2004)'s comparative media system to identify countries in Africa that have undergone similar political transitions such as that experienced in Zimbabwe after the fall of Mugabe.

The "key interest behind Hallin and Mancini's (2004:11) quest for models of media systems was "the identification of characteristic patterns of relationship between system characteristics." They identified three media models based on the study of 18 nation states in the Western World. The three models were classified and differentiated by the dimensions of how media and politics coexisted in the nation's societies. The three models identified by Hallin and Mancini (2004) included the polarized pluralist model, democratic corporatist model and the liberal model. According to Hallin and Mancini (2004) *"France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain form this group that is characterized by a low reach of the daily press, high political parallelism, weak professionalization, and strong state intervention. The latter does not necessarily mean that the state effectively serves the public interest. Particularistic interests and clientelist relationships can also lead to failed state intervention "*(Hallin & Mancini, 2004). *"Besides, some of the Polarized Pluralist countries display attempts of "savage" deregulation in the broadcast sector"* (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

The Polarized pluralist model refereed to states or counties that had low newspaper circulation and where the political elite where in control of the press. In these societies the media had low levels of professionalism, with state interference in its operations like the media being used as an instrument of control for the masses. Low levels of democracy are some of the characteristics of a polarized pluralist model.

The model also inhibited characteristics of a controlled pluralistic media. Authoritarianism prospers in societies that exhibit the Polarized pluralist model where political parties are connected to the media organisations.

The democratic corporatist model exhibits a capitalist driven media where there is less state influence with pluralism of the media organisations is encouraged driven by a commercial imperative. This model is common in states with functional economies and social welfare for citizens, it is also existent in countries with strong democracies. The historical foundations of these states' democracies enable the significant involvement of the state in the economy; thus, media organisations play their role in driving the state's economy. This model is largely associated with the Scandinavian countries whose rich history and democratic norms have enabled media growth and impartiality in political coverage. There is high newspaper circulation and strong state intervention, but with institutionalized self-regulation.The Liberal model has moderate newspaper circulation and mass circulation. States such as Britain and the United States of America were placed under this model by Hallin and Mancini (2004). Hallin and Mancini (2004) described this model as exhibiting neutral commercial press; information-oriented journalism; internal pluralism. These states exhibited noninstitutionalized self-regulation while also maintaining high standards of professionalism. Although Britan's broadcast industry was a public broadcaster, thus having characteristics of external pluralism.

According to the models of media systems by Hallin and Mancini (2004), African nations such as Zimbabwe exhibit more characteristics of the polarized pluralist model albeit with reservations. It should be noted though that in Hallin and Mancini (2012) they note that when applying the three models of comparing media systems to nonwestern systems they proposed that their ideas would have to be extensively rethought and much new theory would have to be introduced to deal with a wider range of systems, and that is very much consistent with the original intent of their framework. Therefore, this study adopted the polarized pluralist model because of its similarities to Zimbabwe and the African countries informing this study, albeit with reservations as espoused by the rethought envisaged by Hallin and Mancini (2012). Among the specific characteristics of the polarized pluralist model is the high political parallelism in the media."It extends the concept of party-press parallelism that describes the links between media outlets and political parties (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995; Seymour-Ure, 1974) to include general political values and being close to certain political camps rather than to parties" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 28).

"The dimension encompasses indicators such as the extent to which media coverage is shaped by journalists' political affiliations, the degree to which audiences consume media according to their political preferences, the separation between news and commentary, political bias in news reporting, and the public broadcasters' dependence on the government" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 28–31). Political parallelism as a feature of comparative media systems refers to the links between the media and political actors, more generally the extent to which media reflects political divisions according to Hallin & Mancini (2004). This study exhibits how political parallelism played out in the coverage of the 2018 presidential race in Zimbabwe.

Therefore, professional journalism is regarded with less importance in a polarized pluralist model and weaker media institutions exist, majoring on political bias for their existence. It can be argued therefore that unlike the other two models: Democratic corporatist model and the Liberal model, the Polarized Pluralist model applies to less developed media systems and societies, where professionalism and the corporate value of media businesses is yet to be attained. It is on this premise that I have applied the polarized pluralist model as advanced by Hallin & Mancini's comparative media systems approach to describe how the Zimbabwe media operates and to inform my study of similar systems in African nations that exhibit a similar model.

Although it should be noted that Hallin and Mancini's comparative media systems framework came into existence after a study of European and American media systems, thereby generating models based on a western society. However, despite being a western generated framework its applicability to African media systems cannot be ignored and should also acknowledge the limitation of its Western bias and foregrounding of the framework. It is therefore not discarded but implemented in an African context. It is critical that to justify comparing African media systems of different nations on the continent there is need for an African based and centered framework to avoid over reliance on Western centered frameworks such as Hallin and Mancini's framework. This is because dimensions on media pluralism, democratisation, and the role of the state in Africa largely differs to that of the West. On the other hand, countries in political transition such as Zimbabwe are largely not catered for in relation to Hallin and Mancini's framework whose basis is European and American media systems that have experienced a diverse and tolerant political system that has consistent leadership renewal.
Despite the criticisms of Hallin and Mancini's Comparative Media Systems, I have applied the theory to place Zimbabwe, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Egypt under the polarised pluralist model,

which is seemingly the closest to characterise the relationship of politics and the media in those nations. Uganda, Ethiopia, and Egypt where selected to inform my study on whether the Zimbabwean media echoed or did not echo the performance of the other African states in the portrayal of a political transition, because these countries all fall under a polarised pluralist model. These countries have also been ruled by "strong man" for decades post colonialism and the media has had to portray the political transitions in the quest for democracy, a similar fate that Zimbabwe found itself in after the military coup in 2017.

2:5 POLITICAL TRANSITION IN AFRICA: UGANDA, EGYPT, AND ETHIOPIA

Among the studies that investigated other transitions in Africa and their representations in the national media, I focused on those that mapped political change in Uganda, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Uganda represents a case where the media were not dramatically transformed after the National Resistance Movement (NRM) took power, and the subsequent creation of private media being formed with the assistance of state-owned media. Egypt represents a transition through a bloodless coup from demonstrations by the public on the street and how the media performed in enabling the transition. Ethiopia on the other hand illustrates a democratic media space having led to the opposition gaining political ground and further resulting in the clampdown of that democratic space after the elections.

In Uganda, a long guerrilla struggle led to the deposition of Milton Obote and the rise of current President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who took office after the deposition of General Tito Okello in 1986. According to Stremlau (2018) the ideologies of the NRM, specifically the "movement system" set in motion developing a 'no party system' based on the system. Stremlau (2018: 131) argued that:

"*Critiques from the media were subsequently tolerated even tacitly endorsed by the government, as dissent and criticism was seen as a central part of the Movement System*"

In the NRM dominated Uganda journalists from the previous establishments were incorporated into the new establishment. In achieving this the NRM established the *New Vision* which Stremlau (2018: 117) described as set to "*promoting both change and stability*." Therefore, the Ugandan media environment embraced the political transition from Obote to Museveni with the NRM creating an enabling media environment for criticism and even encouraging it. The emergence of opposition parties in Uganda also resulted in opposition press, with the

establishment of *The Monitor* viewed as such press. Stremlau (2018:131) argued that the perception that the paper was oppositional was rooted in accusations that *The Monitor* actively supported opposition politics even before the formation of the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC). Stremlau (2018) argued that at other times it was in the interests of *The Monitor* to be seen as oppositional. Hence the emergence of *The Monitor* worked in favour of the NRM as Uganda was seen to have a vibrant private press allowing the expression of different views. *The New Vision* was perceived as a publication that criticised the NRM portraying a peaceful transition enabled by the NRM with Uganda viewed as a democratic state. Stremlau (2018:132) noted that:

"The NRM hoped that promoting free expression in the press not only reduced the incentive to turn to violence, but also at least disarmed the arguments of those advocating violence."

The Ugandan case informs my study because it illustrates how a post-coup government decided to open the media space in the creation of a new democratic government. The emergence of *The Monitor* in 1992 with the aid of funding from the *New Vision* concisely shows how Uganda's media allowed free expression even with the emergence of political opposition. This study similarly examines how the Zimbabwean media performed in a post-coup environment in relation to the public and private media.

Unlike in Uganda were the public media also criticised those in power, patriotic journalism was relatively practised in the Egyptian media before and after the Arab spring. Hamdy & Gomaa (2012) studied "the framing of the Egyptian uprising in Arabic language newspapers and social media." According to Hamdy & Gomaa (2012: 196) "Egypt's semi-official newspapers were directly influenced by the government and the independent newspapers were owned by government sanctioned businessmen." Hamdy & Gomaa (2012: 196) argued that "despite the efforts made toward the liberalization of the media system; the semi-official print media seized the moment to support the ailing regime by framing the protests in ways that denied the existence of a powerful social movement." Hamdy & Gomaa (2012) noted that according to the semi-official newspapers the main causes of the protests were foreign influence, and this was not altogether surprising because these causal scenarios had been used throughout the Mubarak era. Hamdy & Gomma (2012) articulated that semi-official newspapers portrayed that it was essential for Mubarak to stay in power as he was the only one capable of restoring order. Hamdy & Gomaa (2012: 202) stated that "*Al-Ahram*, contrasted an uncharted future filled with tragedy if Mubarak was to resign with a long list of Mubarak's past achievements. *Al-Ahram* portrayed

an image of Mubarak as being invincible and being the only person capable of unifying Egyptians." The Egyptian case study by Hamdy & Gomaa (2012) illustrates the "big-man syndrome" associated with autocratic leaders in Africa. El-Issawi (2012:34) affirmed that *"immediately after the resignation of Mubarak (22 February 2011), state media continued to do what it always had by applauding the new powerful men. State media moved automatically from denying the existence of an uprising to flattering the revolutionaries. Al-Ahram newspaper, which used to ignore the protests and describe protesters as troublemakers, ran the headline "The People Toppled the Regime" the day following the fall of the regime."*

Stremlau (2011) analysed the Ethiopian press and political transition focusing on the 2005 elections. According to Stremlau (2011:716) when the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power in 1991 they chose to be different from the Derg military government and demonstrated this by liberalising the press and allowing "*unprecedented levels of freedom of expression*." The environment before the May 2005 elections allowed the independent press to be critical of the EPRDF government. Gagliardone (2014:7) asserted that "although the criticism took on an increasingly adversarial tone, the EPRDF leadership initially stuck to its policy, ignoring dissenting voices and labelling them as '*anti-peace*' and '*anti-constitution'*. This stemmed from a belief that those writing for the private press were not part of the EPRDF's constituency in any case, so there was little need to expend political capital either repressing or engaging them." Stremlau (2011) stated that the "EPRDF ostensibly embraced a degree of freedom of expression as part of its political project but did so within the context of ''revolutionary democracy.''

Stremlau (2011: 716) noted that:

"Both government media and the private press enjoyed extensive freedom during the campaign period and on voting day. But the situation took a dramatic turn after it became clear that the opposition Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) had made unexpected gains. Subsequent months saw the outbreak of violence as approximately 200 people were killed, hundreds more were wounded and tens of thousands arrested."

The EPRDF allowed the state media to be more critical of views and gave opposition parties access, because it was comfortable of an election victory. According to Stremlau (2011: 722) "a ''*free*'' media, and equitable access to the state media, were significant factors for election

monitoring assessments, and the Ethiopian government appeared to assume that a more liberal approach would re-affirm the transparency and fairness of the elections."

Although the accessibility of the media to the opposition led to a validation of its strength. Stremlau (2011) argued that "the strength of the opposition that emerged over the election period, in the form of the CUD, quickly put an end to this openness, with government returning to a policy of using media to discredit its opponents and reassert its leadership." Gagliardone (2014:15) noted that "after Election Day, when the EPRDF realized it had suffered greater losses than it was ready to accept and people started protesting over the delay in issuing the results, some of the channels used to mobilize protesters were shut down."

The Ethiopian 2005 election and transition is like the Zimbabwean 2018 elections. This is primarily because towards the 2018 elections in July, Zimbabwe's media space was more open than in past elections with foreign journalists and observers being invited to witness the first election in the post Mugabe era. The incumbent Emmerson Mnangagwa was riding high on the euphoria of having deposed the autocrat in Robert Mugabe, hence the accessibility of the public, private and international press.

2: 6 FRAMING

The Framing theory has been used to explain the portrayal of presidential candidates or election coverage in political communications. It is from this foundation that the Framing theory is the core of my conceptual framework. The framing theory analyses how some issues are given prominence over others, and how salient and dominant issues emerge in covering specific events and actors. In this study the framing theory is applied to assist in the analysis on how the two publications under study framed the various presidential candidates in the run up to the election. The framing theory is therefore an analytical tool and a hypothesis that enables better understanding of how the media operates in the portrayal of certain events such as elections in this case.

Framing can be understood as the "selection to prioritize some facts, images, or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events" (Norris, Kern, & Just, 2003: 11). Gitlin (1980:7) defined frames as 'persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse.' How issues are put across through the media helps in understanding the consistent pattern of news presentations.

Entman (1993, 2004) suggested that "we can define framing as the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation." "Fully developed frames typically perform four functions: problem definition, causal analysis, moral judgment, and remedy promotion" (Entman, 1993, 2004). Framing theory is used in this study to analyse text and representations

of the candidates to evaluate '*bias or slant'* or interpretations and the "perceived reality and narrative" of the specific political players given prominent coverage. Entman (1993:
52) "stated that frames in the news can be examined and identified by 'the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements" This study takes stock at the words used to portray candidates, the various images used by the specific candidates. Frames in texts can be classified as either being issue-specific or generic. "*While issue-specific frames allow for "great specificity and detail," generic frames offer a systematic platform for comparison across issues, frames, and topics (de Vreese, Peter, and Semetko 2001, 108). Using generic framing themes, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) measured five frames that have been prevalent in literature: conflict, attribution of responsibility, economic, human interest, and morality."* This study mainly focused on generic frames that have dominated media coverage on Zimbabwean elections, while producing an issue specific framing typology based on the political transition that Zimbabwe was facing in 2018.

According to Compagnon (2011:131) "ZANU PF intended to discipline the media through promotion of smart "patriotic journalism", the official excuse being the need to bring an element of ethics into Zimbabwean journalism." Most scholars have alluded to the existence of patriotic journalism and how it has been revised to further enhance ZANU PF's hegemony. I explored whether the reportage by *The Herald and Daily News* portrayed presidential candidates with any bias or perceived slants as outlined by the Framing theory. I examined if within the post Mugabe era patriotic journalism continued to exist and to what extent. It is through the application of the framing theoretical framework that I investigated the political role of both private and public media performance in the first elections post-Mugabe.

As a sub-set, the Agenda setting theory came up as a study of the 1968 US Election. According to McCombs and Reynolds (2002) agenda setting is described as the "ability (of the news media) to influence the importance placed on the topics of the public agenda." The framework highlights what the public views as an important issue and what the media covers

thereby making the issue more relevant. Entman (2004) noted that agenda setting "can thus be seen as another name for successfully performing the first function of framing: defining problems worthy of public and government attention." Agenda setting refers to which issues the media highlights as important over others, Chuma (2005) asserted that independent press in Zimbabwe was largely elitist isolating coverage on political issues and manifestos of the opposition. Chuma (2005) 's study highlighted how the private press chose to give importance over ZANU PF criticism at the expense of political opposition manifestos, thereby setting the agenda. Hence this study investigated which issues were given salience over others by both public and private press.

2: 7 Cultural Studies and Representation

Theo van Leewen (1996:46) explained "that meaning belongs to culture rather than to language and cannot be tied to any specific semiotic, that language can represent social actions impersonally." This study discovers how according to Van Leewen "representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended." Van Leewen argues on the importance of language and the representations that are evoked by the meaning in language. Therefore, I have explored how meaning can be derived from representations as shown in the content analysed in the two newspapers. It is from the analysis that meaning in language would not be tied to any "specific semiotic" but rather the representations of social actions. "Political communication focuses on the ways and means of expression of a political nature," Denton and Woodward (1998: 11) defined political communication as "the crucial factor that makes communication 'political' is not the source of a message, but its content and purpose."

Another framework that I have used to better understand the portrayal of presidential candidates in the post Mugabe era is cultural hegemony. Cultural hegemony stems from Marxist philosophy, focusing on the domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling elite. It relates to the manipulation of the culture of society by the ruling class who impose their worldview as the accepted cultural norm. Hall (1997: 15) questions: what does 'representation' have to do with culture; what is the connection between them? Culture is universally understood in terms of 'shared meanings' and "language is the medium in which 'meaning' is produced and experienced" (Hall, 1997: 1; Mattelart & Mattelart, 1998: 86). The Cultural Studies theory acknowledges that the media consumer is not only passive but active in the consumption of the media products. Therefore, in decoding text and in investigating how presidential candidates are portrayed, there are various struggles of meaning in relation to the portrayal of candidates.

I have therefore investigated these various struggles of meaning and the different representations of the candidates as portrayed in the media.

Hall (1997) defined culture as the struggle over meaning, a struggle that takes place over and within the sign. I therefore explored how the cultural studies theory is implored in terms of content regarding candidates for presidential elections. How the different candidates in an election are represented in the media, this concisely ties up to the core of the conceptual framework about how candidates are framed in an election.

It is essential to note that in the early years of cultural studies, Luis Althusser referred to the media as one of the "ideological state apparatus" used by the ruling elite in what Gramsci termed as "winning consent" of the masses. Critics of the cultural studies theory have noted how it does not focus on the production process of media messages and rather the creation of meaning through representations. Hall noted that language therefore operates as a representational system through which thoughts and ideas are represented in a culture (Hall, 1997: 1). Representation through language is central to the processes by which meaning is produced (Hall, 1997: 1). Past studies on Zimbabwean elections highlighted the use of language to propagate ZANU PF's hegemony. Moyo (2012) and Chitando (2010) alluded to the use of imagery as a form of representation to the late Robert Mugabe. The emergence and convergence of a vibrant opposition likewise also led to the private media using language and representations of candidates with words such as "*useless geriatric*" and "*generational change*" being constantly used. In analysing how candidates are portrayed in a post – Mugabe era this research interrogates the different forms of representation used to portray the various candidates in newspaper front pages.

The issues discussed in this chapter highlight the scholarly literature on media coverage on elections in Zimbabwe and how the media performed in other African countries political transitions. The scholarly literature review has shown that the positioning of journalists and ideological concerns have mostly dominated the framing of past elections in Zimbabwe. The review on literature has also shown a lack of analysis on a quantitative angle of how presidential candidates are framed in past elections. This study seeks to bridge this gap by showing how presidential candidates were framed in the 2018 elections. This study will also show a quantitative representation of how the presidential candidates have been portrayed in the 2018 elections in Zimbabwe. Through the empirical evidence obtained I will also expand on the concept of patriotic journalism and how it played out in the 2018 presidential election in Zimbabwe.

