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**Newspapers' institutional voices in Zimbabwe: speaking to power through editorials
between 1 June and 31 December 2013.**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts
(Cwk/Thesis) in Journalism and Media Studies**

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DEDICATION

To my wife, Faith and son, Jaiden Mateo who endured several months of my absence from home. I could not forget my father, who fell seriously ill towards the end of 2013, but miraculously recovered to see me finish this thesis.

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This thesis would have not been a success without the careful guidance of my supervisor, Professor Anthea Garman. I am forever indebted to her.

To my parents, and in-laws, I say thank you for your prayers. I know you always mention my name in your prayers. Not forgetting my relatives, Memory, Nyasha, Fungai, Marshall T Jr, Peculiar, Maxwell Jr and Rejoice for the moral support rendered during the period of study.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the complex role editorials – a newspaper’s institutional voice – play in highly-polarised political contexts. Employing Van Dijk’s insight that editorials “are usually not only, and even not primarily, directed at the common reader: rather they tend to directly or indirectly address influential news actors” (1992: 244), the study focuses on how the editorials of two Zimbabwean daily newspapers – *The Herald*, a perceived pro-government newspaper, and *NewsDay*, a perceived pro-opposition newspaper – speak to those in power. The study looks at these two newspapers’ editorials from 1 June to 31 December 2013, which covers the period prior to, during and after the 2013 national elections. The 31 July, 2013 elections took place after four years of an uneasy government of national unity (GNU), which comprised ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations (Raftopoulos, 2013:978). Given the polarisation that is pervasive in the Zimbabwean politics and media, the study draws on Hallin and Mancini (2004)’s “Polarised Pluralist Model”. In this model the media are used as instruments of struggle in conflicts, sometimes by dictatorships and by movements struggling against them, but also by contending parties in periods of democratic politics (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:61). Further, the methodological approach that informs this study is primarily qualitative. A qualitative content analysis of 30 editorials seeks to identify themes covered in the editorials. The study also employs a rhetorical analysis of 12 editorials and in-depth interviews and these form the adopted three-stage research design. The findings of this research somewhat contradict the common view in Zimbabwe that the privately-owned media blindly support the opposition while the state-owned media do the same to ZANU-PF (Chari, 2009:10; Mabweazara, 2011:110). Although *The Herald* openly supported ZANU-PF prior to the election, it shifted after the election as it pushed the ruling party to fulfill pledges made on the campaign trail. Some ZANU-PF officials were also censured by *The Herald*, although this selective criticism can be linked to factionalism in the party. *NewsDay* editorials reminded the newly formed government to mend the economy and provide basic services. While, the daily constantly censured Mugabe and ZANU-PF prior to the election, it also occasionally berated the MDC, which can be attributed to its participation in the GNU as that took away the privilege it previously had of not being hold accountable by the press.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIPPA – Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

AMH – Alpha Media Holdings.

GNU – Government of National Unity.

LOMA – Law and Order Maintenance Act.

MDC – Movement for Democratic Change.

RPP – Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Ltd.

SADC-Southern African Development Community

UDI – Unilateral Declaration of Independence.

ZBC – Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation.

ZANU – Zimbabwe African National Union.

ZANU-PF – Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front.

ZAPU – Zimbabwe African People’s Union.

ZMMT –Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study investigates the complex role editorials (also known as editorial comment) – a newspaper’s institutional voice – play in highly-polarised political contexts. Using Van Dijk’s insight that editorials “are usually not only, and even not primarily, directed at the common reader: rather they tend to directly or indirectly address influential news actors” (1992: 244), the study focuses on how the editorials of two Zimbabwean daily newspapers – *The Herald*, a pro-government newspaper, and *NewsDay*, a pro-opposition newspaper – speak to those in power at a time of transition from what Hallin and Mancini call “consensus politics” to “majoritarian politics” (2004:51). With majoritarian politics, the winning party concentrates power and there is a clear distinction between government and opposition, while consensus politics is characterised by power sharing; compromise and co-operation between opposing forces (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:51). Further, the study will establish what tactics are employed by the editorial writers to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of the political elite. It also seeks to understand what editors think about the political situation in Zimbabwe and how they are using editorials, as an institutional voice, to assess the situation. In this chapter, I will provide a brief overview of Zimbabwe’s politics, restricting it to the two main political players – Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Morgan Tsvangirai – as well as present the outcome of the 2013 elections. The following section will outline the context in which the two newspapers operate as well as a brief background of the Zimbabwean press. I will then provide the theories that informed this study; look at the significance and goals of the study; the methodology adopted and provide an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Zimbabwe’s politics and 2013 elections

ZANU-PF – a liberation movement and a (1987) coalition between ZANU led by Robert Mugabe and another liberation movement, Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF-ZAPU) led by the late Joshua Nkomo – enjoyed two decades of rule since independence in

1980 from the British colonial rule with minimum challenge. Prior to the coalition of ZANU and ZAPU, the objective of Mugabe's government was the establishment of a one-party state (Saunders, 1999:18). Despite the desire to have a one party state, Zimbabwe convened multiparty elections every five years. Although draconian legislation limited political and civil liberties, there was enough political space in the 1990s to allow for the development of a vibrant civil society (LeBas, 2006:424). The formation of the MDC in September 1999 coupled with the rejection of the draft constitution in February 2000 ushered in a new political dispensation in Zimbabwe (Saul and Saunders, 2005:971). The subsequent June 2000 parliamentary election also put to an end the de facto one-party state situation in Zimbabwe as the MDC won 57 out of the 120 directly elected seats (ZESN, 2008:12). This marked the beginning of a stiff competition between ZANU-PF and the MDC. The parties had to come up with confrontational strategies that were effective in politicising constituencies, increasing mobilisational capacities, and preventing organisational fragmentation. Therefore, polarisation in Zimbabwe is believed to have stemmed from short-run strategies of political elites not a necessary result of democratisation. (LeBas, 2006: 420). Furthermore, mobilisation did not occur along the lines of pre-existing ethnic cleavages, instead polarisation occurred because it was in the instrumental interest of both political parties to play confrontational strategies, which were likely to divide the electorate into two opposing camps (LeBas, 2006: 420). As polarisation intensified and affected an ever-expanding sphere of social and political life, the "maneuverability" of political parties narrowed and the language used to mobilise constituencies relied heavily on metaphors of war and treason (LeBas, 2006: 423).

The 31 July 2013 elections took place after four years of an uneasy government of national unity (GNU), which comprised ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations (Raftopoulos, 2013:978). The smaller MDC party was led by Arthur Mutambara when it joined the GNU and later by Welshman Ncube. Although, the MDC led by Tsvangirai is referred to as "MDC-T", I will address it as MDC in this thesis. While, the 2013 elections were dismissed by the opposition as fraudulent, Mugabe received 61% of the presidential vote, compared to the 44% he had won in 2008; MDC leader, Morgan Tsvangirai's vote plunged from 48% to 33%. ZANU-PF increased its number of parliamentary seats from 99 in 2008 to 159, while the MDC-T's number dropped

from 99 in 2008 to 49 (Raftopoulos, 2013:978). The Zimbabwean political system falls within what Sartori (1976:135 in Hallin and Mancini, 2004:60) calls “polarised pluralism”. Countries associated with this model have relatively short histories of democratic rule and the state plays an active role while the legal system is undermined by “clientelism, whereby personal ‘connections’ can de facto outweigh the letter of the law” (Petersson et al, 2006:16). It is in this context that my study sets out to investigate how the two Zimbabwean daily newspapers’ editorials spoke to power at a time of political upheaval and change or how they responded to a contested political domain.

1.2 The context of the two newspapers

The study looks at two Zimbabwean daily newspapers’ editorials from 1 June to 31 December 2013, which covers the period prior to, during and after the 2013 national elections. The country’s mainstream media also have strong party allegiances, which results in what Hallin and Mancini consider to be “considerable” pluralism in the media system (2004:61). Resonating with this model, Zimbabwean political reporters and editors are considered notorious for their partisan reportage (Mabweazara, 2011:110). The state-owned media are impenitent in their “support for the ruling Zanu-PF government”, while those in the private press appear “to have signed a pact with the opposition to ‘hear no evil’, ‘speak no evil’ and ‘see no evil’ regarding its affairs” (Chari, 2009:10). The party political confrontation has led to the bifurcation of the press, which has become sharply polarised along pro-versus anti-government editorial lines (Chuma, 2010: 54-56).

1.2.1 *The Herald*

The Herald is Zimbabwe’s oldest newspaper and was established in 1891 by William Earnest Fairbridge of South Africa’s Argus group (Jones, 1985: 669-670). The Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey second quarter 2013 results published by the Zimbabwe Advertising and Research Foundation in October 2013 shows that *The Herald*’s market share was 24% (Kabweza, 2013). *The Rhodesia Herald*, run by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing (RPP), a subsidiary of the Argus Press was renamed Zimbabwe Newspapers (Zimpapers) in 1980 when the country attained its independence, although the ownership structure did not change

(Saunders, 1999:15). However, Harare set up the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (MMT) in January 1981 to take control of Zimpapers and the national news agency, *Ziana* (now called *New Ziana*) using a \$6 million grant from the Nigerian government (Saunders, 1999:15).

The colonial Rhodesian government, led by Prime Minister Ian Smith, monitored ‘local press distortions’ and trailed journalists with an anti-Rhodesian outlook and likely to ‘spy for the enemy’ (Mazango, 2005:45). The Rhodesian government used laws such as the Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA), which outlawed the “publishing of a false report likely to cause alarm and despondency” (Mazango, 2005:46). Several papers were shut down, including the *African Daily News*, *Zimbabwe Times*, the liberal *Central African Examiner*, church based papers such as *Moto* and *Umbowo* (Saunders, 1999:10-11; Mazango, 2005:46). Ironically, the post-independence government led by ZANU-PF left the draconian press laws intact so as to manage perceived errant journalists (Mazango, 2005:47).

Despite the existence of unfriendly press and defamation laws that were occasionally used, a fairly peaceful co-existence between the post-independence government and private newspapers was the norm from 1980 and well into the 1990s, but the situation began to change in the late 1990s when a number of new independent titles such as *The Independent* and *The Standard* began to condemn growing corruption by public office bearers (Mazango, 2005:47). The launch of an anti-government daily paper, *The Daily News* in 1999, which coincided with the birth of MDC, did not help matters. The paper was treated as an anathema by the ZANU-PF government and its printing press was bombed by unknown assailants (Wetherell and Butcher, 2001). The appointment of Jonathan Moyo – an erstwhile harsh critic of Mugabe – as the minister heading a Department of Information and Publicity in the President’s office after the 2000 Parliamentary election, saw him leading the ZANU-PF government’s efforts to have full control over the press to avoid further electoral downward trajectory. Moyo dissolved the MMT and public shares in public newspapers, which now fall directly under government control (Mazango, 2005:48). New laws such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) and the Public Order and Security Act (which replaced LOMA) were introduced in 2002 (Mazango, 2005:38). Newspapers and journalists were forced to register and get accredited respectively under AIPPA,

but *The Daily News* refused, leading to its closure in 2003 and was only re-licenced in 2010 together with other new titles as the then GNU sought to open up the print media.

1.2.2 NewsDay

NewsDay, just like *The Daily News*, was licensed in 2010 under the new political dispensation. It is owned by Alpha Media Holdings (AMH), which also publishes *The Standard*, the *Zimbabwe Independent* and *Southern Eye*. AMH is owned 61% by Trevor Ncube through Vusumuzi Investments and 39% by Media Development Investment Fund (NewsDay, 2013). AMH claims that *NewsDay* seeks to “fill a gap in the market for a balanced, non-partisan, and objective daily newspaper that is affordable” (Zimbabwe Independent, 2011). The private newspaper groups in the country are largely seen as pro-opposition (Chari, 2009:10). *NewsDay*’s market share of daily newspapers was 12%, according to the Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey second quarter 2013 results published by the Zimbabwe Advertising and Research Foundation in October 2013 (Kabweza, 2013).

According to the *Newsday* website (www.newsday.co.zw), AMH is an independent media house free from political ties or outside influence.

The editorial board representing all three (sic) is totally committed to delivering accurate and impartial news designed to inform the public debate and enable Zimbabweans to make educated choices. Our pledge to those we serve is to seek the truth, deliver the facts and offer relevant context and analysis where appropriate. Our tone will be non-judgemental, objective and fair. In all cases we strive to include all relevant opinions and ensure that no significant strand of thought is neglected. We will strive to dig where others don’t, give voice to the voiceless, shine a light in dark places, scrutinise the executive and hold the powerful to account... (NewsDay,2014).

I have already made reference, albeit brief, to the history of the private press in Zimbabwe in section 1.2.1, however, it is important at this juncture to state that the private press was not fully developed at independence in 1980 largely because of the restrictive legislation that existed during the 15 years of the illegal Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) that started in

1965, but this somewhat changed in the 1980s, which saw the emergence of a small but vibrant class of the privately-owned press (Mabweazara, 2006: 09).

1.3 Theoretical framework

Drawing on journalism studies, the research acknowledges Van Dijk's assertion that an editorial is an article in a newspaper that gives the opinion of the editor or owner on a topic or item of news (1988:129). An editorial's role "is idiosyncratic: while news informs, editorials assess" (Rupar, 2007:599). As the "institutional voice" (Stonecipher, 1979:41; Van Dijk, 1996) of a newspaper, editorials also provide leadership on national issues. Editorials "hold powerful institutions and elected leaders accountable" (Sellar, 2007 in Hannon, 2012:7). This study acknowledges that opinions carried in an editorial are usually defended by a series of arguments, which means that editorials have an argumentative structure (Van Dijk, 1988: 129). Argumentation is rooted in ancient rhetoric, particularly the rhetorical art of civic discourse and Aristotle's foundational contributions to that field. Aristotle defines rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (Hannon, 2012:88). He identifies modes of persuasion as *ethos* – the personal character of the speaker and the audience's assessment of his (or her) credibility; *pathos* – the power to stir the listeners' emotions; and *logos* – the ability to prove a truth, or an apparent truth, by means of persuasive argument.

Drawing on the media systems developed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), this study also acknowledges that the Zimbabwean press is located within the "Polarised Pluralist Model". Hallin and Mancini claim that the style of journalism under this model tends to give substantial emphasis to commentary and newspapers are inclined to "represent distinct political tendencies" (2004:98). They claim that at times newspapers also play an activist role, "mobilising... readers to support political causes" (2004:98). In this model the media are used as instruments of struggle in conflicts, sometimes by dictatorships and by movements struggling against them, but also by contending parties in periods of democratic politics (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:61).¹

¹ The other models are "The Liberal Model", which is characterised by a relative dominance of market mechanisms and of commercial media; and the "Democratic Corporatist Model", which sees a historical coexistence of commercial media and media tied to organized social and political groups and by a relatively active but legally limited role of the state (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:11).

Research in media communications shows that newspaper editorials play an important role in the definition of the public agenda priorities (McCombs, 1997). The press, by the choice of news and emphasis on certain topics, determines the issues the public thinks and talks about (Severin and Tankard, 1992:207, 227). Louw posits that political elites pay attention to the mass media to “monitor what coverage they (and their opponents) receive, and issues that journalists place on the public agenda” (2010:17). The study takes account of the journalism profession’s adherence to the Habermasian (2004) concept of the public sphere and the relationship between the media and democracy. McNair argues that the study of democracy in contemporary society is also a study of how the media report and interpret political events and issues (2000:1).

1.4 Significance of the study

Previous studies, although few, explored editorials to reveal the ideological positions of media houses on specific topics (Hackett and Zhao, 1994; Vaughan, 1995; Van Dijk, 1996; Le, 2002a; Izadi and Saghaye-Biria, 2007). However, this study will focus on how editorials speak to power in a politically polarised environment. Le posts that “the function of editorials is to present the newspaper’s position and to convince its readers” (2002: 387). Biber also suggests that “[editorials] are argumentative in that they consider several different possibilities but seek to convince the reader of the advisability or likelihood of one of them” (1988: 148). Given this role played by editorials, this study, which is located in a Zimbabwean context, will add empirical evidence to scant academic work on editorials and has implications for journalistic practices in Zimbabwe. It will also add empirical evidence to the theories of media systems developed by Hallin and Mancini (2004) and theories of political communication.

1.5 Goals of the research

This study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How the editorials of these two newspapers speak to those in power?
2. What tactics do they employ to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of authority?
3. How do editors understand the space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power?

1.6 Methodology

The methodological approach that informs this study is primarily qualitative. Qualitative researchers seek to preserve the form and content of human behaviour and to analyse its qualities (Lindlof, 1995:21). Qualitative research is inductive in nature and aims at in-depth descriptions and understanding of actions and events (Babbie et al, 2001:270). Qualitative methods are useful in research that “seeks to uncover and understand phenomenon about which little is known, or gain fresh angles on phenomenon on which a bit is already known” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990 cited in Mwilu, 2010:54). This is relevant to this study, which seeks to understand the kinds of spaces editorials, as institutional voices, opened up for journalists to engage with power.

The study employed a three-stage research design: Firstly, it will focus on qualitative content analysis to identify themes covered in the editorials, and secondly, rhetorical analysis to establish tactics employed in the editorials to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of authority. Lastly, in-depth interviews will help establish how editors understand the space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power. These techniques were adopted as they helped the researcher answer the research questions raised. With the study, partly dealing with human subjects, the researcher will seek consent from editors for interviews. Identities of respondents (unless they give consent) will be protected (Orb et al, 2001:93).

1.7 Thesis structure

Chapter one gives the background to the study: its justification and general information about the press in Zimbabwe, particularly the two daily newspapers under study. Chapter two details the theories used in the study, and reviews the literature related to the field of inquiry. Chapter three discusses the methodology and methods employed in the study, while chapters four and five presents and analyse the data stemming from the research. Chapter six offers conclusions and reflections emanating from the analysis.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter sets the tone of the study, as it provides the research background as well as pegs the precincts in which the research questions are explored. Given that this study acknowledges that Zimbabwe's political system falls within what Sartori (1976:135 in Hallin and Mancini, 2004:60) calls "polarised pluralism", the key concern is to situate the study within the political context that obtained in the build-up, during and after the 2013 elections, which brought to an end the uneasy GNU. This chapter also offers a background to the two newspapers, and locating them within a broader political environment in Zimbabwe. The goals and the rationale for the study are also discussed. Presented, is also a brief summary of the literature review and the methodological position of the study are highlighted. The next chapter explores the literature that provides a framework for addressing the research questions raised.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the scholarly arguments the study draws on and the concepts central to the thesis, viz; editorials; media and political systems; rhetoric; agenda setting as well as media and democracy. Identifying theories that inform one's study is critical as it "helps the researcher to better focus his [or her] study and to more clearly understand his [or her] findings by providing a meaningful context" (Stonecipher, 1979:181).

2.1 What is a newspaper editorial?

An editorial is regarded as an article in a newspaper that gives the opinion of the editor or owner on a topic or item of news (Van Dijk, 1988: 129). To Van Dijk (1996), even when written by a single editor, editorials "count as the opinion of 'the' newspaper" and this means that they "will generally be shared among several editors, or between editors and management, or between editors and other social groups they belong to". Editorials advance logical conclusions in the form of expectations, recommendations, advice, and warnings (Van Dijk, 1992:244). An editorial may be thought of as a "journalistic essay which either attempts (1) to inform or explain, (2) to persuade or convince, or (3) to stimulate insight in an entertaining or humorous manner", according to Stonecipher (1979:40). In line with this definition, Stonecipher divides editorials into three categories: those that inform or explain editorials that try to convert, and editorials that amuse or amaze (Stonecipher, 1979:43). Here is a summary of these categories:

The editorial written for the purpose of informing the reader or explaining to him the meaning of some complex event or issue of general or public interest is related to the expository essay. Its purpose is to interpret or to illuminate, but not necessarily to argue a point of view... the editorial which attempts to persuade, which attempts to influence, or which attempts to convert a reader to a point of view being expounded is the type dear to the editorialist's heart. Such an editorial is clearly at the polar point on the objective-subjective continuum...editorials in this category might better be identified as those which argue or advocate a point of view...the third category of

editorials, those written to amuse or amaze, may have a serious purpose, may attempt to illuminate an issue, or may even attempt to advocate, but... the serious, straightforward approach, for example, may be abandoned for a change-of-pace piece which relies upon satire or irony for its effect (Stonecipher, 1979:43-47).

Bonyadi and Samuel categorise editorials into: criticism, attack, defense, endorsement, praise, appeal and entertainment (2012:2). In their study, Bonyadi and Samuel only defined editorials of criticism as “editorials that aimed at criticizing policies and decisions that are considered as controversial by the newspaper staff” (2012:2). However they also noted that editorials of criticism were similar to editorials of attack, but failed to explain where the distinction is. To Meltzer, generally, an editorial board (in the United States) finds itself in a contrary position to the rest of the newspaper, which follows the doctrine of objectivity and in contrast to newspapers in other countries where opinions are expressed throughout the paper (2007:85). The editorial section is the page or two pages of “the ‘A’ section of the newspaper where the masthead and staff listing of the newspaper can be found, including the owner’s name or company’s name, one to four editorials, syndicated and local guest writers, political cartoons and letters to the editor. It is only here that openly acknowledged opinion as opposed to traditional ‘neutral’ reporting is published” (Meltzer, 2007:85). Rugar claims that the editorial’s role “is idiosyncratic: while news informs, editorials assess” (2007:599). This is echoed by Bonyadi and Samuel, who posit that “newspaper editorials as a kind of opinion texts are different from the other types of news discourse in that they are supposed to present evaluations and comments about the news events already reported in the newspapers” (2012:1).

2.1.1 Newspaper editorials as an institutional voice

An editorial is seen as an institutional voice of a newspaper and for this reason editorials – in contrast to opinion columns, critical reviews, or news analysis type articles – are usually published anonymously (Stonecipher, 1979:41). Most editorials are not signed for several reasons. The first reason is that “even if written by one person, they generally represent something more than an individual’s personal opinion”, meaning they “often directly reflect the policy set by the paper’s owner or the publisher” (Rystrom, 1983:84).

The opinion might be a general one worked out over time among writers on paper, or it might be worked out on a single issue during a morning editorial conference. In any case the writer would be expressing a combination of ideas...Most editorials must pass through an editor or publisher before they go into print. Since the editor or the publisher has the final say, the end product may be slightly or greatly, different from the original version (Rystrom, 1983:84-85).

Some defenders of unsigned institutional editorials posit that these editorials carry more weight with readers because they are not just the personal opinion of an individual (Rystrom, 1983:85). As the institutional voice of a newspaper, editorials also provide leadership on national issues and they “hold powerful institutions and elected leaders accountable” (Sellar, 2007 in Hannon, 2012:7). An editorial as a journalistic form expresses the newspaper’s reaction to an issue of public concern while the “call for ‘common sense’ in the name of the ‘best for all’ comes from the status of editorial as the newspaper’s voice in public debate” (Rupar, 2007:606). Having looked at this aspect, it can be deduced that the majority of scholarship is in agreement that views expressed in unsigned editorials are theoretically those of the newspaper as a whole (Stonecipher, 1979:41; MacDougall, 1973:1), suggesting that it provides protection for those criticising policies and people in power. In-depth interviews with the editors will establish whether they think this is the case in practice.

2.1.2 Literature on editorials

Much of the work on editorials is practical and anecdotal and has been written by journalists, while the scholarly studies are often also journalistic, and focus on how the press has dealt with specific historical issues. Much of this work is based on the USA (Van Dijk, 1996). Other studies have explored editorials to reveal the ideological positions of media houses on specific topics (Hackett and Zhao, 1994; Van Dijk, 1996; Le, 2002a; Izadi and Saghaye-Biria, 2007). While some have focused on the form (Bolívar, 1994; Hawes and Thomas, 1996 and Ansari and Babaii, 2005) and rhetorical structures (Coe, 2002; Hyland 2002). There is also work some on bias and the editorial endorsement of presidential candidates in the USA (Fedler, Smith, and Counts, 1985; Merron and Gaddy, 1986). Others have focused on the influence of editorials on readers (Alvarado, 1990; Gruner, 1989; Krueger and Fox, 1991). To Van Dijk (1996), this shows that there has been a “lack of explicit theorizing about editorials”. This research considers editorials

as the institutional, and therefore somewhat protected space, within a newspaper, that gives those in media leadership a vehicle for expressing voice and engaging with power. It will consider rhetorical argumentation and examine the tactics employed in the editorials to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in power.

2.2 Rhetoric: editorials as rhetorical arguments

Opinions carried in an editorial are usually defended by a series of arguments, which means that editorials have an argumentative structure (Van Dijk, 1988: 129). The main objective of editorials is to “influence the readers to accept their intended interpretation of the news events, thus, editorials are considered important forms for the imbedding of rhetoric (Fartousi and Dumanig, 2012:127). Editorials typically adopt an argumentative, evaluative or persuasive style of presentation (O’Keefe, 2002 in Healy, 2011:7). Argumentation is “aimed at resolving a difference of opinion, occurs in a particular material social context, and is realised through the participants offering arguments which they believe support their standpoint and which are aimed at exerting an influence on the opinions, attitudes and even behaviour of others” (Richardson, 2007:156). Argumentation is rooted in ancient forms of rhetoric, particularly the rhetorical art of civic discourse and Aristotle’s foundational contributions to that field. Aristotle defines rhetoric as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (Hannon, 2012:88). He identifies modes of persuasion as *ethos* – the personal character of the speaker and the audience’s assessment of his (or her) credibility; *pathos* – the power to stir the listeners’ emotions; and *logos* – the ability to prove a truth, or an apparent truth, by means of persuasive argument (Hannon, 2012:88).

Aristotle also identified three types or genres of oratory – deliberative or political, forensic or judicial, and epideictic or ceremonial – reflective of the circumstances in which they occur and their intended purpose (Hannon, 2012:88). Deliberative or political rhetoric urges the audience either to do or refrain from something; the issues under discussion are those expected to arise at some point in the future. Forensic or judicial rhetoric passes judgment on past actions, just as a judicial proceeding is designed to determine the justness or legality of an accused’s activities. Epideictic or ceremonial oratory praises or censures someone (Hannon, 2012:88-89). The

success of rhetorical argumentation hinges on the use of rhetorical tropes, defined as “a deviation from the ordinary and principal signification of a word” (Corbett, 1990 in Richardson, 2007:65). Although there are hundreds of tropes, only five are useful to the analysis of newspaper discourse, according to Richardson and these are: hyperbole, metaphor, metonym, neologism and puns (2007:65-70). A metonymy is a figure of speech in which one word or phrase is substituted for another with which it is closely associated. (Bonyadi and Samuel, 2013:6) Neologism refers to “a recently created (or coined) word or an existing word or phrase that has been assigned a new meaning” (Richardson, 2007:69). A pun refers to “substitution based on accidental similarity”, while a metaphor is a “substitution based on underlying resemblance” (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996:441). Rhetorical question is asking a question so as to an assertion and hyperbole refers to exaggerated or extreme claim (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996:430). The study, will establish how these tropes were employed in the editorials when they spoke to power.

Having looked at the literature on editorials and rhetoric, I turn to the discussion of political polarisation in Zimbabwe, which also informs the context of the study and provides a basis for the “Polarised Pluralist Model” developed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), which is one of the theories that inform this study. This polarisation also explains why I am looking at two newspapers that are considered diametrically opposed in terms of their reading of the Zimbabwean politics as already established in section 1.2 (Chari, 2009:10).

2.3 Polarisation and rise of political polarisation in Zimbabwe

Polarisation suggests that people “come to perceive that their views of right and wrong and good and bad are diametrically opposed to those of their opponents, making it difficult to understand (or perhaps even respect) the worldview that makes those preferences possible” (Hetherington, 2009:429). Polarisation has “received much [academic] attention” (Stroud, 2010:557), especially in the United States where there is little disagreement in the scholarly literature that political elites have become increasingly polarised over the past several decades (Fiorina et al, 2005). However, there is less agreement on whether polarisation in the mass public resembles elite polarisation (Stroud, 2010:557). Some claim that the public in the United States has become increasingly polarised (Jacobson, 2003) while others argue that it has not (Fiorina et al, 2006).

To LeBas (2006:422), where polarisation occurs, processes of inclusion (internal solidarity) and exclusion (policing of relations across the boundary, justification of the boundary) are intensified.

Other social boundaries recede in importance, and the cleavage around which polarization is built comes to organize social interaction in multiple arenas. In other words, polarization collapses previously complex interactions between multiple political actors into a simple battle between two. It becomes difficult for individuals or groups credibly to claim neutrality, and it is even more difficult for political entrepreneurs to lessen the distance between groups or activate other cleavages (LeBas, 2006:422).

Unlike Fiorina et al (2005) whose context of study was the United States, LeBas (2006) sees party elites in Zimbabwe deliberately encouraging political polarisation so as to make boundary crossing-or defection-from the party difficult. As stated in the first chapter, polarisation, in Zimbabwe stemmed from short-run strategies of political elites not a necessary result of democratisation. (LeBas, 2006: 420). Canvassing did not occur along the lines of pre-existing ethnic cleavages, instead polarisation occurred because it was in the instrumental interest of both political parties to play confrontational strategies, which were likely to divide the electorate into two opposing camps (LeBas, 2006: 420).

2.4 Media and political systems: polarised pluralist model

The study draws on the “Polarised Pluralist Model” developed by Hallin and Mancini (2004) to describe the media and political systems in Southern European countries, for example Italy and Portugal. Hallin and Mancini claim that the style of journalism under this model tends to give substantial emphasis to commentary and newspapers are inclined to “represent distinct political tendencies” (2004:98). They posit that at times newspapers also play an activist role, “mobilising... readers to support political causes” (2004:98). In this model the media are used as instruments of struggle in conflicts, sometimes by dictatorships and by movements struggling against them, but also by contending parties in periods of democratic politics (Hallin and

Mancini, 2004:61).² Based on the above features, this study acknowledges that the Zimbabwean press fits into the “Polarised Pluralist Model”.

Journalism is not as strongly differentiated from political activism and the autonomy of journalism is often limited. Explicit conflicts over the autonomy of journalists – power and authority within news organisations has been more openly contested in the polarised pluralist systems (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:71). The state also plays a large role as an owner, regulator, and funder of media, though its capacity to regulate effectively is often limited (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:71). One of the effects of polarised pluralism was the dampening of “enthusiasm of journalists for the ‘watch-dog’ role as journalists worried about endangering political stability and democratic legitimacy” (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:131-132). Finally, the polarised pluralist systems are typically complex political systems, with many contending parties, often themselves made up of contending factions.

This results in a public sphere that is structured differently from the liberal public sphere in which the central element of political communication is assumed to be the appeal of political actors allied with them. Much of this process of communication takes place outside of the open public sphere, or enters it only tangentially or in coded, cryptic form. The negotiating process is delicate and messy and generally succeeds better if carried out informally, outside of the public arena. The media in such a system – especially newspapers – have historically served and participated in this process of bargaining. They are an important means by which elites follow and comment on the progress of negotiations, establish an agenda, signal positions and commitments, pressure one another, and arrive at an agreement (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:131-132).

2.5 Public sphere: media and democracy

The notion of media and democracy is closely linked to the idea of “public sphere” developed by the German theorist, Habermas, which he argues is a domain of “our social life in which public opinion could be formed out of rational public debate” (2004:350). The economic independence provided by private property, the critical reflection fostered by letters and novels, the flowering

² The other models are “The Liberal Model”, which is characterized by a relative dominance of market mechanisms and of commercial media; and the “Democratic Corporatist Model”, which sees a historical coexistence of commercial media and media tied to organized social and political groups and by a relatively active but legally limited role of the state (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:11).

of discussion in coffee houses and salons and above all, the rise of an independent, market-based press, created a new public engaged in critical political discussion (Curran, 1991:82). However, critics argue that Habermas' version of the public sphere is a subtle way to universalise bourgeois class interests over other class interests of working-class people (Moyo, 2009:140). Those that lack economic and political clout remain in the peripheries as the bourgeois public block broader participation in the public sphere (Fraser 1990:61). The media, which Habermas describes as the conduits of the public sphere, are criticised for maintaining the top-down order, or one-to-many form of communication. They are said to super serve the social elites (Sparks, 2001:78) and are a preserve of the upper social groups excluding largely for economic reasons the poor. Despite Habermas' shortcomings, Curran offers nevertheless a "powerful and arresting" (1991:83) vision of the role of the media in a democratic society.

From his work can be extrapolated a model of a public sphere as a neutral zone where access to relevant information affecting the public good is widely available, discussion is free of dominant by the state and where all those participating in public debate do so on an equal basis (Curran, 1991:83).

Editorials represent the news organisations' active participation in public debate (Le and Lin, 2006: 335). McNair also argues that the study of democracy in contemporary society is a study of how the media report and interpret political events and issues (2000:1). So, the concept of public sphere is worth retaining should one add that it has to be open enough for all groups in the society to be fully represented and be in a position to see their aspirations being given attention, argue Golding and Murdock (2000:77).

2.6 Agenda setting and political journalism

Agenda setting, a concept introduced by Cohen (1963) and further explored by McCombs and Shaw (1972) refers to "the way the media guide public opinion" (Louw, 2010:205). Cohen (1963) cited in McCombs and Shaw (1972: 177) noted that the press "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about". However, agenda setting is said to be considerably more than this classical assertion that the news tells us what to think about and, consequently, what to think:

Both the selection of objects for attention and the selection of frames for thinking about these objects are powerful agenda-setting roles. Central to the news agenda and its daily set of objects – issues, personalities, events, etc. – are the perspectives that journalists and, subsequently, members of the public employ to think about each object (McCombs, 1992). These perspectives direct attention toward certain attributes and away from others. The generic name for these journalistic perspectives is newsworthiness. But newsworthy objects are framed in a wide variety of ways (McCombs and Shaw, 1993:62).

The key agenda-setting role of the media may be the promotion of social consensus on what the agenda is, whether it is the traditional agenda of issues or whatever (McCombs and Shaw, 1993:64). Political communications research shows that newspaper editorials play an important role in the definition of the public agenda priorities (McCombs, 1997). The press, by the choice of news and emphasis on certain topics, determines the issues the public thinks and talks about (Severin and Tankard, 1992:207, 227). Louw posits that political elites pay attention to the mass media to “monitor what coverage they (and their opponents) receive, and issues that journalists place on the public agenda” (2010:17). So, if political elites monitor issues that journalists place on the public agenda, then editorials should be a popular read by those in authority, given that Van Dijk claims that editorials “are usually not only, and even not primarily, directed at the common reader: rather they tend to directly or indirectly address influential news actors” (1992: 244).

