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**DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES**

**DISSERTATION TOPIC: ZANU PFs Factionalism and Rethinking The Herald's  
Political Economy**

**BY**

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**Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Masters of  
Science in Media and Society Studies Degree.**

## **DECLARATION**

**I, TAKUNDA MAODZA**, declare that this dissertation is an original work and no material in this document has previously been submitted at this or any other University. References from other authors have been duly acknowledged.

## **DEDICATIONS**

This research project is dedicated to my children Clara and Brendon Maodza. To my late wife, Rest In Peace. We miss you.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study rethinks the legitimacy of the political economy theory in so far as it assumes that media owners unproblematically determine content in newspapers, radio or television stations that they own. The study was stimulated by The Herald's political news content in the period between 2015 and 2017, which scandalised some senior politicians in the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) Government. This occurred notwithstanding the fact that the ZANU PF Government has over 51% shareholding in the Zimbabwe Newspapers 1980 Private Limited and must according to the political economy theory of the media must have overseen the editorial content at The Herald. The study answers the question- how was it possible for The Herald to publish unfavourably about such Senior ZANU PF Officials, as its national political Commissar and Local Government, National Housing and Urban Development Minister Saviour Kasukuwere, Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development Minister and Politbro Member Jonathan Moyo and the Minister of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare, who also happens to be President Robert Mugabe's nephew, Patrick Zhuwao, among other party stalwarts. The Herald has always propagated the interest of Zanu PF and its members across the rank and file of the party but this changed since the expulsion of then Vice President Joyce Mujuru and here allies from the ruling party in 2014. The researcher is a news editor at The Herald and brings insider information on how the newspaper generated political stories on ZANU PF functionalism during the period under study by diagonalising the news production process, interviewing political reporters and through use of participant observation. This study adopts a qualitative research paradigm or what Bryman (2001) calls the interpretive approach.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **Introduction**

Political economy is one of the many important factors that shape the content and dissemination of news the world over. In this study, the researcher interrogates political

economy from the traditional Marxian perspective having considered that political economy is a broad subject. Marx and Engels cited in Curran et al (1982: 22) argue that the economic base of society determines everything in the superstructure including social, political and intellectual consciousness. This Marxian approach suggests that “the contents of the media and the meanings carried by their messages are primarily determined by the economic base of the organization in which they are produced” (Curran et al 1982:18). The base/superstructure is concerned with ownership and control of the media and Marx and Engels posit that the mass media are means of production owned by the ruling class to propagate ruling class ideas.

The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it (Marx and Engels cited in Curran et al 1982: 22).

This viewpoint speaks volumes about the extent to which political economy determines media content. Earlier scholars on political economy like Adam Smith, David Ricardo, James Mill and Jeremy Bentham, analyse political economy from a fixed viewpoint. To them the nexus between capitalism and industries like the media does not go beyond a system of production, distribution, and consumption of resources, neither does it go beyond “power relations that mutually constitute production, distribution and consumption of resources” (Mosco 1996:25). This view by the political economists tends “toward conspiracy theory or simple-minded notions that a ruling directorate of the capitalist class dictates to editors and reporters what to run in their newspapers” Schudson (1996:145). It is this viewpoint that this study rethinks in the context of *The Herald's* coverage of events in ZANU-PF during the period under study.

This research is, however, alive to arguments raised by Critical Political Economists whose analysis of the mass media extends to examining how the political and economic organisation of the media industries “affect the production and circulation of meaning and connects to the distribution of symbolic and material resources that enable people to understand, communicate and act in the world” (Hardy 2014:9). Critical Political Economy interrogates how the media works, its ownership, financing and support mechanisms. It examines policies and actions of government and other organisations and how they influence and affect media

behaviour and content. To understand any specific media form requires interrogating “how it is produced and distributed in a given society and how it is situated in relation to the dominant social structure” (Kellner 2009:96). The Critical Political Economy approach highlights the contribution the media make in reinforcing or understanding political and social inequality, (McChesney 2003). It views the economy as interrelated to the political, social and cultural life (Murdock and Golding 2005:61). The critical study of media production therefore helps understand the conditions the media are made (Hardy (2014). Understanding media production helps to fully appreciate media content and audiences.