African transitions explained in this chapter reveal the similarities in the different African nations and consistently answer the second question to my research, showing that Zimbabwe's first post-colonial political transition followed a similar path as past African political transitions. The African transitions inform my study regarding how the media has performed though different and similar, to a greater extent the Zimbabwean post- Mugabe transition has followed similar African political transitions littered by military coups, where the media plays a pivotal role in shaming and then supporting the transition. The following chapter explains the research design and methodology used in the research informed by the theoretical framework; I have outlined in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3:1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology used in this study, informed by the conceptual framework in the previous chapter. This chapter discusses the research instruments, the sampling method, the sample, coding, and the coding framework. I further examine, subjectivity and objectivity in relation to data analysis methods used. This chapter converses the credibility and ethical considerations undertaken in this study.

3:2 METHODOLOGY

This study incorporated a mixed - methods approach which includes both quantitative and qualitative research. The mixed methods approach enabled me to reduce biases or subjectivity on relying in a single research methodology. The approach enabled the two research methods to complement each other in examining the data and obtaining findings to my study. The mixed methods approach bolsters the confidence in the findings of the research unlike the use of a single research method.

The mixed methods approach was used in this study to produce the findings on the portrayal of presidential candidates in the first post-Mugabe election. Caruth (2013:113) argued "that the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods presents a more enhanced insight into the research problem(s) and question(s) than using one of the methods independently." The post-Mugabe period is a relatively new era to Zimbabwe's political history and events, therefore, to get a more enhanced insight into how presidential candidates were portrayed in this period, it is essential that this research follows a more encompassing approach, hence the use of the mixed methods approach. It is on this idea to obtain an enhanced insight and credible findings to this study, that I have used the mixed methods approach as my research methodology.

Caruth (2013: 112) suggested that among the "strengths of the mixed methods approach was that they point out that words, photos, and narratives that could be used to add meaning to numbers while numbers can add precision to words, photos, and narratives; they could handle a wider range of research questions because the researcher was not limited to one research design and they could present a more robust conclusion.

"It is on the basis on the strengths and functionality of the mixed methods approach that I decided to use it to obtain a 'robust conclusion'. Scholars have also cited weaknesses to using the mixed methods approach and among these was the expansive nature in using more than one research method and how qualitative and quantitative research designs maybe in conflict without the mixing of either paradigms. I used an embedded design of the mixed methods approach. This meant that both "quantitative and qualitative data are gathered at the same time while one's design purpose is to support the findings of the other design", Caruth (2013: 116).

The following subsections explain how data was obtained firstly through Content Analysis and then determining the sample to be used for the research.

3: 4 CONTENT ANALYSIS

Berelson's (1952: 84) often cited the definition of content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." Pilane & Iqanie (2016: 130) argued "that representation matters, because power is exercised through forms of communication, which become solidified and naturalised through repetition in discourse." This does not mean that media tells audiences what to think, but that they inform audiences "what to think about" (Cohen 1963: 13). Content analysis allows one to find out how a candidate is portrayed and at what frequency within a specified media format. This study focused on the front-page content analysis on how presidential candidates where portrayed in the run up to Zimbabwe's presidential election in 2018.

Content analysis allows one to count how many times manifest and objective content appears in a large sample of media texts (Pilane & Iqanie 2016:131). It struggles to offer a relatively unambiguous way of collecting data as it quantifies "content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner" Bryman (2012: 289-90). Deacon, et al. (1999: 116) suggest "that the purpose of such methodology is in identifying salient features within large samples to quantify them and to make inferences about the way's media are engaged in the politics of representation." I have investigated how content of front pages of *The Herald* and *Daily News* manifest thereby quantifying the representations and issue frames that are given coverage. Past studies on Zimbabwean election coverage have mainly focused on the ideological positioning of journalists as attributed by Ranger (2005), Chuma (2008), Tsarwe and Mare (2019), my study goes further to quantify the repetitive content and portrayal of presidential candidates hence the use of content analysis as a method.

"The strength of content analysis as a quantitative research methodology lies in the ability to be independent from the personal views of the researcher" (Krippendorf, 2012:24). Content analysis has been criticized with regards to its objectivity (Rose, 2016; Bock, et al., 2011), cited by Dokyum (2017: 15) explaining that "there still exists certain levels of uncertainty in regard to containing subjectivity, due to the fact that the content analysts delineate certain dimensions or aspects that are deemed irrelevant for their study" (Hansen, et al., 1998: 95). "In other words, the researcher still make a subjective choice for designing the analytic criteria, which may yield personal bias or prejudice on the matter" (Dokyum 2017: 15).

3: 4: 1 SAMPLING

Following this tradition of Content Analysis, I collected front pages of the *Daily News* and *The Herald* in Portable Document Format (PDF) mainly through Press display an online site described as the "*world's largest online newspaper kiosk*." The *Daily News* front pages where sourced via their Facebook site since they are not available on Press Display. The data collected covers the period going from 1 June to 30 July 2018, which are the first day after proclamation and the election date, respectively.

Stratified sampling refers to probability sampling where data is placed into a specific stratum thereby reducing the margin of error. In this case, I focused on front pages that had content on a specific presidential candidate thereby making the strata to be used for data analysis. I chose the period between 1 June to 30 July 2018 to collect data because campaigning was allowed in the press during that timeline. Stratified sampling was used to select the front pages to be used for quantitative content analysis. Barbie and Mouton (1998: 191) argued that "stratified sampling is a method for obtaining a greater degree of representativeness – decreasing the probable sampling error." Stratified sampling enables the elimination of unwarranted subjects thereby delineating the elements to the relevant subjects needed for a sample.

Front pages mentioning a specific presidential candidate among the 23 candidates, were selected for the sample to be used for the study. The front pages selected were numbered in accordance with the publication for example *The Herald* front pages were numbered N2 (1) and *Daily News* front pages N2 (2). I then developed a coding framework to process the recurring patterns, and manifest content in the form of presidential candidates' coverage. The coding framework was designed to identify the tonality of coverage of a candidate, their characteristics

and how they are portrayed by the publication. The variable labels focused on the candidate identity, issue/ specific frame, and the image classification of a specific candidate. I used two different coders and calculated their inter coder reliability to try and achieve satisfactory scores of the chosen variables of my coding framework and sustain objectivity in the coding process. Below is **Table 1** that illustrates the coding framework I developed with regards to the portrayal of presidential candidates in Zimbabwe's presidential election in 2018.

TABLE 1: CODING FRAMEWORK

Code	Variable	Variable Label	Code Value/Variable Scale	Descriptions
N1	**Unit Identification**	**From 0 to 2**	**Unit Identification**	**Unit Description**
N2	**Publications**	**1= The Herald 2= Daily News**	**Newspaper articles**	**Front pages of selected newspapers**

Tonality variables on portrayal of candidates

N3	**Candidate Portrayal**	**2= Strong positive coverage**	**Portrayal of presidential candidate**	**2= Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g. charming, exuberance, signal of hope, messiah, ordinary, simple) and amount of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.**
		1= Light positive coverage	**Portrayal of presidential candidate**	**1= Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g. empowerment, redefining, rebuilding, stable) and amount of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.**
		-1= Light negative coverage	**Portrayal of presidential candidate**	**-1= Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g. fear, jittery, lacking) and amount of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.**
		-2= Strong negative coverage	**Portrayal of presidential candidate**	**-2= Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g. unholy alliance, bickering, violent, dirty tactics, witch hunt) and amount**

				of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.
		0= Neutral	**Portrayal of presidential candidate**	**0= Non descriptive narrative of specific candidate focusing on manifesto only.**

Frame variables on portrayal of candidates

N4	**Frames/ Issues in articles**	**1= Robert Mugabe Allegiance**	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in relation to the late Robert Mugabe.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate/ party in relation to the late former president Robert Mugabe.**
		2= The Military Role	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in relation to the army.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate on how they perceive the army and their role in elections, the article allays security fears.**
		3= Vote Rigging	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate and their view on vote rigging and the ability to hold a free and fair election.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate on their opinion on vote rigging and how ZEC is set to conduct the election process.**
		4= Operation Restore Legacy	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in relation to Operation Restore Legacy.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate and how they perceive Operation Restore Legacy in the context of the 2018 election.**
		5= Trust and Affection	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate in a human-interest**

			an affective and trustworthy candidacy.	**drawing on affection and trust.**
		6= Security Issues	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in relation to security fears and concerns.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate's perceived security concern or fear in the pre- and post-election period.**

Image Classification Variable

N5	**Images of Presidential candidates**	**0= None**	**Number of Images of Presidential candidates portrayed on front pages.**	**The visual portrayal of presidential candidates given prominence on front pages.**
		1= Single/ Main Image on Front Page		
		2= Smaller Image/ 2nd lead image		
		3= Sidebar Image		
		4= Political advertisement Image		

3: 4: 2 INTER CODER RELIABILITY

"Intercoder reliability (more specifically "intercoder agreement"; Tinsley & Weiss, 1975,2000) is "near the heart of content analysis; if the coding is not reliable, the analysis cannot be trusted" (Singletary, 1993: 294). However, there are few standards or guidelines available concerning how to properly calculate and report intercoder reliability. Having used two coders in this study, I calculated intercoder reliability using the percentage agreement. According to Lombard et al (2002) "percentage agreement is the percentage of all coding decisions made by pairs of coders on which the coders agree. As with most indices, percent agreement takes values of .00 (no agreement) to 1.00 (perfect agreement). The obvious advantages of this index are that it is simple, intuitive, and easy to calculate. It also can accommodate any number of coders." With

only two coders used in this study, the coders first identified 33 different frames but with close similarities. The coding framework therefore narrowed down the variables into 6 main issue/frame described in the articles on the front page. The 6 main variables are drawn out of the 33 different frames that emerged in the initial coding of the sample. The frame on the Military's role and Security Issues are similar, but different in the context of the 2018 elections. This is because the Military's role specifically identifies the perceived role of the military in relation to the electoral race and how the military is associated with a specific candidate. While Security Issues frame is related to a bombing incident during the campaign period and any perceived security fears related to a candidate's life or person.

The frame on Operation Restore Legacy reveals the code name of the military coup and how the narrative of a specific candidate is drawn towards this code name. This frame is valid and justified in tracing the transitional process leading to the 2018 election and how it has been framed in relation to a specific candidate. Trust and Affection frame relates to how a candidate is described and portrayed drawing trust and affection on that persona through their depiction. This frame stems from how candidates are described, depicted, and revealed in a humane characterisation. The Vote Rigging and Robert Mugabe allegiance frame are self-descriptive of the portrayal of a candidate in relation to the specific frame.

Intercoder reliability was therefore calculated using the main frame under the six common variables listed on **Table I**. The coders used an Excel Sheet to code all 61 front pages that made up the selected sample. The two excel sheets were then assessed for their intercoder reliability using the main frame variable as illustrated on the coding framework. **Table 2** illustrates the intercoder reliability using the main issue variable calculated using the percentage agreement on the sample of 61 front pages.

TABLE 2: MAIN FRAME VARIABLE

Main Frame Variable	Coder A	Coder B	Percentage Agreement
Robert Mugabe Allegiance	**3**	**3**	**1.00**
The Military Role	**4**	**4**	**1.00**
Vote Rigging	**17**	**17**	**1,00**
Operation Restore Legacy	**1**	**1**	**1.00**
Security Issues	**7**	**7**	**1.00**
Trust & Affection	**29**	**27**	**0,93**

Table 2 shows that in five of the main frame variables the coders where in perfect agreement as they coded the equal number of articles under the same frame. While in one of the main frame variables which have been relatively coded the most the two coders were not in agreement. Though the level of disagreement in one main frame variable is relatively low it can be rectified to enable perfect agreement between the two coders. On interviewing the coders, it emerged that Coder A had coded for two more articles than Coder B, whose reason was that he had coded two less articles than Coder A because they felt that content did not meet the designed variables.

The intercoder reliability between the two coders had minimal margin of error, therefore the coders exhibited more perfect agreement (0,93 or 93%) than non-agreement. This enabled the analysis of the content to be deemed reliable and the coding framework made it possible for a detailed trustworthy analysis of the data which will be outlined in the next chapter.

3: 5 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The qualitative research for this study embodies semiotic analysis. This study used critical discourse analysis as data collection and analysis instrument. Roland Barthes (1967) suggested that "semiology aims to apply any system of signs, whatever their substance and limits; images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all these, which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment: these constitute, if not

languages, at least systems of signification." I analysed the visual presentation of the front pages, how the sidebars and lead stories were visually presented.

According to Fairclough (2013: 46) "Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses not just upon semiosis as such, but on relations between semiotic and other social elements." "The nature of this relationship varies between institutions and organizations and according to time and place, and it needs to be established through analysis" (Fairclough 2001: 11). Fairclough argued that 'critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies' (1992a: 12). Drawing from the framing analysis of studies by Chari (2010) that highlighted on *The Sunday Mail* using phrases like *"sell outs"* and *"gains of independence"* about candidates in the 2008 election in Zimbabwe, categories such as Patriotic journalism explained in Chapter 2 reflect on the semiotic use of relationships between institutions and the political elite. In this case, *The Sunday Mail* a state-owned paper's relationship with the political elite in ZANU PF is used in the discourse of the portrayal of the party's candidates. The relationship between the publication and the party hinges on social power abuse and the dominance reflecting in text. My study argues on the manifestation of this social power abuse and dominance in both private and public media in the portrayal of candidates in the 2018 election.

According to van Dijk (2001: 352), CDA "is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context." "Critical scholars are interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination that is the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist that abuse" (van Dijk: 2009: 63). It is within this empirical vista of CDA that established whether the frames and portrayal of presidential candidates in Zimbabwe by private and public media have been (re) produced in the post Mugabe era.

3: 6 DATA PRESENTATION

The following chapter will display the findings of this research obtained with the use of the methodology outlined in this chapter. The quantitative data obtained would be presented and displayed to answer the first central question: Has front page newspaper coverage portrayed presidential candidates and their parties differently in the post- Mugabe era? The quantitative data exhibits the reoccurring frames and the frequency at which candidates are portrayed in the front pages of newspapers in the runup to the 2018 election. The presented data enabled a

further critical analysis on how the media has portrayed presidential candidates in the first election in the post Mugabe era to give an informed analysis of media performance in the first post-colonial political transition in Zimbabwe.

This therefore brings us to the second question of the study: What does the coverage indicate about the roles and functions of the Zimbabwe press in the post-Mugabe era, and to what extent this echo (or does not) what is happening in other parts of Africa? The data presented reveal how two of the main daily newspapers performed in the first political transition in Zimbabwe in a comparative media framework of African media systems. Statistical, diagrams, tables and charts display the data on how presidential candidates where portrayed and how the media performed in the political transition under study. The figures and diagrammatical presentation of the data exhibit the quantitative paradigm to my research while the explanations of the data presented and further analysis on the data exbibits the qualitative paradigm of this research.

3:7 RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND ETHICAL ISSUES

McMillan and Schumacher (2010: 179) *"defined reliability as the extent to which measures are free from error. In content analysis, much can go wrong in the coding of data in terms of defining categories. If category definitions are not clear and exhaustive, the research questions may not be fully answered."* Wimmer and Dominick (1987) noted that *"to achieve an acceptable level of reliability, emphasize the definition of category boundaries with maximum detail."*

At the very first coding of the front pages, I noticed I had multiple main frames that replicated in the various pages. So, in designing my Coding framework I had to constantly adjust and modify the variables so that categories are broadly defined with maximum detail. This enabled the coding to reduce the margin of error while ensuring reliability of the coding framework. To further enable reliability, I used the inter coder reliability in the form of percentage agreement between the two coders. Initially I had tried to code the content on my own and realised that it may become subjective but tested the coding framework which resulted in the modification and adjustments of variables from my initial coding.

The use of two independent coders of South African nationality enabled me to obtain reliable and valid objective data. Their nationality came as an advantage because the two coders where relatively not biased towards any of the presidential candidates and therefore viewed the

content they coded objectively thereby removing any bias, unlike if done by myself or a Zimbabwean national with more knowledge and interest in Zimbabwe's political environment. Gibbert (2008) "emphasised two words with regards to reliability: thus, transparency and replication." In replicating the coding of the front pages using the developed coding framework this was envisaged by the perfect agreement by the two coders in the coding of the data. The training of coders is also essential in achieving reliable or perfect scores when coding data. The two coders, whom are workmates and colleagues are experienced media analysts whose daily occupation, involves the coding of data albeit a different form of data. Therefore, their experience enabled minimal training but worked favourable in transparent and reliable generation of data. After modification of the coding framework, 5 out of the 6 main frame variables reached perfect agreement, enabling an intercoder reliability of 83,3%.

McMillan and Schumacher (2010: 173) "defined validity as a judgement of the appropriateness of a measure for specific inferences or decisions that result from the scores generated." This study did not have any validity issues since coding as an instrument allows and enables the adjusting and modification of the coding framework throughout the research to obtain reliable results. This study did not use any human or animal participants therefore ethical issues where not a concern. The study relied on newspaper articles, predominantly the front pages of newspapers which are already in the public domain.

In summation, this chapter discussed the mixed methods approach that has been used in the study. It outlined how data was gathered and the different instruments used in obtaining the data. The reliability and objective transparency in the research methods used and how any other researcher can replicate the process using the developed framework. The next chapter displays the findings of this research obtained using the methods I have outlined in this outgoing chapter.