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the theoretical framework and literature that informs this study on how two Zimbabwean daily newspapers’ editorials responded to a contested political domain. This study employs the notion of the “institutional voice” of a newspaper (Stonecipher, 1979; Van Dijk, 1996; Rupar, 2007) as well as the concept of agenda setting (Cohen, 1963; McCombs and Shaw, 1972, 1993) to investigate how journalists and editors understand the institutional space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power. Drawing on Aristotle (1355b in Richardson, 2007:156)’s notions of rhetoric, I investigate the tactics employed by the editorial writers to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of the political elite. With McNair (2001) arguing that the study of democracy in contemporary society is concerned with how the

media report and interpret political events and issues, I also investigate what editors think about the political situation in Zimbabwe and how they are using editorials to assess the situation. The next chapter looks at the research methodology employed in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

3.0 Introduction

In attempting to generate empirical data on how *The Herald* and *NewsDay* editorials spoke to power in the build-up, during and after Zimbabwe's 2013 elections, I adopted a qualitative approach. This chapter presents the research methodology employed in the study and it starts with a brief discussion on the aims and objectives of the study, followed by the presentation of the selected research design. The larger part of the chapter will examine the data gathering and analysis techniques employed in the study. It will focus on qualitative content analysis to identify themes covered in the editorials, and rhetorical analyses to establish tactics employed in the editorials to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of authority. The chapter will further look at in-depth interviews, which will help establish how editors understand the space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power. The recruitment of respondents and the research procedure will also be examined.

3.1 Aims and objectives of the study

The aim of the study is to investigate how two Zimbabwean daily newspapers' editorials responded to a contested political domain and how journalists and editors understand the institutional space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power. To achieve this, the researcher qualitatively analysed the content using a sample of editorials looking at the questions raised and how they spoke to those in positions of authority. Categories and themes that emerged (as shown in table 3) also helped the researcher to get a sense of how journalists seek to influence the actions and conduct of those wielding political power, regardless of how powerful they are. Given that this research considered editorials as the institutional, and therefore a somewhat protected space, within a newspaper which gives those in media leadership a vehicle for voice, it also sought to establish the rhetorical strategies employed in the editorials to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in power. In-depth interviews with editors were used to complement the content analysis and rhetorical argumentation analysis.

3.2 Research design and procedure

3.2.1 Qualitative research: philosophical underpinning

As noted in the first chapter, the methodology adopted in this study is qualitative. Qualitative research is a broad methodological approach to the study of social action (Babbie et al, 2001:270). It is the general term given to investigative methods that fit the description of naturalistic, ethnographic, interpretivist, and constructivist research; these methods are all used to refer to the same fundamental approach as qualitative, and are sometimes used in place of the term “qualitative” (Bryman 1984:72). Qualitative researchers seek to preserve the form and content of human behaviour and to analyse its qualities (Lindlof, 1995:21). Therefore, qualitative research is inductive in nature and aims at in-depth descriptions and understanding of actions and events; qualitative researchers attempt to study human action from the perspective of social actors themselves, also known as the emic perspective (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270). The philosophical underpinnings of qualitative research has resulted in questions of validity being asked by a “few hard-nosed positivists”, as Bryman (1984:80) calls them. However, Maxwell (1992) cited in Strelitz posits that the “applicability of the concept of validity... does not depend on the existence of some absolute truth or reality to which an account can be compared, but only on the fact that there exist ways of assessing accounts that do not depend entirely on features of the account itself” (2005:65).

At this juncture, it is essential to note that “qualitative studies that follow the basic principles of social science are not ‘unscientific’ just because they are more interpretive than positivistic in their approach”, according to Mabweazara (2006:54). A qualitative researcher, as Lindlof posits, often starts a study out of personal and scholarly fascination with a phenomenon, and continues to respect its integrity while carrying out field activities (1995:22). It is important to highlight that qualitative methods are useful in research that “seeks to uncover and understand phenomenon about which little is known, or gain fresh angles on phenomenon on which a bit is already known” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990 cited in Mwilu, 2010:54). This was relevant to my study of how editorials as newspapers’ institutional voices speak to power in Zimbabwe because I want to understand the kinds of spaces they opened up for editors to engage with power.

3.2.2 Sample selection and size

There are two broad categories of sampling, namely random (probability) and non-random (non-probability) sampling (Deacon et al, 1999:41). In this study I chose my sample purposively, which makes it fall under non-probability sampling that “comprises a series of non-random procedures for selecting the elements of the sample deemed to be appropriate” (Ary et al. 1996: 180). Purposive sampling, as Hartmann cited in Hansen et al argues, can be employed when testing a particular hypothesis or to make comparisons between different groups (1998:242). Purposive sampling also “allows the researcher to select cases that are rich in information related to the research focus and suitable for detailed analysis” (Mwilu, 2010:56).

When I decided to study editorials in *The Herald* and *NewsDay* newspapers, I initially wanted my period of study to be between 1 June and mid-September 2013, the former being a month prior to the election and the latter being a period that the new Cabinet was announced. So, I asked friends and relatives in Zimbabwe to buy copies of *The Herald* and *NewsDay* newspapers for me for this period. I collected the gathered newspapers when I travelled to Zimbabwe during the month of September 2013, however, as I continued reading editorials of the two newspapers beyond September 2013, I noticed a distinct shift in political events and the media coverage of some political elites, which prompted me to extend the sampling period to 31 December, 2013. Therefore, I had to cull texts from the online archives of the two newspapers from mid-September to 31 December, 2013. I used the search engine on the websites to search for election-related editorials and those that addressed or mentioned Zanu-PF and MDC. Therefore, this helped me analyse editorials that addressed politicians and their parties when the political climate in the country changed. Although, this six-month period appeared unmanageable for research of this scale, it was necessary to maintain the period as this allowed me to select adequate data, given that I specifically wanted editorials that spoke to power at a time of political upheaval and change.

Although I had hard copies of the newspapers, I realised that I did not have copies for all the days, so I also decided to do an online search of the editorials from 1 June, which helped me find

those that were missing. I copied the entire sample from the website, pasted and saved it in Microsoft Office Word format as this allowed me to make print outs. I also cut relevant samples from the newspapers and compared with what I gathered online to determine if there was anything missing from texts culled online. So, in the end, the textual corpus for the study was 136 editorials (91 editorials from *The Herald* and 45 editorials from *NewsDay*). As mentioned earlier, in this study, I was particularly interested in editorials that addressed political leaders and their parties. All editorials that appealed to the readers were discarded, as they did not fall within the purview of this study. The same applied to opinion editorials, as these are not institutional in nature rather but personal, meaning they represent the views of the writer (Van Dijk, 1996). So after going through the editorials I ended up with 20 editorials from *The Herald* and 22 editorials from *NewsDay*. I initially dropped two editorials from the *NewsDay* list to have parity. However, as I began data coding and analysis I decided to reduce the number to 15 editorials per newspaper as some editorials could not provide much content for the categories and themes developed. I ended up with a total of 30 editorials (see table 1). Since editorials, are generally short, a majority of them ranging between 200 and 500 words (Van Dijk, 1992:244), I saw it necessary to maintain the 30 editorials to allow depth, although “qualitative research designs tend to work with a relatively small number of cases” (Silverman, 2005:9).

Table 1: Final sample of editorials to be used for thematic analysis

Month	<i>The Herald</i>	<i>NewsDay</i>
June	1	2
July	2	4
August	5	3
September	4	2
October	1	1
November	2	3
December	0	0
Total	15	15

Regarding, rhetorical argumentation analysis, I had a textual corpus of 12 (6 apiece) editorials purposively sampled from the 30 editorials used for thematic content analysis. Given that I had a period of six months that I sampled, I decided to have 1 editorial from each month, so as to have

an idea of the rhetorical tactics employed in the editorials throughout the period sampled. The following shows headlines of editorials sampled from the two newspapers for rhetorical analysis.

Table 2: Sample of editorials to be used for rhetorical analysis

Month	<i>The Herald</i>	<i>NewsDay</i>
June	In your dreams, Mr Tsvangirai	Mugabe move self-defeating
July	Tsvangirai must stop wasting everyone's time	How sincere are Mugabe's calls?
August	The politically ugly will never sway Zim voters	Tsvangirai should have known better
September	Zanu-PF should prove why it must always get two thirds majority	Mugabe must not issue empty threats
October	UK behold: The world has spoken	Stop 'sanctions' chorus
November	This is not how Comrades behave	Swallow your pride Zanu PF
Total	6	6

I now turn to the methods employed in the study and data analysis techniques.

3.3 Data gathering and analysis techniques

The research adopted a three-stage design, which allowed inferences or leads drawn from one data source to be validated or followed up by another. Below I discuss the three stages of the research process. I, however, start looking at content analysis in general, before I delve into qualitative content analysis, followed by rhetorical argumentation analysis and in-depth interviews.

3.3.1 Content analysis

The definition of content analysis is largely attributed to Berelson, who described it as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content communication” (1952:18). Berelson’s definition is essential as it “highlights key facets of the method’s origins and concerns... in particular, the claim to ‘objectivity’ and the emphasis on ‘manifest’ (i.e. observable) evidence reveal the scientific ambitions that prompted its development” (Deacon et al, 1999:115). Like other quantitative techniques, “content analysis was designed to bring the rigour and authority of ‘natural’ scientific inquiry to the study of human and social phenomena” Deacon et al, 1999:115). It should, however, be stated that the

claim that the method provides completely value-free insights to the study of content is highly questionable. Much of the controversy over content analysis has centred on the notion that it must be 'objective' (Hansen *et al*, 1998:94). Hansen *et al* posit that critics are eager to debunk positivist science have focused on objectivity requirement, arguing fundamentally, and rightly, that objectivity in content analysis as in any other kind of scientific research is an impossible ideal serving only to cover cosmetically and mystify the values, interests, and means of knowledge production which underpin such research. Later definitions of content analysis omitted references to 'objectivity' and adopted the term 'systematic', according to Holsti (1969:4). Nevertheless, according to Sibanda, Berelson's original use of the term 'objectivity' in content analysis "should be understood to refer to the requirement that the categories and units of analysis used must be defined so precisely by the individual researcher that if different analysts apply them to the same body of content, they can secure the same results" (2006:57).

The purpose of content analysis is to quantify "salient and manifest features" of a large number of texts, and the statistics are used to make broader inferences about the processes and politics of representation (Deacon *et al*, 1999: 116). However, according to Hansen *et al* the problem with this is "how far quantification is taken in content analysis and to what degree the quantitative indicators that this technique offers are read or interpreted in relation to questions about the intensity of meaning in texts, the social impact of texts, or the relationship between media texts and the realities which they reflect" (1998:95). Content analysis can help provide some indication of relative prominences and absences of key characteristics in media texts, but the inferences that can be drawn from such indications depend entirely on the context and framework of interpretation by which the texts analysed are circumscribed (Hansen *et al*, 1998:95).

3.3.1.1 Qualitative content analysis

Qualitative content analysis attends to the repetition and frequency of features, their proportions within the text, and consequent assumptions about significance (McQuail, 2013:10). It is therefore important to bring in Berelson, who argues that "much 'qualitative' analysis is quasi quantitative" as there is no strict dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative analysis:

Just as quantitative analysis assigns relative frequencies to different qualities (or categories), so qualitative analysis usually contains quantitative statements in rough form. They may be less explicit but they are nonetheless frequency statements about the incidence of general categories (1952:116).

Qualitative content analysis procedures accept the idea of the capacity of texts to convey multiple meanings and therefore more than a single reading can be made by the researcher or reader (Gunter, 2000:82). In qualitative content analysis, there is an emphasis on allowing categories to emerge out of data and on recognising the significance for understanding the meaning in the said context which the media inhabited. Therefore, particular items in the data are analysed and then categories are derived from them (Bryman, 2012:291). Thus, quantitative analysis tends to break complex materials down into their components so that they can be reliably measured while qualitative analysis is more likely to take them in the large on the assumption that meanings preside in the totality of impression and not in the atomistic combination of measurable units (Berelson, 1952:126). This does not imply that for the qualitative analysts, simply impressionistic or ambiguous category formulation is the norm. The researcher is therefore expected to state indicators relevant in the content under investigation (Sibanda, 2006:59). Qualitative content analysis is relevant to this study, as it employs more themes than quantitative analysis given that the basis content unit of analysis is likely to be more complex in qualitative than in quantitative analysis. To a certain degree this is due to the requirement of reliability in quantitative analysis that normally places a restriction upon complexity (Berelson, 1952:126).

3.3.1.2 Thematic content analysis

Themes are the recurring typical theses that run through texts and they are general meanings or frames that are crucial in defining situations (Altheide, 1996:31). Thematic analysis seeks to unearth the themes salient in a text at different levels, and thematic networks aim to facilitate the restructuring and depiction of these themes. The process of deriving themes from textual data and illustrating these with some representational tool is well established in qualitative research (Stirling, 2001:387). Theme categories seek to classify texts according to the themes or issues

that are being raised (Holsti, 1969:116). In so doing, a thematic analysis of this kind relies upon the coder to recognise certain themes or ideas in the text, and then to allocate these to pre-determined categories (Deacon et al, 2010:124). Indeed, in this study there was a certain amount of pre-determination because of the researcher's familiarity with the subject matter; however, the themes were allowed to elicit new material or new answers that the researcher had not seen before. Accordingly, each theme detected is placed in a larger section as a theme category and in this way a variety of different themes with essentially the same basic meaning can be classified under a single theme category (Budd et al, 1967:47).

The advantage of thematic content analysis is its elasticity. It involves a fairly flexible unit of analysis based on decisions about "themes of meaning" (Wilbraham, 2005:1). This was not the same case with "pure" content analysis that relies on fixed units of analysis like word count (Sibanda, 2006:60). Critics, on the other hand, argue that thematic content analysis is grounded in positivism, it is not that scientific given that some of its findings are relies heavily on the investigator clairvoyance. Thus, its dismissed as a "soft option" that attracts those who either cannot do, or spurn through ignorance, statistical rigour (Wilbraham, 2005:5). Others like, Berelson posit that the theme is one of the most difficult units of analysis, from the standpoint of reliability, especially if it is all complicated. Communication on almost every topic is extremely varied, and the decision as to when a particular wording should be coded as an occurrence of a general theme is not easy to make (1952:139). Nonetheless, it should be stressed out that thematic content analysis "provide one with a tool for a subject-and/or a theme-based description of large chunks of media texts" (Sibanda, 2006:60). In this study, a thematic content analysis of the editorials, helped the researcher understand how the editorials speak to power and what arguments are put forward.

3.4 Units of analysis

Given that content analysis by definition calls for the quantification of content elements, certain standards subdivisions should be used and such subdivisions of the content may range from large to small, thus a content analysis "could determine the extent of newspaper support on controversial issue in terms of amount of space, or number of articles, or representative

sentences, or even selected key terms (Berelson, 1952:135). Content analysis involves the interaction of two processes: specification of the characteristics of the content that researchers are to measure and application of the rules they should use for identifying and recording the characteristics appearing in the texts to be analysed (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:327). This involves “recording units”, which are “the ‘smallest body of content in which the appearance of a reference is counted’ (a reference is a single occurrence of a content element)” (Berelson, 1952:135; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:327).

Recording units are classified and coded into categories. A category or broad theme is a variable, with meaning and emphasis, under which a variety of other recording units (themes in particular) with essentially the same basic meaning can be classified (Budd *et al*, 1967:47). Category construction is the most crucial aspect of content analysis which “stands or falls” by its categories and those that are done “on a hit or miss basis, without clearly formulated problems for investigation and with vaguely drawn or poorly articulated categories, are almost certain to be indifferent or low quality...”, according to Berelson (1952:147). Five major recording units, which are classified and coded into categories, are used in content analysis research: words or terms, themes, characters, paragraphs, and items (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:327). From these recording units, I will only consider themes, which is also a subject of discussion in the following section.

3.4.1 Categories and themes for analysis

As established in the preceding section, the category system used to classify media content is a sine qua non for any content analysis (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006:157). It seeks to answer the most basic question about the content being analysed, therefore, for this study to produce effective results it is imperative to clearly formulate categories that “relate to the research purpose, and must be exhaustive and mutually exclusive” (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:328). Any kind of themes or issues can be categorised or counted, however, the themes preferred for analysis should be appropriate and relate directly to the aims and objectives of the study, and largely answer the research question(s) (Hansen et al, 1998:106).

During the formulation of the study, the researcher should work closely with the data to develop the categories inductively (Holsti, 1969:95). An inductive approach starts with the researcher “immersing” themselves in the documents (in this case various editorials) to identify the dimensions or themes that seem meaningful to the producers of each message (Berg, 1998:245). A close reading of *The Herald* and *NewsDay* editorials on Zimbabwean politics in the period 1 June to 31 December, 2013 led to the establishment of nine categories, namely: MDC during GNU, Zanu-PF during GNU, Tsvangirai as Prime Minister under GNU, Mugabe as President under GNU, MDC as election losers and opposition party, ZANU PF as election winners and ruling party, Tsvangirai as loser in Presidential vote and MDC leader, Mugabe as winner in Presidential vote and Zimbabwe President and The way forward. In accordance with thematic content analysis procedures discussed in 4.3.1.2, and after thoroughly going through the data gathered, 18 separate themes were identified to ensure that all of them fall under one of the eight categories established above (see Table 3). A close reading of *The Herald* and *NewsDay* editorials was done to identify major “subject matters”, as they are labeled by Holsti (1969:104). I then coded the text in terms of categories and themes that constantly emerged from the reading. Categories classify texts according to the themes or issues that are being raised (Holsti, 1969:116). The themes chosen for analysis were relevant as they related directly to the aims and objectives of the study, and primarily answered the research questions (Hansen et al, 1998:106). Given that this study looked at a transitional period in the Zimbabwean political landscape, it was pertinent to put these categories and themes according to the transition periods. However, content was available for two periods: prior to the election and post elections.

The main themes for analysis drawn out from the content analysis as shown in Table 3 below were arrived at having considered their frequency throughout the data sampled. These themes are significant to the study as they help to answer how the editorials speak to those in power at a time of transition from what Hallin and Mancini call “consensus politics” to “majoritarian politics” (2004:51). As shown in the table below the themes look at how the two dailies addressed the political parties prior to, during and after the elections, whether in a negative or positive manner and how they tried to establish their position in society in a time of turmoil in

relation to the politics and the powerful. These included looking at how the parties and their leaders fared in the GNU and how the electoral victors were expected to discharge their duties.

Table 3 Categories and themes for analysis: Prior to and post-election

Categories	Themes
1.ZANU PF during GNU	1.Negative attributes
	2.Arguments supporting ZANU-PF
2.MDC during GNU	3.A violent party
	4.Performance in GNU and its Members of Parliament
3.Tsvangirai as Prime Minister under GNU	5. Why Tsvangirai should not be the next President
	6.A powerless Prime Minister and lacks political perspicacity
4.Mugabe as president under GNU	7. A wily politician
	8.A retrogressive and undiplomatic leader
5.ZANU PF as election winners and ruling party	9.What is expected of the winners
	10.The problem with ZANU PF
6. MDC as election losers and opposition party	11.What caused the MDC to lose the election
	12.An unpatriotic and West controlled party
7. Mugabe as winner in Presidential vote and Zimbabwe President	13. Admonishing the President
	14. A sacred cow – touch not thy President
8.Tsvangirai as loser in Presidential vote and MDC leader	15.Tsvangirai and his Western handlers
	16.Why Tsvangirai lost to Mugabe
9.The way forward	17.The kind of Zimbabwe and Zimbabwean government we want
	18.Miscellaneous

The next section deals with another form of textual analysis of the editorials employed in this study, which is rhetorical analysis. Rhetorical analysis seeks to establish the tactics employed in the editorials to question, affirm and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of authority. As an aid to content analysis, it allows the researcher to understand intentions like persuasion or justification of positions or the building of authority, and does so better than just content analysis which one reads off the surface of a text. In other words rhetorical analysis allows for a researcher to see how manipulation or use of language imbeds intention in the text.

3.5 Rhetorical analysis

Rhetoric “may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (Aristotle, 1355b cited in Richardson, 2007:156). In other words it is the art of persuasion through written, oral, or visual means (Fartousi and Dumanig, 2012:127). Rhetoric is a “dimension of the media as they too engage in selecting and organising ideas. Media language is thus rhetorical, and makes claims on the audience, seeking to persuade its readers of its position, ideas or values” (Prinsloo, 2009:243). Rhetoric, to her, involves classification and argument, and is key to both the exercise of power as well as to opposing power. Working on the premise that editorials use arguments to support positions or counter positions editors and media owners agree or disagree with, rhetorical argumentation became an essential aid to the thematic content analysis. Despite the fact that rhetoric argumentation is often used to determine how newspapers seek to persuade the readers to support or condemn a certain position, the method is still applicable to this study which focuses on how editors utilise the privileged space of the editorials to speak to power, either through persuasive or confrontational means. This study considers those in power as the audience (in this case readers) of the editorials drawing on Van Dijk’s insight that editorials “are usually not only, and even not primarily, directed at the common reader: rather they tend to directly or indirectly address influential news actors” (1992: 244).³

The three kinds of persuasive discourse attributed to Aristotle by Richardson (2007:157) that the researcher will use in examining the rhetorical strategies of the editorials are: deliberative, forensic, and epideictic. Forensic rhetoric concerns itself with the past, its means are accusation and defence, and its special topics are the justice and injustice of actions (allegedly) committed by the defendant, while epideictic rhetoric, in which a rhetor is concerned with proving someone or something worthy of admiration or disapproval, is concerned with the present, its means are praise and censure, and its specific topics are honour and dishonor (Richardson, 2007:157). Lastly, deliberative rhetoric, which a rhetor adopts when deliberating on the desirability or of a political decision, is concerned with the future and its means are inducement and dissuasion

³ Although Aristotle was primarily concerned with the spoken word, his concepts have since been applied to written communication (Hannon, 2012:88).

(Richardson, 2007:157). It is also concerned with determining whether a course of action or a policy is useful or harmful, or expedient or inexpedient (Jasinski, 2001 in Hannon, 2012:89). Knowledge of “these divisions enables the textual analyst to identify how the argument is working and so consider the form or forms of persuasion being used” (Prinsloo, 2009:244).

While the classification of rhetorical argumentation helps identify the form of argument, it is complemented by Aristotle’s three modes of persuasion, which include ethos – the personal character of the speaker and the audience’s assessment of his (or her) credibility; pathos – the power to stir the listeners’ emotions; and logos – the ability to prove a truth, or an apparent truth, by means of persuasive argument (Aristotle, 1356a in Hannon, 2012:23). These modes of persuasion will be employed in this study as they show “the strategy that the arguer takes in persuading the audience (those in authority in this case)” (Richardson, 2007:159). Richardson, citing Aristotle (1354a:13-14), further posits that modes of persuasion form the central basis of the rhetoric and everything else is merely accessory (2007:159). Journalists, according to Richardson (2007:65) are unable to provide reports of events that are entirely true and objective, hence they employ “rhetorical strategies aimed ‘at persuading others to adopt [their] same point of view’ (Thomson, 1996:6)”. He goes on to argue that rhetorical tropes take words and use them to denote-connote something apart from their ordinary meaning and are “non-obligatory additional structures in texts that may draw attention, and may therefore indirectly emphasise specific meanings” (Van Dijk, 1991:217). Having established why journalists employ rhetorical strategies, it is worthy to highlight, at this point, that this study will establish how tropes assisted the researcher in establishing strategies employed in the editorials to speak to power. Appendix 41 shows how one can identify rhetorical tropes in a text. While I bring to the fore rhetorical tropes, attention shall also be given to the modes of persuasion as these will help the researcher show the significance of the rhetorical analysis to the study, avoiding a simplistic way of looking at an editorial as just a hard-hitting opinion festooned in flowery language.

Opinion journalism (which is what editorials primarily consist of) represents “opinion statements [...] embedded in argumentation that makes them more or less defensible, reasonable, justifiable or legitimate as conclusions” (Van Dijk, 1996 in Richardson, 2007:65). The success of this

argumentation hinges on the use of rhetorical tropes, defined as “a deviation from the ordinary and principal signification of a word” (Corbett, 1990 in Richardson, 2007:65). Although there are hundreds of tropes, only five are useful to the analysis of newspaper discourse, according to Richardson and these are: hyperbole, metaphor, metonym, neologism and puns (2007:65-70). The study, will establish how these tropes were employed in the editorials when they spoke to power. Therefore, rhetorical argumentation, seeks to answer one of the study’s questions: what tactics do editorials employ to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of authority?

3.6 In-depth interviews

In-depth or unstructured interviews are one of the main methods of data collection in qualitative research (Legard *et al*, 2003:138). Interviewing, which was famously described by Webb and Webb as a “conversation with a purpose” (1932:130 cited in Legard et al, 2003:138), can be used to “obtain information and understanding of issues relevant to the general aims and specific questions of a research project” (Gillham 2000:2). In-depth interviews will assist the researcher to understand what journalists and editors think about the political situation in Zimbabwe and how they are using editorials, as an institutional voice, to assess a situation and speak into it. In other words what the interviewees will explicitly tell the researcher about their intentions and understandings of the political situation in the editorials will be compared to the actual texts, the themes which are prominent and the rhetorical strategies they actually use. Therefore, in-depth interviews will answer the research’s third question: how journalists and editors understand the space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power? See appendices 1 and 2 for the questions asked of the interviewees.

The first key feature of the in-depth interview is that it is intended to combine structure with flexibility. Even in the most unstructured interviews the researcher will have some sense of the themes they wish to explore, and interviews will generally be based on some form of topic guide setting out the key topics and issues to be covered during the interview. The second key feature is that the interview is interactive in nature. The material is generated by the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee. The researcher can ask questions in a way that allows the

interviewee to talk freely when answering the question (Legard et al, 2003:141). Thirdly the researcher uses a range of probes and other techniques to achieve depth of answer in terms of penetration, exploration and explanation. Fourthly the interview is generated in the sense that new knowledge or thoughts are likely at some stage to be created and lastly a physical encounter is essential context for an interview which is flexible, interactive and generative, and in which meaning and language is explored in depth. (Legard et al, 2003:141-1142).

3.7 Recruitment of respondents and research procedure

The study's respondents comprised four journalists and these were recruited from *The Herald* and *NewsDay* as they work for the newspapers whose editorials were under study. Participant recruitment involved those that previously worked as editors during the election period but left the media houses or were re-deployed after the elections. Those who took over were also recruited as they were best positioned to speak on events post elections. Although, in-depth research is said to be at its best when an interviewee meets face-to-face with the interviewer, however, this research utilised a two-step approach, thus interviewees were first given written-based questions and after receiving their responses the interviewer arranged for face-to-face in-depth interviews, and questions both derived from the content analysis findings as well as their written responses. One of the interviewees opted for a written-based interview only, barring chances for a follow-up face-to-face interview, which is highly commended when conducting an in-depth interview. This could have probably allowed the responded to deliberately omit certain responses they regarded sensitive despite an assurance that their identities would be protected. However to guard against that the researcher had follow-up questions to seek clarity on certain subjects that were inadequately addressed.

3.8 Usefulness of triangulation

The study made use of qualitative content analysis, combining two text-based approaches – thematic content analysis and rhetorical analysis – with in-depth interviews with *The Herald* and *NewsDay* editors. Content and rhetoric analyses are used to see what actually appears in the texts and what the correspondence is between the two. Interviews are employed to establish what editors are actually trying to do with the editorial space or institutional voice in a fraught political

situation. As established in section 3.6, the outcome of the interviews with the editors will be compared to the actual texts, the themes which are prominent and the rhetorical strategies they actually use.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methodological approaches in respect of the theoretical framework and their bearing on the study's aims and objectives. The data gathering and analysis techniques employed in the study, viz., qualitative (thematic) content analysis, rhetorical argumentation, which is an aid to thematic content analysis. The chapter also looked at in-depth interviews, the third method used to gather data from journalists to establish how they worked in a polarised political environment. In the next chapter I will present a description of the study's findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND EVALUATION OF THE EDITORIALS

4.0 Introduction

This study sets out to investigate how editorials of two Zimbabwean daily newspapers – *The Herald*, a pro-government newspaper, and *NewsDay*, a pro-opposition newspaper – responded to a contested political domain and how journalists and editors understand the institutional space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power. As stated in the introduction chapter, using an insight of Van Dijk, who claims that editorials “are usually not only, and even not primarily, directed at the common reader: rather they tend to directly or indirectly address influential news actors” (1992: 244), the study focused on how the editorials of these two dailies spoke to those in power at a time the country transitioned from what Hallin and Mancini call “consensus politics” to “majoritarian politics” (2004:51). The description in this is based on data obtained through the study’s three-tier data gathering techniques, namely: qualitative (thematic) analysis, rhetoric analysis and in-depth interviews. Such corroborative use of multiple sources of evidence in qualitative research is vital in terms of accuracy and validity of findings (Yin 2003 cited in Mwilu, 2010:70). This chapter presents a description of the editorials as qualitatively analysed through a thematic content analysis. Due to the volume of data obtained from the thematic analysis, the next chapter will present results of the rhetorical analysis of the editorials as well as results of in-depth interviews carried out with the journalists.

4.1 Description of sample for analysis

The sample that is being presented in this chapter is the 30 editorials (as shown in table 1) that were published in two Zimbabwean daily newspapers, *The Herald* and *NewsDay* on the country’s politics between 1 June and 31 December, 2013. The study also included rhetorical analysis of the editorial as well as the analysis of in-depth interviews with four editors.

4.2 Thematic content analysis

This section presents the (qualitative) thematic content analysis of how *The Herald* and *NewsDay* editorials responded to Zimbabwe's contested political domain between 1 June and 31 December 2013. As established in the preceding chapters, thematic content analysis was one of the techniques employed in this study to analyse the sampled editorials. Themes helped me understand how the editorials spoke to power, in other words, how they admonished or urged politicians during the time of study. I separately considered each category and the themes housed therein. While presenting the emerging themes, I took into consideration their implications in relation to the theoretical framework that informed this study.

As noted in section 3.3.1.2 theme categories seek to classify texts according to the theme or issues that are being raised (Holsti, 1969:116). Although I had pre-determined categories, more categories emerged as I closely looked at the data. Some themes were also merged with others during data coding as it became clear that they overlapped. For example the "The kind of leaders we want" theme under category nine was collapsed into the "What is expected of the winners" theme as the data coded tend to address ZANU-PF in that regard as a party that had just won a fresh mandate to solely lead the country. In this section I will give summarised descriptions of the themes under each category, and will in some instances put direct quotes from the editorials as a way of buttressing my analysis. That, said, the themes were divided into two sections, a period prior to the elections (themes 1 – 8) and the post-election period (themes 9-18). Where applicable, I will make use of the theories cited in my literature review chapters to make sense of what will contained in the editorials. Table 3 (in chapter 3) shows the full list of themes that emerged from the sampled editorials. I had a total of nine categories and 18 themes to code for.

4.2.1 Category one: ZANU PF during GNU

4.2.1.1 Theme one: negative attributes

Theme one addresses the negative attributes to ZANU-PF in the newspaper editorials prior to the election. *The Herald* newspaper editorials sampled did not speak to Zanu-PF, which at the time shared power with the MDC formations in the GNU. This was not an eureka moment for the researcher as this confirmed what Chari noted when he argued that the state-owned media are impenitent in their "support for the ruling ZANU-PF government" (2009:10). On the other hand

NewsDay, published four editorials prior to the election that were critical of ZANU-PF. On 19 June, 2013 in an editorial headlined, “How sincere are Mugabe’s calls” the daily chided Zanu-PF supporters who “brutally attacked” seven MDC members allegedly for putting up campaign posters and distributing pamphlets at a housing settlement established by ZANU-PF aspiring parliamentary candidate, Christopher Chigumba in Chitungwiza, a satellite town of Harare. The editorial portrayed Zanu-PF members as obstinate and at the same questioned if Mugabe was sincere in his peace message that he had preached in the dormitory town prior to the attacks.

On 24 June 2013, *NewsDay* also published an editorial that portrayed ZANU-PF as a party that relies on State bureaucracy to manipulate the electoral process as well as the “application of the tried and tested intimidation matrix by securocrats”. ZANU-PF therefore is presented as a party that had long lost support from the electorates, hence the manipulation of the electoral system. The daily followed on this theme, as it published another editorial nine days later, which openly accused Zanu-PF of attempting to rig the election. Below is an extract from the editorial:

Stories have been told before of police being as war asked to show their superiors their postal ballots and this was a bone of contention in the 2008 election. This compounded with the statements that have been made by Securocrats that they will not salute a leader who does not have liberation war credentials – in apparent reference to Tsvangirai – gives credence to the Zanu PF shenanigans with the postal ballot system, especially in regard to the security forces...all parties must vigilantly be on the alert for any shenanigans relating to elections by Zanu PF or any other force for that matter.⁴

As established in the preceding chapters, the Zimbabwean political system falls within what Sartori (1976:135 in Hallin and Mancini, 2004:59) calls “polarised pluralism”. Here newspapers are typically identified with ideological tendencies, and traditions of advocacy and commentary-oriented journalism are often strong. The notion of politically neutral journalism is less plausible where a wide range of competing world views contend (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:61). The above extraction, somewhat resonates with this thinking, as the editorial did not hide its disdain

⁴ *NewsDay* Editorial: “Stop the rigging”, 3 July 2013

towards ZANU-PF and the leaders of the State security who allegedly shored up the party, whose political fortunes had been on a downward trajectory. In doing so, it also became clear that it favoured Tsvangirai's party.

However, one can argue that the editorial's criticism of violence and alleged rigging by ZANU-PF does not suggest that the daily supported the MDC, but it was simply fulfilling its watchdog role of the press, which is also known as the "fourth estate". It was originally proposed by *The Times* editor John Delane in 1852 (Louw, 2010:48). It sees the press playing a surveillance role on those in power. The watchdog includes substantial autonomy for the media, their representation of the interests of the populace rather than the dominant groups and their independent power to directly and independently challenge those dominant groups (Donohue, 1995:118). But this argument is critiqued as the media are not seen as watchdogs, but as part of a power structure oligarchy (Donohue, 1995:121). The media are said to be integrated into the power structure but on a more or less equal basis with other powers. The media are also constantly interacting with those in power, which allows room for direct opposition of other powers in the political and economic realms. In support of this perspective Wolfsfeld (1991) cited by Donohue (1995:122) ask why elites complained about media if political and economic powers are so dominant over media. The following section looks at arguments put forward in support of ZANU-PF.