To understand the production of meaning requires not only analysis of how ideology is inscribed in texts and readings but grasping the general economic dynamics of media production and the determination they exert (Golding and Murdock 1979:210).

Critical Political Economy examines how the media serve to sustain the interests of the powerful. It probes how the media are connected to the ways in which power is sustained through meanings and contends that different ways of organising and financing the media determine the nature of content and ways it is consumed, (Hardy 2014). The Critical Political Economy School attempts to answer questions like whose concerns and voices are amplified in the media, whose ideas and discourse are represented by media, and why (Hardy 2014). The study of Critical Political Economy interrogates the media from a broader perspective of social existence and resource allocation. This is unlike the political economy approach whose reductionist approach Golding and Murdock (1991) say is confined to the interplay between the symbolic and economic dimensions of public communication. This economic deterministic view is reinforced by Schudson (1989: 266) who suggests that “political economy relates the outcome of the news process directly to the economic structure of the news organizations”. Equally, Herman and Chomsky (1988) confirms that those who own the media and fund them are the primary definers of news while by Miliband (1994), cited in Manning (2001), posits that controllers of the means of communication make it hard or impossible for views that criticise them to be accommodated in their media. A liberal capitalist press represents no one but the owners of the press, (Louw 1984: 35) and “no philanthropist starts a newspaper; only people who want to make money or change the world through their own ideas start newspapers” (Rusike 1990:72). These Marxian viewpoints are substantiated by McQuail (2005:81) who argues that “there is no doubt that owners in market based media have ultimate power over content and can ask for what they want to be included

or left.” For Ali (2015), the impact of media ownership on content is felt more by government owned media in Africa. It is clear from arguments proffered by these scholars that political economy or ownership plays a crucial role in the generation of media content. When media content appears to defy the political economy theory, it provides an interesting field for research.

This study investigates the political economy of *The Herald* in the period after President Robert Mugabe moved as Minister Jonathan Moyo from the Ministry of Media, Information and Broadcasting Services to that of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development. This followed a Cabinet reshuffle in 2013. Moyo was Information Minister, for the second time, from 2013 to 2015. Moyo held a similar portfolio from 2000 to 2005. Christopher Mushohwe was subsequently appointed the new Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services in 2015 taking over from Jonathan Moyo.

### **Background of the study**

During his tenure as Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Minister, Jonathan Moyo was accused by the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) officials across the rank and file of the party of using *The Herald* to attack his perceived opponents in the ruling party. Among senior ZANU-PF officials, who accused Jonathan Moyo of using *The Herald* as a tool to fan factionalism, were then ZANU-PF Secretary for Information and Publicity Rugare Gumbo, Didymus Mutasa – who was then the ruling party’s Secretary for Administration – and Joice Mujuru. At the time Mujuru was Vice President in government and Second Secretary in ZANU-PF. Other ruling party notables who also cried foul over negative reporting by *The Herald* were Temba Mliswa (then Zanu-PF Mashonaland West Provincial Chairperson), Dzikamai Mavhaire, Munacho Mutezo and Tendai Savanhu, to cite a few. Even President Mugabe chastised Moyo on June 6, 2014 for using *The Herald* to fight other ruling party cadres he perceived as opponents unlike his predecessors like Nathan Shamuyarira whom he said, “put in *The Herald* the view of the party that appealed to the people”. President Mugabe slammed Moyo saying;

I am saying this in light of what is happening now where you have your Minister of Information wanting to put people against each other. You do not do things like that. We want honest leadership, the truth...Shamuyarira had a people oriented direction when he was

Minister of Information and not these little ideas of how I can get so and so. (*The Herald* 06, June 2014, *Daily News* 06 June 2014).