CHAPTER 4

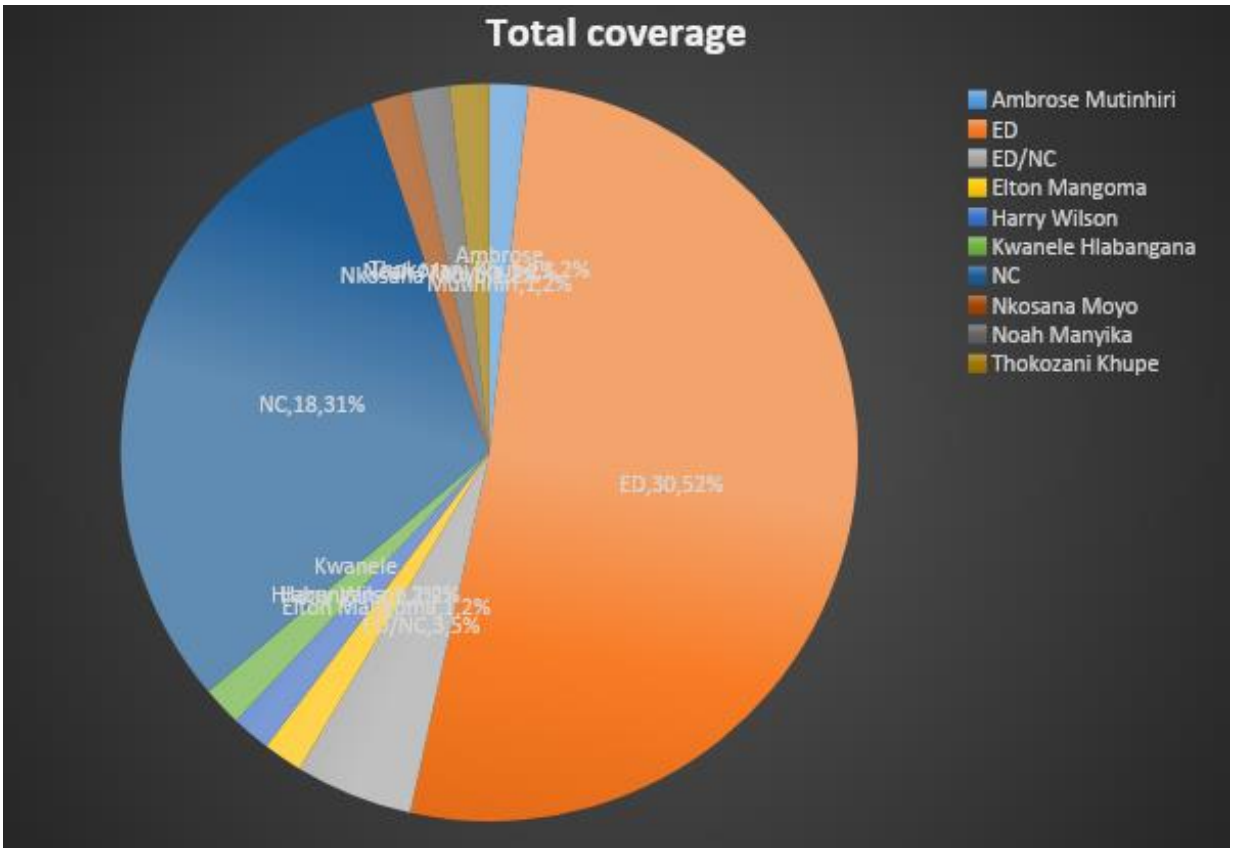
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4:1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present the findings of my research both quantitative and qualitative. The sample of front pages from *The Herald* and *Daily News* enabled the interpretation of the discerning patterns in relation to the methodological approach and the theoretical framework. This chapter will illustrate the outlining patterns on the portrayal of presidential candidates in both publications.

4: 2 CANDIDATE COVERAGE FROM THE HERALD & DAILY NEWS

Figure 1



Key

ED - Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa

ED/NC - Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa/Nelson Chamisa

NC - Nelson Chamisa

Figure 1 shows the total coverage of the presidential candidates in the selected sample of front

pages for both papers. The incumbent Emmerson Mnangagwa received most of the coverage

with over 52% of all front pages mentioning his presidential candidacy. Nelson Chamisa the leading opposing candidate got 31 % of the coverage from both publications. Front pages that mentioned both Nelson Chamisa and Emmerson Mnangagwa as the lead contenders in the presidential race amounted to 5% of the coverage. On the key to Figure 1 the content that features both Mnangagwa and Chamisa is referred to as ED/NC because such articles referred simultaneously to both candidates. These articles stemmed from content on a military press conference which confirmed that they would support the candidate who emerged as the winner of the election. Both *The Herald* and *Daily News* had lead stories on the following day portraying the two main candidates in relation to the military's position on the elections. Therefore ED/NC throughout the findings represents content that has the two main candidates mentioned in the same article. For example, on 5 July 2018 *The Herald* lead story was titled *We'll respect poll outcome – ZDF* while *Daily News* lead story was titled, *We will salute Chamisa: Army* both articles on the same day featured the two main candidates hence the categorization of ED/NC.

Nkosana Moyo, Noah Manyika, Thokozani Khupe, Kwanele Hlabangana, Harry Wilson, Elton Mangoma and Ambrose Mutinhiri each got 2 % of the coverage from both publications. Only 2% of pages analysed did not mention any presidential candidate.

With the 23 candidates having contested the 2018 Presidential election, it is evident that only 9 candidates were given front page coverage in the selected sample thereby alienating a further 14 candidates or relegating them to the other pages of the newspaper. Of the 9 candidates that were covered in the front pages of the newspaper, only one female candidate (Thokozani Khupe) got front page coverage in an election race that featured three female candidates.

4:3 THE HERALD COVERAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE (FIGURE 2)

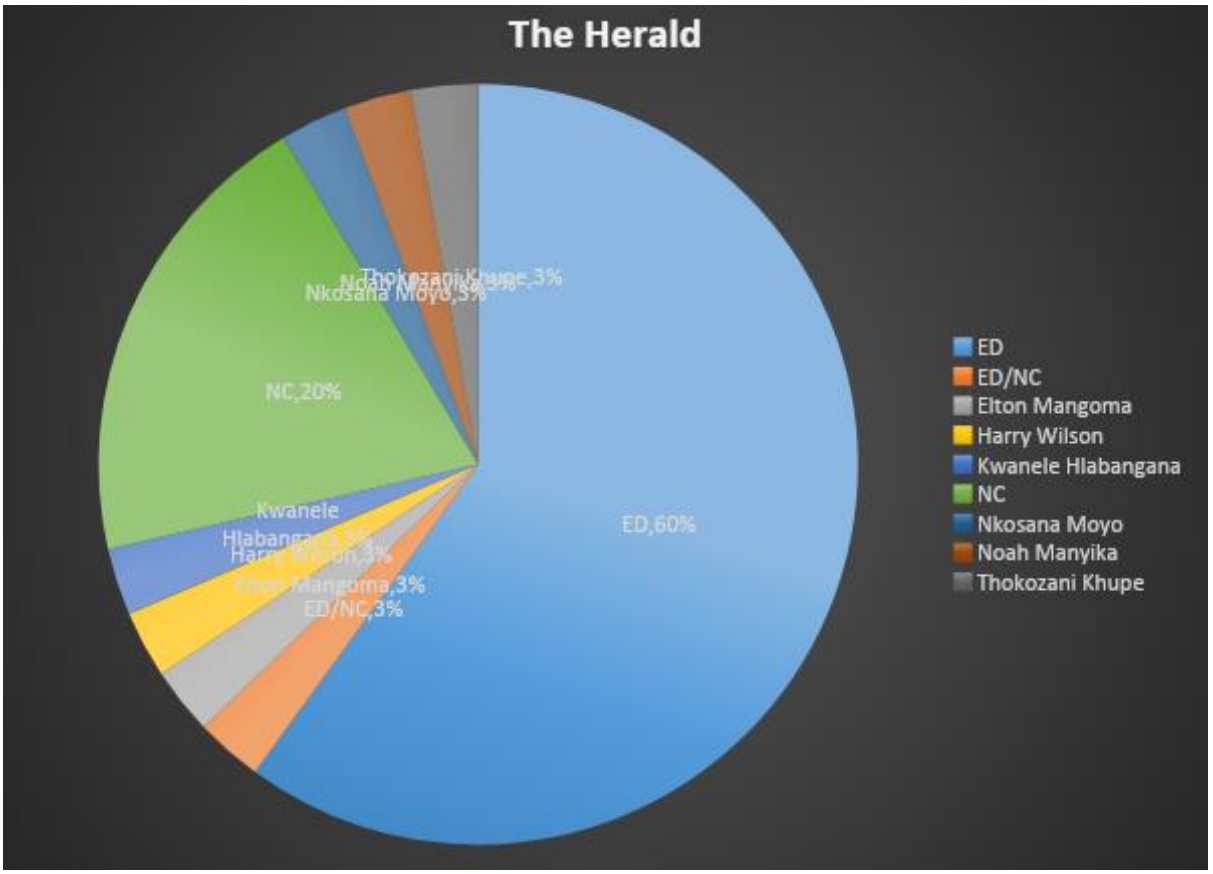


Figure 2 shows that Emmerson Mnangagwa received the bulk of the coverage in the state-owned publication with 60 % of the sampled front pages dominated by coverage of the incumbent. Nelson Chamisa received 20 % of the coverage in the state-owned paper. Elton Mangoma, Harry Wilson, Kwanele Hlabangana, Nkosana Moyo, Thokozani Khupe and Noah Manyika received 3 % of the coverage each. This coverage was usually portrayed on the sidebars of the front page and not on the lead story. *The Herald* 's front page lead story would predominantly feature Emmerson Mnangagwa and Nelson Chamisa portraying the election as a two-horse race.

4:4 DAILY NEWS COVERAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Figure 3

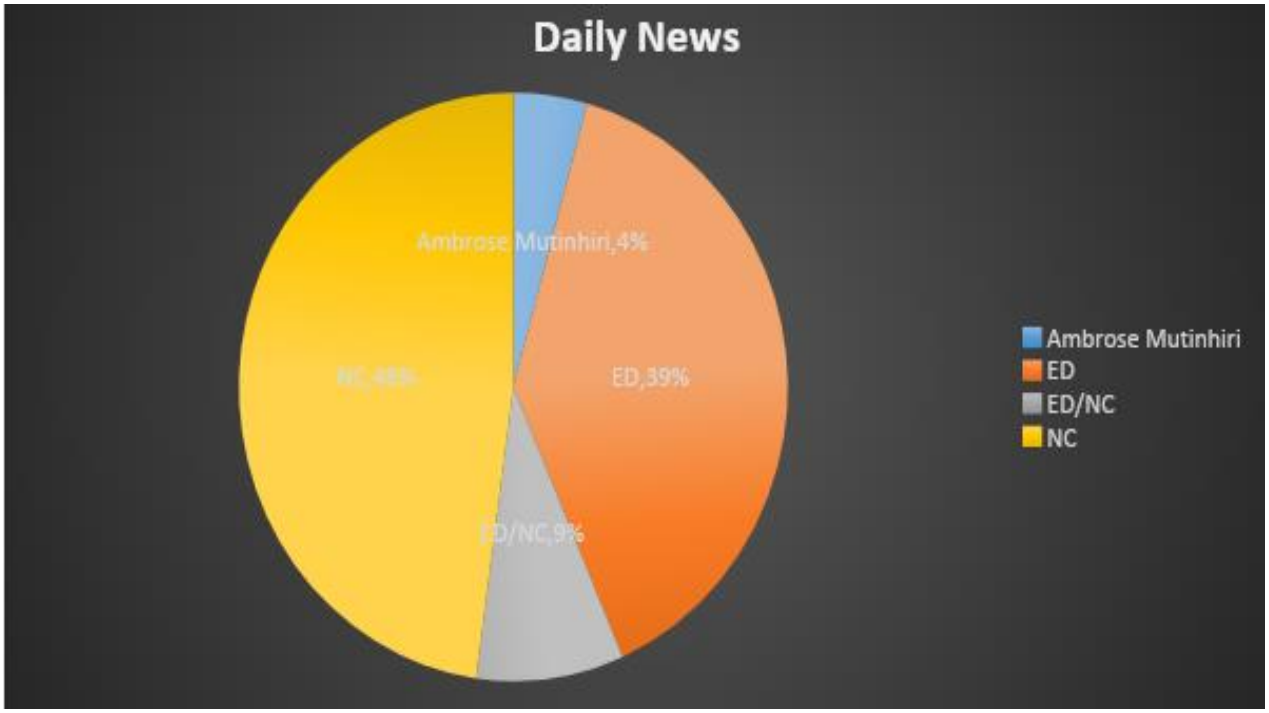
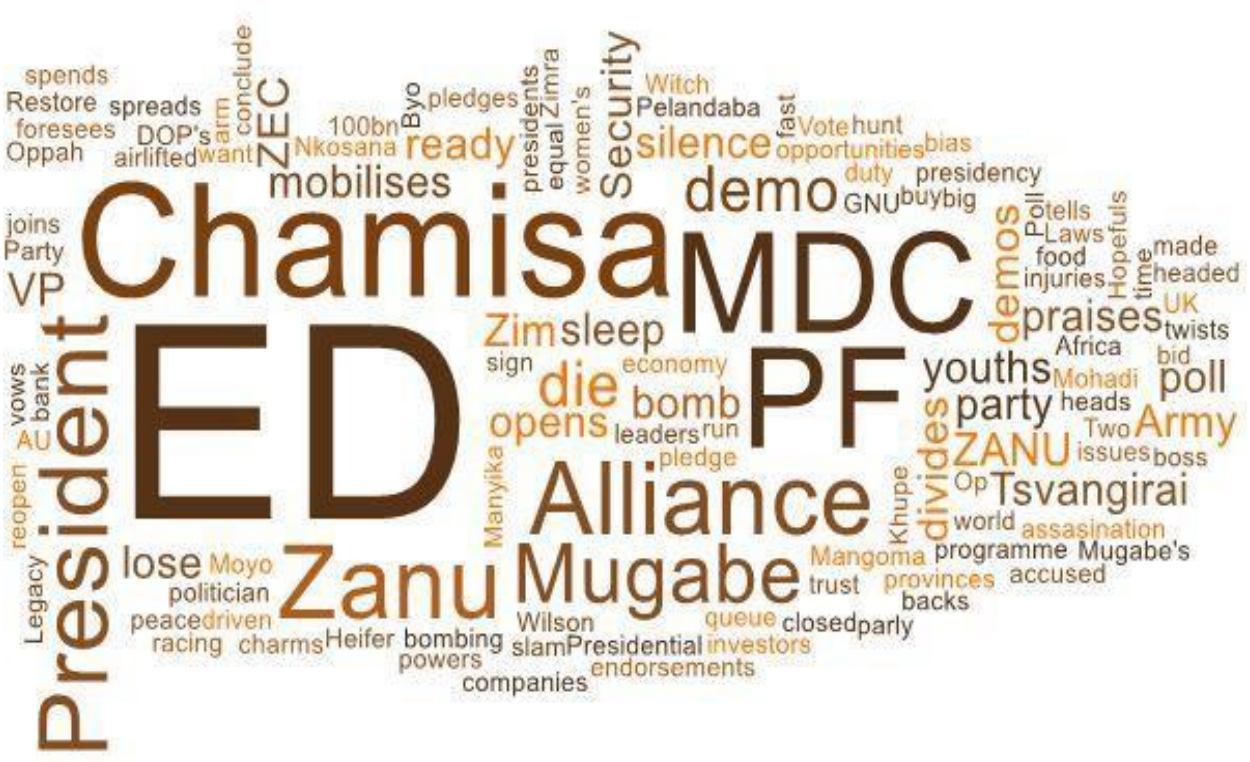


Figure 3 shows the coverage of presidential candidates by *Daily News.* The selected sample shows that Nelson Chamisa received the bulk of the coverage in the paper, with 48 % of the front pages focusing on the opposition leader. Emmerson Mnangagwa received 39 % of the coverage in the *Daily News.* The only other opposition candidate that featured in *Daily News* front pages was the Robert Mugabe aligned National Patriotic Front presidential candidate Ambrose Mutinhiri with 4 % of the coverage. Front pages that featured both Emmerson Mnangagwa and Nelson Chamisa amounted to 9 % of the *Daily News* sample.

4:5 WORD CLOUD VISUALISATION

Heimerl et al (2014: 46) stated that "word clouds have emerged as a straightforward and appealing visualization method for text, they are used in various contexts as a means to provide an overview by distilling text down to those words that appear with highest frequency." In this case I used word cloud visualisation to analyse the headlines of all 61 front pages that made the sample studied. The word cloud visualisation illustrates the most frequent text in the headlines of the two publications thereby giving a visual portrayal on which candidate or issues dominated front page headlines. **Figure 4** below shows the most frequent 120 words in the headlines of both publications. The word cloud visual was generated online using a Microsoft word add in application called Proword cloud.

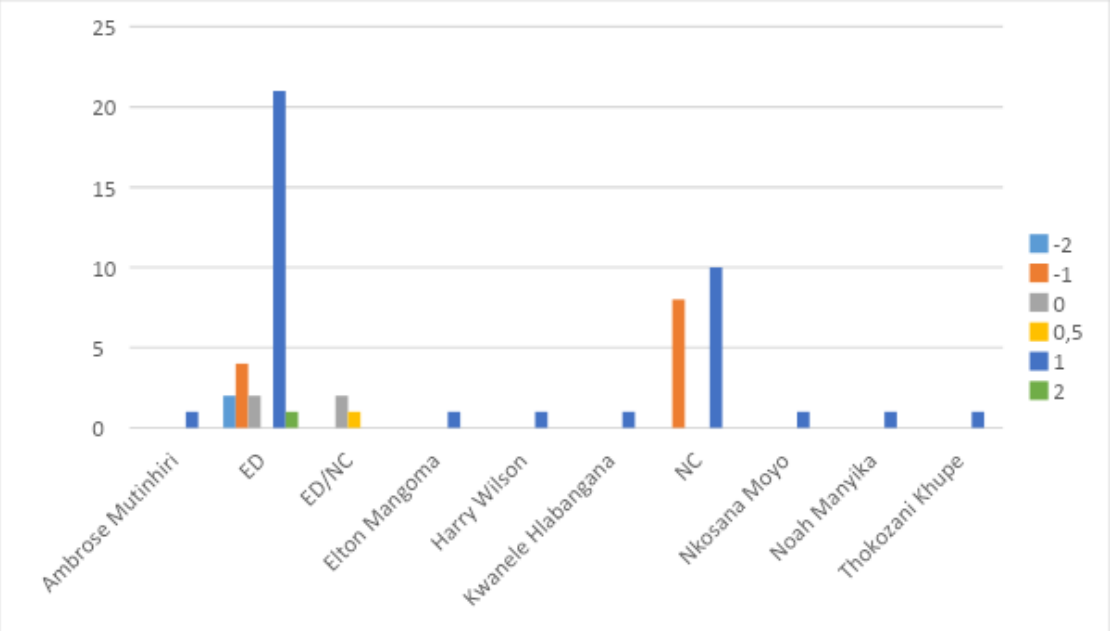
Figure 4



The words with a bigger font reflect the highest frequency in which they appeared in front page headlines in the period and sample under study in both *The Herald* and *Daily News.* The words with a smaller font reflect the lowest frequency in which they appeared in front page headlines. **Figure 4** displays that the initials of the incumbent Emmerson Mnangagwa also known as ED and Chamisa the surname of opposition leader Nelson Chamisa appeared more frequent.