4.1.1.2 Theme two: arguments supporting ZANU PF

This theme did not have much content to code for prior to the election and as expected *NewsDay* did not carry any editorial during this period that defended or sought to exalt Zanu-PF. *The Herald*, on the other hand published two editorials that defended ZANU-PF's "progressive indigenisation and economic empowerment programmes" and the other one which praised the government (reads ZANU-PF) for sourcing funds locally to bankroll the 31 July election while lampooning the finance minister Tendai Biti (of Tsvangirai's MDC) for seeking funding from the United Nations, which had indicated its willingness to provide the funding, but with some conditions attached. Part of the editorial read:

Inviting foreigners to pour money in our elections is simply asking them to interfere with our elections. It is for this reason we welcome the announcement by Justice and Legal Affairs Minister Patrick Chinamasa that Government had always been committed to having the elections funded through domestic means, which by all imagination, makes a lot of sense, given that what is at stake in this election is our sovereignty. It is very unfortunate the MDC-T fails to realise it has two legs to stand on without leaning on anyone. This is what Zanu-PF long realised and has long advocated. There are so many things we can do on our own and through the indigenisation policy; we have been able to unlock value in most companies through the 51 percent local ownership and so for one to doubt our capacity to fund our elections without foreign support is sheer madness. We commend Government for standing firm against pressure from other partners to seek election funding from foreigners. It has shown that elections can still go on without donor funding and that when a nation puts its mind to what it intends to achieve, nothing can stop it.⁵

The above extract is an example of how politically polarised Zimbabwe was prior to the election. The editorial openly praised ZANU-PF, which it however, referred to as “government” while attacking the MDC for seeking foreign funding. As a State-owned paper, which historically conveyed “a one-eyed picture” of the local political landscape, according to Darnolf (2007:175), the editorial appeared to treat the MDC as not being part of government. It can be argued, citing the above extraction, that *The Herald* continued with ‘business as usual’ stance as it clearly showed its disdain towards the MDC as the stakes grew higher and higher towards the elections. This role also relates to the guard dog perspective, which sees the media as “conditioned to be suspicious of all potential intruders, and they occasionally sound the alarm for reasons that individuals in the master household, that is the authority structure, can neither understand nor prevent” (Donohue et al, 1995:116).

The guard dog viewpoint also assumes that the media reflect interests of the dominant groups and have neither the inclination nor the power to challenge those dominant groups, unless they are already under challenge by other forces (Donohue, 1995:119). What is of interest regarding the manner in which the State-owned media operates in Zimbabwe is that whoever is the minister of information at the time tends to micro-manage operations at Zimpapers as well as the

⁵ *The Herald* Editorial: “Domestic funding of polls way to go”, 27 July 2013

state-broadcaster Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). The minister of information in the GNU was Webster Shamhu, who also doubles as ZANU-PF's political commissar. Therefore, as the minister he was inclined to propagate his party's views through *The Herald* newspaper. This resonates with Hallin and Mancini's assertion that professionalisation of journalism in polarised pluralistic environment is "not as strongly differentiated from political activism and the autonomy of journalism is often limited" (2004:73).

The possible explanation why there were few editorials prior to the election that supported ZANU-PF was that this 'praising' was reserved for the opinion editorial sections of the paper. These were written either by staff reporters and non-staff members. I now turn to category two, which looks at how the editorials addressed the MDC during the GNU.

4.2.2 Category two: MDC during GNU

4.2.2.1 Theme three: a violent party

The newspapers both carried editorials related to violence in the MDC, although *The Herald* had two editorials that accused the party of being violent prior to the election. *NewsDay* only had one out of the six editorials that mentioned violence in the MDC during this period. *The Herald* criticised the MDC "thugs" in an editorial headlined "In your dreams, Mr Tsvangirai" (9 June 2013) who allegedly assaulted two journalists in Harare and Bulawayo within a period of 24 hours. The editorial noted that one Zimpapers reporter fell to MDC's "thuggery" when Tsvangirai's personal aides manhandled him before confiscating his notebook and delete recordings on his mobile phone. The editorial went on to "unreservedly condemn the barbarism shown" by MDC. On 22 July, 2013, *The Herald* also published another editorial with a headline, "Tsvangirai must substantiate election rigging claims". In this editorial, the MDC was further portrayed as a party that thrives on violence:

While other candidates be they presidential, national assembly or local authority aspirants are busy campaigning by selling their policies to the electorate, MDC-T leader Mr Morgan Tsvangirai is

doing the opposite, selling violence and despondency in a bid to atone for inevitable defeat in the harmonised elections.⁶

The above extraction shows that the media can be viewed as part of a “hegemonic power game”, meaning the media is embroiled in power struggles between various factions of the governing elite (Low, 2010:190). Instead of considering the MDC’s claims of potential election rigging, *The Herald* accused the MDC of hallucinating and also shifted the focus on election rigging to the party’s alleged violence. Therefore, *The Herald*’s institutional voice loudly lauds Zanu-PF while at the same time lampooning the clueless MDC. Interestingly, *NewsDay* also warned Tsvangirai in an editorial published on 19 June to caution his youth leaders against making “reckless statements which may trigger violence”. Solomon Madzore and Promise Mkwanzani told a rally in a town called Marondera, east of Zimbabwe, which the youths were prepared to shed their blood for the former trade unionist. *NewsDay*, did not only urge Tsvangirai to discipline his youth leaders for thinking of violence, but it in the same editorial chided Zanu-PF for unleashing violence in Chitungwiza (see 4.2.1.1).

4.2.2.2 Theme four: performance in GNU and its Members of Parliament

McNair argues that the study of democracy in contemporary society is a study of how the media report and interpret political events and issues (2000:1). With that in mind, *NewsDay* had two editorials while *The Herald* had one which sought to examine (although in passing) the performance of the MDC in GNU as well as its members of parliament. The private media in Zimbabwe had long been seen “to have signed a pact with the opposition to ‘hear no evil’, ‘speak no evil’ and ‘see no evil’ regarding its affairs (Chari, 2009:10). However, this theme showed that while this assertion is true to some extent, especially with the news stories, it was not always the case with editorials, as they also use what little space they have to challenge and speak back to power. For example, *NewsDay*, criticised the MDC in an editorial (Mugabe move self-defeating, 14 June, 2013) of being less politically astute as they always “played into Mugabe’s trickery – chasing the ball every time”. The paper’s most effective hard jab on the MDC was in an editorial

⁶ *The Herald* Editorial: Tsvangirai must substantiate election rigging claims, 22 July, 2013

published on 24 June, 2013. It accused Tsvangirai's ministers in GNU of failing to bring a "sea change" in public administration. Here is part of the editorial:

They have not been different from denizens of the retrogressive dark past. MDC-T ministers in charge of Water and Energy, for example, have failed to use their combined influence to electrify pump stations at Mtshabezi Dam critical to Bulawayo's water provision. The MDC-T's commitment to reform has been questionable at times as the party has nodded through disastrous policies effected by the inclusive government...dozens of MDC-T MPs who won in the former Zanu PF rural strongholds in 2008, have done very little to grow their support base, electing to sit back, buoyed by the belief that the grind of hardships is creating an anti Zanu PF sentiment in the constituencies... There is no real evidence on the ground at the moment that the MDC-T has grown its support base in these constituencies to guarantee the party a landslide victory. The so-called "overwhelmingly anti-Zanu PF" sentiment may not be enough to see that the MDC-T has grown its support base in these constituencies because the party still has to demonstrate organizational aptitude to counter Zanu PF's chicanery in the conduct of elections.⁷

Although, this is a departure from the arguments often raised about the private press's relationship with the MDC, it can be argued that the involvement of Tsvangirai's party in GNU, somewhat took away the privilege it used to enjoy when it was an opposition party. On the other hand it can be argued that what the editorial did was to exhort the MDC not to sit on their laurels while hoping to capitalise on the anti-ZANU-PF sentiment. This editorial can therefore fall under what Stonecipher refers to as "problem-solving editorials", which analyse and present solutions to the identified problems or tackle tough questions evolving from current events (1979:52). The editorial did not also hide the newspaper's dislike of Zanu-PF whose leaders were referred to as the "denizens of the retrogressive dark past". *The Herald* also criticised the MDC in an editorial published on 27 July, 2013 (Domestic funding of polls way to go) for being "so obsessed with foreign donors to the extent of failing to see the great potential this country possesses in standing on its own".

4.2.3 Category three: Tsvangirai as Prime Minister under GNU

⁷ NewsDay Editorial: Anti-Zanu PF mood not enough to win polls, 24 June, 2013

4.2.3.1 Theme five: why Tsvangirai should not be the next President

Lapdog journalism see the media as being completely submissive to authority and have no independent power, oblivious to all interests except those of powerful groups, and framing all issues according to the perspectives of the highest powers in the system. In the lapdog view, the only media role in conflict would be the defense of the powerful against outside intruders (Donohue, 1995:120). As established already in section 4.1.1.2, *The Herald* was under the control of the minister of information Webster Shamhu who is also ZANU-PF's political commissar during the GNU. It therefore played a lapdog roll to ZANU-PF as clearly shown in the way the newspaper's editorials attacked Tsvangirai ahead of the election.

The Herald, as a state-owned newspaper attacked Tsvangirai, then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, in an editorial (In your dreams, Mr Tsvangirai, 9 June, 2013) for wanting a "praise-singing Press". He was told that if he wanted such press he was free to apply for a licence at the Zimbabwe Media Commission and launch his newspaper. The editorial also reminded the Prime Minister, whom it referred to as "Mr Tsvangirai" that journalists have a duty and that duty was not to "deodorize his ugly politics and casual sex escapades, their responsibility is to be watchdogs for their readers". While, this editorial appeared to play what it called the watchdog role of the media, the irony was that it sought to practice this role – at the time – only to Tsvangirai. We established already under theme two that editorials that portrayed ZANU-PF in the negative prior to the election were conspicuous by their absence in *The Herald* newspaper. This, therefore gives credence to the argument that it was used as a lapdog to ensure that "intruders" like Tsvangirai, who were now part of the GNU should never go beyond what appeared to be a ceremonial position of a Prime Minister. The following extract substantiates this argument:

We hope the nation has seen for itself the dangerous traits being exhibited by Mr Tsvangirai, whose allies say should not be allowed near instruments of state power as he has a dangerous predilection for dictatorship.⁸

⁸ The Herald Editorial: In your dreams, Mr Tsvangirai, 9 June, 2013

Tsvangirai was also portrayed as a puppet of the West in an editorial published on 22 July, 2013 (Tsvangirai must substantiate election rigging claims). The editorial noted that Tsvangirai's claims of election rigging were similar to what "his handlers" from the U.S and European Union, who had previously issued statements "pre-judicial to the elections even though they have no observers on the ground". This was fully discussed as a theme that emerged after the election in section 4.2.7.1.

4.2.3.2 Theme six: a powerless Prime Minister and lacks political perspicacity

The Herald and *NewsDay* editorials both addressed Tsvangirai as a politician who was not shrewd compared to Mugabe. On 24 June, *NewsDay* said in an editorial (Anti-ZANU-PF mood not enough to win polls) that Tsvangirai should be "circumspect about his party's chances in the elections, as he is not only coming up against a wily President Robert Mugabe". This suggests that he was not cautious in his dealings with President Mugabe, therefore exposing him as one who is gullible and lacks political astuteness. As a confirmation to the above assessment, the same editorial went on to exhort Tsvangirai to make "judicious evaluation of his parties (sic) performance as a facet of the inclusive government since formation four years ago". On July 26, 2013 Tsvangirai was also chastised in an editorial (Campaigns lacking substance) by *NewsDay* for "criss-[crossing]" the country telling the electorates "how Mugabe must go, how Mugabe has impoverished the country how he must go and rest", but without providing any substance. He was then told that, "we have heard it all before".

The Herald newspaper editorials, two of them, sought to ridicule Tsvangirai as no significant player in the GNU. As noted above, he was addressed as "Mr Tsvangirai" not Prime Minister, unlike Mugabe, whose name was pre-fixed with his title. In an editorial (In your dreams, Mr Tsvangirai) published on 9 June, 2013 *The Herald* attacked Tsvangirai for advocating for a lap dog not watch dog press. He was told that he had "a lot to hide" by calling journalists to stop writing stories about him deemed negative. The editorial went on to tell Tsvangirai that he would only get a lap dog press in his dreams. *The Herald* also chided Tsvangirai in an editorial (Tsvangirai must substantiate election rigging claims) for claiming that the elections would be rigged by Zanu-PF. He was commanded to "stop at the level of slogans if he has nothing to tell

supporters at his rallies”. However, in this editorial *The Herald* referred to Tsvangirai as Prime Minister, but that title was not prefixed to his name. Even his official title was written in lower caps. President Mugabe’s title was never written in lower case, the “p” was always in upper case, something that shows how they revered him.

As prime minister in the inclusive Government, Mr Tsvangirai has access to ZEC. He can register his concerns and not go all over the country making wild claims against people who are doing their best to deliver the “uncontested poll” outcome that he has always claimed he wants.⁹

4.2.4 Category four: Mugabe as President under GNU

4.2.4.1 Theme seven: a wily politician

The three sampled editorials from *The Herald* during this period did not criticise Mugabe and as established earlier, were mainly dedicated on lampooning Tsvangirai and his MDC party. What I discussed in section 4.1.1.2 largely applies here as well; hence I will avoid re-inventing the wheel. On the other hand *NewsDay*, despite its criticism of Tsvangirai and his MDC party, often scrutinised Mugabe’s actions. In an editorial (Mugabe move self-defeating) published on 14 June, *NewsDay* criticised Mugabe for sidestepping his fellow principal in GNU whom he only consulted by phone just before proclaiming his election date. The editorial questioned the role that Mugabe played in the Constitutional Court ruling, which ordered that elections be conducted before 31 July. The editorial further attacked Mugabe as a leader who does not respect the Constitution that he claims to uphold:¹⁰

Isn’t curious that Mugabe claims to respect the Concourt ruling while desecrating the very same Constitution that he pledged to defend? Sadly, the two MDCs played into Mugabe’s trickery – chasing the ball every time. While Tsvangirai’s ganging up with other political parties shocked Mugabe, by proclaiming the election he might have pulled a rug from under their feet. The fact that Registrar-General Tobaiwa Mudede also disregarded the new charter by directing the voter

⁹ The Herald Editorial: Tsvangirai must substantiate election rigging claims, 22 July, 2013

¹⁰ Clientelism is a pattern of social organization in which access to resources is controlled by patrons and delivered to clients in exchange for deference and various kinds of support (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:135).

registration exercise to be conducted for only three days per ward, played into Mugabe's gamesmanship. Clearly, it was not little Mudede, but the "big man" Mugabe who directed.¹¹

In another editorial published on 24 June Mugabe is described as a wily president who still has at his disposal state machinery to manipulate the electoral process and impair the results. Interesting, this and what has been discussed above resonate with the polarised pluralist model, which is also characterised by clientelism whose legacy is associated both with a relatively party-politicised judicial system and with a tradition of evasion of the law (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:137).

4.2.4.2 Theme eight: a retrogressive and undiplomatic leader

This theme just like the preceding one was only prevalent in *NewsDay* further confirming that that political polarisation results in media polarisation along the exact lines that the politics dictates. Three of the six editorials sampled during the period prior to the election addressed Mugabe as a retrogressive and undiplomatic leader. In an editorial published on 14 June, 2013, he was criticised for putting the country in an invidious position by announcing an election date before the electoral law was changed to comply with the new Constitution:

We wish to remind Mugabe that the forthcoming election is an election for the purposes of the new Constitution because now that the new Constitution has been gazette, it is too late to have an election under the Lancaster House Constitution...One wonders why Mugabe wants Zimbabwe to regress to the pre-2008 turmoil. If Mugabe could only allow Zimbabwe to move forward, he would obviously salvage his otherwise tattered legacy. Otherwise his action this far, is self-defeating!¹²

In another editorial published on 8 July, 2013, *NewsDay* criticised Mugabe for having the "temerity to denigrate the regional bloc (Southern African Development Community) to the extent of labeling (Lindiwe) Zulu 'an idiotic and stupid woman'." It went on to say that despite Zulu's efforts as a political facilitator on behalf of President Jacob Zuma of South Africa, "this was the 'thank you' she gets from the Zimbabwean leader".

¹¹ NewsDay Editorial: Mugabe move self-defeating, 14 June, 2013

¹² NewsDay Editorial: Mugabe move self-defeating, 14 June, 2013

No Mr President, be more diplomatic and be grateful...A hungry nation literally fed on what was coming from South Africa, Botswana and the rest of the region which realized the need to support a brother in dire straits. Now all of a sudden as an octogenarian leader grandstands for political mileage, he forgets all that support. Where would Zimbabwe be without Sadc?¹³

Mugabe was chided for living in the past during his rallies in the run up to the 31 July, 2013 election. *NewsDay*, in an editorial published five days before the election argued that Mugabe had to explain to the electorate what they should expect if he wins the presidential race:

Mugabe has had a number of star rallies in various towns including Chitungwiza, Mutare and Marondera. The rallies have been more about Mugabe's lectures on history and attacks on the West, MDC-T and Tsvangirai and his party members who have rebelled to become independents. Mugabe has failed dismally to talk in detail about the policies he is offering the electorate.¹⁴

The Herald newspaper did not publish an editorial critical of Mugabe.

4.2.5 Category five: ZANU-PF as election winners and ruling party

4.2.5.1 Theme nine: what is expected of the winners?

Category five to nine look at themes that emerged in the editorials sampled after the 31 July 2013 elections. For *The Herald* newspaper four out of eleven editorials sampled for this period carried this theme. On 9 August 2013 the state-owned daily noted in an editorial (Tsvangirai, must stop wasting everyone's time) that ZANU-PF as the victorious party "must never forget that its contract is with the people, which is why it prevailed in the harmonised elections". With new information minister (Professor Jonathan Moyo) appointed on 10 September to take over from Webster Shamhu, who also doubled as ZANU-PF's political commissar, *The Herald's* editorials appeared to directly admonish ZANU PF on how to conduct itself as the winner. Here is an example:

¹³ NewsDay Editorial: Be grateful Mr President, 8 July, 2013

¹⁴ NewsDay Editorial: Campaigns lacking substance, 26 July, 2013

What is important as the First Session of the Eighth Parliament sits today is for Zanu-PF not to take its majority for granted. We expect the ruling party to tackle the developmental agenda that has always characterised debates in the House since independence in 1980... The honeymoon is over for the new legislators who must immediately “put their shoulders to the wheel” and ensure that they deliver on promises made by Team Zanu-PF during the election campaign... We expect that there will be no time for trivialities which were slowly becoming the norm in the House following the penchant by MDC legislators to dwell on self-aggrandisement agendas instead of serving the people. Each MP must introspect before making contributions so that they become helpful... We do not expect the legislators to move away from the agenda set out by President Mugabe when he officially opened the first session last week...The legislators must adopt a Results-Based Management approach to improve both the country’s status and that of their constituencies. We expect the new legislators to deal decisively with some of the problems that have been affecting the country, starting with an accountability of the resources that will spur development. There is no room for failure in such circumstances, as the ruling party directs all resources to implementing its election manifesto.¹⁵

Four days later, *The Herald* published another editorial, which urged the ZANU-PF government officials to be united and be geared to produce results for the expectant masses who voted for the party to govern alone.

This time Zanu-PF is in charge after trouncing the MDC-T in the harmonised elections, so we expect no friction with regards to conducting Government business. Many people have often asked if anything can be done to improve Government’s performance...Any action to be taken by the Zanu-PF Government should be results-oriented, with the view of successfully addressing the real needs of the people. We expect the new Government to have a paradigm shift and start measuring what it does instead of merely being interested in what it spends funds doing. We expect the new Government to put the Zanu-PF manifesto’s provisions into action, so that they do not remain a mere pipe dream. The party, of course, has viable strategic plans, but a strategy is not enough if the officials are not inclined towards successfully executing it. We need a successful, results-driven strategic plan which includes developing a common vision, determining how to implement it and

¹⁵ The Herald Editorial: ZANU-PF should prove why it must always get two thirds majority, 24 September, 2013

the measuring of progress. While we welcome Acting President Mujuru's call for a result-oriented Government, we also expect that action will be taken against failures.¹⁶

The newspaper continued with theme in an editorial (The world has spoken) published on 11 October, 2013 which urged ZANU-PF to ensure that "Zimbabwe continues to make progress in the implementation of pro-people policies".

NewsDay also had three editorials out of nine sampled for this period that had this theme of what was expected from ZANU-PF as the winner. It noted on 10 August, 2013 in editorial (Five more years under Mugabe) that Zanu-PF "should be reminded that it has serious issues with the people of Zimbabwe that it must swiftly deal with". ZANU-PF was also urged to tarry a little, for once, and ask the "gigantic question in whatever they do: Is what we are doing good for the nation?" ZANU-PF officials were told not to continue with their "intransigent behaviour" as this would have on themselves to blame if people view them as the country's number one enemy. Seven days later, *NewsDay* published another editorial (Political rhetoric doesn't bring food on the table), which noted that "people expect the new government to deliver, to make their lives worthwhile". It further noted that it was not in people's interest to be fed with political rhetoric at the expense of the basics that make them survive such as food, healthcare and jobs.

NewsDay also continued in an editorial published on 18 November, 2013 to tell ZANU-PF that it was time for serious business as the economy remained in a bind, with no clear cut indication from the ruling party on how their manifesto was going to be rolled out in a way that would inject new life into Zimbabwe's "comatose industries". Just like *The Herald*, which urged ZANU-PF to deliver now that the MDC was out of the uneasy GNU, *NewsDay* implored the ruling party to improve the livelihoods of the ordinary people as they had unmitigated power to do so.

Zanu PF promised people that without MDC-T in government they would improve the economy, re-open industry and improve workers welfare. Yet over 700 firms have collapsed under the watch

¹⁶ The Herald Editorial: Results-oriented Govt progressive, 28 September, 2013

of Zanu PF... For a lasting economic resolution, we urge Zanu PF to swallow its pride and re-engage the international community, the MDC-T and other political forces in the country for a workable business model that can take the country forward. This is the only way they can court foreign investors whose presence will be key for a serious economic rejuvenation as years of isolation have clearly demonstrated that we cannot play solitaire in this regard and expect to win. We await development.¹⁷

Here both newspapers had editorials that sought to admonish the election winners on what was expected by the electorates. While *The Herald* was careful not to criticise ZANU-PF, but encouraged officials to deliver, *NewsDay* was somewhat combative in its approach. Nevertheless, one can see that both newspapers operated within the Fourth Estate journalism genre.

4.2.5.2 Theme ten: the problem with ZANU-PF

This theme was also prevalent in both newspapers' editorials after the election compared to theme one (negative attributes to ZANU-PF) prior to the election, which was only found in *NewsDay*. Will discuss what probably led to this shift at the bottom of this section. *The Herald* on 14 November, 2013 published an editorial that urged Zanu-PF to curb what it called "chef syndrome". The editorial lampooned Zanu-PF for conducting provincial elections in Manicaland, Midlands and Mashonaland Central that were marred by electoral "irregularities". It further noted that "all manner of ills" were cited leaving the losing candidates aggrieved.

This retrogressive chef syndrome was manifest in two ways: Firstly, in the belief that supporters should repose their faith in certain individuals first, and then in the party second or as an afterthought. And, secondly, that supporters should pledge their loyalty to the party through those in leadership. This chef syndrome is inimical to the growth and popularity of the revolutionary party as it fosters a "Them and Us" scenario where instead of serving the people, the chefs expect to be served by the people. A sure recipe for disaster... It is said a bad experience is wasted if nothing useful is learnt from it, and we hope that going into the remaining seven provinces, the irregularities that afflicted Manicaland, the Midlands and Mashonaland Central will be a thing of

¹⁷ NewsDay Editorial: Swallow your pride Zanu PF, 18 November, 2013

the past. Zanu-PF must be wary of scoring needless own goals that only serve to draw the MDC-T back into the game.¹⁸

Five days later, *The Herald* also ran another editorial, which was highly critical of ZANU-PF. It was even published on the front page of the newspaper, a move that shows how serious the editors were in driving their position home. It rebuked some ZANU-PF politicians who did not want the newspaper to report the disturbances that were being experienced in the party. Here is how the editorial spoke to ZANU-PF:

We welcome the decision taken by the Zanu-PF leadership to call off provincial elections that were set for this Saturday and the convening of an urgent, extra-ordinary Politburo meeting to stop the circus that saw some senior party officials approach issues of intra-party democracy with open mouths and shut minds, itself the bane of the MDC-T...Zanu-PF needs to look at itself in the mirror, warts and all. The party must act on the warts that threatened to make it politically ugly. The self-deprecating habit of pretending all is well when the house is on fire must be dropped like a plague, for fire once teased snarls all the way to ash...We believe it is the ghost of 2008 that is haunting Zanu-PF. We are convinced the words left unsaid, work left undone then is haunting the party now. That aside, we take this opportunity to remind all and sundry within Zanu-PF that we hold no brief for anyone; aspiring or perspiring; for the party's leadership. To us journalism is as British writer George Orwell put it, writing what someone does not want written with everything else qualifying for public relations...There are some in Zanu-PF who didn't want the chaos that ravaged provincial elections in the Midlands, Manicaland and Mashonaland Central exposed. They wanted the allegations of rigging and irregularities, the shambolic party registers and disenfranchisement of hundreds of party supporters to be hidden behind mouth washed platitudes. But we are not in the business of public relations. Our duty is to educate, inform and entertain our readers. To us the national interest is supreme and our publics are our readers and advertisers. We back Zanu-PF as long as it upholds the ideals that inspired its formation...Gone are the days, if ever they were there, of being used by dwarfish politicians in giant robes. Our mandate is to tell the truth and not to assuage the egos of insecure politicians. While the privately owned tabloids can afford to entertain the conspiracy theories for their selfish interests, we are a paper of record. We owe it to our readers and advertisers to keep the record straight. To this end we take exception to

¹⁸ The Herald Editorial: Zanu-PF must curb chef syndrome, 14 November, 2013

utterances that were attributed to Zanu-PF secretary for administration Cde Didymus Mutasa, and Cde Rugare Gumbo who both tried to draw us into the Zanu-PF provincial poll fiasco. We are not in the business of sparring with politicians, our province are news values. We are a watchdog not a lapdog, and where need be the teeth come out¹⁹

Following the victory of ZANU-PF, although disputed by MDC, Zimpapers announced the appointment of a new Herald editor (Caesar Zvayi) and his deputy (Mabasa Sasa) on 18 October 2013. Interestingly, the two hard-hitting editorials cited above came after these appointments, suggesting, to some extent, that the new information minister wanted the newspaper to transform. Moyo, after leaving the government in a huff in 2005 after being accused of plotting an internal ‘coup’, returned as a reformist, who wanted to fight corruption. He even ingratiated himself with journalists when he visited privately-owned media houses, which previously accused him of destroying the sector (Chirinda, 2013). The visits were meant to evaluate the operations of the local media house. He also roundly attacked political and media polarisation in the country during these visits and urged the journalists that they “engage each other” (Matambanadzo, 2013). The change in tone of *The Herald* did not go down well with some ZANU-PF officials, who thought the newspaper was being used in the party’s factional fighting, as the race to succeed Mugabe heats up. This resonates with what Louw noted regarding the Fourth Estate journalism model which he argued can lead to “conflicts between journalists and politicians because Fourth Estate journalists will publish stories politicians would prefer were repressed” (2010:50). Following the publication of the editorial, “This is not how Comrades behave”, there were reports that Moyo had been gagged by ZANU-PF’s politburo. However, Didymus Mutasa, who is the minister of State for Presidential Affairs and also ZANU-PF secretary for administration, allayed the reports, but went on to complain that he was being portrayed in the state media as a “dwarf in huge robes.” This is what he said to journalists in a news report published in the Daily News on 26 November 2013:

Please stop it, leave us alone, please regard us as your leaders, we come from the people who voted for us, and the president. We want to work in harmony... I have been requested by comrade Moyo

¹⁹ The Herald Editorial: This is not how Comrades behave, 19 November, 2013

to meet you and clarify media reports that he was gagged by the Saturday politburo, I also took that opportunity to ask him why I am getting coverage from the public press now, why? “Because, all along, we haven’t been allowed to speak to the public press, and I have only been covered in the Tsvangirai papers (private press). I also haven’t been covered well in the public press, even in pictures of the politburo I am cut-off, I don’t know who is to blame for this, but it is a very unfortunate thing as the public press has been used as instruments in the factional fights (Mananavire, 2013).

This extract clearly shows the point argued above that the minister of information controlled the state-owned media (public media). Mutasa, a senior ZANU-PF official appeared shocked why the state media was being hostile to him while the “Tsvangirai papers”, the private media were giving him a favourable coverage. This also goes to show how ZANU-PF regards the state-owned media as their mouth-piece. Partisan journalists work collaboratively with politicians they help to promote their causes (Louw, 2010: 49). However, as cited above one can clearly see that *The Herald* editorials had departed from the tradition of massaging ZANU-PF’s ego, therefore highlighting the point that editorials do allow for a certain amount of leverage as they are unsigned and speak institutionally rather than individually. The discomfort with the watchdog genre that *The Herald* was taking even continued in 2014, as I wrote this thesis. Vice President Joice Mujuru attacked the media (including the state-owned media) for seeking to destroy the party through corruption expose (The Herald, 2014). Mugabe also branded his information minister, who openly defended the media for exposing corruption, as “a devil incarnate” and “weevil” seeking to destroy the party from within (Munyuki, 2014; Wakatama, 2014). This is also a confirmation of Louw’s assertion that political elites pay attention to the mass media to “monitor what coverage they (and their opponents) receive, and issues that journalists place on the public agenda” (2010:17).

NewsDay also criticised Zanu-PF in an editorial (Five more years under Mugabe, 10 August, 2013) for failing to improve the livelihoods of the ordinary Zimbabweans and of corruption as well as bullying others. It also noted that impunity was ZANU-PF’s Achilles’ heel that alienated them from ordinary people.

Ministers can abuse public funds and office willy-nilly. Councillors and council workers can abuse ratepayers' funds and nothing happens to them. Bills can be sent to ordinary people for services not rendered. The laws of this country only apply to those who are not Zanu PF. The police, army, judiciary and top civil servants are not professionals, but an extension of Zanu PF designed to suppress ordinary people. Zanu PF, much to the chagrin of the people who know better, pretends that it has no criminals among its rank and file. And the party is so vindictive that it terrorises citizens who do not agree with them. It is the party's crude partisan philosophy that disunites it with citizens, not the British or the Americans as it claims. The party simply fails to embrace all and this makes many shudder at the thought of having Zanu PF forming a government for they know that their government espouses partisan rather than national causes.²⁰

Unlike *The Herald*, which appeared to be enmeshed in the internal power struggles in ZANU-PF, the *NewsDay* editorials took the ruling party to task over its failure to effectively deliver on the economic front. The newspaper also indicated in an editorial published on 17 October, 2013 that Zanu-PF was “harping on” about illegal sanctions in Parliament when people are suffering:

We do not understand why Zanu PF should continue harping on about illegal sanctions when people are suffering. The other day it was Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs minister Emmerson Mnangagwa who claimed potholes in our major roads, which in some parts of the country have claimed lives as vehicles tried to negotiate them, were caused by sanctions. Sanctions, really? Poor service delivery is, according to Zanu PF, again caused by sanctions. What hogwash! This excuse will not wash now, nor in the future...It is our considered view that Zanu PF quickly realised that they promised overmuch, and that they will not be able to fulfil any of their pre-election promises hence their unsuccessful bid to shift the blame...The truth of the matter is that the current political and economic crisis Zimbabwe finds itself in is very much man-made. There was replacement of experienced farmers with inexperienced ones who sold equipment. The land was under-utilised at the outset of the fast-track land reform exercise. Hence, we call upon the opposition parties in both Houses of Parliament to keep Zanu PF in check, for without that there is the real possibility that the party could take the country further into the abyss. We condemn Zanu PF's bid to incite its supporters against other people in the name of fighting sanctions.²¹

²⁰ NewsDay Editorial: Five more years under Mugabe, 10 August, 2013

²¹ NewsDay Editorial: Stop 'sanction' chorus, 17 October, 2013

NewsDay, just like *The Herald* also condemned ZANU-PF's infighting during the controversial provincial elections held in November, 2013. It attacked Zanu-PF in an editorial (Mugabe must put his house in order), which was published on 15 November, 2013 that ZANU-PF was busy expending its energy on internal positions instead of focusing on reviving the economy.

The party's failure to hold smooth provincial elections plunged it into deeper political infighting, dragging the country along with it into the abyss. What is happening in this country is very sad. It is very difficult to see how we will be able to overcome the challenges that we have. The internal strife, chaos and rigging allegations during the Zanu PF provincial elections is a microcosm of the extent of the unfair tendencies by the ruling party in national... Will Zanu PF survive after Mugabe? It appears his handlers are taking advantage of his advanced age. It appears those close to him are aware of his troubles and are usurping the reins of power. For a ruling party to sink this low is dangerous for the government. We cannot expect this generation of leaders to protect our interests, but theirs alone. This discord we are witnessing is indicative of the deep-rooted factional fights within Zanu PF and government.²²

Three days later, *NewsDay* accused ZANU-PF in an editorial (Swallow your pride Zanu-PF) for creating "hype" about indigenisation and empowerment, although the party appeared to have lost sight of the fact that it was not every person who was cut out to be an entrepreneur. It noted that there was widespread fear that the economy would be in a free-fall, tumbling headlong into the pre -2008 nightmarish experiences. The editorial further noted that Zimbabwe's economy shrank by 45% during a decade-long crisis under ZANU-PF, but showed significant potential for a rebound in 2009 after Mugabe was forced to share power with arch-rival Morgan Tsvangirai following a "blood-soaked" election whose results were contested the previous year. The ZANU-PF government was said to have failed to clearly define how it was going to pull the economy back from the brink of collapse. *NewsDay* also published another editorial (Mugabe must punish inactive ministers) on 27 November, 2013, in which it criticised Zanu-PF ministers for bunking parliamentary business. It cited a report

²² *NewsDay* Editorial: Mugabe must put his house in order, 15 November, 2013

by Research and Advocacy Unit, which brought this issue to the fore, a development that was described as “sad”. The ZANU-PF ministers were said to be disrespectful to the nation as the MPs would be asking questions on behalf the people they represent.

4.2.6 Category six: MDC as election losers and opposition party

4.2.6.1 Theme eleven: what caused the MDC to lose the election

This theme was conspicuous by its absence in the sampled *NewsDay* editorials, however as we shall see in section 5.2.7.2, the paper raised this issue when it spoke to Tsvangirai. *The Herald* on the other hand carried six editorials during this period that sought to explain why the MDC lost to Zanu-PF. In an editorial with a headline, “MDC-T must stop giving West sanctions ammunition”, the newspaper noted that the party was not an alternative to ZANU-PF. It “simply lost to a better party that had appealing candidates, a powerful message that resonated with a populace seeking salvation from over a decade of ruinous economic sanctions”. The newspaper further suggested that the MDC lost as “our highly literate society” had discerned that was responsible for lobbying for sanctions that wreaked havoc on the economy.

They know who sought to profit from their misery, and they also know who continues giving Westerners the excuse to strangulate them.²³

This attack of the MDC as party that serves the interests of the West was also raised in an editorial published on 5 August, 2013, which noted that the MDC’s crushing defeat at the hands of ZANU-PF did not only shock the party, but their “Western sponsors as well”.

What is disturbing is that the West created the MDC-T and sponsored it to the hilt to do its dirty work of pitching for illegal regime change here...By relying so heavily on the MDC-T’s parallel structures, which they have been sponsoring, the West never realised how the MDC-T was soon going to be history. The West and their proxies should never fool themselves that what worked in other parts of the world at their instigation, will work in Zimbabwe.²⁴

²³ The Herald Editorial: MDC-T must stop giving West sanctions ammunition, 16 September, 2013

²⁴ The Herald Editorial: West must respect people’s will, 5 August, 2013

This criticism of MDC as a puppet for the West in *The Herald* editorials was also prevalent when the newspaper spoke to Tsvangirai, as an individual (see section 4.2.7.1).