But after he was moved to the tertiary education ministry, Jonathan Moyo and a number of senior ZANU-PF officials including the ruling party's National Political Commissar Saviour Kasukuwere, Youth and Empowerment Minister Patrick Zhuwao, who also happens to be President Mugabe's nephew, are vociferous in their criticism of *The Herald's* reportage on events in ZANU-PF. For Zhuwao, *The Herald's* editorial policy has been "bastardized to become a dirty tool of successionists Team Lacoste" ([www.newzimbabwe.com](http://www.newzimbabwe.com)). Team Lacoste refers to a camp in ZANU-PF reportedly aligned to Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa. Jonathan Moyo, Patrick Zhuwao, Saviour Kasukuwere, among others, are said to be in the G40 faction. The two factions are reportedly battling to replace President Mugabe when he retires. President Mugabe turned 93 years this year (2017). None of the factions has come out in the open to declare its interest in succeeding Mugabe. Jonathan Moyo, on the other hand, accuses *The Herald* of embarking on a campaign to damage his image. Saviour Kasukuwere believes *The Herald* is now an enemy of ZANU-PF. He told journalists at a function in Mt Darwin in March 2017 that; "That paper (*The Herald*) is not even ZANU-PF as things stand. It is fronting an agenda of an individual. It has lost its decency. It is a tool being used by individuals. It is as if that paper has no editor (*The Zimbabwe Daily*).

Saviour Kasukuwere also verbally abused *The Herald's* senior political reporter Felix Share, whom he accused of consistently writing negatively about the ZANU-PF national political commissar and called the scribe "son of a bitch" (*The Herald* March 29, 2017). The remark was strongly condemned by the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists and the Media Institute of Southern Africa, (*The Herald*, March 29, 2017). Saviour Kasukuwere also threatened "to kill *The Herald* editor Caesar Zvayi" accusing him of factional reporting. Addressing journalists on the sidelines of a Command Agriculture field day at Chaminuka Vocational Training Centre in Mt Darwin, Saviour Kasukuwere said:

I want to make it clear that *The Herald* is a factional paper. We will deal with the editor. I am not (Joice) Mujuru and I want to take them head on. They write stories based on sources who have interests. This is no longer a national paper but a factional mouthpiece and we are not scared to take them head on. We will find them to the bitter end (*thezimdaily.com*, March 25, 2017).

The war between *The Herald* and the ZANU-PF officials like Saviour Kasukuwere did not show any sign of thawing at the time this study was conducted. If anything, in a fit not witnessed before in the boss-servant relations between *The Herald* and ZANU-PF politicians, Jonathan Moyo and Saviour Kasukuwere are suing *The Herald* at the High Court for defamation (*Daily News*, 9 November 2016). Saviour Kasukuwere is demanding \$7 million from *The Herald* editor Caesar Zvayi and reporters Felix Share, Tendai Mugabe and Praise Bvumbamera (an intern). They allege that they were defamed by stories that were published by *The Herald* and argue that in relation to succession politics within ZANU-PF, the stories were meant “to advance the political fortunes of the beneficiaries of the Blue Ocean Strategy to which the defendants are an appendage” (*Daily News*, 9 November 2016). The G40 allege the existence of a dossier, Blue Ocean Strategy, allegedly crafted by Team Lacoste illustrating how the VP Mnangagwa camp intended to politically annihilate its rivalries in ZANU-PF by using *The Herald* to scandalize Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere, Patrick Zhuwao, among others to gain political power. Even the First Lady Grace Mugabe publicly expressed her disapproval of *The Herald's* coverage of some government and ZANU-PF officials. She blamed *The Herald's* unusual negative coverage of Saviour Kasukuwere and Jonathan Moyo on the Secretary for Information, Media and Broadcasting Services, who also doubles as Presidential spokesperson, George Charamba. Grace Mugabe publicly disparaged George Charamba at a ZANU-PF rally in Chinhoyi on July 29, 2017 saying:

George is employed in the President's Office as the presidential spokesperson, as Secretary for Information but right now we are only seeing in *The Herald*, there are only specific people who receive positive coverage while the others are being ignored. Don't think we are not seeing that, my son. Don't do that ([www.newzimbabwe.com](http://www.newzimbabwe.com)).