4:6 PORTRAYAL OF CANDIDATES BASED ON TONALITY

Figure 5



Key (Tonality see Coding Framework)

Tonality is defined as the general character or attitude of a place, piece of writing, situation. In this study tonality refers to the piece of writing and its general character as shown by the words used. Using the coding framework on Chapter 3, the coders analysed the portrayal of different candidates based on tone. Below is a recap on the various codes assigned to the tonality on the portrayal of a candidate and what they represent:

- 2 represents strong positive coverage - Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g., charming, exuberance, signal of hope, messiah, ordinary, simple) and amount of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.
- 1 represents light positive coverage - Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g., empowerment, redefining, rebuilding, stable) and amount of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.
- -1 represents light negative coverage - Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g., fear, jittery, lacking) and amount of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.
- -2 represents strong negative coverage - Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g., unholy alliance, bickering, violent, dirty tactics, witch hunt) and amount of space

taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.

- 0 – 0,5 represents neutral coverage - Non descriptive narrative of specific candidate focusing on manifesto only.

According to **Fig 5** the incumbent Emmerson Mnangagwa received the bulk of positive coverage in the sample under study with over 20 articles portraying a positive image of Mnangagwa. Nelson Chamisa received half the positive coverage compared to the incumbent, being the second most positively portrayed candidate in both publications. Chamisa also had the lightest negative (-1 tonality) portrayal in both publications while incumbent Mnangagwa had the most negative (-2 tonality) and most positive sentiment in both publications.

The other seven candidates who received front page coverage all polled light positive tonality (1 tonality) with reference to how they were portrayed in the front pages of the selected sample. The light positive tone was coded as a numerical one. Besides coding for the two most popular candidates on tonality, the relatively singular content on the other seven candidates was predominantly positive portrayal of the candidates focusing only on their political manifestos.

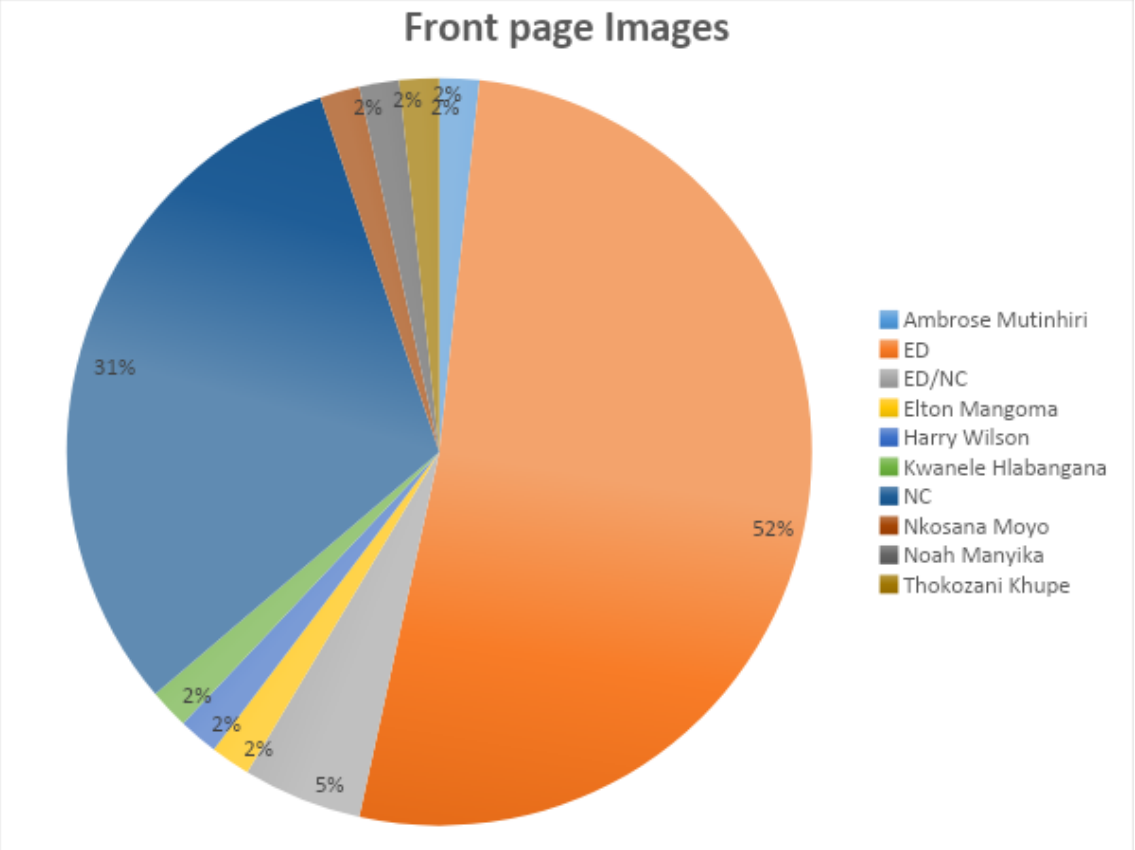
In relation to tonality, *The Herald* had more front pages that were coded with a positive 1 to a positive 2 tonality. This is mainly because most of the front pages coded for the incumbent and the other seven candidates that were given minimal coverage where all coded with a light positive tone. The negative tonality on *The Herald* front pages was mainly given to the coverage of the MDC Alliance candidate Nelson Chamisa. Therefore, I would argue that the Herald front pages were mostly coded with a positive tonality and negative tonality was given towards how it covered Nelson Chamisa.

Daily News front pages that were coded with a positive tonality featured mostly coverage on Nelson Chamisa, while negative tonality was mostly related to the coverage on the incumbent. *Daily News* also had the most neutral tonality on the coverage of all the candidates. Articles that were coded neutral covered the vote rigging frame and did not portray any candidate in a favourable manner. I would put it that *Daily News* front pages that received the most positive tonality portrayed Nelson Chamisa as the most capable candidate to elect to office.

Basing on the parameter of tonality, this study illustrates the bias in coverage and limited attempt to balance how presidential candidates are portrayed on front pages in Zimbabwe's 2018 election. The implications on negative or positive tonality on the portrayal of a candidate reflect on the publication's perception to its readers on a particular candidate. Thus by portraying Nelson Chamisa with a negative tonality such as referring to him as *"jittery"* highlights the media's agenda setting role and how biased coverage is attained over a particular candidate over another. Positive tonality such as the portrayal of the incumbent as a change agent to his predecessor equally sets the agenda of a more suitable candidate to elect.

4: 7 FRONT PAGE IMAGES OF CANDIDATES

Figure 6



Of the front pages analysed in the sample of all the publications 52% of the images showed incumbent Emmerson Mnangagwa while 13% showed the leading opposition candidate Nelson Chamisa. A further 25% of the images on the front pages of newspapers did not show any of the candidates as images of other non-state actors such as Mugabe, Tsvangirai, ZEC chair Justice Chigumba and rally crowds also dominated front pages in both publications. Harry

Wilson, Thokozani Khupe, Kwanele Hlabangana, Nkosana Moyo and Noah Manyika featured on 2 % of the images on the front pages of the publications under study. Elton Mangoma was featured on 1 % of the front-page newspaper images of the collected sample.

Only one female candidate, Thokozani Khupe featured on the front pages of the analysed sample with only 2% of the images featuring Khupe. Only Chamisa and Mnangagwa had led front page images in the publications under study, while the rest of the candidates had miniature side bar images on the front pages.

4:7:1 FRONT PAGE IMAGES IN THE HERALD

Figure7

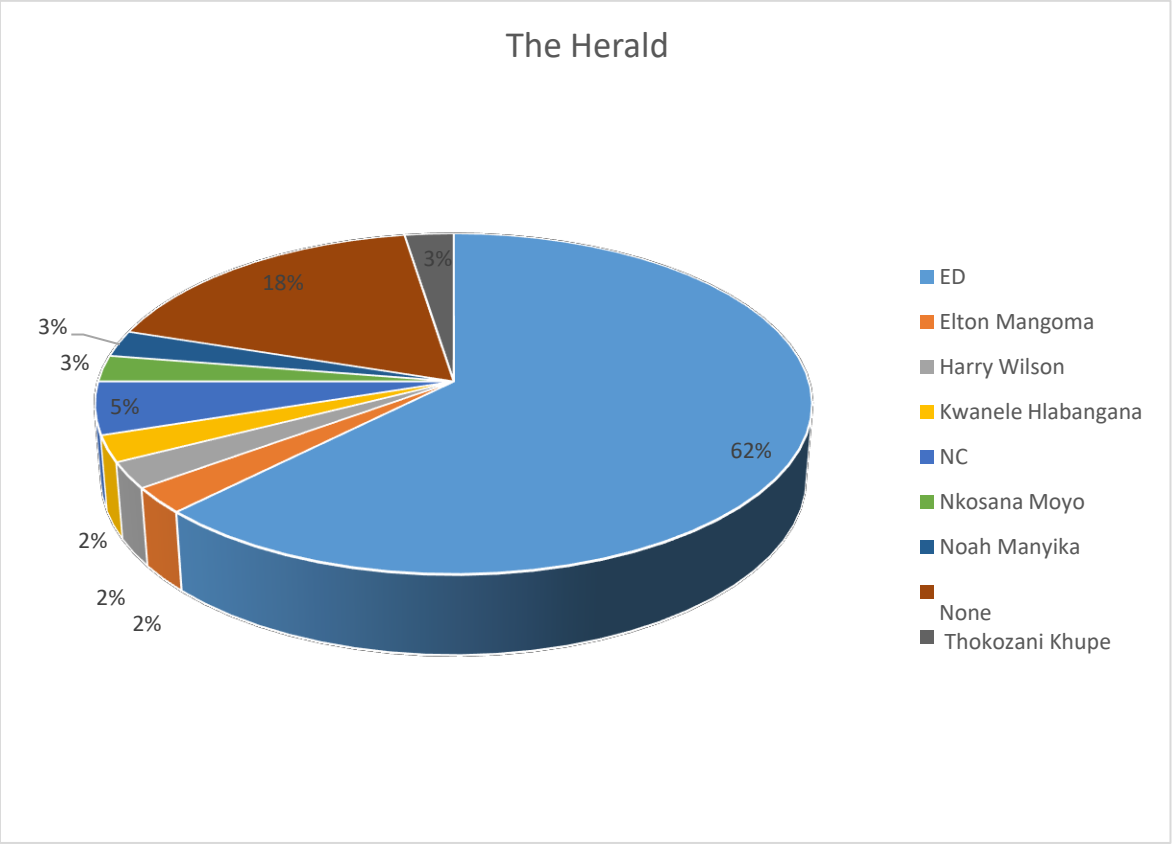
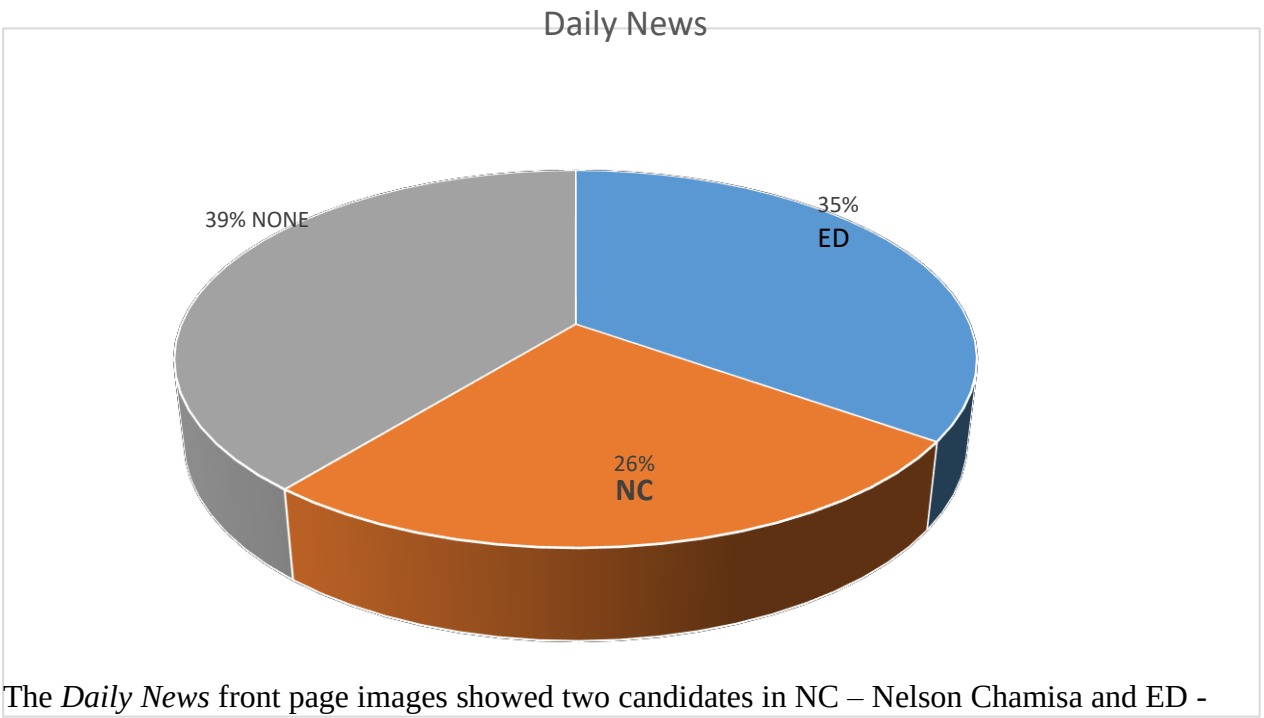


Figure 7 shows the number of front-page images of the different candidates in *The Herald*. Although **Figure 7** does not reflect on the size of the images in the front pages it highlights the count of images each candidate received. Mnangagwa had the bulk of the images in *The Herald*'s front page amounting to 63% of the selected sample. Nelson Chamisa had 5 % of the front-page images in *The Herald*. Eighteen percent of the front pages did not belong to either of the candidates, these are front pages that featured content related to the portrayal of a candidate but without any accompanying image for a candidate for example coverage on a Heifer production programme, pictures of audiences at rallies and images of other ZANU PF members. Though the pages may have images of a specific candidate a particular article portraying a candidate may not have an accompanying image. Therefore, not all texts portraying a candidate were accompanied by an image, although the majority of texts on the incumbent where accompanied by his image on the campaign trail. Elton Mangoma, Harry Wilson, Kwanele Hlabangana, Nkosana Moyo and Noah Manyika all had small front-page images amounting to 3 % of the total images in *The Herald*.

4:7:2 Front Page Images in the Daily News

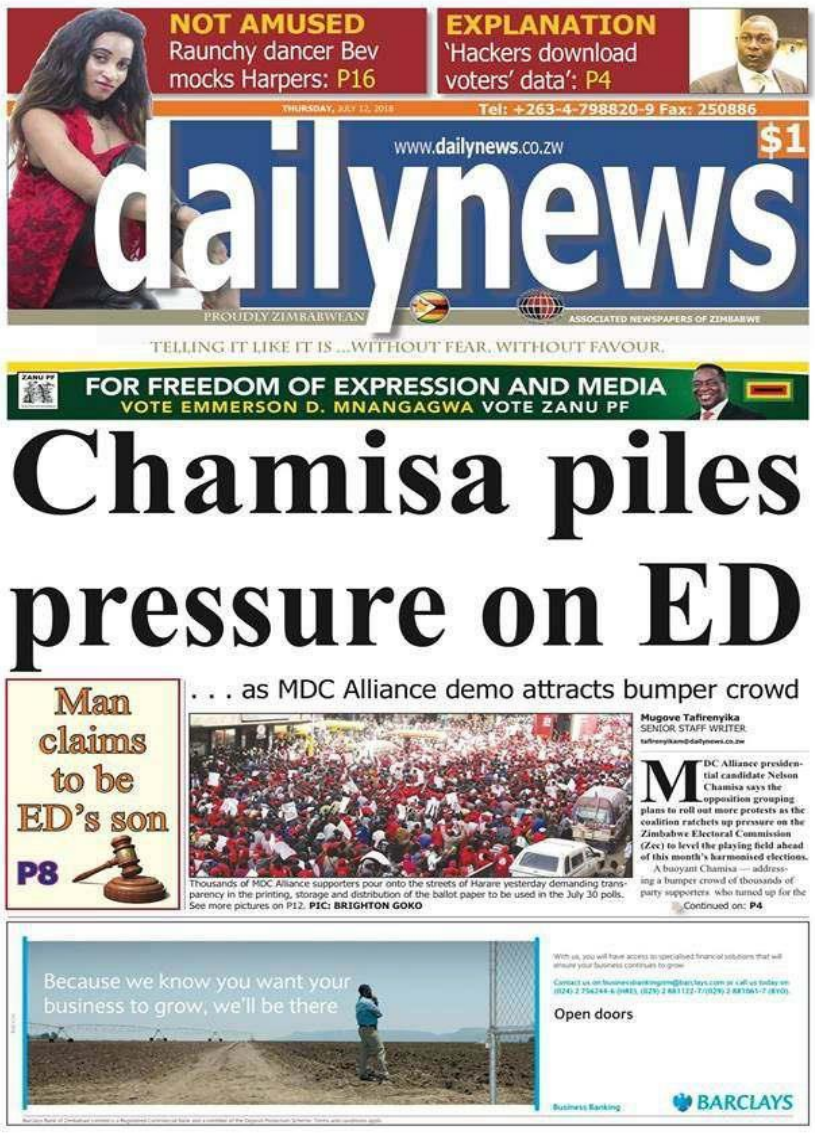
Figure 8



The *Daily News* front page images showed two candidates in NC – Nelson Chamisa and ED - Emmerson Mnangagwa. Most of the images 39% did not feature any of the candidates.

Instead, they revealed images of the police and huge rally crowds, Mugabe, military commanders and the ZEC chairperson. ED featured mostly in the images of the front page of the *Daily News* with 35% of the images, while NC had 26% of the images. In some of the images that fall under non state actors Mugabe and Tsvangirai featured on the front page and at times ED's image was placed adjacent to Mugabe's image. The images in the *Daily News* revealed a continuous portrayal persistence on the electoral commission's head and whether she could deliver a free and fair election.

Besides the front lead, second lead or sidebar images, the 2018 presidential election also witnessed political advertising on the front pages of the *Daily News.* Eleven of the *Daily News* front pages of the selected sample featured a ZANU PF advertisement on the top of the pages. Below Image 1 is an example of the *Daily News* front page with the ZANU PF advertisement.



The advertisement features the ZANU PF colours and emblem with the tagline: *For Freedom of Expression and Media Vote Emmerson D Mnangagwa Vote ZANU PF*. While the lead story is headlined: *Chamisa piles pressure on ED.* Ten other *Daily News* front pages featured the same ZANU PF advertisements with the same tagline. This visual representation of ZANU PF in the privately owned *Daily News* versus a headline of a lead story that denigrates ZANU PF would be discussed in the next chapter in relation to the first and second central questions of this study. On the other hand, *The Herald* did not have any political advertisements on their front page.