4.2.6 Category seven: Mugabe as winner in Presidential vote and ZANU-PF leader

4.2.6.1 Theme thirteen: admonishing the President

This theme was prevalent in five of the *NewsDay* editorials and absent in *The Herald* editorials sampled during this period under consideration. The latter appeared to treat Mugabe as a sacred cow as he was never criticised (unlike his subjects, as noted in section 4.2.5.2) and occasionally praised. However, it emerged that *The Herald* did not pen editorials that were just dedicated to extolling Mugabe, rather the praising only came when the paper was fending off his critics. For example:

The so-called private, international and social media have been in cahoots to disturb the peace and quiet that has prevailed in Zimbabwe before, during and after the election. They are beating the war drum for Tsvangirai through lies. They are hoping against hope that the people of Zimbabwe will feel so disenchanted even before President Mugabe's inauguration and force them to protest... There is a calculated move by anti-Mugabe media to spread falsehoods on basic issues that affect people on a daily basis...we have seen stock exchanges in countries such as the United States reacting similarly soon after an election. This was meant to say that President Mugabe would not be able to rein in the economy.²⁵

Similarly, he was praised in an editorial (The politically ugly will never sway Zim voters), as a leader who “has consistently proved he is equal to the task from the days of the liberation struggle to present, which explains the overwhelming endorsement he received”. Given the importance the media assumed as sites of impression management, they became key ‘king makers’ and legitimators/de-legitimators from the second half of the twentieth century. Consequently the media became “prized possessions” for those seeking power, or seeking to influence those with power (Louw, 2010:19). This resonates, with how *The Herald* spoke to Mugabe after (and even prior to) the election. The State-controlled media in Zimbabwe clearly

²⁵ The Herald Editorial: Tsvangirai, it's time to let people get on with their lives, 7 August, 2013

views Mugabe as a ‘major shareholder’ who should not be ‘touched’, lest the editors lose their jobs given that “owning or controlling a media institution empowers the owner to hire and fire meaning makers” (Louw, 2010:19). Interestingly, as I was analysing the editorials, *The Herald* on 8 September, 2014 published an editorial (We do not hold a brief for anyone), which was more of a copy and paste of an editorial they published on 19 November, 2013 (This is not how the Comrades behave). Although, the “We do not hold a brief for anyone” editorial does not fall within the purview of this study, it is worth mentioning, as it confirmed a trend that I found regarding how the newspaper editorials spoke to Mugabe. Here is what it stated (rather ironic given the headline of the editorial):

The Herald is a paper of record and we are in the business of publishing news and making it relevant for our readers. We take this duty seriously, which is why we are the market leaders in every respect. We have never, do not and will never subscribe to promoting divisions in Zanu-PF or any other political party. We subscribe to national unity as superintended by a government elected nationally and as celebrated on National Unity Day which represents the coming together of our people for nation-building. We have said it before, and we reiterate; we hold no brief for anyone aspiring or perspiring for the Zanu-PF leadership. We defer to our National Flag, the national and public interest, and make no apologies for that. We defend the President, the party he leads and the Government formed by that party, and the State institutions as well as the security organs of the State of which he is Commander-in-Chief. We defend those as a matter of national interest, and make no apologies for that. The defence is, however, only to the extent that the institutions are upholding the ideals of the struggle for which tens of thousands of precious lives were lost...We do not give succour to personal ambitions of any faction in Zanu-PF, have never been an extension of any faction and have no wish to be. It thus comes as a surprise to us that there are some senior Zanu-PF politicians who claim we attack them politically when all we do is highlight their misdeeds as given by credible sources, and on record. We have never attacked the President, who always walks the straight and narrow. We have not attacked Zanu-PF as a collective and neither have we attacked any other person in Zanu-PF, those who feel attacked are being attacked by nothing but the truth of what will have transpired (The Herald, 2014).

Even though the Mediterranean or polarised pluralist model is characterised by “journalism that is not as strongly differentiated from political activism” (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:73), it should

be stressed that *NewsDay* showed elements of a newspaper that espoused the tenets of liberal democratic media and seeks to check “power abuses and corruption on the part of politicians and bureaucrats” (Louw, 2010:38). Without the burden of being state-controlled, *NewsDay* urged Mugabe in an editorial published on 17 August, 2013 to drop “political rhetoric” and stop “blasting imagined enemies as if he is still in campaign mode”.

Mugabe should be psyching up those in his party with whom he is going to form the next government to pull up their socks in preparation for serving the needs of the people. The enemy is not the people; the enemy is power cuts, hunger, unemployment, corruption, dry taps, poor roads, injustice and partisanship, among others...it is important for Mugabe and his new government to pass the stern test of providing food on the people’s tables, a task that calls for them to look at things as they are, not as what they imagine them to be.²⁶

Furthermore, Mugabe was on 13 September, 2013 admonished to honour his threats of firing underperforming ministers.

Mugabe has in the past threatened ministers for non-delivery and corruption, but still has failed in the past to carry out his word. We hope this time around seeing that the stakes are high, he will have a performance appraisal system for his ministers to ensure they do what is expected of them to ensure service delivery. It is our hope, therefore, that to show that he is not politicking, Mugabe will introduce a balanced scorecard to assess the performance of his ministers... whether the Cabinet is not full of weary deadwood timeservers, only time will tell. What we do know is that Mugabe should stand up to mediocrity this time around.²⁷

The newspaper continued to urge Mugabe in another editorial (Stop ‘sanctions’ chorus) published on 17 October to “simply call his party apparatchiks to order” as they constantly attributed the economic problems the country was facing to sanctions. He was also urged to “put his house in order” in an editorial (Mugabe must put his house in order) published on 15 November, 2013, following chaos that marred the party’s provincial elections. *NewsDay* also noted that it was “baffled” by Mugabe who continued to appoint “non-performers” to Cabinet:

²⁶ *NewsDay* Editorial: Political rhetoric doesn’t bring food on the table, 17 August, 2013

²⁷ *NewsDay* Editorial: Mugabe must not issue empty threats, 13 September, 2013

This clearly shows that Mugabe rewards loyalty at the expense of performance. We urge Mugabe to take decisive action against those found wanting as failure to do so will soil his legacy as a leader who never had the interests of people at heart, but that of his cronies.²⁸

So, *NewsDay* dedicated some of its editorials after the election to keep Mugabe in check, therefore fulfilling the watchdog role of the press and not necessarily siding with the opposition, as it repeatedly pointed out that the inactivity of Mugabe's government was potentially detrimental to the development that the general electorate was expecting from them. This had nothing to do with the "political activism" role that Hallin and Mancini argued can be played by journalists in their polarised pluralist model. However, to some extent *The Herald* exhibited this characteristic regarding the manner in which their editorials addressed Mugabe (2004:73).

4.2.7 Category eight: Tsvangirai as the loser in presidential vote and MDC leader

4.2.7.1 Theme Fourteen: Tsvangirai and his Western handlers

This theme was prevalent in four editorials published by *The Herald* newspaper after the election and absent in all *NewsDay* editorials, perhaps reflecting the political polarisation that was at play. *The Herald* stated in an editorial (Tsvangirai, its time to let people get on with their lives, 7 August, 2013) that the MDC leader faced an uncertain future after his crushing defeat to Mugabe. He was accused, together with the West, of trying to stock up fires of despondency with an objective of creating chaos in the country.

...we want to ask the MDC-T leader, his Western handlers and the media outlets that sympathise with him how low they are prepared to let Zimbabwe sink in their muck?...Why does he (Tsvangirai) also think that Westerners are God's greatest creation to mankind and Zimbabwe will not move an inch – economically – without assistance from them?²⁹

The newspaper continued with the theme in an editorial (Tsvangirai, must stop wasting everyone's time) published two days later. The editorial alleged that in the run-up to the GNU, Tsvangirai proposed co-sharing Home Affairs and when his request was granted, he

²⁸ NewsDay Editorial: Mugabe must punish inactive ministers, 27 November, 2013

²⁹ The Herald Editorial: Tsvangirai, it's time to let people get on with their lives, 7 August, 2013

changed tack claiming he wanted sole control. He asked that the talks be referred to the Troika; when the Troika convened in Mbabane, Swaziland, he refused to go, opting to spend the day playing golf with a Western envoy in Harare. It went on to state that “there was nothing President Mugabe, ZANU-PF or SADC can do to make him see reason because he believes he answers to a higher deity — his Western gods. Anyone doubting this should ask why Western ambassadors always hovered at all summit venues, if they were not there as puppeteers”.

It’s clear that the position Mr Tsvangirai was agitating was not his own, but belonged to the section of the world represented by the envoys. The interests Mr Tsvangirai was championing were again not of his constituents, but the handlers who were within earshot. An entire nation cannot be held to ransom simply because someone wants to honour a contract he entered into with his principals.³⁰

The newspaper also noted in another editorial (Lesson for Tsvangirai from Mali’s Cisse, 15 August, 2013) that the Western countries which were not allowed to observe elections sang from the same hymn book as the MDC-T, with Mr Tsvangirai claiming that he calls the shots because he has the Western countries on his side. The editorial went on to ask: “Is an election in Zimbabwe only deemed free, fair and credible if Western countries observe it?...Why do they put Western interests ahead of the National Interest?” These questions were meant to attack Tsvangirai, as nothing but a puppet of the West and had no interests of Zimbabweans at heart, but those of the puppeteers. *The Herald* continued with this theme on 11 October with an editorial (The world has spoken), which pointed out that Tsvangirai’s claims of a rigged election “sounds hollow and ridiculous by the day”. It went on to state that “we want to challenge Mr Tsvangirai and his handlers that if Zimbabweans said no to sanctions by overwhelmingly voting President Mugabe and ZANU-PF into office on July 31, then who are their sanctions serving?” The attack of Tsvangirai as a puppet of the West, again only in *The Herald* editorials, shows how polarised the media in Zimbabwe continued after the election, although from time-to-time the media critiqued the parties they supported as already seen in section 4.2.5.2 for example.

³⁰ The Herald Editorial: Tsvangirai, must stop wasting everyone’s time, 9 August, 2013

4.2.7.2 Theme Fifteen: why Tsvangirai lost to Mugabe

This theme was not prevalent in *The Herald* editorials; however, this cannot be examined in isolation with the theme above (section 4.2.7.1). There is no reasonable doubt that *The Herald* alleged that Tsvangirai's puppetry tendencies coupled with sanctions that the paper claimed were invited upon Zimbabweans by the MDC party, had a serious blow on his campaign. For example *The Herald* stated in an editorial (We must respect people's will, 5 August, 2013) that "Morgan Tsvangirai and his MDC-T suffered a devastating defeat in the harmonized elections...a defeat that did not only shock the MDC-T leadership and its supporters, but their Western sponsors as well". It also claimed that the "West created the MDC-T and sponsored it to the hilt to do its dirty work of pitching for illegal regime change...(but) they had taken it for granted that Zimbabweans do not know who they are". Another reason that *The Herald* attributed to the defeat of Tsvangirai was that the party associated itself with ex-Rhodies who were yester-year oppressors of the black-majority:

The fact that the MDC-T leader clogged his party's rank and file with the ex-Rhodies who not only denied our people the vote yesterday, but decimated our people for daring to demand their birthright is the reason why he does not walk onto the dais to take the oath of office today. Let this be his day of introspection.³¹

Although, this appeared to be a hyperbole, but that's what the newspaper believed was a contribution to the obliteration of Tsvangirai and his party.

NewsDay on the other hand had one editorial (Tsvangirai should have known better) that sought to explain why Tsvangirai lost the election to Mugabe. It noted on 5 August, 2013 that he was not judicious with his decisions during the GNU and also the playing field was not even, as it tilted in favour of Mugabe.

³¹ The Herald Editorial: The politically ugly will never sway Zim voters, 22 August, 2013

Without a voters' roll, unclear origins of ballot papers, overwhelming evidence of unofficial polling stations, Tsvangirai had reasons good enough to stop this poll and demand an even playing field, in tandem with instructions from SADC when the unity government was formed. However, despite all the evidence he had, the MDC-T leader vowed to contest and defeat Zanu PF "resoundingly". Now elections have been held, Tsvangirai has lost dismally — a result that was foreseen by many — and the MDC-T leader is crying foul. You slept on the job Mr Prime Minister, knowing very well the kind of characters you were in bed with.³²

4.2.8 Category nine: the way forward

4.2.8.1 Theme sixteen: the kind of Zimbabwe and Zimbabwean government we want

This theme was more prevalent in the *NewsDay* editorials, while *The Herald* editorials were largely silent on the theme. The only editorial that came close to the theme was one (We must respect people's will) published on 5 August, 2013 pointed out that "we are masters of our destiny, and we are charting our destiny". Read within the context it was published, the article implores the government and Zimbabweans not to be controlled by external forces as was the case with opposition MDC, which it claimed was a puppet of the West. Therefore, the Zimbabwe that *The Herald* wants was one that is free from puppets and where the government was free from making decisions without any influence from foreign countries.

On the other hand, *NewsDay* noted in an editorial (Political rhetoric doesn't bring food on the table, 17 August, 2013) that with elections over, it was incumbent on Zanu-PF and Mugabe to be "forward-looking". The party and its leader were urged to ensure that there was food on the table of Zimbabweans. So the editorial was envisaging a Zimbabwe with a better economy that allowed citizens to have access to food, better still afford it unlike what transpired prior to the formation of GNU. The newspaper continued with this theme on 12 September as it implored Zanu-PF again to improve people's lives:

...Zimbabweans now expect to see an improvement in their lives. They expect their government to put food on the table and provide decent service delivery, especially health, education, water,

³² NewsDay Editorial: Tsvangirai should have known better, 5 August, 2013

electricity, good roads, sanitation and general infrastructural development. The nation's hopes hinge on this new Cabinet. The hope too is that, with most of them having been ministers for decades, they must have accumulated enough to get them by and should now be able to exercise restraint when that spirit of selfishness, greed, corruption and outright theft visits them. The people are closely watching the new Cabinet and expect immediate signs of positive action and delivery.³³

This theme was repeated again on 13 September, 2013 in an editorial (Mugabe must not issue empty threats). *NewsDay* urged Mugabe to be genuine with his threats to come hard on underperforming ministers, as such threats had not been previously followed with action. The editorial noted that “people expect Mugabe and his government to fulfill their election promises such as employment creation, food security, normalising relations with the West and the need for efficient service delivery such as provision of water and electricity for both domestic and commercial use and ensuring certainty in the country's policies”.

4.2.8.3 Theme eighteen: miscellaneous

This theme addressed a variety of issues reported in both *The Herald* and *NewsDay*, which relate to the elections but do not specifically fall under any of the listed themes above. However, the researcher could not find anything that fell outside the identified themes.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter presents the findings of a thematic content analysis of 30 editorials drawn from *The Herald* and *NewsDay* in which 18 themes emerged. The themes contributed in answering the first question of the research, which is: how the editorials of the two newspapers speak to those in power? It is evident that *The Herald* went through a metamorphosis during the period under study. Prior to the elections, it expended its energies on attacking the MDC and the person of Tsvangirai despite his occupying the position of prime minister in the GNU. However, there was a gradual shift after the elections, which ended “consensus politics” (Hallin and Mancini, 2004:51), as the daily started to openly criticise the ruling party. Interestingly, it never criticised Mugabe or the minister in charge of the information and media portfolio. *NewsDay* on the other

³³ NewsDay Editorial: Let us give new Cabinet a chance, 12 September 2013

hand criticised both the MDC and ZANU-PF prior to and after the election, although much of the criticism was aimed towards Mugabe and his party. In the following chapter, I examine the rhetorical strategies employed in the editorials and also how editors think about the political situation in Zimbabwe and how they are using editorials, as an institutional voice, to assess the political situation.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION: RHETORICAL ANALYSIS AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

5.0 Introduction

While, the previous chapter – through thematic content analysis – sought to answer the question of how *The Herald* and *NewsDay* editorials speak to those in power, this chapter focuses on rhetorical analysis to establish the tactics employed in the editorials to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of power prior to and after the 31 July 2013 elections. As pointed previously, I have a textual corpus of 12 (6 apiece) editorials for rhetorical analysis purposively sampled from the 30 editorials used for thematic content analysis. Given that I had a period of six months that I sampled, I decided to have 1 editorial from each month, so as to have an idea of the rhetorical tactics employed in the editorials throughout the period sampled. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the in-depth interviews to establish how editors understand the space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power.

5.1 Rhetorical analysis

Aristotle cited in Hannon defines rhetoric as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion” (2012:88). He identifies modes of persuasion as ethos – the personal character of the speaker and the audience’s assessment of his (or her) credibility; pathos – the power to stir the listeners’ emotions; and logos – the ability to prove a truth, or an apparent truth, by means of persuasive argument (Hannon, 2012:88). As I also indicated in Chapter 3, these modes of persuasion are employed in this study as they show “the strategy that the arguer takes in persuading the audience (those in authority in this case)” (Richardson, 2007:159). The modes also help the researcher draw out the significance of the rhetorical analysis to the study, therefore avoiding a simplistic way of looking at an editorial as a hard-hitting opinion festooned in flowery language.

Opinion journalism (which is what editorials primarily consist of) represents “opinion statements [...] embedded in argumentation that makes them more or less defensible, reasonable, justifiable

or legitimate as conclusions” (Van Dijk, 1996 in Richardson, 2007:65). The success of the argumentation hinges on the use of rhetorical tropes (Richardson, 2007:65). On that note, I will also employ rhetorical tropes, which are “a deviation from the ordinary and principal signification of a word” (Corbett, 1990 in Richardson, 2007:65). Although there are hundreds of tropes, only five are useful to the analysis of newspaper discourse, according to Richardson and these are: hyperbole, metaphor, metonym, neologism and puns (2007:65-70). However, for the purpose of this study I will only use hyperbole, metaphor, and metonym from the list provided by Richardson largely because these were prevalent in the editorials sampled. Furthermore, I will utilise three kinds of persuasive discourse (deliberative, forensic, and epideictic) identified by Aristotle (as used by Richardson) to help examine the rhetorical strategies of the editorials (2007:157). An ethotic argument “invokes the personal character and quality of the speaker” (Prinsloo, 2009:246). It is used to effect when both sides of the argument are reasonably convincing (Prinsloo, 2009:246). A pathotic argument seeks “to induce a particular mindset among the audience...through pathos or an appeal to emotion they can be moved to pity, fear, anger, even guilt as the arguer tries to get them into the kind of mindset that will make them open to the line of argument” (Prinsloo, 2009: 246). With logos, the arguer shows the ability to prove the truth, or an apparent truth, by means of persuasive argument (Hannon, 2012:88). An appeal to logos relies on two kinds of arguments, either inductive or deductive. In a deductive argument an assertion is made by making a series of statements, while an inductive argument draws on specific cases to present the argument (Prinsloo, 2009:247). Knowledge of “these divisions enables the textual analyst to identify how the argument is working and so consider the form or forms of persuasion being used” (Prinsloo, 2009:244).

5.2. Discussion

In this section, I seek to spell out in greater detail how the sampled editorials used rhetorical tactics to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of authority. These tactics mainly “function to enhance composition, persuade, inform and express”, according to McGuigan (2011) cited in Afzal and Harun (2013:62). Prinsloo posits that the “particular choices made to construct a text draw on the various social patterns or social orders of their time and place” (2009:211). Furthermore, she argues that when “we analyse texts as

rhetorical acts we are seeking to identify how the world of experience is constructed and oriented or positioned – for texts actively mediate and interpret the worlds of which they ‘speak’” (2009:212). I now interrogate the issues that were embedded in the rhetorical arguments employed in the editorials, but first I consider the use of editorial “we”, which speaks of the nature or character of the arguer, a key component in rhetorical analysis as shown under ethotic arguments.

5.2.1 The editorial “we”

The editorial “we” is used to mean the newspaper as an institution although arguably “‘we’ may mean a single individual, perhaps the owner or publisher or editor or someone else, but the anonymity indicates that the paper endorses what is said” (MacDougall, 1973:2). Hulteng agrees noting that “we stands for the board of editors, the policy makers of the publication, and underlines the fact that the editorial is not being offered simply as the view of one person, as is the case with syndicated column” (1973:95). The use of “we” was frequent in the 12 editorials analysed and looking at the modes of rhetoric, it relates to ethos (the arguer). Here are examples:

- (1) We do not want to believe that the failure by government to bring new impetus into the economy has to do with power struggles within the ruling party (NewsDay, 18 November, 2013).
- (2) We believe it is the ghost of 2008 that is haunting Zanu-PF. We are convinced the words left unsaid, work left undone then is haunting the party now. (The Herald, 19 November, 2013).

However, it is also worth noting that the use of the “we” convention as Hulteng puts it, can “introduce confusion as well as awkwardness into editorial style” (1973:95). He argues that sometimes a writer can use “we” to refer to citizens or city dwellers and he gave examples of “we Americans” and “we New Yorkers” as well as “we, the people” (1973:95). On the other hand the writer will use “we” in “the next sentence ...as the editorial we meaning the publication’s faceless policy setters” (Hulteng, 1973:95). Although Hulteng argues that “ambiguity and confusion abound” in such cases, I note that the two newspapers also used “we”

to refer to Zimbabweans as a nation. Here is an example of using the first person plural and speaking on behalf of the nation.

- (3) The MDC-T would do well to take this advice to heart for the simple reason that our highly literate society is discerning. They know who was responsible for lobbying for sanctions. They know who sought to profit from their misery, and they also know who continues giving Westerners the excuse to strangulate them (The Herald, 16 September, 2013).
- (4) What is happening in this country is very sad. It is very difficult to see how we will be able to overcome the challenges that we have. The internal strife, chaos and rigging allegations during the Zanu PF provincial elections is a microcosm of the extent of the unfair tendencies by the ruling party in national polls over the years (NewsDay, 15 November, 2013)

I note that what this means is that editors/journalists/newspapers sometimes speak on behalf of the nation (by asserting the “we” device) as a rhetorical mechanism to get government/those in power to listen and take notice of their demands or wishes. Journalists evoked through this use of “we”, their attachment and involvement and right to assert the “public” interest.

I now look at some of the underlying issues that emerged in my bid to establish the tactics employed in the editorials to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of power prior to and after the 31 July 2013 elections.

5.2.2 Calling for progress and normality

Following the decisive victory of ZANU-PF in the 2013 elections, which saw the country transitioning from what Hallin and Mancini call “consensus politics” to “majoritarian politics” (2004:51), I noticed that the editorials made use of pathetic arguments in their quest to have the new government normalise the situation in the country, economically and politically. The *NewsDay*, in an editorial, “Mugabe must punish inactive ministers” (see Appendix 35) appealed to Mugabe stating that as his ZANU-PF government begins its five-year term, ordinary citizens

were expecting full participation by those tasked with taking the country forward. The editorial appeals to his conscience and also creates a sense of responsibility that he, together with his ministers should take cognisance of as “five years is a long time for ministers to waste by playing mindless and childish games in the August House”. Earlier, the newspaper had expressed its disappointment (see Appendix 33) in the manner in which the ZANU-PF government was running the country, not that it wanted to prop up the opposition, but it wanted to hold the ruling party accountable as well as improve the lives of the electorates.

Instead of ZANU-PF focusing its energy on reviving the economy and creating employment, the party is ensuring that Zimbabwe sinks further into political abyss. The party’s failure to hold smooth provincial elections plunged it into deeper political infighting, dragging the country along with it into the abyss. What is happening in this country is very sad. It is very difficult to see how we will be able to overcome the challenges that we have. The internal strife, chaos and rigging allegations during the ZANU-PF provincial elections is a microcosm of the extent of the unfair tendencies by the ruling party in national polls over the years (NewsDay, 15 November, 2013).

Previously, *NewsDay* had also made a forensic argument in an editorial, “Let us give new Cabinet a chance” (see Appendix 23) that the absence of a functional cabinet during the GNU had “literally brought the country to a standstill, especially with regard to the economy”. It, in a mixture of forensic and deliberative argumentation, further stated that:

The nation can now move forward – with greater momentum (in whichever direction) now that we have a homogeneous government whose policy and direction are not conflicted as was the case during the inclusive government. That animal (government of national unity) which incumbents ZANU-PF and the MDCs mourned over and blamed for poor performance is dead and buried. There is no more hindrance, or conflict, or sabotage that should stand in the way of national growth, development and prosperity (NewsDay, 12 September, 2014).

The Herald in an editorial “Zanu-PF should prove why it must always get two thirds majority” (see Appendix 27), first made an epideictic argument by praising the party for winning the elections and also for wresting back the Parliamentary control from the MDC formations. However, it then made an epideictic argument that the ruling party should tackle the

developmental agenda that it claims had always characterised debates in the House since independence in 1980.

The honeymoon is over for the new legislators who must immediately “put their shoulders to the wheel” and ensure that they deliver on promises made by Team Zanu-PF during the election campaign... We expect that there will be no time for trivialities which were slowly becoming the norm in the House following the penchant by MDC legislators to dwell on self-aggrandisement agendas instead of serving the people... Each MP must introspect before making contributions so that they become helpful... We do not expect the legislators to move away from the agenda set out by President Mugabe when he officially opened the first session last week. We expect the new legislators to deal decisively with some of the problems that have been affecting the country, starting with an accountability of the resources that will spur development... (The Herald, 24 September, 2013).

The daily further pointed out in another editorial, “Results-oriented Govt progressive” (see Appendix 28) that the “new ZANU-PF Government faces a daunting task as its customers — the tax-paying citizens — press for tangible action in service delivery. We commend the fact that Acting President Joice Mujuru has realised this major task and in the last two days has been talking about the need for the Government to be results-oriented”. Clearly the editorials are seeking to stir ZANU-PF into action and not to dwell in their victory without delivering the promises made during the campaign trail. As the researcher pointed in the previous chapter, this was a marked shift in the manner in which *The Herald* editorials spoke to power prior to the election. In addition to the possible varied reasons I explained earlier, this shift could have been necessitated by the need to get politicians normalise the situation following years of tension in Parliament and GNU, which was heavily polarised.

5.2.3 Telling the ‘truth’

The Herald noted in an editorial, “ZANU-PF must curb chef syndrome” (see Appendix 31) that Mugabe was “ready for internal democracy, [but] some in leadership were not”. Unlike the pre-election era, when the paper had to withdraw its jabs towards ZANU-PF, it made a logetic rhetorical argument in the editorial stating that the “destructive chef syndrome” in the ruling

party was retrogressive. The editorial pointed out what it considered the ‘truth’ about the “destructive” manner the party had conducted the provincial elections:

Zanu-PF must be wary of scoring needless own goals that only serve to draw the MDC-T back into the game (The Herald, 14 November, 2013).

Reflecting epideictic rhetoric, *NewsDay* in an editorial, “Political rhetoric doesn’t bring food on the table” (see Appendix 21), argued that Mugabe and ZANU-PF should be forward-looking as it was inevitable that they were going to form the next government.

People want food on the table, period. It is not in the people’s interest to be fed with political rhetoric at the expense of the basics that make them survive. Food on the table should be taken to mean what it symbolises — food, healthcare, education, jobs and good service delivery, among other things. It is disheartening to hear Mugabe engage in political rhetoric, blasting imagined enemies as if he is still in campaign mode. Campaigning is over and reality cannot be wished away. People expect the new government to deliver, to make their lives worthwhile. After inauguration, Mugabe will not be the president of Zanu PF alone, but the president of this nation (NewsDay, 17 August, 2013).

I now look at how rhetorical arguments were used to address the issue of patriotism in relation to the influence of the West in Zimbabwean politics – real or imagined.

5.2.3 Patriotism: cosying up to the West an anathema

There has been a rise of Pan-African Nationalism, which is regarded as the “nationalistic, unified struggle/resistance of African peoples against all forms of foreign aggression and invasion, in the fight for nationhood/nation building” (Nantambu, 1998:569). Cabral (1980) cited by Shivji argues that “so long as imperialism is in existence, an independent African state must be a liberation movement in power, or it will not be independent” (2003:4). I note that this could be one of the reasons why liberation movements in Africa that subscribe to this thinking, display some level of anxiety about Western control. In case of Zimbabwe, Saul argues that the rise of a strong opposition, the MDC, which threatened the power base of Mugabe’s ZANU-PF led to a

vocal “anti-imperialist” rhetoric to “shore up the regime’s fading political credibility” (2012:5-6).

Raftopoulos (2004) cited by Scarnecchia (2012:236) also posits that ZANU-PF set itself the task of establishing “a hegemonic project in which the party’s narrow definition of the nation is deployed against all other forms of identification and affiliation”. In this project the media and selected intellectuals are “used to provide a continuous and repetitive ideological message, in order to set the parameters of a stable national identity conducive to the consolidation of the ruling party”.

As Zimbabweans listen to the radio, watch television and read the daily newspapers, all controlled by the ruling party, they are being ‘informed’ about what it means to be a ‘good Zimbabwean,’ and a ‘genuine African’. They are also being told who is the ‘enemy’ within and without and advised to confront such ‘enemies’ with ruthless exclusion if necessary (Raftopoulos, 2004 cited by Scarnecchia, (2012:236).

I now look at how the use of rhetoric in the newspapers’ editorials evoked the anxiety of Western control or tried to allay it.

The Herald constantly berated the MDC as a puppet party, unpatriotic and also for having a penchant for advancing the interests of the West. However, I note that the frequency the newspaper’s editorials lampooned the party for its association with the West goes to show that they, to some extent, took it as the ‘truth’ (although it could have been propaganda) that the opposition was out to cause a regime change with the aid of the West, Britain and the United States in particular. This, as I highlighted in the previous section, speaks to logos. For example in an editorial, “Lesson for Tsvangirai from Mali’s Cisse” (see Appendix 20), *The Herald* makes a forensic argument that Western countries “have been singing from the same hymn book as the MDC-T, with Mr Tsvangirai claiming that he calls the shots because he has the Western countries on his side”. The criticism of the MDC as foreign sponsored is not “totally unfounded”, although “paranoid”, argues Kamete (2003:64). He posits that the MDC’s “rags to riches” story was sensational and as ZANU-PF points out it was as a result of foreign sponsorship (Kamete,

2003:64). However, he pointed out that this narrative exposed the hypocrisy of ZANU-PF as it also received foreign sponsorship during the liberation struggle and continues to do so to date, although no evidence was provided.

Again in an editorial, “MDC-T must stop giving West sanctions ammunition” (see Appendix 25), *The Herald* cited the head of SADC Election Observer Mission, Bernard Membe, as saying that the question of sanctions must be fought by all parties because if they are not removed it would be very difficult for the opposition in Zimbabwe to win elections. The editorial continued to read:

The MDC-T would do well to take this advice to heart for the simple reason that our highly literate society is discerning. They know who was responsible for lobbying for sanctions. They know who sought to profit from their misery, and they also know who continues giving Westerners the excuse to strangle them. As such the MDC-T has gotten off to a bad start for 2018, where the party faces oblivion of it continues to walk with Westerners against African and Zimbabwean opinion (*The Herald*, 16 September, 2013).

Here the editorial also made a deliberative argument, by dissuading the MDC from aligning itself with the West and also for calling on sanctions if it wants to earn votes from the electorates. In another editorial, “It’s time MDC-T took national issues seriously” (see Appendix 26), Employing epideictic rhetoric, *The Herald* also dissuaded the “blundering greenhorn party” from not taking national issues seriously. This was after it boycotted the opening of the Parliament by Mugabe arguing that his party had stolen the election.

Be that as it may, boycotting the Opening Session and then attending the First Session is an oxymoron in that the Bills the MDC-T legislators will debate were set by President Mugabe yesterday. The Opening Session was a very important event where the Head of State and Government laid out the legislative agenda for the First Session. We were not surprised by the MDC-T action since it is now common knowledge that the party entered politics for personal benefit and not for the people. Be that as it may, Zimbabweans need to critique the MDC-T’s continued stay in Parliament. If they boycott the very event that gives Parliament, as another arm of Government, the agenda for the entire year,

how will they justify attendance of subsequent sessions?...Since they spurned the official opening, why should they participate in the enactment of the laws? It's high time the MDC-T took national issues seriously. As people who chose to represent the people, they cannot display that childish mentality of supporting things where they think they have a fair advantage over other parties.

Zimbabwe cannot tolerate such levels of immaturity.

NewsDay also made a deliberative argument in an editorial "Mugabe must not issue empty threats" (see Appendix 24) that Mugabe and his government should normalise relations with the West, and focus on fulfilling their election promises such as employment creation and food security. It censured (a means of epideictic rhetoric) ZANU-PF in an editorial, "Stop 'sanctions' chorus" (see Appendix 30) for attributing the economic failure to sanctions imposed by the West:

Responding to a motion on food shortages which had been introduced by Lobengula MP Samuel Sipepa Nkomo (MDC-T), most ZANU-PF MPs blamed the sanctions imposed on President Robert Mugabe and senior party officials by the West and former Finance minister Tendai Biti for contributing to the crisis. We do not understand why ZANU-PF should continue harping on about illegal sanctions when people are suffering... Poor service delivery is, according to ZANU-PF, again caused by sanctions. What hogwash! This excuse will not wash now, nor in the future. What we know for sure is that even ZANU-PF supporters are starting to feel the heat after overwhelmingly voting Mugabe into power in the July 31 elections... We condemn ZANU-PF's bid to incite its supporters against other people in the name of fighting sanctions. If they are real, they should take their fight against sanctions to the West and not to the countryside. This is because already there have been reports of all forms of violence as ZANU-PF claims to fight those supporting sanctions.

I now look at rhetorical tropes to establish how they were also employed to aid the newspapers speak to power.

5.3 Results of rhetorical tropes analysis

Results of an analysis of 12 editorials from *The Herald* and *NewsDay* between June and November 2013 (see table 3) show that both newspapers made use of the three tropes considered in this study. Below (see table 4) is a distribution of rhetorical tropes found in the 12 editorials. Also, the frequency of tropes used in both newspapers is shown in table 5 below.