In the same address, Grace Mugabe further accused George Charamba of “writing nonsense which has nothing to do with development” ([www.newzimbabwe.com](http://www.newzimbabwe.com)). George Charamba, who used to write in *The Herald* under pseudo name Nathaniel Manheru, has since discontinued the Saturday column with suspicion he was stopped. It is this instability in *The Herald's* coverage of developments in ZANU-PF and the now public feud between *The Herald* and some senior ZANU-PF officials that has driven the researcher into probing the state of *The Herald's* political economy. Are there any other dynamics at play far removed from the issue of ownership that are influencing the news gathering processes at *The Herald*? Since independence in 1980, the ZANU-PF government has used its shareholding in Zimpapers, publishers of *The Herald*, to project the ruling party and its rank and file

positively and in the process buttressing its rule. The ZANU-PF government has a 51 percent shareholding in Zimpapers, which it took over from the now defunct Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT). Departure by *The Herald* from its traditional and indiscriminate support of the government of the day as represented by ZANU-PF interested the researcher into finding out why certain ZANU-PF politicians are negatively framed or reported on. This brings in the issue of *The Herald's* editorial policy. Does it exist? Or is it a case of whoever is appointed Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services becoming a defacto editorial charter? Where do we locate the Permanent Secretary of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services? During the period under study the Permanent Secretary was George Charamba, who doubled up as Presidential spokesperson. In its interrogation, the study unpacks the news production processes at *The Herald* and their consequences for journalism.

### **Statement of the problem**

*The Herald* has been regarded as a ZANU-PF mouthpiece for decades as its editorial content supported the ruling party by the virtue of government having 51 percent shareholding in Zimpapers, the publishers of *The Herald*. This changed remarkably since 2014 when factionalism ripped ZANU-PF apart. *The Herald* turned against some senior ZANU-PF officials violating the basic tenets of the political economy theory on how the media operate. This study investigates the legitimacy of the assumption that media owners determine what is published by their newspapers or what is broadcast on radio and television. The study focuses on *The Herald's* coverage of ZANU-PF factionalism in the period between 2015 and 2017.

### **Significance of the study**

This study is an investigation into the relevance of the political economy theory in comprehending news production processes at *The Herald*. It is the researcher's anticipation that findings from this thesis will help establish the extent to which political economy is responsible for news content in Zimbabwe with focus on *The Herald*. The study locates *The Herald* in the incessant ZANU-PF factional fights on who succeeds Robert Mugabe. The researcher believes the study would be valuable to people interested in the political economy discourse, media production studies and press politics. As an Assistant News Editor Responsible for Investigations at *The Herald* and later appointed News Editor for *The Herald*, the researcher brings insider insights on the operations of the newspaper at the height of ZANU-PF factionalism. Previous studies on the subject have mainly been premised on a united ZANU-PF running the affairs of *The Herald* through the Ministry of Information,

Media and Broadcasting Services to propagate the ruling party ideology for hegemonic ends. The study, therefore, adds a new look to the existing body of literature on political economy.

### **Research objectives**

The study analyses *The Herald's* editorial content on events in ZANU-PF after Jonathan Moyo was moved from the Ministry of Media, Information and Broadcasting Services to the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education.

It seeks to establish if *The Herald* maintained the editorial structure that existed in the Jonathan Moyo era.

The study also examines the nature of discourse *The Herald* pursued on events in ZANU-PF after the Jonathan Moyo exit and the entrance of Christopher Mushohwe as new Minister of Media, Information and Broadcasting Services.

It explores newsroom practices and routines responsible for the production of news content after Jonathan Moyo left the Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services.

### **Main research question**

How did *The Herald* report on events in ZANU-PF in the post Jonathan Moyo era?

### **Sub questions**

Does the newspaper still rely on its editorial policy in the gathering, writing and dissemination of news?

What could have influenced *The Herald* to antagonize some ZANU-PF officials in the post Moyo era when change of guard was expected to bridge relations between the ruling party and the newspaper as articulated by President Mugabe when he slammed Minister Jonathan Moyo at the burial of Shamuyarira?

### **Scope of the study**

The study focuses on the period Jonathan Moyo was moved from the Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services in 2015 to that of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development following a Cabinet reshuffle by President Mugabe, to 2017 when this research was conducted. Mushohwe took over a Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services from Jonathan Moyo, vehemently accused by

some senior ZANU-PF officials, including President Mugabe, of using *The Herald* to foment instability in ZANU-PF. The research is, therefore, a diagnosis of *The Herald's* coverage of developments in ZANU-PF after Jonathan Moyo's reign.