4:8 FRAMING

Through my coding framework created from the sample of available data I identified the most dominant frames in the portrayal of presidential candidates in the run up to the 2018 elections in Zimbabwe. The most common frames that were representative of how candidates where portrayed included: Security Issues, The Robert Mugabe allegiance, The Military role, Operation Restore Legacy, Vote rigging, Trust and Affection. Although these six frames were not the only noticeable frames in relation to the newspaper's coverage. These were the dominant frames which at times appeared more than once in a news article. Therefore **Figure 8** Illustrates the frequency and count of the frames in the sample of 61 articles found in front pages.

Figure 9

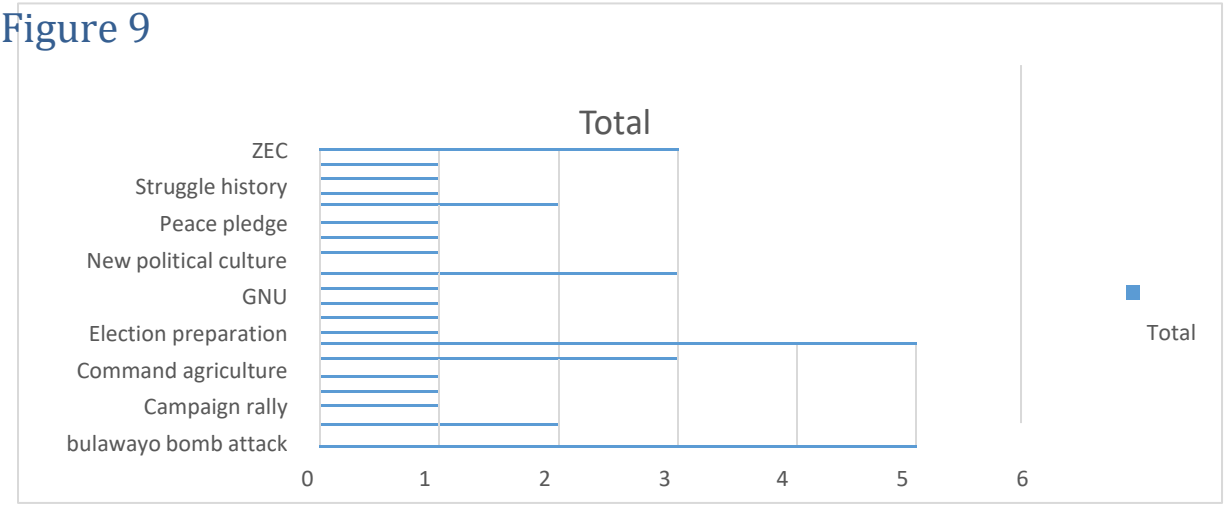


Figure 9 shows that frames related to the Bulawayo bomb attack dominated font pages of *The Herald* and *Daily News* in the 61 front pages analysed. The Bulawayo Bomb attack overlapped in several articles as a reoccurring frame and therefore fell under the Security Issues main

frame. Election rigging and demonstrations against the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) also followed closely and received as much attention in front page coverage as security issues. Frames related to the election process including demonstrations against ZEC fell under the main frame of Vote Rigging.

Frames on the military's role before and after the election specifically related to whether they would accept anyone other than the incumbent as the winner of the plebiscite fell under the main frame of the military's role. Operation Restore legacy was a standalone frame related to the military coup before the election and its importance to the election as portrayed by presidential candidates. The frame also received favourable coverage in the front pages of the selected sample. Despite having been removed from office in November 2017, Robert Mugabe's image continued to dominate front pages and was among the most common frames evident in the portrayal of candidates in the 2018 election. The last main frame is trust and affection that illustrated how candidates were portrayed in an article to draw or not draw affection or trust on a particular candidate. For example, the frame that states the mocking of Chamisa draws less affection on his candidacy, while the frame that states Mnangagwa praising the late MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai equally draws affection on Mnangagwa candidacy.

Figure 10

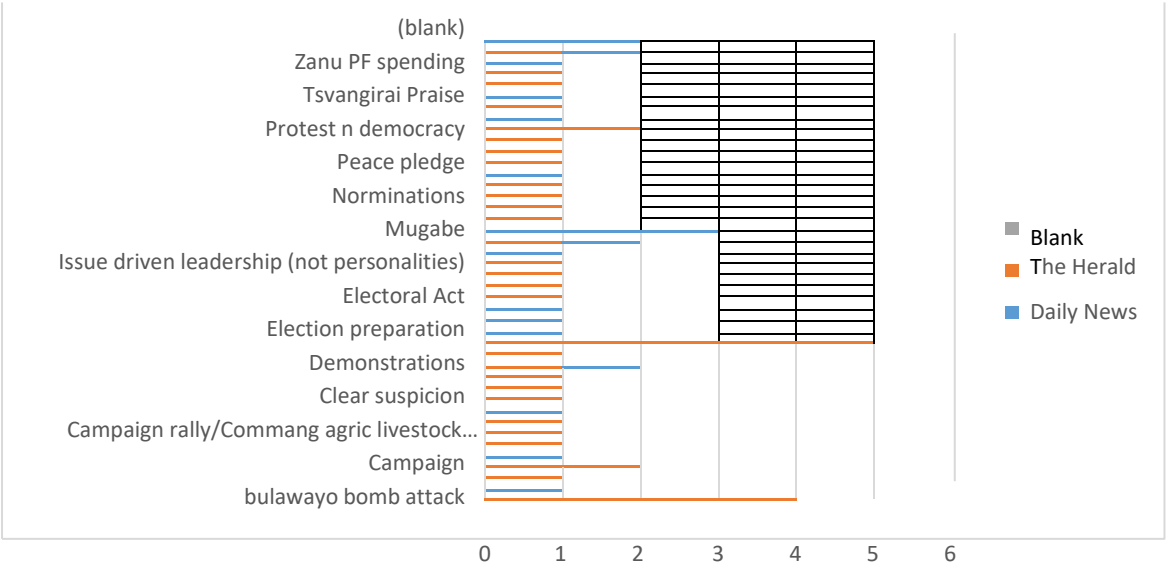


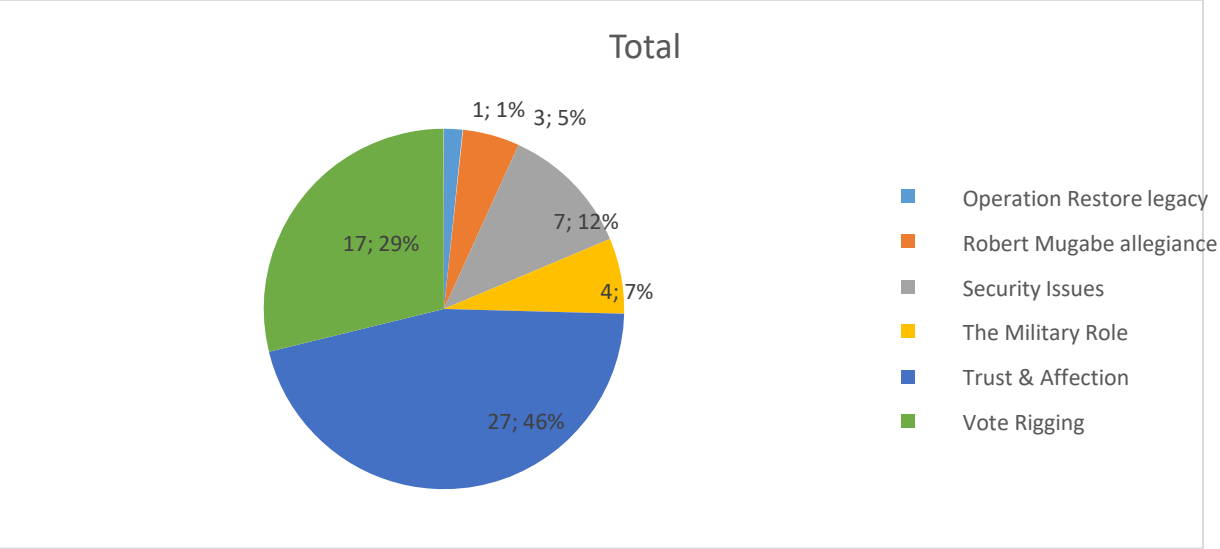
Figure 10 shows the distribution of the frames that emerged according to the two newspapers before I summarised them into the main 6 frames. Therefore, at the initial stage of the analysis I had 14 frames that emerged as shown in Figure 9, which also highlights the frequency of these frames in the two publications. These frames where then summarised into the 6 main frames used in this study. **Figure 10** shows how *The Herald* reported more on the Bulawayo Bomb

attack and election preparation compared to the *Daily News.* The *Daily News* on the other hand reported more on Mugabe and ZANU PF spending than *The Herald.* **Figure 10** exposes the different frames given prominence in the front pages of the selected sample and at what frequency thereby enabling me to draw an analysis that would be explained in the next chapter. Before drawing an analysis of the frames there is need to summarise the frames in relation to the main 6 frames. **Table 3** below shows the main 6 frames that the front pages content has been placed under, though the frames overlap as there is no one article on each front page, the dominant frame of the lead story on the front page has concisely been placed if in relation to a presidential candidate. At times, the lead story on the front page was not in relation of a presidential candidate thereby focusing on a second or third lead portraying a candidate. At times, a front page could have more than one article on a presidential candidate therefore the number of articles does not also represent the number of front pages analysed.

Table 3 Summary of article frames

Frame	**Number of articles**	**Percentage**	**Count in publication** **N2(1) – *The Herald*** **N2(2)- *Daily News***
Security Issues	**7**	12 %	N2 (2) – 3 N2 (1) - 4
Robert Mugabe Allegiance	3	3,5%	N2 (2) - 3
The Military Role	4	4,7 %	N2 (1) – 1 N2 (2) - 3
Operation Restore Legacy	1	1,1 %	N2 (1) - 1
Vote Rigging	17	17,29 %	N2(1) – 8 N2 (2) - 9
Trust & Affection	**27**	27,46 %	N (1) – 22 N2 (2) - 5

Figure 11 Summary of article frames



4:8:1 SECURITY ISSUES

Of the 61 articles that made up the analysed sample two of the articles did not fall in any of the 6 main frames, therefore only 59 articles were coded in relation to the six main frames. Seven of the 59 articles fell into the security issues main frame. Articles that portrayed the security issues frame quoted or referred to a presidential candidate's perceived security concern or fear in the pre- and post-election period. These articles had to portray or frame the presidential candidate in any security concern.

Examples of such framing is illustrated in the following:

Daily News, 7 July 2018, ED Security Fears Mount

"As the country hurtles towards the July 30 national elections, the security of President Emmerson Mnangagwa is increasingly becoming an issue with authorities revealing at the weekend that they will take extraordinary measures to secure his safety. This comes after Mnangagwa narrowly escaped an apparent assassination a week ago when an explosion rocked a Zanu PF Rally."

The Herald, 25 June 2018, Security for all Zim presidential hopefuls

"VICE PRESIDENT General Constantino Chiwenga (Retired) yesterday described as an act of terrorism the explosion that rocked White City Stadium in Bulawayo on Saturday soon after

President Mnangagwa addressed a ZANU-PF rally and said the incident would not deter Zimbabwe from holding elections in a peaceful environment."

Most of the articles on security issues were related to the Bulawayo Bomb Attack, which heightened security concerns in the run up to the 2018 Presidential elections. *The Herald* gave more prominence on the security issue frame compared to *Daily News.*

4:8:2 Robert Mugabe Allegiance

Of the 59 analysed articles, three of them fell into the main frame of Robert Mugabe allegiance. All three articles were in the privately owned *Daily News.* An example on the framing of Robert Mugabe's allegiance to a presidential candidate was as follows:

Daily News, 6 June 2018, Mugabe's Party Backs Chamisa

"The National Patriotic Front (NPF) - which has the blessings of ousted former president Robert Mugabe - yesterday threw its weight behind MDC Alliance in its protest march against what it perceives as the slow pace of electoral reforms ahead of July 30 vote."

Frames on Robert Mugabe's allegiance with the MDC-Alliance also mention secret meetings with Grace Mugabe and Nelson Chamisa. The frames linked the two parties in the run up to the election.

4:8:3 The Military Role

The military has been involved in Zimbabwe's political space since the country's birth, therefore the framing of the military's role in relation to the portrayal of presidential candidates is of great importance in understanding the political environment of Zimbabwe.

Four of the 59 articles analysed illustrated The Military's role as a main frame. Three of these articles were from *Daily News* with the state owned *The Herald* having one article.

The examples of such framing are illustrated below:

Daily News, 5 July 2018 We will salute Chamisa: Army

"Zimbabwe's military will accept the outcome of the July 30 historic election and will work with the winning candidate to ensure a stable transition; the Daily News can report. Putting

to rest the most open threat to date that voting for the opposition would mean voting for civil war - a message that senior officials in the ruling Zanu PF party have long been spreading - the Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF) told a news conference in Harare."

The Herald, 5 July 2018, We'll respect poll outcome – ZDF

"THE Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF) says it will respect the outcome of the July 30 harmonised elections as its conduct is guided by the Constitution. ZDF spokesperson Colonel Overson Mugwisi said ZDF members, like any other citizen, were free to vote for a political party of their choice."

The Military role frame categorised 4,7 % of the media coverage on the analysed sample. The *Daily News* used the frame in relation to the portrayal of opposition candidate Nelson Chamisa while *The Herald* focused on the constitutional mandate of the military with vague references to any of the presidential candidates.

4:8:4 Operation Restore Legacy

Operation Restore Legacy refers to the military operation that begun in November 2017 leading up to the resignation of then President Robert Mugabe. Operation Restore Legacy is a main frame in this analysis because it resulted primarily in elections having to take place on 30 July 2018 and that the operation was then framed in relation to a specific presidential candidate. The framing of the presidential candidate in relation to Operation restore legacy is seen in the following article:

The Herald, 18 June 2018, 'Vote ED to conclude Op Restore Legacy'

"OPERATION Restore Legacy, which reached a tipping point with a nationwide march on November 18 last year and paved way for the new political dispensation in Zimbabwe, will be concluded by voting for President Mnangagwa on July 30, Vice President Constantino Chiwenga said yesterday. He said Zimbabweans should further come out in their numbers come July 30 to vote for the ruling party, bringing Operation Restore Legacy to an end."

Only one article referred to Operation Restore Legacy among the articles that were analysed in the sample. The article specifically states that people should vote for the incumbent in order to bring the political process that toppled Mugabe to a conclusion.

4:8:5 VOTE RIGGING

Past scholars have written on allegations of vote rigging and an unfair and not so credible election process whenever Zimbabwe goes to the polls, hence vote rigging is a recurrent frame in the portrayal of presidential candidates in Zimbabwe's 2018 election.

Vote rigging as a frame contributed 17, 29 % of the content analysed on how presidential candidates were framed in relation to the electoral process. This frame covered accusations and counter accusations against ZEC. Candidates questioned the ballot paper making processes and even demonstrated for electoral reforms in the run up to the plebiscite. Therefore 17 of the 59 articles analysed highlighted the electoral process with the fear and concern over a flawed electoral process dominating coverage. Counter narratives that gave the electoral process the thumbs up are also categorised under the vote rigging frame.

The *Daily News* carried 9 of the articles that displayed the vote rigging frame while *The Herald* displayed 8 of these articles. The two publications were almost evenly matched as both of them pushed two distinctly different narratives on the voting process.

Examples of the Vote rigging frame are illustrated below:

Daily News, 27 July 2018, MDC ropes in Anti rigging experts

"MDC Alliance leader Nelson Chamisa has put together a team of experts in an attempt to forestall any form of rigging that may arise before, during and after the Monday poll."

Daily News, 14 June 2018, Moyo speaks on Zanu PF rigging

"A former cabinet minister who was at the centre of Zanu PF's power retention strategies between 2000 and November 2017 claimed that the ruling party has devised an elaborate plan to rig next month's elections. Zanu PF reacted angrily to the allegations yesterday, dismissing them as "hogwash." Jonathan Moyo, a former politburo member who is currently in self-imposed exile in Kenya, claimed yesterday through micro blogging platform Twitter, that he was ready to testify under oath how Zanu PF and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission(ZEC) were planning to subvert the people's will on July 30.

The Herald, 13 July 2018, Don't lose sleep over demos: ED

"PRESIDENT Mnangagwa yesterday said his administration was committed to improving the welfare of Zimbabwe Liberation War Collaborators (Ziliwaco) and urged them to go out in their numbers to campaign and vote for ZANU-PF in the July 30 harmonised elections, unlike the opposition that spends time demonstrating. "You must not lose sleep over those who are making unnecessary noise. Those who are making noise are already sensing defeat. Demonstrations do not vote. What votes are the people? Those who want to be voted into power go to the people. They do not expend their energy on demonstrations," President Mnangagwa said "We were together in the bushes," he said "We are one. We suffered together in the liberation struggle and our liberation war covenants should and indeed will remain intact forever."

The vote rigging frame traces back to past elections in Zimbabwe, therefore as Zimbabwe experienced its first post-independence political transition this frame is consistently reiterated. Both publications gave considerable coverage to accusations and counter accusations of vote rigging. The example in *The Herald* displays the connection between elections in Zimbabwe with the liberation struggle and how *The Herald* frames the voting process. In the following chapter I will further elaborate on this portrayal of the Zanu PF candidate in relation to the vote rigging main frame.

4:8:6 TRUST AND AFFECTION

The most dominant frame was trust and affection. This frame was assigned to articles on the front pages that quotes or refers to a presidential candidate in a human-interest characterization drawing on affection and trust. Of the sample studied 27 articles fell into this category. Among these were sidebar articles on other candidates besides the two main contenders. In these articles, the other candidates used the limited space to explain their manifestos. These articles contributed 27,46% categorised under this main frame. The bulk of the articles, 22 to be precise were reported in *The Herald* while only 5 of them were in the *Daily News. The Herald* gave coverage to 7 other candidates other than Nelson Chamisa and Emmerson Mnangagwa on their front page. *Daily News* only gave coverage to the National Patriotic Front (NPF) when mentioned in relation to their association with MDC –Alliance presidential candidate Nelson Chamisa.

Examples of articles on Trust and Affection frames were as follows:

The Herald, 20 June 2018, I'm not a politician: Nkosana Moyo

"DR NKOSANA MOYO, one of the 23 presidential contenders in the July 30 elections, says he is not a politician but a manager and is not ashamed of being a "nice guy" because he wants to bring a new culture to Zimbabwe's politics.