Table 4. Distribution of rhetorical tropes in *The Herald* (TH) and *NewsDay* (ND)

No	Tropes and techniques	TH (example)	ND (example)
1	Metonymy	Western ambassadors (TH, 22July, ,2013) Western gods (TH, 22July, 2013) the progressive world (TH, 22 August,2013) West (TH, 22August, 2013) Sadc (TH, 22 August,2013) Zimbabwe x 2 (TH, 22 August,2013) better man (TH, 22 August,2013) friend and fore (TH, 22 August,2013) Zim voters (TH, 22 August,2013) Spoke (TH, 22 August,2013) Comrades (TH, 19 November,2013) Zanu-PF x 2 (TH, 19 November,2013) Westerners (TH, 19 November,2013), (TH, 11 October,2013) The world x 2 (TH, 11 October, 2013) United States (TH, 11 October,2013) UN (TH, 11 October, 2013) World body (TH, 11 October, 2013) Zimbabweans (TH, 11 October, 2013) The region (TH, 11 October, 2013) Progressive world (TH, 11 October, 2013) MDC-T national executive (TH, 11 October, 2013) President x 3 (TH, 19 November,2013) Spokesperson x 2 (TH, 19 November,2013) First secretary (TH, 19 November,2013) Head of state and government (TH, 19 November,2013)	thousands of his supporters (ND,19 July,2013) Zanu-PF most senior official (ND, 19 July,2013) The president (ND,19 July,2013) Youths (ND,19 July,2013) Shed their blood(ND,19 July,2013) Former trade unionist (ND,19 July,2013) Will keep a close eye (ND,19 July,2013) SADC (ND, 5 August, 2013) The West x2 (ND,17 October,2013), (ND, 18 November, 2013) International community (ND, 18 November, 2013) MDC-T (ND, 18 November,2013) Men and women (ND, 13 September, 2013) People expect (ND, 13 September, 2013) Zimbabwe2 (ND, 14 June, 2013) Regional leaders (ND, 14 June,2013)
2	Metaphor	a lap dog not watch dog press (TH, 9 June, 2013), (TH, 19 November,2013) He answers to a higher deity – his Western gods TH, 22 July,2013) If they were not there as puppeteers (TH, 22 July,2013) The politically ugly x2 (TH, 22 August,2013), (TH, 19 November,2013) with dirty hands (TH, 22 August,2013) any askaris will be thrown to the dustbin by discerning voters (TH, 22 August,2013) Look in the mirror, recognise your warts and do something about them (TH, 22 August,2013) Not zero-sum games (TH, 22 August,2013) Had no stomach for (TH, 22 August,2013) The honeymoon is over (TH, 24 September,2013) Put their shoulders to the wheel (TH,24 September,2013) Has been itching for constructive engagement (TH, 24 September, 2013) Writing is on the wall (TH, 11 October,2013) He turned his sword into ploughshares (TH, 11 October, 2013) Stop the circus (TH, 19 November,2013) Needs to look at itself in the mirror, warts and all (TH, 19 November,2013) Hold no brief for anyone (TH, 19 November,2013) Kicked the ball into the bush with gusto (TH, 19 November,2013) House on fire (TH, 19 November,2013) Ghost of 2008 (TH, 19 November,2013) Dwarfish politicians in giant robes (TH, 19 November,2013) where need be the teeth come out (TH, 19 November,2013) No matter how unpalatable it may be to his subordinates	as the nation surges towards a watershed election (ND,19 July,2013) ugly scenario erupted (ND, 19 July,2013) were nothing but cosmetic (ND, 8 August, 2013) on a Zanu-PF ticket (ND, 8 August, 2013) slept on the job (ND, 8 August, 2013) characters you were in bed with (ND, 8 August, 2013) Stop ‘sanctions’ chorus (ND, 17 October, 2013) choreographing the usual drivel (ND,17 October, 2013) the President has erected around him an impenetrable wall of impunity (ND,17 October, 2013) Swallow your pride x 2 (ND, 18 November, 2013) inject confidence (ND, 18 November, 2013) torched wild celebrations (ND, 18 November,2013) a captain of a ship in stormy waters (ND, 13 September, 2013) not full of weary deadwood timeservers (ND, 13 September, 2013) chasing the ball all the time (ND, 14 June, 2013) “big man” Mugabe (ND, 14 June,2013) little Mudede (ND, 14 June,2013) tattered legacy (ND, June, 14, 2013) Zanu PF sympathisers (ND, 15 August,2013)

(TH, 19 November,2013)

3	Hyperbole	<p>MDC-T thugs have since made good on Mr Tsvangirai’s chilling threat (TH, 9 June, 2013)</p> <p>We would all have our heads chopped off and stuffed in refrigerators for principled points of disagreement (TH, 9 June, 2013)</p> <p>Have ganged up against innocent Zimbabweans (TH, 9 June,2013)</p> <p>Stop wasting everyone’s time x 2 (TH, 22 July,2013)</p> <p>Stubbornly refused (TH, 22 July,2013)</p> <p>Put simply the man had no mind of his own (TH, 22 July,2013)</p> <p>Western ambassadors always hovered at all summit venues (TH, 22 July,2013)</p> <p>Giving Zanu-PF a crushing two-thirds majority (TH, 22 August,2013)</p> <p>A near clean sweep of local authorities (TH, 22 August,2013)</p> <p>Clogged his party’s rank and file with the ex-Rhodies (TH, 22 August,2013)</p> <p>Following the penchant by MDC legislators to dwell on self-aggrandisement agendas instead of serving the people (TH, 24 September, 2013)</p> <p>With sanctions having hit the country hard, it is a fact that we are facing almost the same situation that we were confronted with at independence (TH, 24 September,2013)</p> <p>Four years of dysfunctional coalition that gave Westerners a listening post even in Cabinet (TH, 19 November,2013)</p>	<p>Brother turned against brother and butchered each other for supporting rival parties (ND, 19 July, 2013)</p> <p>Had been at each other’s throats for ages (ND,5 August,2013)</p> <p>There is now widespread fear (ND, 18 November, 2013)</p> <p>Blood-soaked election ND, 18 November,2013)</p> <p>Results were fiercely contested the previous year (ND, 18 November,2013)</p> <p>Inexperienced ones who sold equipment (ND, 17 October,2013)</p>
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Table 5. Frequency of rhetorical tropes in *The Herald* (TH) and *NewsDay* (ND)

Tropes and techniques	<i>The Herald</i>	<i>NewsDay</i>	Total
Metonymy	32	18	50
Metaphor	24	20	44
Hyperbole	14	6	20

Through the findings of this research, it has been established that editorial writers from both newspapers employed rhetorical tropes or devices as persuasive techniques to relay the voices of their institutions to influence politicians in the build up to and after the 2013 elections. The similar use of tropes shows that their way of constructing argumentative strategies when speaking to power – either in support or against – is not much different. I also note that rhetorical tropes are used not just to make an argument persuasive and influential but also to enhance the authority and appearance of the writer. I will pull out the significance of what is said through the devices and also establish what purpose are these tropes being used for?

I now discuss the findings.

5.3.1 Metonymy

Metonymy is a trope “in which one word, phrase or object is substituted for another from a semantically related field of reference” (Richardson, 2007:67). Metonymies are grounded in our experiences in the world. We organise our thoughts, actions, attitudes and language in terms of metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:39). The use of this device can be seen in the following paragraphs gleaned from *The Herald* and *NewsDay* editorials.

- (1) It serves no other purpose than to give **Westerners** the excuse to maintain their unwarranted sanctions regime, and consolidates Mr Tsvangirai’s place in history as a **Western** askari (TH, 11 October, 2013).
- (2) Violence in any form ahead of elections is intolerable and both the **President** and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai have been making passionate calls to their supporters to be tolerant for the country to hold peaceful polls (ND, 19 July, 2013).

In the first example, the metonymies, “Westerners and Western” are used because it is not necessary to list all the names of countries in Europe and the names of their leaders that are said to be propping up Tsvangirai, their alleged foot-soldier in Zimbabwe. As noted by Richardson, the significance of metonymia, like with all tropes, “lies not in their presence in a text but in the ways they are used” (2007:68). By addressing Mugabe with his official title, the second example, using the epideictic rhetorical strategy, shows that the editorial sought not to address Mugabe as the leader of ZANU-PF, but as a national leader who should look after the interests of all citizens in Zimbabwe, whether they support him politically or not. This can also be interpreted as a way of reminding him that he should act presidential and not in a partisan way and put measures in place to stop violence against the MDC supporters who were exercising their democratic rights.

5.3.2 Metaphor

A metaphor involves perceiving one thing in terms of another (Richardson, 2007:66). Metaphors are grounded in our constant interaction with our environment, in both physical and cultural

terms (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:119). Having established that newspaper editors rely on persuasive techniques to communicate the voice of their newspapers and to shape the opinions of their readers (in this case those in power), it is important to stress that metaphors use one entity to understand another, making it a powerful tool to vividly drive home desired messages. The use of this trope can be seen in the following examples taken from *The Herald* (TH) and *NewsDay* (ND) editorials.

- (3) There is nothing President Mugabe, Zanu-PF or SADC can do to make him see reason because he believes **he answers to a higher deity – his Western gods** (TH, 22 July, 2013).
- (4) Our advice to Mr Tsvangirai is: **Look in the mirror, recognise your warts** and do something about them: The **politically ugly** will never sway the Zimbabwean voter (TH, 22 August, 2013).
- (5) Sadly, the two MDCs played into Mugabe’s trickery – **chasing the ball every time** (ND, 14 June, 2013)
- (6) No doubt Mugabe is at the moment **a captain of a ship in stormy waters** [...] (ND, 13 September, 2013).

In example 3, Tsvangirai is roundly criticised for being a mere appendage of European countries, the United States as well as Australia. The editorial refers to these countries as “a higher deity” and “Western gods”. These metaphors of religion, seeks to drive home the point that Tsvangirai ‘worships foreign gods’, hence he was not a fit candidate to lead Zimbabwe, whose national sovereignty, should be guarded jealously. Again, there is a co-relation between the use of these metaphors with the “West” metonym discussed in 6.1. It is the same point that is being hammered home by *The Herald* editorial writer(s) that Tsvangirai plays second fiddle to foreign powers. In example 4, the editorial employs a metaphor of beauty and urged Tsvangirai – who is facially not handsome - to “look in the mirror” (that is to evaluate his political position), “recognise his warts” (admits of his political ‘transgressions’) and do something about it. He is later told that the “politically ugly” (reads ZANU-PF opponents) will “never sway the Zimbabwean voter”. Interestingly, five days prior to the publishing of this editorial, Mugabe’s

wife, Grace had made a crude joke of Tsvangirai's looks, while campaigning for her husband at Nzvimbo growth point in Chiweshe, Mashonaland Central:

He (Tsvangirai) is ugly both facially and in his heart. When Baba (Mugabe) first met him physically, he came home trembling and I asked him what the problem was to which he (Mugabe) said he had never seen someone that ugly (NewsDay, 2013).

In example 5, the *NewsDay* gave a metaphor of sports as it lampooned the MDC for “chasing the ball every time” (reads clueless, directionless and politically tactless). The MDC leaders are presented as poor strategists when compared to a wily Mugabe. I made reference to this in the previous chapter (section 4.2.2.2) and without reinventing the wheel, I should state that this shows that *NewsDay* editorial writers used what little space they had to challenge the MDC despite scholarly work that suggests that the private media in Zimbabwe had “signed a pact with the opposition to ‘hear no evil’, ‘speak no evil’ and ‘see no evil’ regarding its affairs (Chari, 2009:10). In example 6, *NewsDay* make use of a metaphor of water transport. Mugabe is said to be a “captain” (reads President) of a “ship” (reads economy) in stormy waters (reads in recession). The editorial by giving this vivid picture of a tempestuous moment, it is seeking to remind the new ZANU-PF government of the dire economic state, which they need to address by engaging the international community, the MDC and other political parties in the country to come up with a workable business model. In doing so, this *NewsDay* editorial fits perfectly into what Stonecipher refers to as “problem-solving editorials”, which analyse and present solutions to the identified problems or tackle tough questions evolving from current events (1979:52).

5.3.3 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is an example of excessive exaggeration made for rhetorical effect (Richardson, 2007:65). In this study, I note that hyperbolism is used to magnify a political situation or event, so as to capture the attention of the intended readers. This somewhat dovetails with Conner (2001:143) who posits that “in most newspapers, the purpose of editorials is to influence the opinion of readers on some controversial issue”. The use of this trope can be seen in the following examples taken from *The Herald* (TH) and *NewsDay* (ND) editorials.

- (7) [...] we **would all have our heads chopped off and stuffed in refrigerators for principled points of disagreement** [...] (TH, 9 June, 2013).
- (8) The **fact that the MDC-T leader clogged his party’s rank and file with the ex-Rhodies** who not only denied our people the vote yesterday [...] (TH, 22 August, 2013).
- (9) [...] **brother turned against brother and butchered each other** for supporting rival parties [...] (ND, 19 July, 2013).
- (10) [...] Mugabe was forced to share power with arch-rival Morgan Tsvangirai **following a blood-soaked election** whose results were fiercely contested the previous year [...] (ND, 18 November, 2013).

In example 7, the writer(s) of this editorial published in *The Herald*, regurgitated a statement once said by an MDC official – Job Sikhala – who had been sacked from the party, although he was later re-admitted. This hyperbolic account seeks to present a negative image of Tsvangirai, who was at the time vying for the presidency with Mugabe. Tsvangirai is told that he is unfit to rule Zimbabwe as he was intolerant of diverging views. The chilling image of decapitated human heads stuffed in a fridge, which seeks to portray Tsvangirai as cannibalistic and potentially a blood-thirsty ‘vampire’, helps to discredit the person of the MDC leader as well as a dictator who should never be let anywhere near power. This is what epideictic rhetoric does. *The Herald*, despite being state-owned, showed no respect of Tsvangirai who was the Prime Minister in the uneasy GNU. As discussed in the previous chapter (section 4.1.1.2 and 4.2.3.1), *The Herald* - reflecting the political polarisation at the time - played a “lapdog” journalistic role (Donohue, 1995:120) for ZANU-PF, which had a minister controlling the ministry of information. In example 8, *The Herald* editorial writers continued attacking the MDC and its leader as disrespectful of the liberation struggle and people who lost their lives during the bush war, which led to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 from Britain. However, the editorial exaggerated by stating that it is a “fact” that the “MDC-T leader clogged his party’s rank and file with the ex-Rhodies”. A cursory look at the leadership structure of the party’s leadership at the time, points to the fact this was not the case. This hyperbolic account again is reflective of the disdain that *The Herald* as an institution has towards Tsvangirai and his party.

In example 9, the *NewsDay* editorial employs hyperbolicism as a form of rhetoric, just like *The Herald*, as it speaks to power. The editorial, making use of forensic rhetoric, hyperbolically claimed that during the 2008 election in Zimbabwe, “brother turned against brother and butchered each” other. Although, politically motivated violence was high in the country in 2008, it is an exaggeration to say that siblings attacked each throughout the country over political differences. Hyperbolicism, in this case, is used to try and magnify the sad chapter of electoral history of Zimbabwe, while at the same time imploring Mugabe to ensure that the country does not go back to that era of political intolerance, as his supporters in Chitungwiza, a satellite town of the capital, Harare had allegedly attacked MDC supporters. In example 10, the editorial is taking stock of what the ZANU-PF government had done since emerging victorious in the July 31 elections. In the process, the editorial also employs forensic rhetoric as it narrates how the economy shrank by 45% during a decade-long crisis under ZANU-PF and how the situation improved in 2009 when Mugabe joined hands with Tsvangirai and the smaller MDC formation party. It is at this point that the editorial hyperbolically states that GNU came into being due to a “blood-soaked” election. Again, although Zimbabwe registered deaths and severe injuries of several people due to political violence, it is rather an exaggeration to state that the country was soaked in blood, as if it was equivalent to the genocide that took place in Rwanda decades ago. Largely, the editorial is seeking to keep the ZANU-PF government in check, fulfilling the “fourth estate role” (Louw, 2005) of the press in a democratic society, although rhetorical tactics are employed to drive home their messages. I now turn to in-depth interviews, which complements the content analysis and rhetorical analysis presented in the previous chapter and above, respectively.

5.4 In-depth interviews: Editors’ perspective

As noted in section 3.6 an in-depth interview is one of the main methods of data collection in qualitative research (Legard et al, 2003:138). It can be used to “obtain information and understanding of issues relevant to the general aims and specific questions of a research project” (Gillham 2000:2). In this study, in-depth interviews helped the researcher to answer the question on how editors understand the space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power. Therefore, it assisted in understanding what editors think about the political situation in

Zimbabwe and how they are using editorials, as an institutional voice, to assess a situation and speak into it. I interviewed two editors, one from *The Herald* and the other from *NewsDay*, who both were involved in the writing of editorials and in making decisions regarding the issues to be written in the editorial. I now present a brief profile of the interviewees before I look into the findings from the interviews. To read the full excerpts of the interviews see Appendixes 1 and 2.

5.4.1 Interviewees profiles

Mabasa Sasa, joined *The Herald* in 2007 as a senior features reporter, before being promoted to deputy editor. In 2011, he was appointed editor of *The Southern Times*, a joint venture between Zimpapers and *New Era* of Namibia. Sasa was then appointed deputy editor of *The Herald* in 2013 and was also the acting editor of *The Sunday Mail*, a sister paper of *The Herald*, since June 2014. Unlike, Sasa, an editor from *NewsDay* whom I interviewed indicated that he preferred anonymity and therefore I will avoid providing much detail on his profile lest his identity is subtly inferred.

5.4.2 Writing editorials and protection from people with power

At *The Herald*, according to Sasa, an editorial is a “property” of the editor’s position and this means that the editor can give guidelines to an appropriately senior and well-informed member of staff (depending on the topic at hand) to write the comment, and the editor will then edit and publish it. The editor “can consult his/her senior staff on what the comment should say/read. But ultimately the buck stops with the editor”, according to Sasa. This suggests that the editor is answerable should anyone feel offended by content of an editorial and the same applies with the news content. Sasa aptly concluded this when he pointed that” “regardless of who writes it (editorial), it remains the editor's.” The editor from *NewsDay* agreed with Sasa. He pointed out that an editorial is based on a topical issue happening at the time. The “editor, assistant editors and the line editors – news editor, business editor and sports editor all write” editorials depending on the topic, he said. In as much as Sasa posits that an editorial is a “property” of the editor, the use of “we” as established already, was prevalent, suggesting that an editorial is an institutional voice (MacDougall, 1973:2).

5.4.3 Editorials as an instrument to address power

An editorial is seen as the institutional voice of a newspaper and for this reason editorials – in contrast to opinion columns, critical reviews, or news analysis type articles – are usually published anonymously (Stonecipher, 1979:41). As the institutional voice of a newspaper, editorials provide leadership on national issues and they “hold powerful institutions and elected leaders accountable” (Sellar, 2007 in Hannon, 2012:7). Given these assertions on editorials, I put it to Sasa to provide his opinion on how he understands the space that editorials provide to speak to power. I asked the question in relation to the period prior to and after the Zimbabwe 2013 elections. He said:

"Speaking to power" can take the form of censure, constructive criticism, elucidation, [and] support for that which deserves approbation, suggestions for improvement or downright denouncement. In various ways, all these were done before and after the 2013 elections as these are expected requirements of any political publication. This was done within the context of there being a coalition government (prior to the elections), two major competing parties in the poll itself (Zanu-PF and MDC-T), and there being a majority government (Zanu-PF) after the elections. Broadly, prior to the elections our institutional line was for a clear electoral outcome that would put an end to the coalition government, which we felt had failed to deliver and was not workable due to the polarisation in the country. On the two major competing parties, again broadly, our institutional view was that we would support any formation that largely promoted and protected wider national interests.

The deputy editor shows a great understanding of the space that editorials provide to speak to those in power as well as indicates how *The Herald* approached the country's political parties prior to and after the elections. He clearly stated that their institutional view was to support a party that “largely promoted and protected wider national interests”, which resonates with the findings of my textual analysis of the daily's editorials as, presented in the previous chapter. Although the term “national interests” can be relative, taken from the Zimbabwean context, it refers to a party that does not have ties with Western countries, a mould that the ZANU-PF party fits into. The MDC was viewed to be too cosy with the West, hence *The Herald*, as discussed previously, hence it was constantly berated.

Furthermore, Sasa pointed out that the newspaper's stance after the elections was to implore the new government to normalise the situation by promoting economic growth as well as fulfill the promises that were made to the electorates on the campaign trail, which dovetails with the findings of my content analysis and rhetorical analysis. I discussed this at length in *sections 4.2.8* and *5.2.2*. This is what he said:

After the election, our institutional position has been to prod the majority government into fulfilling poll pledges, which largely relate to indigenisation, empowerment and economic transformation; employment creation; national development, particularly in the spheres of infrastructure and services; combating corruption; and general responsiveness to citizen needs and concerns.

This assessment is supported by the following few extracts taken from the sampled editorials, which read:

- (1) We do not expect the legislators to move away from the agenda set out by President Mugabe when he officially opened the first session last week. President Mugabe's speech was mainly derived from Zanu-PF's manifesto which was clear on the developmental needs to be pursued by the party (The Herald, 24 September, 2013).
- (2) There is no escape to pleasing the electorate, except through fulfilling the aspirations of the people. Every Government official, from the lowest ranked to the top, must be geared to produce results for the expectant masses who overwhelmingly voted for Zanu-PF on July 31. What is needed now is unity of purpose among Government officials from the Cabinet down to the lower structures to facilitate the tackling of business without creating conflict (The Herald, 28 September, 2013).
- (3) We expect the new Government to put the Zanu-PF manifesto's provisions into action, so that they do not remain a mere pipe dream. The party, of course, has viable strategic plans, but a strategy is not enough if the officials are not inclined towards successfully executing it. We need a successful, results-driven strategic plan which includes developing a common vision, determining how to implement it and the measuring of progress (The Herald, 28 September, 2013).

On the other hand the editor from *NewsDay* noted that he understands the space that an editorial provided to address power during the 2013 elections. He argues:

As editorial writers we reminded the political parties to conduct peaceful campaigns and avoid the recurrence of violence associated with previous elections. After the elections we implored the winning party to make available the promises it made and address the faltering economy.

His response largely reflects how the newspaper's editorials spoke to power prior to and after the elections as the researcher established in the previous chapter. Here is the empirical evidence of what he noted from the editorials I sampled:

- (4) It is not in the people's interest to be fed with political rhetoric at the expense of the basics that make them survive. Food on the table should be taken to mean what it symbolises — food, healthcare, education, jobs and good service delivery, among other things. It is disheartening to hear Mugabe engage in political rhetoric, blasting imagined enemies as if he is still in campaign mode. Campaigning is over and reality cannot be wished away. (*NewsDay*, 17 August, 2013).
- (5) For a lasting economic resolution, we urge Zanu PF to swallow its pride and re-engage the international community, the MDC-T and other political forces in the country for a workable business model that can take the country forward. This is the only way they can court foreign investors whose presence will be key for a serious economic rejuvenation as years of isolation have clearly demonstrated that we cannot play solitaire in this regard and expect to win. We await development (*NewsDay*, 18 November, 2013).
- (6) The nation's hopes hinge on this new Cabinet. Curiously, there are only three women ministers out of 26 and we have no choice, but to trust that they will serve the people well. The hope too is that, with most of them having been ministers for decades, they must have accumulated enough to get them by and should now be able to exercise restraint when that spirit of selfishness, greed, corruption and outright theft visits them. The people are closely watching the new Cabinet and expect immediate signs of positive action and delivery (*NewsDay*, 12 September, 2013).

Both newspapers' move after elections to prod the government fulfill its pledges, as stated by the editors, fulfills the watchdog roles of the press, which suggest that the media play a surveillance role on those in power (Donohue, 1995:118).

5.4.4 Political environment influencing the writing of editorials

Sasa admits that given that the country was quite polarised prior to the 2013 elections this reflected in the manner in which editorials were written. He, however, pointed out that a “decisive outcome delivering a majority Government had gone a long way towards blurring that polarisation”.

There does remain a fairly visible opposition in the form of MDC-T. You will find, though, that media focus is increasingly turning towards holding the government of the day accountable to the electorate, and so discourse is increasingly - though not to desirable levels - influenced by economic concerns rather than political preferences.

This assessment dovetails with the findings of the content analysis as presented in the previous chapter, however, if one looks beyond the time period of this research, it is clear that the two newspapers shifted their stance to focus mainly on the factional fighting in ZANU-PF as the race to succeed Mugabe whenever he will leave office, got intense and often dirtier, as I have already highlighted above. On the other hand the editor from *NewsDay* is of the view that their editorials were neither hostile nor favoured a certain political party, but a “crystallisation” of what was obtained in the country at the time. However, findings of a content analysis of the newspaper's editorials prior to and after the 2013 elections revealed that *NewsDay* editorials appeared to be heavily anti-Mugabe and ZANU-PF although they occasional censured the MDC as already discussed in the previous chapter.

5.4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I conducted a rhetorical analysis of 12 editorials sampled from the 30 editorials used for thematic content analysis, to establish tactics employed in the editorials to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions prior to and after the 31 July 2013 elections. It is evident that the two newspapers employed rhetorical devices such as metonymy,

metaphor and hyperbole to question those in positions of authority. These tactics mainly “function to enhance composition, persuade, inform and express”, according to McGuigan (2011) cited in Afzal and Harun (2013:62). In their quest to keep the new government in check after the elections, the newspapers also employed rhetorical modes (ethos, logos and pathos), which show “the strategy that the arguer takes in persuading the audience (those in authority in this case)” (Richardson, 2007:159). The three kinds of persuasive discourse (deliberative, forensic, and epideictic), were also employed in the editorials and helped the researcher to establish the issues that were raised as a result of their use. Furthermore, in-depth interviews with two editors from *The Herald* and *NewsDay* respectively indicated that the editors are aware of the space that an editorial provides to speak to power in the form of censure, constructive criticism, elucidation, and support for that which deserves approbation, suggestions for improvement or downright denouncement. In the next chapter I present the conclusion of this thesis.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.0 Summary

Given the complex nature of this study, I adopted a three-stage design, which allows inferences or leads drawn from one data source to be validated or followed up by another. I looked at qualitative content analysis to establish themes. This answered the question on how the editorials spoke to power prior to and after the 2013 election. I also employed rhetorical analysis to consider tactics employed in the editorials to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of authority as well as in-depth interviews to establish how editors understood the space of the editorial as an instrument to address those in power. I now look at the major issues that I pulled out from these three methods employed.

6.1 Primary findings

6.1.1 Qualitative content analysis

I conducted a content analysis of 30 editorials (15 apiece) from the two newspapers sampled between 1 June and 31 December 2013. I noted that *The Herald* editorials appeared to be pro-ZANU-PF and hostile to the MDC led by Tsvangirai prior to and during the election, but started criticising some Zanu-PF officials after the election. With this in mind, I argue that *The Herald* editorials, prior to the election, showed characteristics of the guard dog media, which assumes that the media reflect interests of the dominant groups and have neither the inclination nor the power to challenge those dominant groups, unless they are already under challenge by other forces (Donohue, 1995:119). I further posit that whoever is the minister of information tends to micro-manage operations at Zimpapers, which owns *The Herald*. The minister of information in the GNU was Webster Shamhu, who also doubled as ZANU-PF's political commissar. Therefore, I argue that as the minister he was inclined to propagate his party's views through *The Herald* newspaper and this resonates with Hallin and Mancini's assertion that professionalisation of journalism in polarised pluralistic environment is "not as strongly differentiated from political activism and the autonomy of journalism is often limited" (2004:73).

With the election gone and ZANU-PF declared the winner, I note that *The Herald* editorials somewhat recorded a shift as it started prodding the ruling party to work towards fulfilling its electoral promises. I also note that the newspaper became critical of some individuals in the ruling party, but never censured Mugabe. I link this metamorphosis to the appointment of a new information minister (Professor Jonathan Moyo) on 10 September 2013 who took over from Webster Shamhu as well as the appointment of a new editor (Caesar Zvayi) and his deputy (Mabasa Sasa). Moyo roundly attacked political and media polarisation in the country during his unprecedented visits to media houses long deemed pro-opposition, urging journalists that they “engage each other” (Matambanadzo, 2013). I note that the change in tone of *The Herald* did not go down well with some ZANU-PF officials, who thought the newspaper was being used in the party’s factional politics, as the battle to succeed Mugabe reached a crescendo. I point out that this resonates with what Louw noted regarding the Fourth Estate journalism model. He argues that it can lead to “conflicts between journalists and politicians because Fourth Estate journalists will publish stories politicians would prefer were repressed” (2010:50).

On the other hand, I note that *NewsDay* editorials appeared to be heavily anti-Mugabe and ZANU-PF to give credence to arguments that Zimbabwean political reporters and editors are notorious for their partisan reportage (Mabweazara, 2011:110). However, this study note that unlike Chari’s conclusion that the private press in Zimbabwe appear “to have signed a pact with the opposition to ‘hear no evil’, ‘speak no evil’ and ‘see no evil’ regarding its affairs” (2009:10), I establish that *NewsDay*’s editorials were critical of the MDC prior to and post-election despite having a soft spot for the party. For example, on 14 June, 2013, *NewsDay* criticised the MDC in an editorial (Mugabe move self-defeating) of being less politically astute as they always “played into Mugabe’s trickery – chasing the ball every time”. The paper’s most effective hard jab on the MDC was in an editorial published on 24 June, 2013, which accused Tsvangirai’s ministers in GNU of failing to bring a “sea change” in public administration. In light of this finding, I argue that the involvement of Tsvangirai’s party in GNU, somewhat took away the privilege it used to enjoy when it was an opposition party.

6.1.2 Rhetorical analysis

I first note that the newspapers used the editorial “we” to mean that the arguer was an institution although arguably “we’ may mean a single individual, perhaps the owner or publisher or editor or someone else, but the anonymity indicates that the paper endorses what is said” (MacDougall, 1973:2). Furthermore, I note that editors/journalists/newspapers sometimes speak on behalf of the nation (by asserting the “we” device) as a rhetorical mechanism to get government/those in power to listen and take notice of their demands or wishes. I also note that the use of “we” relates to ethos (the arguer). An ethotic argument “invokes the personal character and quality of the speaker (Prinsloo, 2009:246). I noted that the editorials, after the election, centred on persuading (which rhetoric does) the newly elected government to normalize the economic situation in the country. *NewsDay* appealed to Mugabe stating that as his ZANU-PF government begins its five-year term; ordinary citizens were expecting full participation by those tasked with taking the country forward. It also made forensic arguments telling the newly elected government that the absence of a functional cabinet during the GNU had “literally brought the country to a standstill, especially with regard to the economy”. Therefore, with a single government, “the nation can now move forward – with greater momentum (in whichever direction)”.

The Herald also made epideictic arguments when it noted that the ruling party should tackle the developmental agenda that it claims had always characterised debates in the House since independence in 1980. It pointed out to the ruling party legislators that “the honeymoon” was over and it was time “‘put their shoulders to the wheel’ and ensure that they deliver on promises made by Team Zanu-PF during the election campaign”. I note that the shift in position by *The Herald* after the election could have been necessitated by the need to get politicians normalise the situation following years of tension in Parliament and GNU, which was heavily polarised. *The Herald*, as what epideictic rhetoric does, censured the MDC for being a ‘puppet’ party, unpatriotic and advancing the interests of the West. The daily argued that Western countries “have been singing from the same hymn book as the MDC-T, with Mr Tsvangirai claiming that he calls the shots because he has the Western countries on his side”. Using deliberative arguments, the MDC was implored that it would do well in future elections if it disassociates itself with the West and by not supporting sanctions they imposed. Employing epideictic

rhetoric, *The Herald* also dissuaded the “blundering greenhorn party” from not taking national issues seriously. This was after it boycotted the opening of the Parliament by Mugabe arguing that his party had stolen the election. *NewsDay* also made deliberative arguments telling Mugabe and his government to normalise relations with the West, and focus on fulfilling their election promises such as employment creation and food security. It censured ZANU-PF for attributing the economic failure to sanctions imposed by the West:

6.1.1 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews with the editors from the two newspapers revealed that they are aware of the space that an editorial provides to speak to power in the form of censure, constructive criticism, elucidation, and support for that which deserves approbation, suggestions for improvement or downright denouncement. Their insights dovetailed with the findings of qualitative content and rhetorical analyses the researcher conducted. For example, Sasa, *The Herald* deputy editor, noted that their institutional view, prior to the election, was to support a party that “largely promoted and protected wider national interests”, which in another words refers to ZANU-PF, given how the newspaper, as shown in the outcome of my content analysis, roundly criticised the MDC for having ties with Western countries. Furthermore, Sasa pointed out that the newspaper’s stance after the elections was to implore the new government to normalise the situation by promoting economic growth as well as fulfill the promises that were made to the electorates on the campaign trail, which resonates with the findings of my content analysis and rhetorical analysis. An editor from *NewsDay* also noted that he understood the space that an editorial provided to address power during the 2013 elections. His response mirrored how the newspaper’s editorials spoke to power prior to and after the elections as the researcher established in the content and rhetorical analyses.

6.1.2 Overview of findings in relation to role of editorials

I note that although newspaper editorials might seem to run along the political lines established by the political system, the findings of this study show that they are also used by journalists to address those in power as well as on behalf of the imagined nation (depending on which paper is ‘speaking’). Editorials play a multipronged role as they do not only censure, but they also

support and advise those who hold public offices. Examples are abounding in the last two chapters of this study on this finding and I will avoid re-inventing the wheel.

6.1.3 Study's contribution to theory from an African perspective

Looking at the study's contribution to the theories cited in Chapter 2 as well as in understanding how editorials work generally in newspapers, I note that the Zimbabwean environment dovetails to some extent with Hallin and Mancini's "Polarised Pluralist Model" which posits that the style of journalism under their model tend to give substantial emphasis to commentary and newspapers are inclined to "represent distinct political tendencies (2004:98). While it first appeared that the newspapers were used as instruments of struggle in political contestation in the country prior to the election, both newspaper editorials expressed their opinions and on behalf of Zimbabweans regarding what needed to be done to normalise the economic and political situation in the country after the elections. This therefore shows that newspaper editorials in Zimbabwe are not just mere megaphones of those in power rather they do sometimes play an oversight role in the "public" interest by holding the elite accountable. This also resonates with research in media communications, which shows that newspaper editorials play an important role in the definition of the public agenda priorities (McCombs, 1997).

The press, by the choice of news and emphasis on certain topics, determines the issues the public thinks and talks about (Severin and Tankard, 1992:207, 227). In case of this study, I note that issues raised were meant for the political elite to think about the promises they made to the people during the elections and how they can pull the country from the economic quagmire. This study also shows that opinions carried in Zimbabwean newspaper editorials are defended by a series of arguments, as stated by Van Dijk (1988: 129). Since argumentation is rooted in ancient rhetoric, I acknowledge that the two Zimbabwean English-language newspapers, whose editorials I analysed, employed rhetorical strategies to question and challenge the decisions and behaviours of those in positions of authority. Although there is adherence to the divisions the political process creates, the study established that editors and journalists often take on the role of the society and nation and cajole politicians to do their duty and to see the larger picture of the nation's interests. They also use editorials to bolster their own authority in the public space and

to keep open a possibility that journalists can continue to speak to power even in situations which are complicated politically.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview guide for *The Herald* deputy editor Mabasa Sasa and transcript

Date: Wednesday, 15 October, 2014

1. First, can you briefly tell me about your work profile with Zimpapers?

I joined *The Herald* in 2007 as a senior features (reporter), before being promoted to deputy editor. In 2011 I was appointed editor of *The Southern Times*, a joint venture between Zimpapers and New Era of Namibia. I was appointed deputy editor of *The Herald* in 2013 and have been acting editor of *The Sunday Mail* since June 2014.

2. Who writes and decides the content of editorials?

Twice a day, the editor meets with all editorial supervisors (deputy editor, assistant editors and desk editors) to discuss what stories the reporters are working on. In this sense, everyone has input. However, the final decision on what is to be used and what is to be discarded is made by the editor.