### **Assumptions of the study**

It is the researcher's assumption that *The Herald* is a newspaper run professionally and in the public interest considering Government's stake in the Zimbabwe Newspapers Group (Zimpapers). *The Herald* is a Zimpapers flagship.

### **Limitations of the study**

The researcher works for *The Herald* as News Editor. Some political reporters interviewed by the researcher on the news gathering processes at *The Herald* might have been tempted to give him responses they believed he wanted to hear merely to please him as the researcher is their senior in the newsroom. The reporters may also have been reluctant to say certain things considering the extent ZANU-PF factionalism has permeated *The Herald* newsroom. Under such circumstances, scepticism that the interviews were for academic purposes could have been high thereby eroding the value of the interviews. To counter these fault lines, the researcher triangulated the interview method with participant observation and archival research. Assurances of confidentiality were also guaranteed to the interviewees.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter looked at *The Herald* when Jonathan Moyo was Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services between 2013 and 2015. During his tenure, Jonathan Moyo stood accused by ZANU-PF officials of using *The Herald*, a newspaper they considered they own, to annihilate party officials. Historically, *The Herald* has reported positively about ZANU-PF as per its editorial policy of supporting the government of the day. Even when it was the *Rhodesia Herald*, it reported in the interest of Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front and that has been the norm. The appointment of Christopher Mushowe to the Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services was naturally expected to bring back that normalcy - positive imaging of ZANU-PF across rank and file of the party as assumed by political economy theorists. Instead, Jonathan Moyo and some senior ZANU-PF officials raucously accuse *The Herald* of working against the interests of ZANU-PF.

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

### **Introduction**

This chapter examines literature on political economy of the media with focus on *The Herald*. It also outlines theoretical orientations and research traditions relevant to this study. A number of scholars, among them Marx and Engels (1970), Herman and Chomsky (1988), Golding and Murdock (1991), Barret and Newsbold (1995), Ureke (2016), Mukasa (2003),

Rusike (1990) and Moyo (2003) have highlighted how political economy of the media shapes news content. It is their argument that media proprietors define news. This researcher was, however, forced to rethink the veracity of the political economy concept after noting that *The Herald*, a newspaper owned by government with a 51 percent stake in Zimpapers, appeared to defy the political economy philosophy when it constantly defiled senior government and ZANU-PF officials. *The Herald's* editorial policy clearly states that the newspaper supports the elected government of the day and in this instance the ZANU-PF administration, which has been in power since independence from the British settler regime. This study contends that the ZANU-PF government is a defacto owner of Zimpapers, publishers of *The Herald*. This argument is confirmed by former Zimpapers chief executive officer Elias Rusike when he stated that “Zimpapers is effectively under the daily control of the Ministry of Information” (Rusike 1990:80). It is important to note that since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has been under the ZANU-PF government. The government appoints the Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services. The minister appoints editors for *The Herald* and other state controlled media houses. This chapter looks at media ownership and control in Zimbabwe with focus on *The Herald*.

### **Media ownership and implications on content in Zimbabwe**

Existing literature on media ownership and control in Zimbabwe suggests that owners of news media have a final say on what gets published, (Rusike 1990; Saunders 1999; Gale 1962; Moyo 2003; Ruhanya 2014; Mukasa 2003; Ureke 2016). Moyo (2003) notes that the issue of media ownership determining news content is historic and its roots are traceable to the Rhodesian era. Moyo (2003) posits that the development of the print media in Zimbabwe was enmeshed in political and economic powers structures with white owned newspapers fighting for the justice and business interests of white settler minority. This explains why Cecil John Rhodes, who later colonised Zimbabwe, started the South African based Argus Printing and Publishing Company (APP), which according to Moyo (2003), gradually expanded to operate in the whole of southern Africa in line with colonial interests of Rhodes. This view is buttressed by Gale (1962:123) who states that: “The editorial policy of *The Rhodesian Herald* was expressly stated as the advancement of mining and agricultural interests of white community and the promotion of fellowship and unity amongst all classes and sections of the white community.”