"What is wrong with being a decent human being? Are we really trying to argue that politics by its very nature is only meant to have nasty people?" he queried. "I don't recognise that, I personally believe that it is possible to have a totally decent human being lead a country and I think your relationship with the population when we talk about human rights, respect and integrity the way you come across in interacting with ordinary people must be from somebody who respects other people."

Daily News, 27 June 2018, ED Spends Big

"The ruling Zanu PF is spending a fortune to retain power in the forthcoming polls, with millions of elusive hard currency having been spent on top of the range vehicles and campaign materials to oil its poll campaign that has probably broken all records in terms of its financing."

Daily News, 14 June 2018, Dabengwa gives Chamisa a lift

"ZAPU leader and former Home Affairs minister Dumiso Dabengwa yesterday gave MDC Alliance Nelson Chamisa a huge lift when he announced a deal to join the country's biggest opposition grouping."

The findings revealed that the frame on Trust and Affection dominated front page coverage in the runup to the 2018 plebiscite. This shows that policy issues were given less prominence on the front pages of both the *Daily News* and *The Herald*. This finding could be attributed to the realisation that the 2018 election provided Zimbabwe with an opportunity to elect a leader who had never run for the presidency, therefore the image of the candidates seemed to matter more than addressing policy issues hence the dominance of the Trust and Affection frame.

This chapter displayed the findings of my study, illustrating the amount of front-page coverage given to the candidates of Zimbabwe's 2018 presidential elections. It revealed the extensive coverage given to the two main front runners in the election race namely Emmerson Mnangagwa and Nelson Chamisa. Like in the Mugabe era where the *Daily News* and *The Herald* gave coverage to the two front runners in Mugabe and Tsvangirai, the post Mugabe era front page coverage of the two publications under study has continued to give coverage to the two main political formations in Zimbabwe. The findings of images not corresponding withthe texts, and *Daily News,* having more front pages images of the incumbent illustrates a deviation to past electoral coverage in the Mugabe era. Even the existence of ZANU PF advertising in the *Daily News* revealed a less radical oppositional press in the run up to the 2018 election in Zimbabwe.

As will be explained in the next chapter a political change in Zimbabwe resulted in a commercial shift or advantage in the private press to use its audience for commercial gains, being the probable reason behind ZANU PF advertising in the *Daily News.* This chapter also revealed a considerable shift in past electoral discourses in Zimbabwe as the 2018 election main frames for political contestations focused on different issues from past elections whose discourse was mainly on the economy, land issue and sanctions. Therefore, the main frames that emerged in the run up to the 2018 election deviated from past electoral discourse, thereby reflecting on a different post – Mugabe era in Zimbabwe and the emergence of a multi-party democracy. The following chapter further discusses these findings of the research, answering the central questions mentioned in the first chapter of this research.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5:1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses and discusses the findings presented in the previous chapter. It examines the trends exhibited in the portrayal of presidential candidates in Zimbabwe's 2018 elections with references to the conceptual framework outlined in the second chapter. It further answers the two central questions of the research thereby drawing closer to a conclusion and future recommendations in the sphere of studies related to election coverage in Zimbabwe.

5:2 THE HERALD

The findings revealed that the state-owned paper, *The Herald* continued to give more coverage to the incumbent in Emmerson Mnangagwa. The findings noted that 60% of *The Herald'*s front-page content was on Emmerson Mnangagwa's candidature. Articles that were coded for Trust and Affection amounted to 22 out of 27 from *The Herald* on Emmerson Mnangagwa. The state-owned publication portrayed Emmerson Mnangagwa as a more favourable candidate in Zimbabwe's presidential election in 2018. Headlines such as the following: *More endorsements for ED Presidency - The Herald 22 June 2018*, highlighted how Mnangagwa was more favoured to win the election.

Unlike other candidates whose only coverage in *The Herald* was on side bar stories, Mnangagwa appeared in lead articles in the state-owned newspaper. The only time that Mnangagwa had both a side bar article and lead story on the front page was when the sidebar article focused on portraying his candidature in a humane caricature. The article was titled: *President joins queue to buy fast food – The Herald 18 June 2018,* the report's portrayal of Mnangagwa focused on his "accessibility" despite the high office he held. It went further to portray him as a selfless leader who had reformed on how certain government protocol was done under Mugabe's rule. Below is an extract of the article:

"President Mnangagwa yesterday took Chegutu food lovers by surprise when he unexpectedly joined the queue in a fast-food outlet, bought his lunch and even tipped a cashier. The Head of State and Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces is now famous for his accessibility. For instance, he has done away with the habit of hiring a marquee for official engagements, opting instead for modest tents just to shed VVIPS. He also uses his escort vehicles to accommodate photojournalists and walks about to greet the crowd during rallies…. Hundreds jostled to capture the rare moment on their smartphones, and they recorded the scene free of any interference from Presidential security details…. We can describe him as an amazing man, very friendly and free to interact with..."

The Herald in the above extract portrays Mnangagwa as "*modest*" and "*accessible*" to the ordinary citizens. It further mentions how journalists have been allowed to travel with him as part of the presidential motorcade. In these representations of Mnangagwa, *The Herald* portrays an image of a leader who is simple, "*friendly and free to interact*" with no security buffer, eats fried chicken for lunch, takes selfies and tips cashiers well. The article is an example of content that fell under the Trust and Affection frame as it draws on the affection of a political candidate's image. The extract further portrays the image of Mnangagwa as being different from Mugabe.

While the level of support for the ZANU-PF candidate appear unchanged in *The Herald* and its bias towards the incumbent. In a paper presented by Chari (2010) on the framing of the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe, he argued that Mugabe was portrayed as symbolizing "vision, wisdom and a legacy" despite his advanced age in the run up to the 2008 election when Mugabe was 84 years old. *The Herald* portrayal of Mnangagwa in the run up to the 2018 election deviates to Mugabe's admitted portrayal of an advanced age which is presented as full of wisdom. *The Herald* through the extract reveals Mnangagwa as a younger candidate who takes selfies, mingles with the crowds, and eats fast food despite his advanced age of 76 years in 2018. The state-owned press adopted the strategy of partially, albeit implicitly, criticizing the previous president to highlight some of the nuances that made Mnangagwa a more capable leader than his predecessor. This is further evidenced by the extract's continuation which states that:
"President Mnangagwa, who is widely tipped to win the July 30 elections by a wide margin, has left many convinced that Zimbabwe is now witnessing a different political game to that of former president Mr Mugabe, who maintained a buffer zone between himself and the people."

By using hyperbole to exaggerate and elaborate on non-interference of security detail and eating fast food, *The Herald* portrays Mnangagwa as a presidential candidate who is different from Mugabe who was well known for a large security entourage and a diet rich in African traditional dishes. This portrayal of Mnangagwa hinges upon the argument by Beardsworth, Cheeseman, and Tinhu (2019: 5) that "Mnangagwa effectively ran against his own political legacy, denouncing the Mugabe regime and presenting himself as the 'change' candidate." Not only did the change candidate reflect on the environment before the election, but it was also explicitly exhibited in how he was portrayed as being different from Mugabe by *The Herald*.

The Herald reaffirmed how past studies on election coverage in Zimbabwe showed the state-owned paper as supporting the incumbent and portraying them as favourable to win the election. In my study I observed that even in the first post- Mugabe election in 2018, *The Herald* did to a greater extent portray Emmerson Mnangagwa as their favoured candidate who was more likely to retain the presidency. This portrayal of Mnangagwa is justified by the number of front-page images and lead stories about his candidacy in *The Herald.* Therefore, in portraying the incumbent the state-owned publication had not changed in what it has done in past elections under Mugabe where the state-owned paper was biased in favour of the incumbent.

Although, the findings of this research also revealed that unlike in previous elections in Zimbabwe, *The Herald* front page coverage of the 2018 presidential elections gave coverage to 7 other candidates contesting for president. Despite all the articles not being the lead story on the front page except if it mentioned Nelson Chamisa, *The Herald* front page coverage of seven other candidates is commendable compared to the *Daily News* that only covered three candidates on its front pages. *The Herald* front page sidebars had a small image with a countdown to election day and below it would frequent the other presidential candidates. The amount of space on the front-page given to the other candidates was relatively small as compared to the leading two contenders. Thokozani Khupe, the MDC-T leader was the only female candidate to have front page coverage in the runup to the 2018 presidential race that featured three female candidates.

The strategy by the state-owned paper to give coverage to other candidates enabled the political transition in Zimbabwe. It echoes the role of the media in past political transitions in Africa, precisely the Ugandan case when Museveni took office. Stremlau (2018) argued that the NRM strategy to establish the *New Vision* allowed "*promoting both change and stability*." The NRM encouraged and enabled criticism and opposing views, similarly *The Herald* ability to allow coverage for other oppositional candidates on front pages though limited facilitated diversity of political views. The Ugandan case study as highlighted in Stremlau (2018) study offered a greater space to oppositional leaders in a display of lesser tensions and greater acceptance, seeking to adhere to journalistic standards even if clearly, they favoured one of the candidates. In Zimbabwe, *The Herald* similarly adhered to journalistic standards of giving most candidates vying for the presidency media access and coverage as seen by the front page coverage, despite it being limited space I would argue that *The Herald* did to a limited extent allow a diversity of political views despite its bias on the incumbent.

In more polarized Ethiopia in the run up to the 2005 elections, other candidates were portrayed in a negative light and accused of being against the system. The Ethiopian case in 2005 reverberates to the Zimbabwean election in 2018, were privately owned newspaper *Daily News* only covered two candidates in the incumbent and lead opposition candidate Chamisa. The privately owned paper's coverage highlighted the polarization of the Zimbabwean community. *The Herald* on the other hand implicitly accused the opposition of being against the voting system and the ZEC.

The Herald also gave coverage to the leading opposition candidate in Nelson Chamisa of the MDC-Alliance. Despite the significant coverage of Nelson Chamisa in *The Herald* front pages, the content framed him in mostly a negative tone. The following are some of the front-page headlines that portrayed Nelson Chamisa as a presidential candidate:
We'll silence Chamisa - Zanu PF youths- The Herald 7 June 2018
Nominations begin Alliance in disarray – The Herald 13 June 2018
Alliance litters ZEC with frivolous cases – The Herald 19 June 2018
MDC Alliance demo flops – The Herald 7 July 2018
Don't lose sleep over demos: ED – The Herald 13 July 2018
Laws made in parly: VP tells Chamisa – The Herald 13 July 2018.

The Herald framed the candidacy of Nelson Chamisa in a negative tone and therefore portraying the MDC – Alliance leader as confused and leading a party in "*disarray*" a month before the election. The state-owned paper framed Chamisa's demands of effecting changes on the electoral act as "*flimsy excuses*" to avoid a defeat in the presidential poll. ZANU PF youth league secretary referred to the MDC Alliance as "*clowns*" who had not lobbied for electoral law reform while in parliament, but rather preferred the perks that came with being member of parliament and "*globe-trotting*" around the world while not focusing on their duties of making laws. In Ethiopia, the run up to the May 2005 elections privately owned media criticised the EPRDF, the Derg party had opened the media space allowing for such criticism. Gagliardone (2014) argued that although the criticism took on an increasingly adversarial tone, the EPRDF leadership initially stuck to its policy, ignoring dissenting voices and labelling them as '*anti-peace*' and '*anti-constitution'*. Like in Zimbabwe, where the opposition was described as *"clowns"* among other verbs, the Ethiopian media also resorted to name calling with the EPRDF calling dissenting voices as *"anti-peace."*

Chamisa 's candidature was largely portrayed negatively in *The Herald* with references of being a "*clown*" and a johnny come late when it came to reform of electoral laws. The paper's portrayal of Chamisa as not having any chance at winning the presidential elections, reaffirms the cliché that state-owned media in Zimbabwe is biased in favour of the incumbent during elections. *The Herald* portrayal of Chamisa arguably shows that that the lead contestant is portrayed in a more negative light than other candidates who pose a lesser risk, so that the journalistic principles of covering a plurality of voices is respected only when these voices are less likely to represent a challenge to the president hegemonic position.

In summation, *The Herald* was biased in favour of the incumbent and portrayed the leading opposition candidate as a confused figure who was staring towards defeat and leaned on making noise about electoral reform as the election drew closer. Among the interesting findings of this study was that issues around sanctions, the land, and the economy where marginalised and hardly mentioned by the candidates in front page coverage of the 2018 elections. These issues have previously dominated discourse on elections in Zimbabwe.

To understand how state-owned media in Zimbabwe performed in the first transition, there is need to digress to the period preceding the military coup in 2017. The month of November 2017 cached a niche on Zimbabwe's history. In early November, *The Herald* led

the onslaught on then Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa. On the 9th of November 2017, the lead story in the state-owned paper was headlined: *ZANU PF expels Mnangagwa*. The article stated that:

"FORMER Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa was yesterday expelled from Zanu PF two days after President Mugabe dismissed him from Government. President Mugabe fired him from Government on various charges including discharging his duties in a manner inconsistent with his official duties, disloyalty, disrespect, deceitfulness and unreliability and a lack of probity in the execution of his duties."

The Herald went on to publish a series of articles demonizing Mnangagwa, but it was to be short-lived as events quickly unfolded leading to protests on the streets and an army choreographed military takeover that paved way for Mnangagwa's ascendancy.

On 23 November 2017, *The Herald* would lead with a story titled *Hero's welcome for Mnangagwa.* In hardly a fortnight from calling for Mnangagwa's expulsion and references of his deceit and disloyalty on the character of Mnangagwa, *The Herald* was to sing praises once again for the man it had earlier demonized. Like in Egypt, where according to El-Issawi (2012:34) "affirmed that immediately after the resignation of Mubarak (22 February 2011), state media continued to do what it always had by applauding the new powerful men, state media moved automatically from denying the existence of an uprising to flattering the revolutionaries." Similarly, *The Herald* in November 2017 went from demonizing Mnangagwa to flattering and supporting his ascendancy, on the day of Mnangagwa being sworn in on 24 November 2017, *The Herald* front page led with the headline *EDenezer!* with a series of images from the liberation struggle with past national heroes.

The portrayal of Mnangagwa upon his inauguration in November 2017 by *The Herald* concisely reveals the caveat of how state-owned media operates in terms of political upheaval or the course of politics in Zimbabwe. *The Herald*'s demonization of Mnangagwa before the coup and its flattering support of his ascendancy after the coup displays the similarity in how state media in Africa operates, a case in point being the role of state media in the fall of Mubarak in Egypt and then supporting the new political elite. It is appropriate to note that *The Herald* was ideally a political player in ZANU PF factional battles that led to the fall and rise of Mnangagwa. The portrayal of Emmerson Mnangagwa in *The Herald* in the runup to the 2018 presidential election is a continuation of the hegemonic control of the ruling elite in

Zimbabwe to maintain and validate their rule. *The Herald* hence is biased in the portrayal of the incumbent even in the post-Mugabe era and through the coverage of a few candidates running for the highest office it offers a veiled attempt to a balanced portrayal of presidential candidates.

5: 3 DAILY NEWS

The privately owned *Daily News* gave 48% of its front-page coverage to MDC- Alliance leader, Nelson Chamisa while Emmerson Mnangagwa received 39% of the coverage. Besides the two main contenders in the 2018 election the only other candidate that received front page coverage was Ambrose Mutinhiri the leader of the National Patriotic Front (NPF) with 4 % of the coverage. The remaining 9% coverage featured two of the main contenders. The *Daily News* only portrayed three candidates on its front pages in an election race that featured 23 presidential candidates, it therefore marginalised 20 other candidates to other pages of their publication. The publication did not offer any female candidate front page coverage and mainly portrayed the main two contenders in Chamisa and Mnangagwa on its front pages.

Daily News portrayed Nelson Chamisa as a younger and more capable candidate for the Zimbabwean presidency. Most of its front pages had Nelson Chamisa images or the crowds that thronged his rallies around the country. The *Daily News* on 5 July 2018 had a front-page article headlined *Chamisa ready to die*, the article states that Chamisa was "*ready to die*" or be "*arrested*" to make the 2018 election free and fair. The article also referred to Chamisa stating that ZEC and ZANU PF had an "*unholy*" alliance. The symbolism of death and sacrifice to bring electoral reform represented how far Chamisa was willing to go to bring electoral reform to Zimbabwe portraying him as a selfless leader whose image borders on heroism. The *Daily News* portrayal of Chamisa being equated and willing to die or be arrested dwells on past electoral challenges in Zimbabwe whereby opposition candidates got harassed or even imprisoned while others were beaten and at times killed. This representation of Chamisa in the *Daily News* reiterating on death and imprisonment hinges on the emotive side of past Zimbabwean elections to draw sympathy and support from the electorate.

The use of biblical imagery is also used in the *Daily News* reference of an "*unholy alliance*" between ZEC and ZANU PF. In referring to the two institutions as being in an unholy alliance the *Daily News* absolves the image of Nelson Chamisa as not indulging in anything less holy.

This deduction alludes to Chamisa 's image as a religious and opposition leader thus the *Daily News* portrays Chamisa as a citizen who upholds his religious beliefs and challenges any associations that are deemed less holy. Significant reports in the *Daily News* front pages also highlighted how the army and war veterans of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle assured Nelson Chamisa that he would have their support if he won the election. The reports used descriptive terms as highlighted in the following headlines:

War Veterans assure Chamisa – Daily News 19 July 2018

We will salute Chamisa: Army – Daily News 5 July 2018.

The two headlines highlight the insecurity in Zimbabwe's political environment over the role of the military and war veterans. The two articles highlighted a deviation from past presidential elections in Zimbabwe, as the army held a press conference to clearly state that they would salute whoever emerges as the winner in Zimbabwe's 2018 election. In past elections in the Mugabe era the army clearly stated that it would not salute anyone without war credentials of the struggle, to become head of state.

The role of the military is essentially important in this study, as the military had initiated the political transition that had led to the 2018 election. It was through a military choreographed coup that Robert Mugabe had resigned in November 2017 and leading to Mnangagwa's ascendancy as head of state. It is on this premise that I would argue that the military had its own intentions on whom it wanted to be head of state prior to the 2018 election. Hence the portrayal of Chamisa in the *Daily News* in relation to the military and war veterans in the post Mugabe era highlighted a deviation from the Mugabe days when the military refused to recognise anyone else other than the incumbent. Whether or not the military's declaration to respect the outcome of the poll was indeed genuine can never be known since the incumbent went on to retain his position, but their declaration legitimised the transition.

The following is an extract from the article titled: *We will salute Chamisa: Army – Daily News 5 July 2018.*

"Zimbabwe's military will accept the outcome of the July 30 historic election and will work with the winning candidate to ensure a stable transition; the Daily News can report. Putting to rest the most open threat to date that voting for the opposition would mean voting for civil war – a message that senior officials in the ruling ZANU PF party have long been spreading."