3. For sake of clarity, does your response relate to an editorial comment or hard and soft news content decided in a diary meeting? If it refers to the latter, then I should rephrase my question to read: Who writes and decides the content of an editorial comment?

That was largely in regards to all content in the paper. The Editor's Comment, by its very name, is the product of the editor. This means that the editor can give guidelines to an appropriately senior and well-informed member of staff (depending on the topic at hand) to write the comment, and the editor will then edit it and publish it. Regardless of who writes it, it remains the editor's. The editor can consult his/her senior staff on what the comment should say/read. But ultimately the buck stops with the editor.

4. Do you intend for editorials to carry authority? How do you write them so that they sound authoritative? Where do you derive such authority?

The basic tenets of journalism lend authority to editorials: balance, accuracy and fairness. These are reinforced by solid research, timeliness and use of language.

5. Do you understand the space provided by editorials as an institutional voice and as an editorial writer, how did you "speak to power" prior to and after the 2013 elections?

The Editor's Comment is an institutional view, the "institution" being *The Herald*. However, op-eds are the views of the contributors, though the editorship strives to ensure that these meet professional standards (i.e. are not libelous). "Speaking to power" can take the form of censure, constructive criticism, elucidation, support for that which deserves approbation, suggestions for improvement or downright denouncement. In various ways, all these were done before and after the 2013 elections as these are expected requirements of any political publication. This was done within the context of there being a coalition Government (prior to the elections), two major competing parties in the poll itself (Zanu-PF and MDC-T), and there being a majority Government (Zanu-PF) after the elections. Broadly, prior to the elections our institutional line was for a clear electoral outcome that would put an end to the coalition Government, which we felt had failed to deliver and was not workable due to the polarisation in the country. On the two major competing parties, again broadly, our institutional view was that we would support any formation that largely promoted and protected wider national interests. After the election, our institutional position has been to prod the majority Government into fulfilling poll pledges, which largely relate to indigenisation, empowerment and economic transformation; employment creation; national development, particularly in the spheres of infrastructure and services; combating corruption; and general responsiveness to citizen needs and concerns.

6. In your opinion, do you think the political environment in the country influences the writing of editorials when speaking to Zanu-PF and the MDC led by Tsvangirai?

As pointed out above, the country was quite polarised prior to the 2013 elections. However, a decisive outcome delivering a majority Government has gone a long way towards blurring that polarisation. There does remain a fairly visible opposition in the form of MDC-T. You will find, though, that media focus is increasingly turning towards holding the Government of the day

accountable to the electorate, and so discourse is increasingly - though not to desirable levels - influenced by economic concerns rather than political preferences.

7. Did the ministry or minister of information influence the content of the editorials during the election and post-election era?

No.

8. *The Herald* editorials appeared to be pro- Zanu-PF and hostile to the MDC led by Tsvangirai prior to and during the election, but started criticising some Zanu-PF officials after the election. Can you explain this shift?

Appearances can be deceiving. *The Herald* has always been critical about underperformance, regardless of where it emanates. Maybe this became more pronounced after the election as regards to some personalities in Zanu-PF because of the appreciation that poor performance was largely to blame for the creation of the coalition Government. Hence, criticism of these people is informed by the need to ensure there is no room for the kind of complacency that led to formation of a coalition Government in 2009. As noted in the response to your "speaking to power" query, the role of any political publication includes censure, constructive criticism, elucidation, support for that which deserves approbation, suggestions for improvement or downright denouncement; and getting Government to fulfill poll pledges and respond appropriately to citizen needs and concerns.

9. Have you ever been threatened or sued as an organisation after publishing an editorial that was not appreciated by those in power (opposition parties included)?

Yes, both Government and opposition figures sue. However, I cannot freely comment on those issues as they fall within the ambit of the operations of the Company Secretary.

Appendix 2: Interview guide for a *NewsDay* editor (identity withhold) and transcript

Date: Friday, 14 November, 2014

1. Who writes and decides the content of editorial comment?

The comment is written basing on a topical issue happening at the time. The editor, assistant editors and the line editors—news editor, business editor and sports editor—all write the comment. If the topical issue that period is sports-related, then the sports editor will write the comment. The same applies to other beats such as news and business.

2. In your opinion, do you think *NewsDay* editorial comments are hostile to Mugabe and ZANU-PF, but friendly to the mdc led by Tsvangirai?

The comments are neither hostile nor favour a certain political party but a crystallisation of what is currently obtaining

3. Do you understand the space provided by editorial comments as an institutional voice and as an editorial writer, how did you speak to power prior to and after the 2013 elections?

Yes we do. As editorial writers we reminded the political parties to conduct peaceful campaigns and avoid the recurrence of violence associated with previous elections. After the elections we implored the winning party to make available the promises it made and address the faltering economy.

4. Do you think editorial comments need to sound authoritative? How does one write an editorial in order to achieve this? Where do you derive such authority?

The editorial comment contains the views of the newspaper. The authority is based on information gathered and which the paper views as correct.

5. In your opinion, do you think the political environment in the country influences the writing of editorial comments when speaking to ZANU-PF and the MDC led by Tsvangirai?

Editorials are shaped by what obtaining in an environment. If the nation is approaching an election, the majority of the editorials would be election-related.

- 6. Have you ever been threatened or sued as an organisation after publishing an editorial comment that was not appreciated by those in power (opposition parties included)?**

There were complaints here and there but lawsuits.

- 7. Did the owners of NewsDay influence the content of the editorial comments during the election and post-election era, given that editorials reflect an institution's position on any subject?**

No. the owners have given editors room to run the paper

Appendix 3: Cover letter for *The Herald* deputy editor

Dear Mr. Mabasa Sasa,

My name is Mathew Nyaungwa, a Journalism and Media Studies student at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa and I am currently working on my thesis, under the supervision of Professor Anthea Garman. The research is purely academic and is in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Arts Journalism and Media Studies.

The study hinges on the content analysis of editorials in *The Herald* and *NewsDay* newspapers, as well as in-depth interviews with editors and journalists to achieve its aims. You have been chosen to participate in the interviews, because you are the deputy editor of *The Herald* although currently acting as *The Sunday Mail* editor. On this note, please indicate if you prefer anonymity or have your name mentioned as one of the interviewees.

I am particularly interested in comments on editorials on the political situation between 1 June and 31 December 2013. However, the interviews seek to get a sense of how journalists/editors maneuvered or addressed people who wield political power in a polarised environment. Although, in-depth interviews are most effective when the researcher meets with the interviewee for a face-to-face interview, written responses would also be welcomed and if there is need for follow-up questions, we can meet in Harare early November.

I expect the findings of my study to be of some relevance to you as a paper and to also contribute some knowledge to the currently under researched area of editorials as institutional voices. I have included my contact details and will be happy to provide any clarifications that you may need.

I will be very grateful for any assistance rendered.

Sincerely,



Mathew Nyaungwa

MA candidate, Rhodes University

Mobile: +27747383450

E mail: g13n2921@campus.ru.ac.za or mathewmethod@yahoo.com

Appendix 4: Cover letter for the *NewsDay* editor (name withheld)

My name is Mathew Nyaungwa, a Journalism and Media Studies student at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa and I am currently working on my thesis, under the supervision of Professor Anthea Garman. The research is purely academic and is in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Arts Journalism and Media Studies.

The study hinges on the content analysis of editorials in *The Herald* and *NewsDay* newspapers, as well as in-depth interviews with editors and journalists to achieve its aims. You have been chosen to participate in the interviews, because you are one of the *NewsDay* editors who were responsible for the publication of the newspaper prior to and after the 2013 election. On this note, please indicate if you prefer anonymity or have your name mentioned as one of the interviewees.

I am particularly interested in comments on editorials on the political situation between 1 June and 31 December 2013. However, the interviews seek to get a sense of how journalists/editors maneuvered or addressed people who wield political power in a polarised environment. Although, in-depth interviews are most effective when the researcher meets with the interviewee for a face-to-face interview, written responses would also be welcomed and if there is need for follow-up questions, we can meet in Harare early November.

I expect the findings of my study to contribute some knowledge to the currently under researched area of editorials as institutional voices.

I will be very grateful for any assistance rendered.

Sincerely,



Mathew Nyaungwa

MA candidate, Rhodes University

E mail: g13n2921@campus.ru.ac.za or mathewmethod@yahoo.com

Appendix 5: Sample editorials from *The Herald and NewsDay*

Pre-election period

1. In your dreams, Mr Tsvangirai (*The Herald*, 9 June,2013)
2. Mugabe move self-defeating (*NewsDay*, 14 June,2013)
3. Anti-Zanu PF mood not enough to win polls (*NewsDay*, 24 June,2013)
4. Stop the rigging (*NewsDay*, 3 July,2013)
5. Be grateful Mr President (*NewsDay*, 8 July,2013)
6. How sincere are Mugabe's calls? (*NewsDay*, 19 July,2013)
7. Tsvangirai must substantiate election rigging claims (*The Herald*, 22 July,2013)
8. Campaigns lacking substance! (*NewsDay*,26 July,2013)

9. Domestic funding of polls way to go (*The Herald*, 27 July,2013)

Post-election period

10. Tsvangirai should have known better (*NewsDay*, 5 August,2013)
11. West must respect people's will (*The Herald*, 5 August, 2013)
12. Tsvangirai, it's time to let people get on with their lives (*The Herald*, 7 August,2013)
13. Tsvangirai must stop wasting everyone's time (*The Herald*, 9 August,2013)
14. Five more years under Mugabe (*NewsDay*,10 August,2013)
15. Lesson for Tsvangirai from Mali's Cisse (*The Herald*, 15 August,2013)
16. Political rhetoric doesn't bring food on the table (*NewsDay*, 17 August,2013)
17. The politically ugly will never sway Zim voters (*The Herald*, 22 August,2013)
18. Let us give new Cabinet a chance (*NewsDay*, 12 September,2013)
19. Mugabe must not issue empty threats (*NewsDay*, 13 September,2013)
20. MDC-T must stop giving West sanctions ammunition (*The Herald*, 16 September,2013)
21. It's time MDC-T took national issues seriously (*The Herald*, 18 September,2013)
22. Zanu-PF should prove why it must always get two thirds majority (*The Herald*, 24 September,2013)
23. Results-oriented Govt progressive (*The Herald*, 28 September,2013)
24. US, UK behold: The world has spoken (*The Herald*, 11 October, 2013)
25. Stop 'sanctions' chorus (*NewsDay*, 17 October,2013)
26. Zanu-PF must curb chef syndrome (*The Herald*, 14 November, 2013)
27. This is not how Comrades behave (*The Herald*, 19 November, 2013)
28. Mugabe must put his house in order (*NewsDay*, 15 November, 2013)
29. Swallow your pride (*NewsDay*, 18 November, 2013)
30. Mugabe must punish inactive ministers (*NewsDay*, 27 November, 2013)

Appendix 6: In your dreams, Mr Tsvangirai (*The Herald*, 9 June, 2013)

In her biography on French philosopher Voltaire, British writer Evelyn Beatrice Hall made an enduring statement that is often cited as the principle of free speech where she said; "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it". This principle is clearly lost on MDC-T leader Mr Morgan Tsvangirai, whose party clearly believes that disagreeing with what journalists write gives them the right to beat or punish them.

MDC-T thugs have since made good on Mr Tsvangirai's chilling threat to journalists that "rimwe zuva gava richadambura musungo (one day all hell will break loose)" as they assaulted two journalists in Harare and Bulawayo within a period of 24 hours.

Our Bulawayo Bureau senior reporter Mashudu Netsianda was the first to fall to MDC-T thuggery when Mr Tsvangirai's personal aides manhandled him before confiscating his notebook and deleting recordings on his mobile phone.

Mashudu's crime, he had covered a town hall meeting where Mr Tsvangirai had been given a difficult time by Bulawayo residents. Hardly 24 hours later, MDC-T thugs at Harvest House in Harare descended on, and severely assaulted Zimbabwe Independent reporter Herbert Moyo, who was covering a demonstration by disgruntled MDC-T supporters at Harvest House.

We unreservedly condemn the barbarism shown by MDC-T.

We have said it before and we say it again, newspapers are not obliged to write to please Mr Tsvangirai, they write to inform the nation on Mr Tsvangirai's suitability for office, given that he has been actively campaigning for national presidency.

If Mr Tsvangirai wants a praise-singing Press, he is free to apply for a licence at the Zimbabwe Media Commission and launch his own newspaper.

However, as he does that he must remember that journalists have a duty and that duty is not to deodorise his ugly politics and casual sex escapades, their responsibility is to be watchdogs for their readers.

We hope the nation has seen for itself the dangerous traits being exhibited by Mr Tsvangirai, whose allies say should not be allowed near instruments of state power as he has a dangerous predilection for dictatorship.

Former MDC secretary for security, Mr Job Sikhala, could not have put it any better where he said should Tsvangirai lay hands on instruments of state, we would all have our heads chopped off and stuffed in refrigerators for principled points of disagreement.

We are reminded of Mr Tsvangirai's role in having six journalists from the public media placed on Western sanctions.

His party helped compile the list that saw Zimpapers chief operations officer and editor-in-chief Pikirayi Deketeke, Herald deputy editor Caesar Zvayi, Sunday Mail assistant editor Munyaradzi Huni, ZBC chief correspondent Reuben Barwe, Diplomatic Correspondent Judith Makwanya and freelancer Musorowegomo Mukosi placed on sanctions.

In placing these six on the sanctions list, the West sought to instil fear and create a psychological block in all journalists who do not toe the MDC-T/EU line.

As part of MDC-T intolerance, one of our long time columnists Peter Mavhunga was subjected to a witch hunt by British authorities for his opinions in this paper and was forced to stop writing or risk deportation.

Prolific columnist Reason Wafawarova had to fight tooth and nail in the Australian courts to avoid deportation. His crime, he writes a weekly column in The Herald critical of Western foreign policies and the MDC formations.

While the MDC-T and its allies have ganged up against innocent Zimbabweans abroad to the extent of silencing some of them, they should never dream of doing it here.

We urge our colleagues to intensify scrutiny, at least now we know what lies behind Mr Tsvangirai's call for media reforms. He wants a lap dog not watch dog press.

It appears he has a lot to hide.

To that we say, in your dreams, Mr Tsvangirai.

Appendix 7: Mugabe move self-defeating (*NewsDay*, 14 June, 2013)

Zimbabwe will hold harmonised elections on July 31, at least after President Robert Mugabe (89) yesterday proclaimed the date before consulting his inclusive government partners MDC–T leader Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai, his deputy Arthur Mutambara and MDC’s Welshman Ncube.

We are told he only consulted Tsvangirai by phone just before proclaiming his date. This followed a majority Constitutional Court (Concourt) judgment on May 31, ordering Mugabe to proclaim as soon as possible a date(s) for the holding of elections by no later than July 31.

In the two weeks, we believed the Concourt’s use of the word “proclaim” in its order indicated that the court was referring to the formal legal step of a proclamation in the Government Gazette complying with section 157(3) of the new Constitution and the Electoral Law.

This doesn’t seem to be. Was the Concourt ruling a political decision given legal effect? Why was Mugabe quick to declare he would abide by the ruling? What role did Mugabe play in the Concourt ruling?

Curiously, Mugabe on Tuesday chaired a Cabinet meeting and they okayed electoral laws amendments that are set to be crafted by the bicameral Parliament next week. So by proclaiming the election date, Mugabe should have known that the Electoral Law cannot be changed after the electoral proclamation at least according to Section 157(5) of the new Constitution, which provides that “after an election has been called, no change to the Electoral Law or to any other law relating to elections has effect for the purpose of that election”.

His position, therefore, puts the country in an invidious position because the electoral law still needs to be changed to comply with the new Constitution. Isn’t it curious that Mugabe claims to respect the Concourt ruling while desecrating the very same Constitution that he pledged to defend? Suppose he loses the very same election that he has called for, will he respect the Constitution? We wish to remind Mugabe that the forthcoming election is an election for the purposes of the new Constitution because now that the new Constitution has been gazetted, it is too late to have an election under the Lancaster House Constitution.

We reckon that the current absence of a constitutionally-compliant Electoral Law is not the only problem. There were countless other issues to be dealt with before the date of election was set. The fact that Registrar-General Tobaiwa Mudede also disregarded the new charter by directing the voter registration exercise to be conducted for only three days per ward, played into Mugabe’s political gamesmanship. Clearly, it was not little Mudede, but the “big man” Mugabe who directed. Sadly, the two MDCs played into Mugabe’s trickery – chasing the ball every time. While Tsvangirai’s ganging up with other political parties shocked Mugabe, by proclaiming the election he might have pulled a rug from under their feet.

We wait to see how regional leaders will react to the country’s political crisis. Sadc facilitator South African President Jacob Zuma will give a progress report on the country’s roadmap to free and fair elections in Maputo, Mozambique, tomorrow. Whether the summit is still relevant at this point is neither here nor there, but the agenda remains the Zimbabwe crisis.

One wonders why Mugabe wants Zimbabwe to regress to the pre-2008 turmoil. If Mugabe could only allow Zimbabwe to move forward, he would obviously salvage his otherwise tattered legacy.

Otherwise his action this far, is self-defeating!

Appendix 8: Anti-Zanu PF mood not enough to win polls (*NewsDay*, 24 June, 2013)

Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai last week predicted a landslide victory for his party in the impending harmonised elections.

Speaking on the campaign trail in Bubi constituency last Friday, the MDC-T leader told his supporters that the mood in the country was “overwhelmingly anti-Zanu PF” and that Zimbabweans “will not vote for a dark past, but for a bright future which lies in the hands of the MDC-T”.

Tsvangirai is right about the anti-Zanu PF sentiment pervading the political landscape. He is also correct that Zimbabweans are keen to have a new leadership that will extricate the nation from the current morass.

The MDC-T boss should, however, be circumspect about his party’s chances in the elections, as he is not only coming up against a wily President Robert Mugabe, who still has at his disposal State machinery to manipulate the electoral process and impair the results.

Tsvangirai should also make judicious evaluation of his parties performance as a facet of the inclusive government since its formation four years ago.

His ministers have in many instances failed to bring sea change in public administration. They have not been different from denizens of the retrogressive dark past. MDC-T ministers in charge of Water and Energy, for example, have failed to use their combined influence to electrify pump stations at Mtshabezi Dam critical to Bulawayo’s water provision.

The MDC-T’s commitment to reform has been questionable at times as the party has nodded through disastrous policies effected by the inclusive government.

On the eve of these harmonised elections, the party has awakened to the outstanding legislative agenda which includes media reform, reforming the security establishment, ensuring professionalism in the conduct of the Registrar-General and protection of fundamental rights. It could be too late.

More critically, dozens of MDC-T MPs who won in the former Zanu PF rural strongholds in 2008, have done very little to grow their support base, electing to sit back, buoyed by the belief that the grind of hardships is creating an anti-Zanu PF sentiment in the constituencies.

There is no real evidence on the ground at the moment that the MDC-T has grown its support base in these constituencies to guarantee the party a landslide victory.

The so-called “overwhelmingly anti-Zanu PF” sentiment may not be enough to see the MDC-T home in these elections because the party still has to demonstrate organisational aptitude to counter Zanu PF’s chicanery in the conduct of elections.

Tsvangirai should be reminded that what Zanu PF has lost on the ground, the State bureaucracy can recover through manipulating the electoral process and application of the tried and tested intimidation matrix by securocrats.

The current voter registration fiasco is ample demonstration of Zanu PF’s control of processes. What is Tsvangirai’s response to the disenfranchisement of thousands of his supporters?

Zimbabweans are looking for a leader whose industry and ingenuity can provide an alternative to Zanu PF’s failed policies.

This is what we want to hear from the MDC-T; how the party will sort out, energy shortages, crumbling infrastructure, failing health system and grand corruption in both the public and private sector.

The anti-Zanu PF mood is not a safe passage to State House, Morgan.

Appendix 9: Stop the rigging (*NewsDay*, 3 July, 2013)

MDC-T leader Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai's claims that his party has unearthed a massive scam in which Zanu PF is allegedly plotting to rig the forthcoming harmonised elections using State security agents and a hired Israeli intelligence organisation should be taken seriously. Tsvangirai also alleged that Zanu PF was planning to register over 50 000 police officers as special voters to allow them to cast their ballots before the poll date, yet the country only has 38 000 police officers.

Stories have been told before of police details being asked to show their superiors their postal ballots and this was a bone of contention in the 2008 election.

This compounded with the statements that have been made by Securocrats that they will not salute a leader who does not have liberation war credentials — in apparent reference to Tsvangirai — gives credence to the Zanu PF shenanigans with the postal ballot system, especially in regard to the security forces.

In fact, since Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980, most if not all of its elections have been marred by allegations of vote-rigging by State actors.

The forthcoming elections are no different as Tsvangirai has alleged that Section 56 (1) of the Electoral Amendment Act which prohibited double voting had been clandestinely deleted, a move he described as highly suspicious.

It is important for Justice Rita Makarau-headed Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (Zec) to seriously scrutinise Tsvangirai's election-rigging allegations and if found to be true, take appropriate action.

Not only should elections be free and fair, they should actually be seen to be free and fair.

If Zec investigates and is in fact seen to be investigating these allegations it would help in the elections with the legitimacy they need for Zimbabwe to be properly accepted as a democracy on the international stage.

All parties must vigilantly be on the alert for any shenanigans relating to elections by Zanu PF or any other force for that matter.

Zimbabwe cannot afford another sham election like the 2008 presidential run-off.

No one, no matter how big or small, should be allowed to subvert the will of the people. Already, Zanu PF has been plagued by internal fights emanating from allegations of vote-rigging and intimidation within its structures.

At least 100 Zanu PF aspiring candidates have already lodged their appeals with the party, an indication that it is not interested in democratic processes that could usher in fresh blood in its leadership.

We hope Zec will take heed of the appeal by Tsvangirai and know that the world is watching

Appendix 10: Be grateful Mr President (*NewsDay*, 8 July, 2013)

In 2008 Zimbabwe sank to its worst economic and social meltdown ever. It was a culmination of a decade-long recession resulting from poor governance, political mudslinging and lack of goodwill.

So bad was the situation that the nation went hungry, political opponents were at each other's throats and Zimbabwe hogged the international limelight for all the wrong reasons.

A disputed presidential election run-off in which President Robert Mugabe was the sole candidate made the situation grave, triggering intervention by the regional Sadc bloc after realising that the country was teetering on the brink of collapse.

Then South African President Thabo Mbeki was appointed mediator and began what was to be a protracted mission to find a solution which came in 2009 with the formation of the inclusive government. Rivals President Mugabe's Zanu PF, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai's MDC-T and MDC, then led by DPM Arthur Mutambara found themselves in an alliance that has stabilised the situation, albeit with serious challenges.

Of course during the course of events mediation was to change hands as Mbeki's successor Jacob Zuma took charge and brought in his own team comprising Lindiwe Zulu, Mac Maharaj and Charles Nqakhula. The team continued with its mandate and has made countless trips to Harare, meeting political parties in a bid to ensure that agreed reforms are implemented in letter and spirit.

On its part, Zanu PF has vowed not to implement security sector and media reforms, eliciting the ire of the GPA partners and SADC itself. Service chiefs continue to denigrate Zanu PF's political opponents with impunity and the State media has gone into overdrive in its bid to ensure the former sole ruling party is victorious at elections. Now, regardless of these achievements, Mugabe had the temerity to denigrate the regional bloc to the extent of labelling Zulu "an idiotic and stupid woman".

Zulu, representing Zuma, has been all over the show, trying to mend relations between Zimbabwean political opponents who do not see eye to eye — an unenviable task by any definition.

However, despite her spirited efforts, this is the "thank you" she gets from the Zimbabwean leader. No Mr President, be more diplomatic and be grateful. Had it not been for SADC, where would Zimbabwe be now? In 2008, shelves in supermarkets were glaringly empty and Zimbabwe survived on imports from South Africa, of course with the support of the "idiotic and stupid" woman.

A hungry nation literally fed on what was coming from South Africa, Botswana and the rest of the region which realised the need to support a brother in dire straits. Now all of a sudden as an octogenarian leader grandstands for political mileage, he forgets all that support. Where would Zimbabwe be without SADC? It would surely be prudent for President Mugabe, a historian of note, to understand and appreciate that part of history. Zimbabwe needs SADC.

As the nation goes for elections, it is this regional bloc, alongside the African Union and the United Nations which are set to play a pivotal role in ensuring that credible polls acceptable to all Zimbabweans are held.

Appendix 11: How sincere are Mugabe's calls? (*NewsDay*, 19 July, 2013)

ON Tuesday, President Robert Mugabe was in Chitungwiza where he addressed a rally attended by thousands of his supporters at Chibuku Stadium.

His message there was clear — peace begins with me, peace begins with you, peace begins with all of us. As the nation surges towards a watershed election in which stakes are unquestionably high, it was indeed a timely message with maturity, coming from Zanu PF's most senior official. It is a message the President has been preaching at virtually all his gatherings in a bid to ensure political tolerance and a violence-free poll, different from the mayhem witnessed in 2008 when brother turned against brother and butchered each other for supporting rival parties.

However, a mere 24 hours after Mugabe's Chitungwiza rally, an ugly scenario erupted. Seven MDC-T officials, believing in the peace message the President had just preached, were brutally attacked, allegedly for putting up campaign posters and distributing pamphlets at a housing

settlement established by Zanu PF aspiring parliamentary candidate, Christopher Chigumba. Some sustained serious injuries which saw them admitted at a local hospital, but most of the perpetrators reportedly went away scot-free.

Is Mugabe speaking white, but acting black, indicating left and turning right, preaching peace, but acting war? Or has he lost control of Zanu PF and his grassroots supporters no longer take him seriously — a sign that may signal Mugabe, turning 90 next February, is now a spent force rumbling what no longer resonates with the thinking of his followers?

Violence in any form ahead of elections is intolerable and both the President and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai have been making passionate calls to their supporters to be tolerant for the country to hold peaceful polls.

Over the weekend, Tsvangirai warned his youth leaders Solomon Madzore and Promise Mkwanzani against making reckless statements which may trigger violence.

This was after Madzore had told a rally in Marondera early this month that as youths they were prepared to shed their blood for the former trade unionist, a statement which Mkwanzani went on to support.

Grandstanding and preaching mixed messages should not be condoned in any circumstances. It is the hope of many that local, regional and international election observers currently in the country will keep a close eye on these developments and give correct reports regarding violence.

The 2008 presidential election runoff was marred by violence which saw Tsvangirai pulling out, culminating in an inclusive government — definitely not the best deal for Zimbabweans who deserve to be led by a single party that wins an election.

With two weeks to go before the harmonised elections, Zimbabweans only hope and deserve a peaceful poll and calls by leaders should be respected and observed.

Appendix 12: Tsvangirai must substantiate election rigging claims (*The Herald*, 22 July, 2013)

WHILE other candidates be they presidential, national assembly or local authority aspirants are busy campaigning by selling their policies to the electorate, MDC-T leader Mr Morgan Tsvangirai is doing the opposite, selling violence and despondency in a bid to atone for inevitable defeat in the harmonised elections.

While it is given that the MDC-T struggled to come up with a manifesto which they ended up outsourcing as evidenced by the foreign images and abstract concepts in their document, Mr Tsvangirai is advised to stop at the level of slogans if he has nothing to tell supporters at his rallies.

To atone for his lack of a policy to counter Zanu-PF's progressive indigenisation and economic empowerment programmes that have spawned 59 Community Share Ownership Schemes and 133 Employment Empowerment Schemes countrywide; Mr Tsvangirai has resorted to wild claims that the harmonised elections have been rigged.

He has taken to threatening ZEC, the police and anyone who crosses his mind when he sees people in front of him.

It is not lost to us what Mr Tsvangirai is doing because we have heard his handlers from the US and European Union issue statements pre-judicial to the elections even though they have no observers on the ground.

Only yesterday, the National Endowment for Democracy, a US think tank that has been used as a conduit to channel money to the MDC-T and its quasi-political appendages masquerading as

NGOs, convened a conference in Washington to discuss the elections pursuant to claiming that the environment is not in line with SADC principles and guidelines on the conduct of democratic elections.

While Mr Tsvangirai might mask the paucity of his vision by seeing ghosts everywhere, he should be mindful of the effects his words will have on his supporters.

In the wake of the 2007 elections, Kenya was gripped by horrendous scenes of violence that claimed over 1 200 lives. This came after Mr Tsvangirai's Kenyan ally Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Movement whipped his supporters' emotions with wild claims of rigging after losing the elections to Mr Mwai Kibaki of the Rainbow Coalition.

We hope Mr Tsvangirai is not similarly disposed in light of pronouncements made by his party's youth assembly chairperson Solomon Madzore, who is out on bail on charges of the alleged murder of police inspector Petros Mutedza, that party youths were prepared to shed blood in the wake of an MDC-T loss.

Though Mr Tsvangirai appeared to censure Madzore at his star rally in Mutare, he has proceeded to outdo him by making unsubstantiated claims against ZEC, a constitutional body that his party had a hand in constituting.

As prime minister in the inclusive Government, Mr Tsvangirai has access to ZEC. He can register his concerns and not go all over the country making wild claims against people who are doing their best to deliver the "uncontested poll" outcome that he has always claimed he wants. We urge ZEC to take Mr Tsvangirai to account. He should be made to substantiate his claims in court. He should be taught the lesson that one cannot just open one's mouth to make unsubstantiated allegations without comebacks.

It is high time; Mr Tsvangirai was made to approach national politics with the maturity and responsibility it deserves

Appendix 13: Campaigns lacking substance! (*NewsDay*, 26 July, 2013)

THE election campaign season is upon us and we have been entertained by politicians, especially President Robert Mugabe (Zanu PF), Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC-T) and Welshman Ncube (MDC), who are fighting for their political lives as the harmonised polls enter the home stretch.

It has been good entertainment as the politicians have attacked each other on age, looks, morals, religion and even coalition prospects. It has been riveting stuff and has provided good quotes for newspapers. Sadly, it has miserably lacked in substance and the voter has been left none the wiser on the parties' policy details after listening to the political gladiators holding forth.

Mugabe has had a number of star rallies in various towns including Chitungwiza, Mutare, Bulawayo and Marondera. The rallies have been more about Mugabe's lectures on history and attacks on the West, MDC-T and Tsvangirai and his party members who have rebelled to become independents.

Mugabe has failed dismally to talk in detail about the policies he is offering the electorate. Questions such as how the indigenisation policy will benefit the ordinary man and not just the elite remain unanswered. How will communities that do not have huge companies such as Zimplats and Mimosas in their backyard benefit from the community share ownership schemes? How is his party going to create jobs to reverse the unemployment scourge afflicting the country? Indeed, so many questions crying out for answers.

Tsvangirai has not fared any better as he criss-crossed the country. His rallies have been about how Mugabe must go, how Mugabe has impoverished the country and how he must go and rest. We have heard it all before. What the electorate has not been told is how his party's Juice (Jobs, Upliftment, Investment, Capital and the Environment) economic blueprint will be implemented. How will it bring about the envisaged one million jobs? What will he do in the first 100 days to bring respite to millions of suffering Zimbabweans?

Ncube has not been very helpful in his campaign rallies either. If it is not about devolution, it is about how he will not join Tsvangirai in a coalition. All well and good. But there is very little detail on how his policies will ameliorate the plethora of challenges the country faces, ranging from unemployment, liquidity constraints to de-industrialisation.

It is shocking that when Zimbabweans go to vote on Wednesday, they will be voting on the back of entertaining campaigns which are bankrupt on policy detail. It is sad that the leaders of the main political parties have failed to make use of the golden opportunity to sell their manifestos to the electorate, resorting instead to personality clashes and abusing religious groupings.

Mugabe, Tsvangirai and Ncube have failed miserably to make hay while the sun shines. Now we will see the consequences.

Appendix 14: Domestic funding of polls way to go (*The Herald*, 27 July, 2013)

Everything is now set for the July 31 harmonised elections after Government announced it had secured money to cover the logistical arrangements and processes for the elections. The news has been greeted with loud cheers because Government has done exactly what the majority of people have always wanted it to do — to respect the national interest — by securing the funds from domestic resources instead of having the elections funded by foreigners, as the MDC-T, through the Minister of Finance Tendai Biti, was pushing for.

We have the resources, both natural and man-made in this country and there is no reason why we would turn to foreigners to fund our electoral processes except to invite interference.

There is no way we can fail to hold elections because of lack funds, given the mineral wealth we have in this country.

Inviting foreigners to pour money in our elections is simply asking them to interfere with our elections.

It is for this reason we welcome the announcement by Justice and Legal Affairs Minister Patrick Chinamasa that Government had always been committed to having the elections funded through domestic means, which by all imagination, makes a lot of sense, given that what is at stake in this election is our sovereignty.

It has been proven time and again that donor support is not free but comes with a lot of conditions and the only way a sovereign nation can avoid external interference is to stay clear of donor dependency and use own resources to move the country forward.

It is a fact that MDC-T is so obsessed with foreign donors to the extent of failing to see the great potential this country possesses in standing on its own.

It is very unfortunate the MDC-T fails to realise it has two legs to stand on without leaning on anyone. This is what Zanu-PF long realised and has long advocated.

There are so many things we can do on our own and through the indigenisation policy; we have been able to unlock value in most companies through the 51 percent local ownership and so for one to doubt our capacity to fund our elections without foreign support is sheer madness.

The environment preceding the July 31 harmonised elections has been very peaceful, with isolated cases of violence being reported, making the environment very conducive for holding the elections and with money having been mobilised, it is now all systems go.

We commend Government for standing firm against pressure from other partners to seek election funding from foreigners. It has shown that elections can still go on without donor funding and that when a nation puts its mind to what it intends to achieve, nothing can stop it.

What will those who yesterday were convinced the elections would not be conducted because of lack of funds from domestic sources say today, now that US\$96 million has been disbursed for voter education, registration and Nomination Court expenses?

It has been said before and we will say it again that Zimbabwe has unlimited potential to be master of its own destiny and will not entertain external interference in its processes, all for donor funding.

This we have shown, and on our own, we can move mountains.

Let the elections begin.

Appendix 15: Tsvangirai should have known better (*NewsDay*, 5 August, 2013)

WHEN the unity government was formed in 2009, the idea by SADC was for political parties that had been at each other's throats for ages to find common ground and collectively create a conducive environment for credible polls that would not be contested.

A lot was invested by local, regional and international players to try and ensure that this dream becomes a reality and Zimbabweans would get their right to freely vote for leaders of their choice.

What had to be eliminated were environments and conditions which had affected the credibility of the 2008 Presidential election run-off, in which Zanu PF stood accused of clamping down on the opposition to ensure that President Robert Mugabe retained power, even through unorthodox means. Mugabe, representing his Zanu PF party, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai standing in for his MDC-T and Arthur Mutambara from the MDC were made principals in the coalition government.

The three then embarked on their mandated journey, reconstituting bodies like the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (Zec), the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC), Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC) and shared cabinet ministries in a give and take arrangement. The SADC facilitation team made countless trips to Zimbabwe, meeting stakeholders in a bid to see to it that what the parties agreed to was implemented in letter and spirit.