The coming of independence in 1980, which brought a new black ZANU-PF government in office, did not change the character of the media in Zimbabwe. When government bought shareholding in the APP using a loan from Nigeria to form Zimpapers 1980 (Private) Limited, it used newspapers under the stable to serve its interests with Moyo (2003:9) asserting that the structural organisation and output of the public media “glaringly reflected a strong grip by the new black political elite who showed no remorse in using the public media to push for their class and party interests”. Rusike (1990) notes that government interference in the operations of Zimpapers was expected as it had shareholding in the company through the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT). He argues that, “When a government owns a newspaper, it is quite clear about its motives: it would like the paper to promote its policies, not those of the opposition” (Rusike 1990: 68). Rusike (1990) asserts that the *Voice of America* propagates American foreign policy in as much as the then Soviet Union’s *Pravda* supported communism as an ideology by virtue of it being owned by the Communist Party.

Editors at Zimpapers who defied the interests of the ZANU-PF government were dismissed or reassigned to non-editorial portfolios. Rusike (1990) cites the dismissal of Willie Musarurwa as editor of *Sunday Mail*, Henry Muradzikwa, who had replaced Musarurwa at *Sunday Mail*, was also axed for publishing a story that offended the ZANU-PF government while government refused the promotion of veteran journalist Bill Saidi to become *The Herald* Managing Editor as it deemed him “politically unacceptable and therefore would not entrust him to edit *The Herald*” (Rusike 1990:77). Geoff Nyarota suffered the same fate when after publishing a story in the *Chronicle* exposing corruption by government officials in what became known as the Willowgate Scandal was removed from editorial to head office where he was appointed public relations executive. Government descended heavily on Zimpapers management after publication of the scandal with Rusike reminiscing that:

We were told in no uncertain terms that either we removed Nyarota as editor of the *Chronicle* or the whole board of Zimpapers would be dissolved.

In fact, at several cabinet and central committee meetings there were demands for my dismissal as chief executive of Zimpapers. It was argued that I allowed the editors to publish damaging stories implicating ministers in the car scandal (Rusike 1990:78-79).

Rusike (1990:79) recites how he was often summoned to the Ministry of Information to explain “why that story was published and why the President’s story did not go on the front page?” He argues that Zimpapers was now a government newspaper stable and “Zimbabweans must now accept that Zimpapers are owned and controlled by government and therefore now serve government interests” (Rusike 1990:80).

The blatant interference by ZANU-PF officials in news production processes at *The Herald* and other Zimpapers publications is also confirmed by Saunders (1999:18), who quotes then *Sunday News* editor Bill Saidi saying, “We had a string of ministers, Mnangagwa, Zvobgo and all of them, who came to tell the journalists: ‘This is what we want you to write.’” The influence of media ownership on news content at Zimpapers was further evident during the Matabeleland disturbances known as the Gukurahundi in 1983 when government unleashed the Fifth Brigade into the Midlands and Matabeleland regions to crush an uprising by what the State termed dissidents. Saunders (1999) asserts that the privately-owned media covered the massacre of an estimated 20 000 civilians by soldiers while government managed, through its ownership of Zimpapers, to stop its newspapers from publishing on the disturbances. Saunders (1999: 19) quotes then *The Herald* journalist, Andrew Moyse confirming the embargo by government on Zimpapers saying, “We got stories coming from Matabeleland about the massacres and killings and they were just being spiked”. The black government, like its predecessor, and through the Ministry of Information, saw the public media as tools essential in consolidating its political power.