The opening up of the media space in the run up to the 2018 election in Zimbabwe, as seen by the military holding press conferences and inviting the private press has resemblance to the Ethiopian experience in the 2005 election race. Stremlau (2011) argued that when the EPRDF came to power in Ethiopia, it opened the space for debate allowing more newspapers to be published, but the move was not genuine, it was an attempt to signal to Ethiopian citizens and to the international community that it was different from the previous regime. In Zimbabwe, the military's admission that it would recognise anyone elected as Head of State in 2018 even if it were not the incumbent, is arguably rather not a genuine declaration, but an enabling declaration to the transition after a military coup. The declaration hinged on the legitimisation of a political transition, differentiation from the Mugabe era in which the army continuously declined to salute anyone other than the incumbent after an election. This affirmed the incumbent to the Zimbabwean and international community as a change agent to Zimbabwean politics and tolerant of diverse views and willing to hand over power if not elected.

Mnangagwa also received the bulk of coverage in the privately owned paper. Despite the 39% coverage that Mnangagwa received, the front pages of the *Daily News*, portrayed the presidential race as a two-horse race between Mnangagwa and Chamisa. The scant and rare mentions of NPF leader Ambrose Mutinhiri was mainly described in relation to Chamisa and not Mutinhiri's election capability. It seemed as if the *Daily News* forgot to portray Mutinhiri as a candidate in the presidential race. The following headlines in the *Daily News* portrayed the NPF in relation to the MDC- Alliance: *Mugabe divides MDC Alliance – Daily News 13 June 2018* and *Mugabe's party backs Chamisa – Daily News 8 June 2018*. The two headlines portrayed Chamisa as being backed by the Mugabe aligned NPF which also had a candidate for the presidential election.

The articles are framed in relation to Chamisa's candidature having the backing of the former president while isolating its own party leader in Ambrose Mutinhiri who was also contesting for the presidency. The *Daily News* coverage also focused on non-state actors in former head of state Robert Mugabe. The privately owned paper portrayed Chamisa as having the backing of Mugabe. Although Mugabe had resigned in November 2017 it was widely believed that he still had massive support from people against his removal namely a faction in ZANU PF aptly known as G40, therefore Chamisa could leverage some support from these people. In his writings on the *Daily News,* Moyo (2005) asserted that "it had been suggested that in countries where opposition political parties are weak or non-existent owing to state repression, the

'independent' press can occupy that role of opposition" (Rønning 1998; Hyden and Okigbo 2002). The *Daily News* in the 2018 election primarily continued to play its role of supporting the opposition candidate, it ultimately played the role of the opposition, by portraying Chamisa and parties that endorsed his candidature. Thus, my findings revealed that, *Daily News* portrayal of largely Chamisa's candidacy highlights the existence of political parallelism in the coverage of Zimbabwe's 2018 election. The coverage of Mugabe and the NPF backing Chamisa also exhibits how the latter's portrayal in the privately owned paper can be classified as political parallelism. Hallin & Mancini (2004)'s comparative media systems state that political parallelism is a common feature where political actors are linked with the media to expose political divisions. In this case Mugabe, a political actor used the media to back Chamisa yet the NPF had its own candidate, while also at the same time souring divisions within ZANU PF where it was widely believed Mugabe still had support.

Even in the portrayal of Mnangagwa's presidential candidacy the *Daily News* portrayed it with an oppositional tone. The *Daily News* was the opposing voice to Mnangagwa being elected to office. The following articles were coded as strong negative in terms of the tonality of the portrayal of the presidential candidate:

ED arm twists Zimra on duty – Daily News 7 June 2018

ED spends big – Daily News 27 June 2018.

The two articles portray Mnangagwa as being extravagant and the ZANU PF party spending enormous amounts of funds on campaign material amid poverty in Zimbabwe and evading to pay import duty. The *Daily News* reported that ZANU PF "*refused to pay*" import duty. The article is framed in relation to Mnangagwa as shown by the headline, thereby portraying the presidential candidate as engaging in unlawful behaviour. In the article headlined *ED spends big* the privately owned paper portrays Mnangagwa and ZANU PF as a wealthy party that: *"flaunts wealth in midst of poverty"*. The article portrays Mnangagwa and ZANU PF as an uncaring party that purchased *"top of the range vehicles"* for all its candidates using what the paper terms "*elusive hard currency*." The *Daily News* further uses hyperbolic language to explain the costs of campaign material as *"probably broken all records in terms of its financing."* The article is also accompanied by an image of Mnangagwa, the representations and framing of the article portrays Mnangagwa as "*wealthy*" and how the party is overly elaborate in the use of its finances. This portrayal of Mnangagwa draws on the financial capability of his persona and raises the question whether such an extravagant leader may turn Zimbabwe's economy around.

The *Daily News* portrayal of Mnangagwa's spendthrift personality is an oppositional political view that highlights his wealth and elite status which does not acknowledge the vast poverty of the masses in Zimbabwe. This representation of Mnangagwa elaborates the unworthy character of electing the incumbent to office.

The only light positive coverage of Mnangagwa stemmed from his association with the founding MDC leader in Morgan Tsvangirai. In an article headlined: *ED praises Tsvangirai, 27 July 2018*, the *Daily News* portrays Mnangagwa as appreciating Tsvangirai's cause for political change in Zimbabwe. The article further states that the praises came as Chamisa tormented the ZANU PF leader. The *Daily News* used the verb "*torment*" to describe how Chamisa was giving Mnangagwa a run for his money. The *Daily News* front page coverage was mostly biased in favour of Chamisa and illustrated the binary polarity of Zimbabwean politics where the portrayal of Mnangagwa is viewed only in the negative light as oppositional to Chamisa. The *Daily News* neglected covering other presidential candidates in their front pages, the only time they got coverage it was in association to Chamisa's candidacy.

The *Daily News* performance in Zimbabwe's first post-colonial transition can therefore be viewed in its coverage of the opposition MDC Alliance, its biased portrayal of one candidate and his electability into office. The *Daily News* has thus continued to play the role of the opposition press, but I would argue that in an election race that 23 candidates featured in the presidential poll, the paper failed dismally to balance or attempt to balance the portrayal of candidates in a fledging multiparty democracy that is Zimbabwe today.

5:3:1 ADVERTISING IN THE *DAILY NEWS*

A subset to my discussion of the *Daily News* was the front-page advertising of ZANU PF in the privately owned newspaper. It suffices to say that in past elections in Zimbabwe, the *Daily News* hardly carried any ZANU PF advertising especially in the run up to a crucial poll, yet in 2018, the *Daily News* front pages were littered with ZANU PF advertising in contrast to their lead stories that featured opposition leader Nelson Chamisa.

According to Tsarwe (2019: 11) *"advertisers are the lifeblood of the media, and a positive change in the economic fortunes of the country heralds the much-needed advertising revenue that the private press has been chasing with elusive success. As Chuma (2005) noted, the economic challenges frustrating the viability of the media business in Zimbabwe is such that the private media, focus much of its attention to delivering value to advertisers by selling its audiences rather than serving the public interest."* The findings of this study argue that the 2018 election created a new media environment for Zimbabwe, an unseen post- Mugabe era that offered a different environment, an environment that had never been seen and with it came economic benefits. I argue that with the *Daily News* having reported on the vast funds that were available to ZANU PF in the run up to the 2018 election, they found wanting of the same funds they reportedly denigrated in their reporting, hence the advertising on their front pages. It is concise to note that eventually the media is in business as asserted by Tsarwe (2019) when he states that: "when we analyse the manner in which the private press covered the July 2018 general elections - as it did preceding elections - it is important to note that the private press was, as usual, driven by the commercial imperative." It is probably this commercial imperative as highlighted by Tsarwe (2019) that led to *Daily News* featuring ZANU PF advertisements on their front pages.

Moyo (2010) asserted that "independent media' also come with their own sets of problems the dependence of some of these private media on donor support meant that sometimes they exaggerate issues in order to please their sponsors." The *Daily News* portrayal of Nelson Chamisa's candidacy and the ZANU PF advertisements on their front pages can be viewed with in the spectra of the "political economic approach to the media (Golding and Murdock 2005) - an approach that studies the power influence exerted by advertisers, politics and owners on media content." Tsarwe (2019) argued that "political pluralism is largely attributed to Hallin

and Mancini's comparative study of media systems between Western and Southern European countries." Hallin and Mancini described a "polarised pluralist media model as largely characterised by a high degree of political parallelism, relatively low levels of journalistic professionalism, with the state playing a central, interventionist role in the media (Chuma 2013; Muneri 2012)" cited by Tsarwe (2019: 11). With Zimbabwe exhibiting more traits of a political pluralist model, *Daily News* advertising of ZANU PF on front pages stemmed from the commercial imperative that was not driven by journalist professionalism in their portrayal of the incumbent, but rather the state's central role and acknowledging the audience pulled by the privately owned publication.

The Zimbabwean media environment has been characterised by this binary polarity. Binary polarity has continued even in the post Mugabe era and can be witnessed in both *The Herald*'s biased coverage in favour of Mnangagwa's campaign in the 2018 election and the *Daily News* bias in favour of Chamisa's 2018 campaign. Therefore, the two mainstream papers are linked to a particular political party while neglecting the political pluralism in Zimbabwe. Thus, *The Herald* is associated with ZANU PF and *Daily News* with the opposition MDC Alliance. The content in both mainstream papers is then relegated to two political parties while isolating the rest of the political players.

5:4 PATRIOTIC JOURNALISM

In my literature review, I referred to Patriotic Journalism as a key concept to my study. This section reverts to the existence of patriotic journalism in the Post- Mugabe era. Patriotic journalism borders on patriots and sell outs, hinging on the confines of hate journalism which has mainly been practised in the state-owned paper, *The Herald.* My findings revealed that in the run up to the 2018 presidential elections front page mainstream newspapers practised what I would refer as subtle patriotic journalism. Unlike in previous elections where *The Herald* explicitly referred to the opposition MDC as traitors that had been foreign funded, the 2018 election coverage desisted from the explicit name calling. Instead, *The Herald* reiterated and repeatedly mentioned the liberation struggle, highlighting its importance and that the 2018 election was like the struggle for independence.

On 13 July 2018, *The Herald* had an article headlined *Don't lose sleep over demos: ED …urges war collaborators to mobilise votes for ZANU PF*. The following is an extract from the article quoting Mnangagwa:

"We were together in the bushes," he said. "We are one. We suffered together in the liberation struggle and our liberation war covenant should and indeed remain intact forever."

The article further states that the war collaborators should vote ZANU PF. The extract above illustrates the constant manipulation of the historical context and the hegemonic manifestation of a struggle that happened over four decades ago by ZANU PF. Mnangagwa is portrayed in the above article as a struggle icon who signed a covenant with war collaborators that will forever remain intact each time, they re- elect ZANU PF into office. The covenant is deemed to last forever, this portrayal of Mnangagwa boarders on the subtle portrayal of patriotic journalism where those who participated in the struggle and collaborated are patriots while those that did not are sell outs. *The Herald* displays the self-entitlement by ZANU PF and its leader by virtue of them having fought in the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe. It highlights that war collaborators cannot choose to vote for another party because of a covenant they signed over three decades ago during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle.

Entman (1993, 2004) suggested that "we can define framing as the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among

them to promote a particular interpretation." *The Herald*' s consistent and persistent presentation of the liberation struggle using the ZANU PF narrative exhibited the subtle form of patriotic journalism that was reinforced in its front-page coverage of the incumbent. The covenant alluded to as being signed between war collaborators and ZANU PF is some form of "perceived reality" as stated by Entman (1993) which has now been assembled into a narrative by state owned media to enable the elite (ZANU PF) to maintain their hegemonic status.

The Herald therefore exposes a modified form of patriotic journalism in the run up to the election to explicitly portray representations with intended meanings to their targeted audience, to maintain the hegemonic status of ZANU PF and re- elect Emmerson Mnangagwa. In reinforcing the ideals of a struggle that happened over 40 years ago and using the specific semiotic that states: "*We suffered together in the liberation struggle and our liberation war covenant should and indeed remain intact forever."* The specific semiotic in the discourse put across in *The Herald* reveals the manipulation and a social culture of self-entitlement by ZANU PF due to their role to liberate Zimbabwe. The constant reference to the struggle imposes ZANU PF's worldview as the accepted cultural norm thereby swaying the masses to vote for the party.

Biblical imagery was also used in *The Herald* to portray the incumbent in biblical terms. The state-owned paper likened Mnangagwa to the biblical Joshua. In the bible, Joshua after the death of Moses led the Israelites tribes to Canaan and allocated land to these tribes. Joshua is regarded as one of the greatest military leaders in the bible who was second in command after Moses but goes on to lead the Israelites into Canaan. *The Herald* on *18 June 2018* led with an article headlined *'Vote ED to conclude Op Restore Legacy.'* Operation restore legacy was the code name for the military operation that led to Mugabe's resignation and the ascendancy of Mnangagwa to the highest office. Then Military General Chiwenga now Vice President Chiwenga coordinated the military operation and in the extract below he is quoted urging people to vote for the incumbent to bring Operation Restore Legacy to a conclusion. The article further goes on to use biblical imagery to explain the operation and portray Mnangagwa as the equivalent of a biblical military genius in Joshua.

The following is the extract of the article:

"let's rally behind President Mnangagwa and all ZANU-PF candidates vying for local authorities, Upper and Lower House of Assembly seats come July 30 so that we conclude

Operation Restore Legacy. VP Chiwenga likened President Mnangagwa to the biblical Joshua who led Israelites into Canaan, saying ZANU-PF with his leadership was poised for economic prosperity."

During Mugabe's era he was likened to Moses and now biblical imagery continues in the post-Mugabe era in a similar trend to the biblical version where Joshua took over from Moses. This religious imagery in the portrayal of Mnangagwa was done to draw support on his image, as Zimbabwe is an endeared Christian nation, therefore drawing any religious parallels to a political establishment has been synonymous with electoral media coverage in Zimbabwe.

5: 5 FRAMING OF THE ECONOMY, LAND ISSUE AND SANCTIONS

Past media coverage on elections in Zimbabwe has been dominated by frames on the economy, the land issue and sanctions placed on the country as argued by Chitando (2005). The post-Mugabe era coverage largely depicted a different form of coverage that largely marginalised the land issue and sanctions although the frame on the economy remained dominant. This was mainly because of the euphoria that came with the 2018 election after the resignation of Mugabe who ruled the country for 38 years. It is because of this euphoric moment in Zimbabwe's history that both mainstream papers focused mostly on the voting process and the two most popular candidates that frames pertaining to sanctions and the land issue did not receive much attention.

In *The Herald* the following headlines gave prominence to the economy frame:

Zim charms UK Investors – 5 June 2018

ED vows to reopen closed companies – 7 June 2018.

These articles focused on how Mnangagwa planned to build Zimbabwe's economy in the post-Mugabe era. *The Herald* portrayal of Mnangagwa as a business savvy leader represented a diversion from the Mugabe era where political interests came first before economic interests. Once again, *The Herald* portrays Mnangagwa as the change agent, his campaign and portrayal in the state-owned paper largely focused on deviating his image from Mugabe to absolve himself from his predecessor's misdeeds. The *Daily News* front page coverage was on political events that focused on vote rigging, Mugabe backing and military assurances mostly. Front page coverage in the *Daily News* gave prominence to Chamisa and "*bumper*" crowds at rallies accompanied by images.

The *Daily News* coverage in the 2018 election largely gave prominence to vote rigging and Chamisa's eligibility for the highest office. The coverage by the privately owned paper largely set the agenda regarding a disputed election result, as evidenced by the massive coverage of the electoral process before the poll. The *Daily News* coverage in its agenda setting functionality isolated issues regarding how the opposition candidate would build the economy, or their opinion on Zimbabwe's land reform programme or sanctions that the country faced. Thus, the *Daily News* front page coverage foregrounded issues related to the opposition's manifesto and largely focused on the transparency of the electoral process. With Mugabe's demise the opposition MDC – Alliance campaign mantra of opposing Mugabe's political agenda was no longer relevant as the incumbent's campaign strategy and mantra was ideally the opposite and differed from Mugabe. The change in the Mugabe narrative by Mnangagwa during the campaign trail led the *Daily News* and the leading opposition to frame their candidate in relation to the country being able to deliver a free and fair election. The following chapter concludes this study and recommends future considerations in the realm of electoral coverage on elections in Zimbabwe, Africa, and the world over.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6:1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter brings the study to its logical end. The chapter summarizes the preceding five chapters of this study. It further builds and offers future paths of study on media and politics in Zimbabwe, Africa, and the globe.

6:2 ZIMBABWEAN MEDIA AND ELECTORAL COVERAGE

The findings of this study revealed that the Zimbabwean media system continued to be heavily polarized and that mainstream media, namely *The Herald* and *Daily News*, have focused on the two main political contenders in the first post- Mugabe election in 2018. The polarization on the coverage of elections remains in a binary form. In Tsarwe and Mare (2019: 26) they argued that election coverage in Zimbabwe is based on binary politic of "them" and "us" with reference to how the *Zimbabwe Independent* and *Sunday Mail* two weekly papers journalistic framing of the 2008 elections. Tsarwe and Mare (2019: 26) reflect on the name calling and hate speech at tethering on furthering and creating hatred towards the "other" and perception of an "enemy." My findings though have defined binary politics in Zimbabwe through portrayal of presidential candidates on only two levels. Zimbabwean mainstream media frames presidential aspirants and electoral capability based on two political parties – ZANU PF and MDC Alliance. This therefore means democracy as a political process in Zimbabwe is defined or reduced to two political options. Electoral coverage is shunted to these two political parties while marginalizing the rest.

Media coverage on front pages gives acres of space and front-page image representation to basically two candidates. *Daily News* and *The Herald* represent two of the biggest daily publications in Zimbabwe, privately and publicly owned respectively, yet their portrayal of the presidential candidates reveals a two-horse race which exposes the existent binary politics in Zimbabwe and limited options. Borrowing from Tsarwe and Mare (2019)'s "them" and "us" may simply imply "them" being the two political elites in ZANU PF and MDC Alliance while "us" being the 21 other candidates in the presidential race who are marginalized to the other pages of the paper and may not deserve a lead front page story or an image.