Protracted negotiations were held and Tsvangirai is on record as lauding composition of the Zec and the ZHRC in particular, which he recently backed, saying he was confident they would perform to expectations. This was despite outcries from civic groups and some critics in his own party that changes made at the crucial bodies were nothing but cosmetic.

Zec's secretariat, in particular, was accused of being heavily infiltrated by State security agents, while the ZHRC chairperson Jacob Mudenda's hands were deemed unfit due to his alleged involvement in the infamous Gukurahundi of the 1980s which left an estimated 20 000 Zimbabweans dead.

The same was said about the ZMC, tasked to ensure media reforms, a mandate they dismally failed as the country remained with a single television station while radio licences for new players were awarded to Zanu PF sympathisers. One of them was awarded to Supa

Mandiwanzira, who last week won a parliamentary seat on a Zanu PF ticket, while the other one went to Zimpapers, whose allegiance to Zanu PF is well-documented.

Instead of taking heed and refusing to bow down, Tsvangirai had the temerity to back the appointment of Zec chairperson Rita Makarau and Mudenda, saying he was confident their commissions would do a perfect job. Pampered with niceties which come with his top job in government, the MDC-T leader did not put a fight good enough to ensure change in these strategic institutions. Without a voters' roll, unclear origins of ballot papers, overwhelming evidence of unofficial polling stations, Tsvangirai had reasons good enough to stop this poll and demand an even playing field, in tandem with instructions from Sadc when the unity government was formed.

However, despite all the evidence he had, the MDC-T leader vowed to contest and defeat Zanu PF "resoundingly". Now elections have been held, Tsvangirai has lost dismally — a result that was foreseen by many — and the MDC-T leader is crying foul. You slept on the job Mr Prime Minister, knowing very well the kind of characters you were in bed with.

Appendix 16: West must respect people's will (*The Herald*, 5 August, 2013)

Morgan Tsvangirai and his MDC-T suffered a devastating defeat in the harmonised elections, a defeat reminiscent to that which Bishop Abel Tendekayi Muzorewa suffered in 1980. It was a defeat that did not only shock the MDC-T leadership and its supporters, but their Western sponsors as well. They had taken it for granted that Zimbabweans do not know who they are, where they came from and where they are going. The Western world believed that Zimbabweans like Tsvangirai also needed massive hand-holding.

However, their reactions to Zanu-PF and President Mugabe in particular are so predictable and they have not hidden their disdain and in the process they are crying that they have been robbed. The same countries take the lead, countries that think that they are masters of the universe when we know that their backyards are smouldering. Why is the West — the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Australia in particular crying foul and also crying more than the bereaved? It was the MDC-T that lost the July 31 harmonised elections after Zimbabwean voters sat in judgment over them

So, why this hullabaloo about "substantial electoral irregularities" and an impending crisis, which Western media institutions have been peddling the moment they realised that the MDC-T, even with the combined force of smaller political parties did not stand a chance against Zanu-PF?

What is disturbing is that the West created the MDC-T and sponsored it to the hilt to do its dirty work of pitching for illegal regime change here.

It was their institutions that also predicted a resounding victory for Zanu-PF long before Zimbabweans were certain that elections would be held this year.

They also analysed Tsvangirai's shortcomings and lack of leadership qualities. Their damning assessments are in the public domain. The rebranding of Tsvangirai and the MDC-T through the 2013 manifesto was such a shoddy job, which failed to sell the MDC-T. This is why we are surprised at United States Secretary of State John Kerry who was quoted on Saturday as saying, "In light of substantial electoral irregularities reported by domestic and regional observers, the United States does not believe that the results announced today represent a credible expression of the will of the Zimbabwean people."

We wonder which Zimbabweans Kerry was referring to, when the very same people made their choices known to the world on July 31. Not to be outdone, Germany had the temerity to remark that the election “casts a big shadow on the political and economic future of Zimbabwe”

By calling for a “re-run of the elections based on a verified and agreed voters roll”, former British colony Australia demonstrated how far removed the Anglo-Saxon world is from reality on the ground.

This dovetails with Tsvangirai’s calls that the poll result should be considered null and void, a conclusion he arrived at when he realised that his bragging about announcing the election result was not going to be; a conclusion, which he made even before the results had been announced, which later proved that he was singing from his masters’ hymn book.

At the centre of the rigging claims is the voters’ roll. As observers pointed out, no country, even the United States and/or Britain can claim to have a clean and perfect voters’ roll. Observers highlighted some of the challenges to Zimbabwe’s voters’ roll, but instead of allowing Zimbabweans to look at the recommendations from the continental observers, the West has decided to stick to recommendations made by local observers such as ZESN, which they heavily fund.

By relying so heavily on the MDC-T’s parallel structures, which they have been sponsoring, the West never realised how the MDC-T was soon going to be history.

Why do they also want to give a false impression that the people that were turned away were MDC-T supporters only? If ZESN and its partners had the interests of Zimbabwe at heart, they would have told their sponsors the truth, that even Zanu-PF supporters were turned away?

However, the West seems bent on using the MDC-T’s demise to create a collision course with Africa. The West has decided to spurn the different African observer missions that declared the elections peaceful, free, fair and credible.

Even the facilitator to the Global Political Agreement, SADC facilitator President Jacob Zuma congratulated President Mugabe for taking 61 percent of the votes.

But the West still thinks that it can play big brother and display their holier than thou attitude. When the violence motif failed, the best way they could reject President Mugabe’s thunderous victory was to find flimsy reasons of extending the illegal sanctions. We hope that Africa sees through the West’s hypocrisy and double standards.

However, when all is said and done, Zimbabweans have spoken. They do not need minders to tell them what their choices imply. So, the West must back off. If they are not prepared to accept the people’s choice and deal with the Zimbabwean leadership as equal partners, they should realise that there are other countries that are willing to work with Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe will also not brook any threats against the democratic choices it makes. We are masters of our destiny, and we are charting our destiny. The West and their proxies should never fool themselves that what worked in other parts of the world at their instigation, will work in Zimbabwe. We fought hard to attain independence, and we will safeguard it jealously.

Appendix 17: Tsvangirai, it’s time to let people get on with their lives (*The Herald*, 7 August, 2013)

As MDC-T leader Mr Morgan Tsvangirai faces an uncertain future after his crushing defeat, we have noted with concern and dismay how some in our midst would want to cash in on his loss by demonstrating reckless abandon and sheer irresponsibility. They are surrendering to their natural

impulses without restraint. They do not even care about the final consequences of their reckless actions and behaviour.

This recklessness has resulted in the peddling of massive falsehoods in order to cause disenchantment among the general populace, with the sole hope of discrediting the election result, which has been accepted by Africa and other progressive nations around the globe; and also with the hope that people will take to the streets and protest Egypt-style.

The so-called private, international and social media have been in cahoots to disturb the peace and quiet that has prevailed in Zimbabwe before, during and after the election. They are beating the war drum for Tsvangirai through lies. They are hoping against hope that the people of Zimbabwe will feel so disenchanting even before President Mugabe's inauguration and force them to protest.

We are also seeing how some Western governments are searching for every conceivable reason to discredit the election results. There is a calculated move by the anti-Mugabe media to spread falsehoods on basic issues that affect people on a daily basis.

Soon after President Jacob Zuma endorsed the poll results by congratulating his counterpart President Mugabe, the rumour mill was awash with the story that South Africa would re-introduce the visa regime for Zimbabweans that stay in that country for more than three months. With an estimated 3 million Zimbabweans residing in South Africa, and thousands more going to do business in that country on a daily basis, it is clear that the story was meant to create panic.

Responding to the speculation, South Africa's Director General of Home Affairs said: "The visa situation for Zimbabweans remains the same, and there has not been any changes. All changes and policy positions are published on the Department for Home Affairs website at <<http://www.dha.gov.za/>>. However, the Minister of Home Affairs has not issued any such statement, nor do we intend to do so. Please inform your readers that the visa situation remains the same."

Although the rumour and speculation was widely reported on pro-MDC websites, the South African government's position was not.

The other weapon of massive deception was the story carried by the "private" media on fuel price increase, a move some media outlets claimed was necessitated by the results of the harmonised elections. On Monday, the Zimbabwe Energy Regulatory Authority had to dispel the report and state that "Zera views such reports as trying to instigate unnecessary fuel price hikes . . . and are not in any way linked to the outcome of the just ended harmonised elections".

MDC-T and the international media are also trying unsuccessfully to play the violence mantra by making wild claims of their supporters being attacked by Zanu-PF supporters. Instead of going to the police, they make their reports to the media and on social media.

There was also some hype about Zimbabwe Stock Exchange plunging 11 percent on the first day of trading after the announcement of results. This was as if this was unique. We have seen stock exchanges in countries such as the United States reacting similarly soon after an election. This was meant to say that President Mugabe would not be able to rein in the economy.

With this litany of untruths being leashed by people who know full well that the MDC-T suffered dismal defeat, we want to ask the MDC-T leader, his Western handlers and the media outlets that sympathise with him how low they are prepared to let Zimbabwe sink in their muck? Why are they so hell-bent to ensure that our nation remains under the curse of neo-colonialism? Why are they so selfish to think that the few thousands who enjoy the bread crumbs from donor funding

represent the generality of Zimbabweans? With a country so richly endowed, why do they want the people to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water?

Why is Tsvangirai refusing to display statesmanship by accepting that the people of Zimbabwe have chosen President Mugabe and Zanu-PF to form the next government?

The moment Roy Bennett called for mass action, Tsvangirai had the responsibility to stand up against that. Zimbabwe and Africa hoped he would call on Bennett and his social media followers to retract their statements, and desist from taking the law into their hands.

Why does he also believe that he is the best man for the job when the truth of the matter is that the tide has been against him, three times in a row? Why does he also think that Westerners are God's greatest creation to mankind and Zimbabwe will not move an inch – economically – without assistance from them?

Tsvangirai should do what his friend Raila Odinga of Kenya did, concede defeat. He can still challenge the result, because that is his constitutional right, but to try and take Zimbabwe with him on this wild-goose chase is asking for too much.

Electioneering is a process. People want to move on: work and earn an honest living, instead of being ransomed by people who have evil agendas for this nation. Like the children of Israel who were told at Mount Horeb, "You have stayed long enough at this mountain", Zimbabweans feel the same. They want their lives back. They want to move on from the election mode.

Appendix 18: Tsvangirai must stop wasting everyone's time (*The Herald*, 9 August, 2013)

It has become predictable that Zimbabweans go to the polls and MDC-T leader Mr Morgan Tsvangirai and his party participate, lose and refuse to accept the outcome. It is clear that to Mr Tsvangirai and his backers, an election is only free and fair if his party wins. We saw this in the 2008 harmonised elections where the MDC-T had a one-seat advantage over Zanu-PF in the House of Assembly despite losing the popular vote countrywide.

The MDC-T leader also accepted the results of the first round of the presidential race in which he led President Mugabe, even though the law is quite clear that in failing to breach the 50 percent plus 1 vote threshold, the MDC-T leader could not be deemed winner, he has harped on that result as the final tally for Election 2008.

Mr Tsvangirai has stubbornly refused to recognise the runoff result in which he was soundly trounced by President Mugabe.

Mr Tsvangirai claimed the poll was marred by widespread violence, even though by his own admission, his supporters gave as much as they took.

The bottom line, Mr Tsvangirai's rejection of the just-ended harmonised election results is consistent with his frivolous character.

He is just wasting everybody's time.

We hope everyone is now alive to the type of person Mr Tsvangirai is. A man who not only insults our leaders but also wastes everyone's time by rejecting what he would have been party to.

A few examples would suffice here.

In the run-up to the inclusive Government, Mr Tsvangirai proposed co-sharing Home Affairs; when his request was granted, he changed tack claiming he wanted sole control.

He asked that the talks be referred to the Troika; when the Troika convened in Mbabane, Swaziland, he refused to go, opting to spend the day playing golf with a Western envoy in Harare.

When the Troika failed to break the impasse, he asked for a full Sadc summit. His wish was granted and when the summit endorsed the Troika decision that Home Affairs be co-shared, Tsvangirai again refused to abide by the decision, claiming he wanted the African Union to intervene.

Put simply, this man had no mind of his own.

There is nothing President Mugabe, Zanu-PF or Sadc can do to make him see reason because he believes he answers to a higher deity — his Western gods.

Anyone doubting this should ask why Western ambassadors always hovered at all summit venues, if they were not there as puppeteers.

Its clear that the position Mr Tsvangirai was agitating was not his own, but belonged to the section of the world represented by the envoys.

The interests Mr Tsvangirai was championing were again not of his constituents, but the handlers who were within earshot.

We all know the Anglo-Saxon position on the just-ended elections.

The Westerners — who did not even observe the elections — have long declared that the only elections they will accept are ones won by Mr Tsvangirai.

An entire nation cannot be held to ransom simply because someone wants to honour a contract he entered into with his principals.

Zanu-PF must never forget that its contract is with the people, which is why it prevailed in the harmonised elections.

Similarly, President Mugabe got a resounding mandate from the people; that mandate is about forming a Government to serve the people.

We hope the MDC-T leader will come to his senses and stop wasting the court's, and everyone's time.

Appendix 19: Five more years under Mugabe (*NewsDay*, 10 August, 2013)

That Zimbabwe is going to face another five years under Zanu PF rule is now inevitable. Although the MDC-T party is in the process of challenging the outcome of the recent polls that declared Zanu PF and President Robert Mugabe the winners, judging from past experience, their chances of success are zero.

While Zanu PF is preparing to form a new government, it should be reminded that it has serious issues with the people of Zimbabwe that it must swiftly deal with. Such issues have nothing to do with party politics, but everything to do with the people's survival. If these issues are not dealt with, Zanu PF will find itself at loggerheads with the people again.

People do not take issues such as dry taps, power outages, unemployment, corruption and bullying, among others, lightly. Zanu PF has, over the years, been guilty of all the vices mentioned.

Impunity is Zanu PF's Achilles' heel that alienates them from ordinary people. Anyone who is in Mugabe's favour can do as he or she pleases without fear of negative consequences. Ministers can abuse public funds and office willy-nilly. Councillors and council workers can abuse ratepayers' funds and nothing happens to them. Bills can be sent to ordinary people for services not rendered.

The laws of this country only apply to those who are not Zanu PF. Even the police, who are supposed to be the guardians of the law, behave like rogue elements in the party. They can arrest,

detain and ask questions later. They have the green light to rob ordinary Zimbabweans through senseless roadblocks on the country's highways. The police, army, judiciary and top civil servants are not professionals, but an extension of Zanu PF designed to suppress ordinary people. Zanu PF, much to the chagrin of the people who know better, pretends that it has no criminals among its rank and file. And the party is so vindictive that it terrorises citizens who do not agree with them. It is the party's crude partisan philosophy that disunites it with citizens, not the British or the Americans as it claims.

The party simply fails to embrace all and this makes many shudder at the thought of having Zanu PF forming a government for they know that their government espouses partisan rather than national causes. For once, Zanu PF must tarry a little and ask the gigantic question in whatever they do: Is what we are doing good for the nation?

If they continue with their intransigent behaviour, they will only have themselves to blame if people view them as this country's number one enemy.

In short, either they change or one day they will face the wrath of the people whom they cynically view as "our people".

Appendix 20: Lesson for Tsvangirai from Mali's Cisse (*The Herald*, 15 August, 2013)

Zimbabwe and Mali – so far apart, so different but still sharing a number of commonalities, elements where the two nations, one a former British colony, the other a former French colony for the common good of ensuring that democratic values thrive. While the West African nation held the first round of presidential elections on July 28, which saw 27 candidates competing for the top job, Zimbabwe held harmonised elections on July 31 with five presidential aspirants eyeing the top job.

The first round in Mali's vote did not produce an outright winner forcing the top two candidates, former prime minister Ibrahim Boubacar Keita and former finance minister Soumaila Cisse to face off in a runoff poll last Sunday, August 11.

Zimbabwe has travelled this route before, and bumpy as it was Sadc and the African Union made efforts to unite our major political parties and also create a conducive environment for the holding of free, fair and credible elections.

What is unique about the Malian poll is that the West African nation held the election after a 4 500 strong French army intervened in January to fight al-Qaeda linked insurgents. The election was also held under the supervision of UN peacekeeping mission of about 6 000 troops from a number of African countries. This was more or less what obtained in Zimbabwe in 1980.

Despite these conditions, Malians voted peacefully and the outcome is being hailed by both regional and international observers. Hopes are high that this watershed moment would turnaround Mali's fortunes for the better.

But more critical is that Cisse's camp had initially voiced concerns, citing irregularities and "massive fraud". They also accused the interim government of acting in favour of Keita's party.

Cisse's camp also claimed that their representatives and electoral agents had been "intimidated, questioned, and even detained by security forces and that filled ballot boxes had been found". They argued that these irregularities had "seriously corrupted the credibility of the results".

Interestingly, Cisse on Monday conceded defeat in a very honourable manner. Despite the earlier complaints, he realised that Mali was bigger than any of its politicians and that if he was genuine about seeking a true democratic path for Malians, then the best way was to respect the people's voice and their choice.

It was a humbling experience when he went to see president-elect Keita in person “to congratulate him and wish him good luck”, putting everything behind him. Cisse might have come second, but when he decided to put the people of Mali ahead of his personal interests he won more than he lost in the runoff. He also taught some African opposition politicians a thing or two.

We might not at the moment understand how someone who was crying that he was being robbed decided to change his mind, but the most important thing is that Cisse realised that this was a game where there would be a winner and a loser, and by stretching out his hand to the winner, he was actually doing it to the people of Mali, and making himself a winner as well. He also made a good case for democratic values.

The Malian case also gives us another important lesson. They had regional and international observers who hailed the electoral process. When Cisse cried foul, the observers told him to take his problems to the Constitutional Court, and also told him that he could not make the allegations since the counting was underway.

Even the European Union hailed the election, with its foreign policy head Catherine Ashton urging all candidates to rally behind Keita and “support the future government, the efforts it must make to build a durable peace and restore national unity”.

Meanwhile, Zimbabweans who voted in one of the most peaceful elections since independence in 1980 are still waiting to inaugurate the victors because someone cannot rise above petty personal interests the way Mali’s Cisse has done. The harmonised poll results were announced in record time although the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission had indicated that results would be announced within five days.

Sadc, Comesa, ACP and the African Union among other observers gave the election a clean bill of health and in the process highlighted areas they think that Zimbabwe should improve on. Since the announcement of the results last week Saturday, President Mugabe has continued to receive congratulatory messages about his landslide victory and the manner in which the election was conducted.

However, Zimbabweans still have fully celebrated the fruits of their democratic right to choose their own leaders. Progress has been stalled as MDC-T leader Mr Morgan Tsvangirai is challenging the result, alleging that the process was rigged. Zanu-PF has allowed Mr Tsvangirai to challenge the result in the Constitutional Court, since it is his constitutional right to do so.

However there is a worrying trend as we contrast the recent happenings in Mali with what is happening in Zimbabwe. The Western countries which were not allowed to observe elections here became the lone voice in making unjustified and negative remarks on a process they did not observe. They have been singing from the same hymn book as the MDC-T, with Mr Tsvangirai claiming that he calls the shots because he has the Western countries on his side.

Like a jilted lover, the West is trying to arm-twist Zimbabweans into accepting what they think is right, just because it serves their interests. If the West had been invited to observe Zimbabwe’s elections, would they have agreed with the regional and continental bodies? Is an election in Zimbabwe only deemed free, fair and credible if Western countries observe it? Is the result legitimate if their Trojan horse wins?

What lessons do we learn from Mali? If democracy is government by the people, of the people, for the people, why do some politicians in Zimbabwe take the people for granted to such an extent that they do not respect their wishes? Why do they put Western interests ahead of the

National Interest? Are the people being punished for making their choice? When will sense prevail so that people can move on with their lives?

Appendix 21: Political rhetoric doesn't bring food on the table (*NewsDay*, 17 August, 2013)

Elections are over and President Robert Mugabe and Zanu PF should be forward-looking as it seems inevitable that they are going to form the next government. People want food on the table, period.

It is not in the people's interest to be fed with political rhetoric at the expense of the basics that make them survive. Food on the table should be taken to mean what it symbolises — food, healthcare, education, jobs and good service delivery, among other things.

It is disheartening to hear Mugabe engage in political rhetoric, blasting imagined enemies as if he is still in campaign mode.

Campaigning is over and reality cannot be wished away.

People expect the new government to deliver, to make their lives worthwhile. After inauguration, Mugabe will not be the president of Zanu PF alone, but the president of this nation.

This entails that he will be the leader of those who voted him into power and those who did not and ironically, both parties will hold him accountable for the welfare of the nation.

And the standard test that he will have to pass, like any head of government the world over, is the competency of his government in bringing food to the people's table.

Mugabe should be psyching up those in his party with whom he is going to form the next government to pull up their socks in preparation for serving the needs of the people.

The enemy is not the people; the enemy is power cuts, hunger, unemployment, corruption, dry taps, poor roads, injustice and partisanship, among others.

These are issues that inevitably turn people against their leaders.

Even the most stupid person (if such exists) will be awakened to wisdom by phenomena such as hunger, dry taps and injustice, among others.

Political rhetoric works temporarily, but hunger and its concomitant ills work effectively to make people measure the seriousness of their government in addressing issues that affect them.

It is not political rhetoric that will fill the belly of a hungry child, but a morsel of food. It is not a "gift" of \$20 to an unemployed youth to buy beer that will ease his unemployment problems, but a thriving economy with a vibrant industry.

It is not the scrapping of bills that will make water gush out of taps, but pumped water from relevant waterworks.

And the burden to facilitate the provision of these lies squarely on the shoulders of the future government. Hence it is important for Mugabe and his new government to pass the stern test of providing food on the people's tables, a task that calls for them to look at things as they are, not as what they imagine them to be.

Reality does not lie in political people, reality is right there among the people.

Appendix 22: The politically ugly will never sway Zim voters (*The Herald*, 22 August, 2013)

Zimbabweans, in their millions, spoke on July 31 in electing President Mugabe to the highest office in the land, and giving Zanu-PF a crushing two-thirds majority in Parliament and a near clean sweep of local authorities. Africa and the progressive world were at hand to witness the rout that Zanu-PF achieved in spite of the West's illegal economic sanctions regime that was imposed in a bid to influence voting patterns.

The biggest loser, MDC-T leader Mr Morgan Tsvangirai approached the courts, which again unequivocally upheld President Mugabe's re-election and laid into the MDC-T leader and his legal team for approaching the courts with dirty hands.

Not only that, Sadc leaders at their recent summit in Lilongwe, Malawi, not only upheld President Mugabe's re-election but moved Zimbabwe from an agenda item to the leadership of the organisation.

Surely all these people are not dunces.

President Mugabe and Zanu-PF won the elections fair and square, and if Mr Tsvangirai wants to be respected as a potential occupant of the country's highest office, he needs to be magnanimous in defeat.

It's high time he conceded and congratulated President Mugabe.

Elections are not zero-sum games as they yield three possible outcomes, a win, a loss or a stalemate.

For every win, someone must fail and it so happened to be the MDC-T leader who failed again.

He should be magnanimous in this third and most emphatic defeat.

This day, however, is not about winners or losers but is a celebration of our democratic tradition that came at the cost of thousands of lives of innocent men, women and children who waged a war that Tsvangirai had no stomach for against the Rhodesian regime.

The fact that the MDC-T leader clogged his party's rank and file with the ex-Rhodies who not only denied our people the vote yesterday, but decimated our people for daring to demand their birthright is the reason why he does not walk onto the dais to take the oath of office today.

Let this be his day of introspection.

Only a dimwit would believe that Mbuya Nehanda was referring to Giles Mutsekwa or Roy Bennett when she told her executioners of April 27 1898 that "my bones will rise again".

The oath of office President-elect Robert Gabriel Mugabe takes today bids him to safeguard our nation and its founding values, and he has consistently proved he is equal to the task from the days of the liberation struggle to present, which explains the overwhelming endorsement he received.

Let this be a lesson to friend and foe alike. Zimbabwe has a rich and proud history of stolid, defiant resistance to all forms of neo-colonialism; and any askaris will be thrown to the dustbin by discerning voters.

Our advice to Mr Tsvangirai is: Look in the mirror, recognise your warts and do something about them: The politically ugly will never sway the Zimbabwean voter.

In your years in the inclusive Government, if you had any of the brains God promised the grasshopper, you will have realised why the Zimbabwean voter is enamoured by President Mugabe.

To this end, be man enough and give credit where it is due. You lost to a better man, and unless you become the change you profess to champion, you shall always watch from the sidelines.

Appendix 23: Let us give new Cabinet a chance (*NewsDay*, 12 September, 2013)

President Robert Mugabe has finally announced a new Cabinet, ending the anxiety and speculation that pervaded the nation since the President's inauguration three weeks ago. The absence of a functional Cabinet had literally brought the country to a standstill, especially with regard to the economy.

The nation can now move forward – with greater momentum (in whichever direction) now that we have a homogeneous government whose policy and direction are not conflicted as was the case during the inclusive government.

That animal (government of national unity) which incumbents Zanu PF and the MDCs mourned over and blamed for poor performance is dead and buried. There is no more hindrance, or conflict, or sabotage that should stand in the way of national growth, development and prosperity.

Agriculture, the mainstay of our country, can now be supported without secret saboteurs throwing spanners in the works and there is no more reason to divert proceeds from our natural resources such as minerals from national coffers out of mistrust and fear of custodians of national reserves.

What this means is that Zimbabweans now expect to see an improvement in their lives. They expect their government to put food on the table and provide decent service delivery, especially health, education, water, electricity, good roads, sanitation and general infrastructural development.

Mugabe appointed men and women who are no newcomers to issues of governance. True, some of them do not have very impressive track records in terms of competence, hard work or morality, but then it would not help anybody to judge them in their new appointments from history. To do so would seek to provide them with the excuse to continue in their old ways.

Mugabe did not become what he is, or stayed in power for that extraordinarily long time by being stupid. We want to assume therefore that this choice of ministers that he has provided to run this country at this particular time in the present environment is going to deliver.

Granted, some — even many of them — were in government when the economy collapsed and when the people suffered, not only from hunger and debilitating poverty, but also from social and political brutality — but then the environment and circumstances are not the same and Mugabe cannot have brought them back to perpetuate that culture of failure, laziness, corruption, arrogance, greed or brutality.

The nation's hopes hinge on this new Cabinet. Curiously, there are only three women ministers out of 26 and we have no choice, but to trust that they will serve the people well. The hope too is that, with most of them having been ministers for decades, they must have accumulated enough to get them by and should now be able to exercise restraint when that spirit of selfishness, greed, corruption and outright theft visits them.

The people are closely watching the new Cabinet and expect immediate signs of positive action and delivery.

Appendix 24: Mugabe must not issue empty threats (*NewsDay*, 13 September, 2013)

Reports that President Robert Mugabe has warned ministers in his new Cabinet that he will not hesitate to fire those he finds to be incompetent are a welcome development, if only he would carry out his threats.

We believe the responsibility of being a minister of government is an onerous one requiring one to apply him or herself fully as they serve their country. It does not matter which political outfit one purports to represent in the House of Assembly or Senate, but just the fact that one has been appointed a minister follows that he should deliver regardless.

For a government minister, true patriotism is being able to diligently and honestly serve their nation. Hence, Mugabe's warning comes right on time to ensure these men and women that have

been appointed to serve the nation at this crucial period should know exactly that the expectations of the nations are very high for them to deliver.

The President's warning should jolt ministers who might be tempted to spend time in the comforts of their political office knowing all too well that they have been appointed to serve the nation regardless of differences in political opinion.

The failure of this new Cabinet to deliver, however, does not absolve Mugabe as the chief executive of the country and urge him to implement a performance appraisal system for his ministers. As he rightly observed, the contrast between Indigenisation minister Francis Nhema and his Climate Change counterpart Saviour Kasukuwere — that one is an introvert and the other an extrovert — cheap politicking in the name of their portfolios does not mean they are working. The people need delivery.

Mugabe has in the past threatened ministers for non-delivery and corruption, but still has failed in the past to carry out his word. We hope this time around seeing that the stakes are high, he will have a performance appraisal system for his ministers to ensure they do what is expected of them to ensure service delivery.

It is our hope, therefore, that to show that he is not politicking, Mugabe will introduce a balanced scorecard to assess the performance of his ministers.

No doubt Mugabe is at the moment a captain of a ship in stormy waters, hence the need for his crew to hit the ground running instead of celebrating their appointment. People expect Mugabe and his government to fulfil their election promises such as employment creation, food security, normalising relations with the West and the need for efficient service delivery such as provision of water and electricity for both domestic and commercial use and ensuring certainty in the country's policies.

Policies relating to the indigenisation and economic empowerment programme should be clearly articulated so that prospective investors know exactly what to expect. We mean serious business this time.

Whether the Cabinet is not full of weary deadwood timeservers, only time will tell. What we do know is that Mugabe should stand up to mediocrity this time around.

Appendix 25: MDC-T must stop giving West sanctions ammunition (*The Herald*, 16 September, 2013)

The July 31 harmonised elections are a fait accompli. Office bearers deriving from those elections have since taken their oaths of office and are in Office as Team Zanu-PF, scoring goals for all Zimbabweans including those who voted for the opposition. And if the MDC-T and other fringe opposition parties are serious about faring better in 2018, they need to look in the mirror and admit that they were not alternatives to Zanu-PF.

They simply lost to a better party that had appealing candidates, a powerful message that resonated with a populace seeking salvation from over a decade of ruinous economic sanctions.

The MDC-T's refusal to concede defeat is giving Westerners the excuse they need to maintain their illegal sanctions regimes, the same way the party's claims of human rights abuses and closure of democratic space provided cover the West's illegal sanctions regime.

We do not know whether MDC-T officials are aware of this or its part of their grand plan for election 2018.

Should they be banking on sanctions to deliver protest votes, we would like to draw the attention of the opposition leadership to the advice that was freely dispensed by head of the Sadc Election

Observer Mission, Cde Bernard Membe, as he presented the regional bloc's final report earlier this month.

This is what Cde Membe had to say: "Let me tell you this passionately from my heart, and if there are opposition leaders here and if there are opposition people in this conference, you know this question of sanctions must be fought by all parties. To tell the world to remove the sanctions because if you don't it's very difficult for the opposition to win elections. As long as sanctions are there this Zanu-PF will prevail for 100 years to come if you hear me."

The MDC-T would do well to take this advice to heart for the simple reason that our highly literate society is discerning. They know who was responsible for lobbying for sanctions. They know who sought to profit from their misery, and they also know who continues giving Westerners the excuse to strangulate them.

As such the MDC-T has gotten off to a bad start for 2018, where the party faces oblivion of it continues to walk with Westerners against African and Zimbabwean opinion.

MDC-T supporters who attended the party's 14th anniversary celebrations at Sakubva Stadium in Mutare heard for themselves, Mr Tsvangirai failing back his claims that the elections were rigged.

It is time the supporters took the party leadership to account.

Meanwhile, Zanu-PF, the party they hope to depose in 2018, is scoring goals for the people.

To be forewarned is to be forearmed.

Appendix 26: It's time MDC-T took national issues seriously (*The Herald*, 18 September, 2013)

The First Session of the Eighth Parliament was opened by President Mugabe amid pomp and fanfare yesterday with the MDC-T, which participated actively in the selection of mayors and council chairpersons countrywide on Monday, ironically boycotting the event ostensibly to protest the outcome of the harmonised elections.

It was lost on the blundering greenhorn party that the local authority elections derived from the harmonised elections whose result they claim they do not recognise.

Be that as it may, boycotting the Opening Session and then attending the First Session is an oxymoron in that the Bills the MDC-T legislators will debate were set by President Mugabe yesterday.

The Opening Session was a very important event where the Head of State and Government laid out the legislative agenda for the First Session.

We were not surprised by the MDC-T action since it is now common knowledge that the party entered politics for personal benefit and not for the people.

Be that as it may, Zimbabweans need to critique the MDC-T's continued stay in Parliament.

If they boycott the very event that gives Parliament, as another arm of Government, the agenda for the entire year, how will they justify attendance of subsequent sessions?

The Clerk of Parliament, Mr Austin Zvoma, argued that "the only effect of the boycott by the MDC-T is that they will be conspicuous by their absence."

He also said that the boycott by the 70 MDC-T National Assembly members and 21 Senators would not have a bearing and that the programme would proceed as scheduled.

The Clerk of Parliament also argued, "They can decide not to come and this does not have any effect, but after the subsequent seating coming after the official opening, the issue of 21 days comes into place.

If someone fails to attend Parliament for 21 consecutive days, he or she will face punitive measures.”

Those are the Parliamentary Standing Rules and Orders. But then, yesterday was not an ordinary parliamentary sitting.

After the short adjournment, Zimbabweans will be watching to see if the MDC-T legislators would attend the sessions.

If they indeed do, would the boycott be treated as a passing and inconsequential event and it would then be business as usual?

Should this not be treated as contempt of Parliament and eventually, of the people they represent?

The norm after each official opening of Parliament is for legislators to debate the President’s speech.

What will the MDC-T members be talking about over the next 12 months?

There was also a line-up of Bills that will be before the Parliament during this session.

Since they spurned the official opening, why should they participate in the enactment of the laws?

It’s high time the MDC-T took national issues seriously.

As people who chose to represent the people, they cannot display that childish mentality of supporting things where they think they have a fair advantage over other parties.

Zimbabwe cannot tolerate such levels of immaturity.

Although we understand the importance of upholding our Constitution and the rule of law, we also feel that those who pass those laws should live by example.

If the Standing Rules and Orders do not protect the interests of the people, it’s time that some of these rules should be amended.

They are not cast in stone that they cannot be changed.

Appendix 27: Zanu-PF should prove why it must always get two thirds majority (*The Herald*, 24 September, 2013)

THE long wait is over for Parliament which resumes sitting today with a totally different composition, as Zanu-PF takes its place as the dominant party in both Houses. That Zanu-PF is in control of the debate in Parliament is a good development for the country which has been itching for constructive engagement for a long time.

The effectiveness of Parliament had been thrown into disarray over the years when the MDC formations had a significant stake in the House.

The situation was worsened by the inclusive Government which somehow empowered the MDC-T to use Parliament to thwart progressive discussions in the House.

But Zanu-PF won overwhelmingly in the National Assembly, gaining 197 seats after factoring in 60 women elected by proportional representation, while MDC-T has 70, MDC two with one independent.

In the Senate, Zanu-PF is also dominating with 37 members, to MDC-T’s 21, MDC’s two, 18 chiefs and two representatives of people living with disabilities.

The figures show that Zanu-PF commands over two-thirds majority in the National Assembly whose threshold is 180 members, giving the ruling party the power to even amend the Constitution, if need be.

What is important as the First Session of the Eighth Parliament sits today is for Zanu-PF not to take its majority for granted.

We expect the ruling party to tackle the developmental agenda that has always characterised debates in the House since independence in 1980.