The “us” and “them” in this case refers to the political antagonism and confrontation among enemies. The 2 main contenders in the election namely ZANU PF and MDC represent the masses despite the antagonistic portrayal of both their candidates in mainstream media, they draw on each other’s similarities and differences in the run up for political office in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, “us” refers to the 21 other candidates who mainstream media view as not relevant thus are marginalized to other sections of the newspaper and hardly given any front-page coverage, if ever the front-page coverage is there, it is limited to sidebars resembling their little relevance in Zimbabwe’s political space. So, my observation is that binary polarization in political coverage from mainstream media in Zimbabwe is confined to “them” being the political elites in ZANU PF and the MDC Alliance at one end and “us” referring to the 21 other candidates being marginalized and shunned by mainstream media in its front-page coverage.

The Post- Mugabe era has therefore realized the emergence of 23 candidates in the inaugural election race. Yet it is sufficient to note that the emergence of a variety of candidates did not translate in the emergence of diverse portrayal of these candidates on the front pages of mainstream newspapers in Zimbabwe. Instead, the cliché, that the more things change, the more they remain the same would be most appropriate to define how mainstream newspapers continued to give more coverage to the two main contenders in the election race while isolating the rest of the candidates. Similarly, the post Mugabe era coverage of the incumbent by *The Herald* portrayed Mnangagwa as the suitable candidate for the Zimbabwean presidency and denigrated the leading opposition candidate, Chamisa over his criticism of the election process. Although the publicly owned daily did give coverage to seven other candidates it was never a lead story and with extraordinarily little space and at times no accompanying image. *Daily News* continued to be oppositional press giving more coverage to the MDC Alliance candidate. Unlike in previous elections the post Mugabe era saw the private press front pages having advertisements by the incumbent and relatively covered the funding of the incumbent’s campaign. Post- Mugabe coverage by *Daily News* in the 2018 election focused on the two leading candidates and was less radically oppositional to the incumbent, instead the front pages seemed more lenient and reflected more on the incumbent’s financial muscle.

6:2:1 THE NEW DECEPTION

The run up to the 2018 election in Zimbabwe and the Post- Mugabe era coined terms such as the *"New Dispensation"* and *"The Second Republic."* The terms reflected the euphoria that Zimbabweans exhibited after the fall of Mugabe, but on the eve of the election results, chaos erupted in Harare on 1 August 2018, resulting in what seemed to be a quick end to that euphoric moment.

According to Cheeseman (2020:10) "Zimbabwe was the only country to make significant progress where democracy was concerned, graduating from a hard line to a moderate autocracy." Cheeseman (2020: 10) noted that "its improved score reflects the greater political openness surrounding the country's 2018 elections, when the main opposition candidate, Nelson Chamisa, was allowed to campaign in rural areas in a way that his predecessor, Morgan Tsvangirai, had found impossible during the 2013 election campaign." The election and campaign environment preceding the 2018 elections (the first Post-Mugabe era) revealed a more peaceful and open period, yet the portrayal of the incumbent in the state owned *The Herald* continued to follow the similar path as that of their predecessor while the privately owned *Daily News* continued to play an oppositional role by favouring the main opposition's candidate.

The shootings on 1 August 2018 over protests for the release of the election results, immediately saw the new dispensation emerging as a new deception over its violent military response to protestors. With the November 2017 military coup that led to Mugabe's ouster, the heavy military response on the eve of election results being announced is arguably the reflection of the coexistence and emergence of a military regime in Zimbabwe's first post- colonial transition. The findings of this study reflected on three main frames relating to security and the military. As I observed in the *Operation Restore Legacy* Frame that *The Herald* reported that the military operation codenamed *Operation Restore Legacy* which had led to Mugabe's downfall was set to be concluded by electing Mnangagwa as president. This reveals that the Post-Mugabe era led a transition to a military backed government with *The Herald* firmly in support of the portrayal of the incumbent in cohorts with a military operation

In an article for *The Conversation* on 2 August 2018, Cheryl Hendricks wrote:

"*The day before any results were released MDC-Alliance leaders had upped the ante by announcing they'd won, and saying that they wouldn't accept any other result. The army and police responded to protesters with the familiar brutality, leaving three people dead. In the space of two hours Zimbabwe went from having peaceful, free, and fair elections, to ones marred by violence and accusations of fraud. The promise of a new dawn seemed to vanish instantaneously."*

Hendricks summation of the events on 1 August 2018 also reflects a pattern in relation to how the MDC-Alliance and its candidate Nelson Chamisa were portrayed in the *Daily News*. The privately owned daily had more front pages dominated by the *Vote Rigging* frame. The paper ideally set the narrative and course for a disputed election by setting the agenda on not accepting any result that was not in their favour. This therefore builds on my argument of binary politics in Zimbabwe being about the political elites in ZANU PF and the MDC Alliance as instigators while the rest are marginalised.

On the other hand, election promises such as advertisements carried in the *Daily News* front pages in the run up to the 2018 election stating that:

"*For Freedom of Expression and Media, Vote Emmerson D Mnangagwa Vote ZANU PF,"* were hardly fulfilled as Mnangagwa's regime has gone on to arrest and harass journalists, after the elections. One such journalist was Hopewell Chin'ono who coined the term "*New Deception*" he was arrested on 20 July 2020 on charges of incitement only to be released after 44 days. Chin'ono was at first in support of the Mnangagwa regime, but later turned to be one of its fiercest critics exposing corruption from the highest office. The emergence of a greater degree of freedom of expression and media as advertised by ZANU PF in the run up to the election echoes similarities to the runup to Ethiopia's 2005 election where the EPRDF allowed a greater degree of freedom and competition, but quickly moved to repressive measures when it realized it might lose control.

This study therefore revealed that the 2018 post Mugabe era presidential election was ultimately a two-horse race according to the coverage of the two main daily publications in the country. The portrayal of the candidates in the newspapers did not reflect the opening of the democratic space where more candidates ran for president, instead the two newspapers continued to do what they had done during Mugabe's rule giving coverage to the two main candidates in the race and marginalising the rest. It is sufficient to say that the post Mugabe era provided Zimbabwe's mainstream media an opportunity for diverse political opinions to be

heard but continued to propagate and give coverage to two candidates at the expense of 21 others in the newspaper front pages. On the other hand, this study also revealed that there was an apparent disconnect between the media space that is relatively competitive (even if it a duopoly) and a political system that is only competitive in principle but has measures in place to prevent transition of power across dominant parties. Mainstream media in Zimbabwe though competitive does not exhibit a competitive political system that offers coverage to the 23 candidates running for the highest office instead it is reduced to coverage of two candidates.

Subtle patriotic journalism in the coverage of the incumbent was practised in *The Herald* while *Daily News* continued to be oppositional press to the incumbent. Mugabe's image was portrayed in relation to the opposition candidate in Chamisa, an unlikely unimaginable first in Zimbabwean politics which even saw Mugabe endorsing the younger Chamisa for the presidential race on the eve of the election. This study showed that female candidates running for the presidency were hardly mentioned in the front pages of both *The Herald* and *Daily News*, only one sidebar article on MDC-T candidate Thokozani Khupe focused on a female candidate, highlighting the misogynistic characteristics of Zimbabwean politics.

According to guidelines on media coverage of elections in the SADC region (2012:2) the role of the media during elections is stated as:
"*The role of the media during the entire electoral process is to ensure that voters make informed choices. The coverage of candidates, parties and electoral processes is in pursuit of this central purpose."* The guidelines further reflect on "fair and equitable" distribution of information. This study therefore revealed that mainstream media in Zimbabwe failed in their main role of fair coverage or distribution of information in the runup to the election. I would put it that despite the study focusing only on front pages if two Zimbabwean daily publications, it concisely shows how the media performs its role in the runup to elections and foregoes its own guidelines to help voters make informed choices.

The novel finding of media coverage on presidential candidates in the run up to the 2018 election was the subtle acknowledgement by the private press of the incumbent in Zimbabwe. The 2018 election saw *Daily News* coverage leaning towards more coverage towards the incumbent and including political advertising on the front page. Privately owned media therefore deviates in times of political upheaval for commercial gains as shown by *Daily News* in the run up to the 2018 election.

6:3 AFRICAN MEDIA AND POLITICAL TRANSITIONS (TO WHAT EXTENT THIS ECHO (OR DOES NOT) WHAT IS HAPPENING IN OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA?)

This study found that the 2018 presidential election may have resulted in new faces running for the highest office, but mainstream media continued to give more coverage to the incumbent and the leading opposition. In a similar fashion to what happened in Egypt after the fall of Hosni Mubarak and the rise of Mohamed Morsi which according to El Issawi (2012) state owned media moved from denigrating to flattering the new revolutionaries, *The Herald* in Zimbabwe did the same it moved from denigrating Mnangagwa after his fallout with Mugabe to supporting him upon his return and rise to power.

State owned media in Zimbabwe, facilitated the political transition to a Mnangagwa regime and presidency through a narrative that continuously portrayed how different he was in relation to his predecessor. *The Herald* propagated an image of Mnangagwa in relation to his predecessor often and praised his role in the liberation struggle and in fulfilling the political transition. In Uganda, Museveni's rise after a military coup enabled a freer media space according to Stremlau (2018) with the *New Vision* helping to fund the establishment of *The Monitor* in 1992 as a privately owned paper. This study revealed that unlike in the Mugabe era, privately owned *Daily News* front pages carried advertisements by the ruling ZANU PF. Despite the commercial reason for the advertisements, they reveal a change in previous electoral campaigns on the part of privately owned press. The findings of this study showed that the Post- Mugabe period enabled the private press to be more critical of ZANU- PF and the electoral system, while also giving them coverage and advertorial space, something that was unseen of during Mugabe's rule. Therefore, like in Uganda where private press was established and allowed to be critical of government, the Post -Mugabe transition was equally aided by a freer private press.

Although, I would argue that the enabling media environment in the run up to the 2018 election was all in disguise to legitimise the military coup in November 2017 and create a peaceful environment for the election process to woo and build investor sentiment.

Cheeseman, Beardsworth and Tinhu (2019:4) wrote:

"It initially looked as if Mnangagwa had managed the electoral process perfectly. The government allowed the opposition to campaign in rural areas, generating a palpable sense

that political space had been opened up. But it was also careful to retain tight control over the media, especially in rural areas, and this, along with low-level intimidation of opposition supporters meant that the government enjoyed considerable advantages of incumbency."
The assertion of a peaceful environment was attributed in my findings with relatively few front pages in my selected sample reporting on violence erupting during the campaign period. Unlike in previous elections where state owned media used hate speech and name calling defined by Tsarwe and Mare (2019) study as warlike and peace journalism, the 2018 election had hidden connotations which I have defined as subtle patriotic journalism a modernised form of Ranger (2005)'s patriotic journalism. It is based on this form of positioned reporting that a transition in Zimbabwe has similarly echoed what was experienced in Uganda when the National Resistance Movement came into power with Yoweri Museveni.

The support of the incumbent by state owned media and the support of the opposition candidate by privately owned media is a common phenomenon in Africa and this study revealed that this has continued in the Post- Mugabe era. Yiva Rodny-Gumede wrote in *The Conversation* on 30 July 2018 that:

"the media were implicated in the controversies surrounding the controversial Zambian presidential elections in 2016. They were accused of waging a propaganda war, with the private media backing opposition parties, and the public media supporting the governing Patriotic Front party and its incumbent candidate, President Edward Lungu.
In Africa, biased media coverage in favour of incumbent presidents has been cited as among the reasons voters have little faith that elections are credible, and the outcomes legitimate."

Therefore, this study revealed that to a greater extent the Zimbabwean political transition in the Post- Mugabe era echoed what is happening in other African states

6:4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion the portrayal of presidential candidates in Zimbabwe's 2018 presidential election was biased in favour of the incumbent and the leading opposition candidate. There was no balanced and fair coverage of the other 21 candidates that participated in the poll. The elections reflected a post- Mugabe era that exhibited a peaceful environment with different narratives on the contesting main two candidates. Mainstream media in their binary polarization of the election race enabled a peaceful transition that was to be short-lived by a delay in the release of results which led to loss of lives. The events leading to the election after the military coup, the protests over election results, and the military response reveal a similar pattern to past political transitions in Africa such as that witnessed by Ethiopia in 2005.

Media systems in Africa need to be further explored and investigated as to draw similarities and differences on their operations especially in relation to electoral coverage. Future scholars should develop theory and models on comparative media systems in Africa, to avoid over reliance on comparative media models based on US and European media which has evolved through centuries of democracy. Studies on the continued hegemonic dominance of liberation war movements through ruling parties are also another critical aspect that needs to be understood in the sphere of political studies. The use of electronic media and social media in the run up to elections in the global south is also another path to be explored for future studies. While democracy as a term continues to be explored by various scholars there is need to understand how media and democracy in Africa is pursued in the form of bloodless coups such as that seen in Zimbabwe or in Mali in August 2020. The role of regional organizations such as SADC and ECOWAS also needs to be researched in terms of how they deal with military assisted political transitions.

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APPENDIX A CODING FRAMEWORK

Code	Variable	Variable Label	Code Value/Variable Scale	Descriptions
N1	Unit Identification	From 0 to 2	Unit Identification	Unit Description
N2	Publications	1= The Herald 2= Daily News	Newspaper articles	Front pages of selected newspapers

Tonality variables on portrayal of candidates

N3	Candidate Portrayal	2= Strong positive coverage	Portrayal of presidential candidate	2= Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g. charming, exuberance, signal of hope, messiah, ordinary, simple) and amount of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.
		1= Light positive coverage	Portrayal of presidential candidate	1= Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g. empowerment, redefining, rebuilding, stable) and amount of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.
		-1= Light negative coverage	Portrayal of presidential candidate	-1= Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g., fear, jittery, lacking) and amount of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.
		-2= Strong negative coverage	Portrayal of presidential candidate	-2= Use of adjectives describing specific candidate (e.g. unholy alliance, bickering, violent, dirty tactics, witch hunt) and amount

				of space taken up on the front page, is it accompanied by an image or not.
		0= Neutral	**Portrayal of presidential candidate**	**0= Non descriptive narrative of specific candidate focusing on manifesto only.**

Frame variables on portrayal of candidates

N4	**Frames/ Issues in articles**	**1= Robert Mugabe Allegiance**	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in relation to the late Robert Mugabe.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate/ party in relation to the late former president Robert Mugabe.**
		2= The Military Role	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in relation to the army.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate on how they perceive the army and their role in elections, the article allays security fears.**
		3= Vote Rigging	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate and their view on vote rigging and the ability to hold a free and fair election.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate on their opinion on vote rigging and how ZEC is set to conduct the election process.**
		4= Operation Restore Legacy	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in relation to Operation Restore Legacy.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate and how they perceive Operation Restore Legacy in the context of the 2018 election.**
		5= Trust and Affection	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate in a human-interest**

			an affective and trustworthy candidacy.	**drawing on affection and trust.**
		6= Security Issues	**Portrayal of a presidential candidate in relation to security fears and concerns.**	**The article quotes or refers to a presidential candidate's perceived security concern or fear in the pre- and post-election period.**

Image Classification Variable

N5	**Images of Presidential candidates**	**0= None**	**Number of Images of Presidential candidates portrayed on front pages.**	**The visual portrayal of presidential candidates given prominence on front pages.**
		1= Single/ Main Image on Front Page		
		2= Smaller Image/ 2nd lead image		
		3= Sidebar Image		
		4= Political advertisement Image		

APPENDIX B LIST OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES USED AS STUDY SAMPLE

Date	Newspaper	Headline
2018/06/28	Daily News	I don't trus t Mugabe : ED
2018/06/27	Daily News	ED spends big
2018/07/27	Daily News	ED praises Tsvangirai
2018/07/27	Daily News	MDC ropes in anti rigging experts
2018/07/26	Daily News	Chamisa gives poll a chance
2018/06/13	Daily News	Mugabe divides MDC Alliance
2018/06/04	Daily News	MDC racing against time
2018/06/04	Daily News	as Zanu PF mobilises against MDC demo
2018/07/06	Daily News	Army in a fix over elections
2018/06/06	Daily News	Mugabe's party backs Chamisa
2018/06/06	Daily News	ZEC boss accused of bias
2018/06/07	Daily News	ED arm twists Zimra on duty
2018/06/08	Daily News	Poll headed for run off
2018/06/02	Daily News	Witch hunt in Zanu PF
2018/07/02	Daily News	ED Security fears mount
2018/07/02	Daily News	Opposition seeks military assurance
2018/07/04	Daily News	RG Mugabe flies into bomb storm
2018/07/05	Daily News	We will salute Chamisa: Army
2018/07/05	Daily News	Chamisa ready to die
2018/06/27	The Herald	Party presidents sign peace pledge
2018/06/27	The Herald	DOP's Wilson foresees GNU
2018/06/26	The Herald	Byo bombing: Two die from injuries
2018/06/26	The Herald	Khupe pledges equal opportunities
2018/06/26	The Herald	President opens women's bank
2018/06/25	The Herald	Security for all Zim Presidential Hopefuls
2018/06/25	The Herald	AU, world powers slam assasination bid
2018/06/22	The Herald	More endorsements for ED presidency
2018/06/22	The Herald	President heads to Pelandaba
2018/06/20	The Herald	I'm not a politician-Nkosana Moyo
2018/06/21	The Herald	We want issues - driven leaders - Mangoma
2018/06/18	The Herald	President joins queue to buy fast food
2018/13/07	The Herald	Don't lose sleep over demos: ED
2018/13/07	The Herald	Laws made in parly: VP tells Chamisa
2018/06/29	The Herald	VP Mohadi, Oppah airlifted to S.Africa
2018/06/30	The Herald	$100bn economy by 2028: Manyika
2018/19/06	The Herald	Alliance litters ZEC with frivolous cases
2018/19/07	The Herald	$5m diamond cash for Manicaland folk
2018/13/06	The Herald	Nominations begin Alliance in disarray
2018/13/07	The Herald	ZANU PF releases election candidates list
2018/06/09	The Herald	ZANU PF the only party of hope: ED
2018/06/30	The Herald	Victory to give my admin oomph: ED

2018/06/30	The Herald	We were never harrassed: EU Observers
2018/06/30	The Herald	Political parties witness ballot printing
2018/06/05	The Herald	Zim charms UK investors
2018/07/05	The Herald	We'll respect poll outcome - ZDF
2018/07/05	The Herald	Hlabangana promises proactive leadersh
2018/07/05	The Herald	President opens up on bomb scare
2018/06/06	The Herald	Let them march says President
2018/06/06	The Herald	MDC Alliance demo flops
2018/07/06	The Herald	Govt keen to reward, talent, hard work:
2018/07/06	The Herald	Charamba deplores Newsday posturing
2018/07/06	The Herald	Heifer programme spreads to more pro
2018/06/07	The Herald	ED vows to reopen closed companies
2018/06/07	The Herald	We'll silence Chamisa - Zanu PF youths
2018/06/18	The Herald	Vote ED to conclude Op Restore Legacy'