In fact, this Parliament is a throwback to the 1980s development agenda as a lot of the gains we had made since then were decimated by the West's illegal economic sanctions regime.

With sanctions having hit the country hard, it is a fact that we are facing almost the same situation that we were confronted with at independence.

A lot of rebuilding needs to be done to contain the damage that has been caused by the illegal sanctions imposed by Western countries on Zimbabwe.

The honeymoon is over for the new legislators who must immediately "put their shoulders to the wheel" and ensure that they deliver on promises made by Team Zanu-PF during the election campaign.

It is this first session of the new-look Parliament that must set the tone for the direction the legislators want the country to take.

We expect that there will be no time for trivialities which were slowly becoming the norm in the House following the penchant by MDC legislators to dwell on self-aggrandisement agendas instead of serving the people.

Each MP must introspect before making contributions so that they become helpful.

We do not expect the legislators to move away from the agenda set out by President Mugabe when he officially opened the first session last week.

President Mugabe's speech was mainly derived from Zanu-PF's manifesto which was clear on the developmental needs to be pursued by the party.

The legislators must adopt a Results-Based Management approach to improve both the country's status and that of their constituencies.

The Bills expected to come during this session as outlined by President Mugabe are important for the development of the country and the legislators should treat them as such.

The new Mining Development Policy to be enunciated in the Mines and Minerals Bill would obviously boost mineral development and maximise benefits from the resources which are crucial for funding Government projects.

Other Bills expected include the Consumer Protection Bill, the Zimbabwe Quality Standards Regulatory Authority Bill, the Public Private Partnerships Bill, the Sovereign Wealth Fund Bill and the Banking Amendment Bill.

Most importantly for the legislators will be the pursuit of the indigenisation and economic empowerment policy that has seen communities benefiting in different ways.

We expect the new legislators to deal decisively with some of the problems that have been affecting the country, starting with an accountability of the resources that will spur development.

It is a fact that the MDC-T and MDC legislators will not be an impediment to debate because of their small number.

The legislators from the opposition parties have already shown that they are irrelevant to this Parliament by boycotting the official opening of the First Session.

This means that by boycotting the official opening, the legislators are not privy to the legislative agenda as set out and their contributions will as a result be of no consequence.

So, this leaves Zanu-PF legislators without any impediment in passing laws that move the country forward.

There is no room for failure in such circumstances, as the ruling party directs all resources to implementing its election manifesto.

Appendix 28: Results-oriented Govt progressive (*The Herald*, 28 September, 2013)

The new Zanu-PF Government faces a daunting task as its customers — the tax-paying citizens — press for tangible action in service delivery.

We commend the fact that Acting President Joice Mujuru has realised this major task and in the last two days has been talking about the need for the Government to be results-oriented.

Acting President Mujuru first stressed the need for a results-oriented Government when she addressed the Agro-business and Nutrition Security Conference in Harare on Thursday.

She repeated the call yesterday when she officially opened a strategic meeting to discuss the Zimbabwe Programme for Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMPSET) 2013-2015.

It is this programme that should be the basis for the Government to produce results as it touches on every facet of its operations.

There is no escape to pleasing the electorate, except through fulfilling the aspirations of the people.

Every Government official, from the lowest ranked to the top, must be geared to produce results for the expectant masses who overwhelmingly voted for Zanu-PF on July 31.

What is needed now is unity of purpose among Government officials from the Cabinet down to the lower structures to facilitate the tackling of business without creating conflict.

The Zanu-PF Government must draw strong lessons from the tripartite inclusive Government which was made up of the party, MDC-T and MDC.

That Government looked superb on paper and when it was announced people were optimistic that it would deliver.

But the situation changed for the worse when some characters in that Government, especially those from the MDC-T, started behaving in a strange way.

Sooner than later, people began to realise that there was no unity of purpose in Government.

And true to the people's observation, very little was achieved during the five-year tenure of that Government as MDC-T ministers were always available to throw spanners when progress was about to be made.

This time Zanu-PF is in charge after trouncing the MDC-T in the harmonised elections, so we expect no friction with regards to conducting Government business. Many people have often asked if anything can be done to improve Government's performance.

The answer is: Yes, a lot can be done.

Basic tenets demand that there be strategic planning, benchmarking, performance measurement and results-oriented management in any organisation.

These tools can help Government officials make better informed policy decisions, determine the best uses of limited resources, enhance service quality and improve communication with citizens.

Across the board, the emphasis should be upon accountability.

Any action to be taken by the Zanu-PF Government should be results-oriented, with the view of successfully addressing the real needs of the people.

We expect the new Government to have a paradigm shift and start measuring what it does instead of merely being interested in what it spends funds doing.

Many times people resist new ideas, especially if they are complex and need to be implemented over time, across departments.

This is where the orientation which the majority of ministries held last week comes in handy by building confidence in the officials to tackle the new vision the Government is pursuing.

We expect the new Government to put the Zanu-PF manifesto's provisions into action, so that they do not remain a mere pipe dream.

The party, of course, has viable strategic plans, but a strategy is not enough if the officials are not inclined towards successfully executing it.

We need a successful, results-driven strategic plan which includes developing a common vision, determining how to implement it and the measuring of progress. While we welcome Acting President Mujuru's call for a result-oriented Government, we also expect that action will be taken against failures.

Strict assessments should be carried out to ensure that the stumbling blocks to producing results are put aside for the success of the new Government's vision.

One writer once said: "If you don't measure results, you can't tell success from failure . . . if you can demonstrate results, you can win public support."

Appendix 29: US, UK behold: The world has spoken (*The Herald*, 11 October, 2013)

The United Nations, which brings together 193 member-states, is the only truly international community and when it speaks, all member-states must listen, no matter their geographical size, financial muscle or military might. We hope the United States, Britain and Australia got the message when UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon congratulated President Mugabe on his re-election and inauguration as Head of State and Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces.

Mr Ban sent a congratulatory message to President Mugabe expressing the world body's readiness to work with the Government.

It is high time MDC-T and its allies realised the game is over.

The buck stops with the world body, and Zimbabwe is a closed chapter.

We take this opportunity to commend the UN for calling it as they saw it.

Now that the world, serve for Britain, America and some racist members of the European Union that are still fighting from Mr Tsvangirai's corner have endorsed President Mugabe's victory, the issues that should occupy Zanu-PF now are to ensure that Zimbabwe continues to make progress in the implementation of pro-people policies such as the indigenisation and economic empowerment drives that are designed to put the economy in the hands of indigenous Zimbabweans who should take control of their God-given resources.

We call on the UN to go a step further and call for the unconditional lifting of the West's illegal economic sanctions.

The writing is on the wall for Mr Tsvangirai that the poll rigging mantra that he has been peddling has found no takers.

In fact, it sounds hollow and ridiculous by the day.

It serves no other purpose than to give Westerners the excuse to maintain their unwarranted sanctions regime, and consolidates Mr Tsvangirai's place in history as a Western askari.

We challenge the MDC-T national executive that is reported elsewhere in this issue calling for Mr Tsvangirai's ouster to ensure that their leader should ensure that the sanctions he campaigned for are removed before they kick him out of office.

The sanctions are diabolic, destructive and unwarranted, as President Mugabe said, the sanctions have failed to achieve their intended objectives, and should be removed.

We want to challenge Mr Tsvangirai and his handlers that if Zimbabweans said no to sanctions by overwhelmingly voting President Mugabe and Zanu-PF into office on July 31, then who are their sanctions serving?

We call upon Mr Tsvangirai to immediately stop his election rigging mantra, which the region and the progressive world have already rejected.

It is high time he turned his sword into ploughshares.

Appendix 30: Stop ‘sanctions’ chorus (*NewsDay*, 17 October, 2013)

THE question of food security, endemic corruption and the chaotic land reform exercise came to the fore on Tuesday following heated exchanges in the House of Assembly with Zanu PF MPs choreographing the usual drivel about sanctions being behind the looming food shortages, which have left 2,2 million people vulnerable.

But MDC-T legislators blamed the chaotic land reform exercise, citing violent land grabs and Zanu PF’s failure to introduce a comprehensive land policy as the biggest single threat to the country’s food security.

Responding to a motion on food shortages which had been introduced by Lobengula MP Samuel Sipepa Nkomo (MDC-T), most Zanu PF MPs blamed the sanctions imposed on President Robert Mugabe and senior party officials by the West and former Finance minister Tendai Biti for contributing to the crisis. We do not understand why Zanu PF should continue harping on about illegal sanctions when people are suffering.

The other day it was Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs minister Emmerson Mnangagwa who claimed potholes in our major roads, which in some parts of the country have claimed lives as vehicles tried to negotiate them, were caused by sanctions. Sanctions, really?

Poor service delivery is, according to Zanu PF, again caused by sanctions. What hogwash! This excuse will not wash now, nor in the future. What we know for sure is that even Zanu PF supporters are starting to feel the heat after overwhelmingly voting Mugabe into power in the July 31 elections.

It is a fact that Mugabe now has an absolute majority which allows Zanu PF to revise the Constitution. The President has erected around him an impenetrable wall of impunity, and one never knows what he will unleash over the coming weeks. Perhaps this could be the main reason why he continues to harp on the sanctions issue.

It is our considered view that Zanu PF quickly realised that they promised overmuch, and that they will not be able to fulfil any of their pre-election promises hence their unsuccessful bid to shift the blame.

The truth of the matter is that the current political and economic crisis Zimbabwe finds itself in is very much man-made. There was replacement of experienced farmers with inexperienced ones who sold equipment. The land was under-utilised at the outset of the fast-track land reform exercise.

Hence, we call upon the opposition parties in both Houses of Parliament to keep Zanu PF in check, for without that there is the real possibility that the party could take the country further into the abyss.

We condemn Zanu PF’s bid to incite its supporters against other people in the name of fighting sanctions. If they are real, they should take their fight against sanctions to the West and not to the countryside. This is because already there have been reports of all forms of violence as Zanu PF claims to fight those supporting sanctions.

Mugabe must simply call his party apparatchiks to order, we want peace and therefore regardless of its win, the party should allow every Zimbabwean their space to flourish without any hindrance in the name of sanctions.

Appendix 31: Zanu-PF must curb chef syndrome (*The Herald*, 14 November, 2013)

It is not a secret why Zanu-PF romped to a resounding victory in the harmonised elections; it launched a sleek campaign on the back of popular programmes and candidates. Apart from having the best manifesto in years and tangible people-centred programmes like the indigenisation and economic empowerment programme, part of the party's success can be attributed to the manner it conducted its primary elections that were highly subscribed and gave people the candidates they wanted.

Even though allegations of rigging were made in a number of areas, which is inevitable in a contest of that magnitude, for the first time in years Zanu-PF appeared to have got its internal democratic processes right.

And supporters responded in numbers to send the MDC formations reeling to the dustbins of history from where they howl a dirge that has found no takers except among converts of illegal regime change.

But even those, as we report elsewhere in this issue, have seen the light.

It, however, appears that the lessons that should have been learnt from the primary elections and harmonised polls experience went unheeded in light of events that characterised Zanu-PF's provincial elections in Manicaland, the Midlands and Mashonaland Central where irregularities and all manner of ills were cited leaving the losing candidates and their backers aggrieved.

Indeed, President Mugabe is said to have pointed out that while Zanu-PF was ready for internal democracy, some in leadership were not. And we couldn't agree more with him going by what transpired in provincial elections held in the three provinces where some in leadership appeared to believe democracy is what they said it was.

This retrogressive chef syndrome was manifest in two ways:

Firstly, in the belief that supporters should repose their faith in certain individuals first, and then in the party second or as an afterthought. And, secondly, that supporters should pledge their loyalty to the party through those in leadership.

This chef syndrome is inimical to the growth and popularity of the revolutionary party as it fosters a "Them and Us" scenario where instead of serving the people, the chefs expect to be served by the people. A sure recipe for disaster.

Zanu-PF has a perfect chance to bury the MDC formations for good by giving the grassroots the right to choose their leaders without hindrance.

This is not to say we doubt that the three comrades who were declared winners in Manicaland, the Midlands and Mashonaland Central were not deserved winners, far from it, but their victory should not be tainted by needless irregularities that only serve to disenchant the grassroots.

It is said a bad experience is wasted if nothing useful is learnt from it, and we hope that going into the remaining seven provinces, the irregularities that afflicted Manicaland, the Midlands and Mashonaland Central will be a thing of the past.

The provincial elections are crucial as they are bringing forth teams that will drive party programmes and campaigns going into Election 2018. They are no laughing matter as detractors have refused to concede, and are indeed regrouping even outside known vassals.

Zanu-PF must be wary of scoring needless own goals that only serve to draw the MDC-T back into the game.

Appendix 32: This is not how Comrades behave (*The Herald*, 19 November, 2013)

WE welcome the decision taken by the Zanu-PF leadership to call off provincial elections that were set for this Saturday and the convening of an urgent, extra-ordinary Politburo meeting to stop the circus that saw some senior party officials approach issues of intra-party democracy with open mouths and shut minds, itself the bane of the MDC-T.

On Saturday, Zanu-PF needs to look at itself in the mirror, warts and all. The party must act on the warts that threatened to make it politically ugly.

The self-deprecating habit of pretending all is well when the house is on fire must be dropped like a plague, for fire once teased snarls all the way to ash.

The lessons of the near-miss of Election 2008 must endure where some Zanu-PF leaders kicked the ball into the bush with gusto, nearly sending the revolution off kilter. The result was four years of a dysfunctional coalition that gave Westerners a listening post even in Cabinet.

We believe it is the ghost of 2008 that is haunting Zanu-PF. We are convinced the words left unsaid, work left undone then is haunting the party now.

That aside, we take this opportunity to remind all and sundry within Zanu-PF that we hold no brief for anyone; aspiring or perspiring; for the party's leadership.

To us journalism is as British writer George Orwell put it, writing what someone does not want written with everything else qualifying for public relations.

There are some in Zanu-PF who didn't want the chaos that ravaged provincial elections in the Midlands, Manicaland and Mashonaland Central exposed.

They wanted the allegations of rigging and irregularities, the shambolic party registers and disenfranchisement of hundreds of party supporters to be hidden behind mouth washed platitudes.

But we are not in the business of public relations. Our duty is to educate, inform and entertain our readers.

To us the national interest is supreme and our publics are our readers and advertisers.

We defer to our National Flag, the national and public interest. We back Zanu-PF as long as it upholds the ideals that inspired its formation. The ideals that drove thousands of young Zimbabweans to take up arms against the settler regime. The ideals that to this day attract millions to the revolutionary party.

Gone are the days, if ever they were there, of being used by dwarfish politicians in giant robes. Our mandate is to tell the truth and not to assuage the egos of insecure politicians.

While the privately owned tabloids can afford to entertain the conspiracy theories for their selfish interests, we are a paper of record. We owe it to our readers and advertisers to keep the record straight.

We know President Mugabe as the final authority in Zanu-PF. When he speaks he gives us the party's official position.

We do not make announcements, we report on them. When the President, through his spokesperson, speaks we have a duty to report that no matter how unpalatable it may be to his subordinates.

While there is a clear distinction between the party and Government, it so happens the leader of the party, it's First Secretary and President and the Head of State and Government are one

person. What is more, he has a spokesperson who we all know and who should never be confused with the party spokesperson.

It is up to the President to choose who he wants to convey his message. That is not our business. It becomes our business when people who should know better expect us to confuse the medium and the message.

As we report elsewhere in this issue, there are matters which are outside even the province of the national spokesperson.

A case in point being our lead story today where the national chairman, Cde Simon Khaya Moyo in his capacity as a member of the Presidium, had to announce the cancellation of provincial elections and convening of a special Politburo meeting this Saturday.

As such the fact that Presidential spokesman George Charamba announced the President's position, and not the national spokesman is neither here nor there. The medium is not the message (*mutumwa haana mbonje*). It is the President who spoke.

To this end we take exception to utterances that were attributed to Zanu-PF secretary for administration Cde Didymus Mutasa, and Cde Rugare Gumbo who both tried to draw us into the Zanu-PF provincial poll fiasco.

We are not in the business of sparring with politicians, our province are news values.

We are a watchdog not a lapdog, and where need be the teeth come out.

Appendix 33: Mugabe must put his house in order (*NewsDay*, 15 November, 2013)

Zanu PF's infighting during the controversial provincial elections has exposed how deeply divided the party is over President Robert Mugabe's successor.

Instead of Zanu PF focusing its energy on reviving the economy and creating employment, the party is ensuring that Zimbabwe sinks further into political abyss.

The party's failure to hold smooth provincial elections plunged it into deeper political infighting, dragging the country along with it into the abyss.

What is happening in this country is very sad. It is very difficult to see how we will be able to overcome the challenges that we have. The internal strife, chaos and rigging allegations during the Zanu PF provincial elections is a microcosm of the extent of the unfair tendencies by the ruling party in national polls over the years.

This has confirmed our worst fears that one day Mugabe will leave a fractious political party with the potential to throw the country into the bottomless pit. We doubt whether that is what Mugabe would want – to have a tattered legacy for his 50-year-old political party.

That will be bad not only for Zanu PF and Zimbabwe, but for democracy in Africa. All along Mugabe has been the glue that holds the political outfit together, but it appears that Zanu PF is falling apart as shown by the chaos during the provincial elections.

This is no small matter as these polls will determine who will eventually succeed Mugabe at the next congress. Two distinct factions have emerged, one led by Vice-President Joice Mujuru and the other led by party legal boss and Justice minister Emmerson Mnangagwa. Mugabe has not helped things as he has oscillated between Mujuru and Mnangagwa.

We believe Mugabe should have prepared his party for a new leader. What this chaos does is to confirm our long-held fear that all along the party has been rigging national polls on a grand scale to remain in power — yet they always denied that.

Now the fights between party spokesperson Rugare Gumbo and Mugabe's spokesperson George Charamba over Mashonaland Central provincial election results seem to be a tip of the iceberg, and Zimbabwe should expect more.

How Mugabe, Mujuru and Mnangagwa have been roped into the infighting is saddening. One wonders if Mugabe is still in charge of the country let alone his party. Will Zanu PF survive after Mugabe? It appears his handlers are taking advantage of his advanced age.

It appears those close to him are aware of his troubles and are usurping the reins of power. For a ruling party to sink this low is dangerous for the government.

We cannot expect this generation of leaders to protect our interests, but theirs alone.

This discord we are witnessing is indicative of the deep-rooted factional fights within Zanu PF and government.

Mugabe must put his house in order for progress' sake!

Appendix 34: Swallow your pride (*NewsDay*, 18 November, 2013)

HARDLY four months after President Robert Mugabe's re-election in the July 31 harmonised polls torched wild celebrations within Zanu PF, the man appears to have a herculean task ahead of him.

It is time for serious business as the economy remains in a bind, with no clear-cut indication from Zanu PF on how their manifesto is going to be rolled out in a manner that will inject new life into Zimbabwe's comatose industries.

Zanu PF promised people that without MDC-T in government they would improve the economy, re-open industry and improve workers welfare.

Yet over 700 firms have collapsed under the watch of Zanu PF.

One can only wonder what new strategies Zanu PF is likely to draft that will see a departure from their "business as usual" approach.

We do not want to believe that the failure by government to bring new impetus into the economy has to do with power struggles within the ruling party.

Thousands of young people who are out of employment expect the new government to create employment.

Yet, thousands others are being churned out of the country's tertiary institutions every year. Despite all the hype about indigenisation and empowerment, Zanu PF appears to have lost sight of the fact that it is not every person who is cut out to be an entrepreneur.

There is now widespread fear that the economy will soon be in a free-fall, tumbling headlong into the pre-2008 nightmarish experiences.

Zimbabwe's economy shrank by 45% during a decade-long crisis under Zanu PF, but showed significant potential for a rebound in 2009 after Mugabe was forced to share power with arch-rival Morgan Tsvangirai following a blood-soaked election whose results were fiercely contested the previous year.

But the new Zanu PF government is yet to clearly define how it is going to pull the economy back from the brink of collapse. The new approach they have now taken on indigenisation, where they are now saying they will not use a one-size-fits-all approach, seems to suggest inconsistency in policy although this may be a welcome move.

The question now is –what revision are they going to employ next, and what that will mean to investors?

The Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI) says most companies across the country are working at a third of capacity, down from 55% a year ago.

This makes sad reading and the new government should consider adopting a fresh, radical approach if they are to inject confidence to the populace that the economy will be revived. As things stand at the moment, prospects for the country's future are not good at all.

For a lasting economic resolution, we urge Zanu PF to swallow its pride and re-engage the international community, the MDC-T and other political forces in the country for a workable business model that can take the country forward.

This is the only way they can court foreign investors whose presence will be key for a serious economic rejuvenation as years of isolation have clearly demonstrated that we cannot play solitaire in this regard and expect to win. We await development.

Appendix 35 Mugabe must punish inactive ministers (*NewsDay*, 27 November, 2013)

The Research and Advocacy Unit (Rau) findings that some Zanu PF ministers, notorious for bunking parliamentary business continue to be appointed into Cabinet makes sad reading.

This is because Parliament is a key arm of government that links the country's political leadership, precisely the people's representatives with the citizenry.

The local think tank fingered Zanu PF "bigwigs" like Presidential Affairs minister Didymus Mutasa, Transport and Infrastructural Development Minister Obert Mpfu, Local Government Ignatius Chombo, Economic Empowerment minister and Public Service minister Nicholas Goche among others.

Sadly, some of them have held Cabinet positions since 1980 or have been ministers for more than three consecutive terms now, having been recycled over and over again to the same or different government portfolios.

We are baffled by President Robert Mugabe's stance towards the people by continuing to appoint non-performers to Cabinet or those people that continue to show contempt of the people they represent. This clearly shows that Mugabe rewards loyalty at the expense of performance.

It is also sad to note that the ministers despite holding key portfolios did not take Parliament business seriously and either dodged or did not turn up during question and answer sessions in both Houses of Parliament.

Given the challenges this country is facing, it is imperative that ministers and Members of Parliament alike take parliamentary business seriously after all it is the third arm of the State after the judiciary and the executive.

The voters that elected them into office expect much better from them given that Parliament is the defined avenue through which they can have their concerns addressed.

Hence the failure to attend these sessions deprive the electorate of their representation and the Cabinet ministers themselves would be failing to discharge their duties as demanded by the constitution.

As the Zanu PF government begins its five-year term following its July 31 polls victory, ordinary citizens expect full participation by those tasked with taking the country forward.

Five years is a longtime for ministers to waste by playing mindless and childish games in the August House.

We urge Mugabe to take decisive action against those found wanting as failure to do so will soil his legacy as a leader who never had the interests of people at heart, but that of his cronies.

These ministers should know better given their long stay in Parliament that the question and answer sessions are an important part as a process through which it holds the Executive accountable for its actions.

In fact, we believe as part of the rules of Parliament ministers who fail to attend sessions without reasonable grounds to do so should be found in contempt of Parliament and punished.

This is simple disrespect of the nation as the MPs would be asking questions on behalf of people in their constituencies.

Appendix 36: Content analysis coding schedule

Categories	Themes	Analysis (Coded)
5.ZANU PF as election winners and ruling party	9.What is expected of the winners	
	10.The problem with ZANU PF	
6. MDC as election losers and opposition party	11.What caused the MDC to lose the election	
	12.An unpatriotic and West controlled party	
7. Mugabe as winner in Presidential vote and Zimbabwe President	13. Admonishing the President	
	14. A sacred cow – touch not thy President	
8.Tsvangirai as loser in Presidential vote and MDC leader	15.Tsvangirai and his Western handlers	
	16.Why Tsvangirai lost to Mugabe	
9.The way forward	17.The kind of Zimbabwe and Zimbabwean government we want	
	18.The kind of politicians we want	
	19.Miscellaneous	

Appendix 37: Content analysis coding manual – pre-election

Categories	Themes	Analysis (Coded)
1.ZANU PF during GNU	1.Negative attributes	➤ Zanu PF has vowed not to implement security sector and media reforms, eliciting the ire of the GPA partners and Sadc itself. Service chiefs continue to denigrate Zanu PF's political opponents with impunity and the State media has gone into overdrive in its bid to ensure the former sole ruling party is victorious at elections.
	2.Arguments supporting ZANU PF	
2.MDC during GNU	3.A violent party	➤
	4.Performance in GNU and its Members of Parliament	
3.Tsvangirai as Prime Minister under GNU	5. Why Tsvangirai should not be the next President	
	6.A powerless Prime Minister and lacks political perspicacity	
4.Mugabe as president under GNU	7. A wily politician	
	8.A retrogressive and undiplomatic leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Mugabe had the temerity to denigrate the regional bloc to the extent of labelling Zulu “an idiotic and stupid woman”. ➤ However, despite her spirited efforts, this is the “thank you” she gets from the Zimbabwean leader. No Mr President, be more diplomatic and be grateful. ➤ A hungry nation literally fed on what was coming from South Africa, Botswana and the rest of the region which realised the need to support a brother in dire straits. Now all of a sudden as an octogenarian leader grandstands for political mileage, he forgets all that support. Where would Zimbabwe be without Sadc?

Appendix 38: Content analysis coding manual – post-election

Categories	Themes	Analysis (Coded)
5.ZANU PF as election winners and ruling party	9.What is expected of the winners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ the issues that should occupy Zanu-PF now are to ensure that Zimbabwe continues to make progress in the implementation of pro-people policies such as the indigenisation and economic empowerment drives that are designed to put the economy in the hands of indigenous Zimbabweans who should take control of their God-given resources
	10.The problem with ZANU PF	
6. MDC as election losers and opposition party	11.What caused the MDC to lose the election	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ We challenge the MDC-T national executive that is reported elsewhere in this issue calling for Mr Tsvangirai's ouster to ensure that their leader should ensure that the sanctions he campaigned for are removed before they kick him out of office.
	12.An unpatriotic and West controlled party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ It is high time MDC-T and its allies realised the game is over.
7. Mugabe as winner in Presidential vote and Zimbabwe President	13. Admonishing the President	
	14. A sacred cow – touch not thy President	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤
8.Tsvangirai as loser in Presidential vote and MDC leader	15.Tsvangirai and his Western handlers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The writing is on the wall for Mr Tsvangirai that the poll rigging mantra that he has been peddling has found no takers. In fact, it sounds hollow and ridiculous by the day. ➤ We want to challenge Mr Tsvangirai and his handlers that if Zimbabweans said no to sanctions by overwhelmingly voting President Mugabe and Zanu-PF into office on July 31, then who are their sanctions serving? ➤ We call upon Mr Tsvangirai to immediately stop his election rigging mantra, which the region and the progressive world have already rejected. It is high time he turned his sword into ploughshares.
	16.Why Tsvangirai lost to Mugabe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤
9.The way forward	17.The kind of Zimbabwe and	

	Zimbabwean government we want	
	18.The kind of politicians we want	
	19.Miscellaneous	

Appendix 39: Rhetorical analysis coding schedule

No	Division of Rhetoric	Content	Word count

Appendix 40: Rhetorical analysis coding schedule - tropes

No	Tropes and techniques	TH (example)	ND (example)
1	Metonymy		
2	Metaphor		
3	Hyperbole		

Appendix 41: Rhetorical analysis coding manual (1)

No	Division of Rhetoric	Content	Word count
1	DR	How sincere are Mugabe's calls?	5
2		ON Tuesday, President Robert Mugabe was in Chitungwiza where he addressed a rally attended by thousands of his supporters at Chibuku Stadium.	22
3	ER	His message there was clear — peace begins with me, peace begins with you, peace begins with all of us. As the nation surges towards a watershed election in which stakes are unquestionably high, it was indeed a timely	48

		message with maturity, coming from Zanu PF's most senior official.	
4	FR	It is a message the President has been preaching at virtually all his gatherings in a bid to ensure political tolerance and a violence-free poll, different from the mayhem witnessed in 2008 when brother turned against brother and butchered each other for supporting rival parties.	45
5		However, a mere 24 hours after Mugabe's Chitungwiza rally, an ugly scenario erupted. Seven MDC-T officials, believing in the peace message the President had just preached, were brutally attacked, allegedly for putting up campaign posters and distributing pamphlets at a housing settlement established by Zanu PF aspiring parliamentary candidate, Christopher Chigumba.	51
6		Some sustained serious injuries which saw them admitted at a local hospital, but most of the perpetrators reportedly went away scot-free.	21
7	DR	Is Mugabe speaking white, but acting black, indicating left and turning right, preaching peace, but acting war? Or has he lost control of Zanu PF and his grassroots supporters no longer take him seriously — a sign that may signal Mugabe, turning 90 next February, is now a spent force rumbling what no longer resonates with the thinking of his followers?	60
8	ER	Violence in any form ahead of elections is intolerable and both the President and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai have been making passionate calls to their supporters to be tolerant for the country to hold peaceful polls.	36
9	ER	Over the weekend, Tsvangirai warned his youth leaders Solomon Madzore and Promise Mkwanzani against making reckless statements which may trigger violence.	21
10	FR	This was after Madzore had told a rally in Marondera early this month that as youths they were prepared to shed their blood for the former trade unionist, a statement which Mkwanzani went on to support.	36
11	ER	Grandstanding and preaching mixed messages should not be condoned in any circumstances.	12
12	DR	It is the hope of many that local, regional and international election observers currently in the country will keep a close eye on these developments and give correct reports regarding violence.	31
13	FR	The 2008 presidential election runoff was marred by violence which saw Tsvangirai pulling out, culminating in an inclusive government — definitely not the best deal for Zimbabweans who deserve to be led by a single party that wins an election.	39
14	DR	With two weeks to go before the harmonised elections, Zimbabweans only hope and deserve a peaceful poll and calls by leaders should be respected and observed.	26

Key: Purple = Rhetorical question, Yellow = neologism, Green = hyperbole, Grey = metonymy, Blue = metaphor

Appendix 42: Rhetorical analysis coding manual (2)

No	Tropes and techniques	TH (example)	ND (example)
1	Metonymy	Western ambassadors (TH, 22July, ,2013) Western gods (TH, 22July, 2013) the progressive world (TH, 22 August,2013)	thousands of his supporters (ND,19 July,2013) Zanu-PF most senior official (ND, 19 July,2013)

- West (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 Sadc (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 Zimbabwe x 2 (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 better man (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 friend and fore (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 Zim voters (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 Spoke (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 Comrades (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 Zanu-PF x 2 (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 Westerners (TH, 19 November, 2013), (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 The world x 2 (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 United States (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 UN (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 World body (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 Zimbabweans (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 The region (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 Progressive world (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 MDC-T national executive (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 President x 3 (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 Spokesperson x 2 (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 First secretary (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 Head of state and government (TH, 19 November, 2013)
- 2 Metaphor
- a lap dog not watch dog press (TH, 9 June, 2013), (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 He answers to a higher deity – his Western gods TH, 22 July, 2013)
 If they were not there as puppeteers (TH, 22 July, 2013)
 The politically ugly x2 (TH, 22 August, 2013), (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 with dirty hands (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 any askaris will be thrown to the dustbin by discerning voters (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 Look in the mirror, recognise your warts and do something about them (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 Not zero-sum games (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 Had no stomach for (TH, 22 August, 2013)
 The honeymoon is over (TH, 24 September, 2013)
 Put their shoulders to the wheel (TH, 24 September, 2013)
 Has been itching for constructive engagement (TH, 24 September, 2013)
 Writing is on the wall (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 He turned his sword into ploughshares (TH, 11 October, 2013)
 Stop the circus (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 Needs to look at itself in the mirror, warts and all (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 Hold no brief for anyone (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 Kicked the ball into the bush with gusto (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 House on fire (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 Ghost of 2008 (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 Dwarfish politicians in giant robes (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 where need be the teeth come out (TH, 19 November, 2013)
 No matter how unpalatable it may be to his subordinates (TH, 19 November, 2013)
- 3 Hyperbole
- MDC-T thugs have since made good on Mr Tsvangirai's chilling threat (TH, 9 June, 2013)
 We would all have our heads chopped off and stuffed in refrigerators for principled points of disagreement (TH, 9 June, 2013)
 Have ganged up against innocent Zimbabweans (TH, 9
- The president (ND, 19 July, 2013)
 Youths (ND, 19 July, 2013)
 Shed their blood (ND, 19 July, 2013)
 Former trade unionist (ND, 19 July, 2013)
 Will keep a close eye (ND, 19 July, 2013)
 SADC (ND, 5 August, 2013)
 The West x2 (ND, 17 October, 2013), (ND, 18 November, 2013)
 International community (ND, 18 November, 2013)
 MDC-T (ND, 18 November, 2013)
 Men and women (ND, 13 September, 2013)
 People expect (ND, 13 September, 2013)
 Zimbabwe x2 (ND, 14 June, 2013)
 Regional leaders (ND, 14 June, 2013)
- as the nation surges towards a watershed election (ND, 19 July, 2013)
 ugly scenario erupted (ND, 19 July, 2013)
 were nothing but cosmetic (ND, 8 August, 2013)
 on a Zanu-PF ticket (ND, 8 August, 2013)
 slept on the job (ND, 8 August, 2013)
 characters you were in bed with (ND, 8 August, 2013)
 Stop 'sanctions' chorus (ND, 17 October, 2013)
 choreographing the usual drivel (ND, 17 October, 2013)
 the President has erected around him an impenetrable wall of impunity (ND, 17 October, 2013)
 Swallow your pride x 2 (ND, 18 November, 2013)
 inject confidence (ND, 18 November, 2013)
 torched wild celebrations (ND, 18 November, 2013)
 a captain of a ship in stormy waters (ND, 13 September, 2013)
 not full of weary deadwood timeservers (ND, 13 September, 2013)
 chasing the ball all the time (ND, 14 June, 2013)
 "big man" Mugabe (ND, 14 June, 2013)
 little Mudede (ND, 14 June, 2013)
 tattered legacy (ND, June, 14, 2013)
 Zanu PF sympathisers (ND, 15 August, 2013)
- Brother turned against brother and butchered each other for supporting rival parties (ND, 19 July, 2013)
 Had been at each other's throats for ages (ND, 5 August, 2013)
 There is now widespread fear (ND, 18

June,2013)
Stop wasting everyone's time x 2 (TH, 22 July,2013)
Stubbornly refused (TH, 22 July,2013)
Put simply the man had no mind of his own (TH, 22 July,2013)
Western ambassadors always hovered at all summit venues (TH, 22 July,2013)
Giving Zanu-PF a crushing two-thirds majority (TH, 22 August,2013)
A near clean sweep of local authorities (TH, 22 August,2013)
Clogged his party's rank and file with the ex-Rhodies (TH, 22 August,2013)
Following the penchant by MDC legislators to dwell on self-aggrandisement agendas instead of serving the people (TH, 24 September, 2013)
With sanctions having hit the country hard, it is a fact that we are facing almost the same situation that we were confronted with at independence (TH, 24 September,2013)
Four years of dysfunctional coalition that gave Westerners a listening post even in Cabinet (TH, 19 November,2013)

November, 2013)
Blood-soaked election ND, 18 November,2013)
Results were fiercely contested the previous year (ND, 18 November,2013)
Inexperienced ones who sold equipment (ND, 17 October,2013)