The control of news content by ownership in Zimbabwe is not confined to media owned by the State as largely suggested by existing literature. It cuts across all media (Ruhanya 2014; Ureke 2016; Mukasa 2003). In his thesis on the relationship between the *Daily News* and opposition politics, Ruhanya (2014) gives insights into how the privately owned media also suffered from owner interference on content while Ureke (2016) highlights the same in a paper interrogating the *Mirrorgate* – the covert takeover of the Ibbotson Mandaza owned the Zimbabwe Mirror Newspaper Group (ZMNG) by the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) and how the new proprietors dictated content in the *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Mirror*. In his thesis, Ruhanya (2014) outlines how businesspeople and journalists with a long history of confrontation with Robert Mugabe’s ZANU-PF government formed the *Daily News* with the sole aim of toppling a regime they considered despotic in yet another confirmation of

assertions by political economists that owners of media determine what gets published. Ruhanya (2014) suggests that the *Daily News*'s formation in April 1999 and the launch of the MDC five months later (September 1999) were not coincidental events. He exposes the strong bond between the founders of the *Daily News* and MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai saying, "They were insightful linkages between the founder of the *Daily News* and its editor-in-chief Geoffrey Nyarota and the leader of the main opposition MDC's Morgan Tsvangirai", (Ruhanya 2014:23). This link came to pass when Nyarota confirmed his MDC membership after contesting the July 31, 2013 harmonised elections on an MDC ticket. He lost to ZANU-PF. Another *Daily News* founder Wilf Mbanga later started his own newspaper, the *Zimbabwean*, while based in the United Kingdom. The paper, like the *Daily News*, was highly critical of the ZANU-PF administration. It later collapsed. Ruhanya (2014: 23) describes the bond between the MDC and journalists at the *Daily News* as "inseparable". Mukasa (2003) confirms Ruhanya's observation and argues that the ownership of the Associated Newspapers Zimbabwe (ANZ), the publishers of the *Daily News*, rested in the hands of citizens whose countries were opposed to the ZANU-PF rule. Besides Nyarota and Mbanga, citizens of Britain, New Zealand and South Africa, also had stake in ANZ. Mukasa (2003) suggests that this probably explained the *Daily News*'s anti-ZANU-PF editorial policy. In the *Mirrorgate*, Ureke (2016) buttresses the deterministic influence of ownership on news output by highlighting how after their takeover by the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) from Mandaza, newspapers under the Zimbabwe Mirror Newspaper Group (ZMNG) changed their editorial stance from criticising the Mugabe regime to supporting it. This only happened after the CIO bought 51 percent shareholding in the ZMNG. Ureke (2016) asserts that stories that criticised government or quasi government institutions or officials were discouraged. MDC advertisements were also not encouraged in the newspapers.

The relationship between the *Daily News* and the MDC as illustrated by Ruhanya (2014) and Mukasa (2003), just as the takeover of the ZMNG by the CIO as proved by Ureke (2016), helped confirm the view by political economists that media ownership determines content. It has also shown that those who own the media largely do so for reasons beyond profit making. They also seek to change the world or a system through their ideologies which they package as news. This is a global phenomenon that was also evident in China. When China lost the war against Japan in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, many intellectuals, angered by the Qing government, began newspapers to promote their stand on reform so that China would be

strong enough to resist foreign aggression with Chang (1989:3) stating that: “To advocate revolution and seize power, *Zhongguo Ribao* was founded in Hong Kong in 1900. Many other newspapers followed suit, mushrooming throughout the country to call upon the nation to overthrow the feudal rule of the Qing Dynasty.”

In fact, the history of Chinese media has proved the political economists’ view beyond doubt that people start newspapers to sell their ideologies by dictating what gets published. Chang (1989:13) notes that the Communist Party paid great attention to the role of newspapers in the revolutionary cause and “soon after its founding in July 1921, the party set up newspapers in Beijing, Shanghai, Wuhan, Jinan, Guangzhou and other locations”. The newspapers advocated labour revolution. The Communist Party’s Youth League started a newspaper in Beijing in 1922 “to promote Marxism and the views of the Communist Party,” (Chang 1989:13). Even in citadels of democracy like Britain and the United States of America, Ranger (2005:10), confirms that newspapers serve the interests of their proprietors and notes that, “too many newspapers in Britain and the United States serve the national and imperialist interests of those countries.” While Chang (1989) has highlighted the extent to which Chinese media were used by ownership to advance certain ideologies to achieve preferred political ends, Ranger (2005) and Tendi (2010) argue that the political situation and policies pursued by governments at any given moment also affect media operations and by extension news content. Ranger (2005) and Tendi (2010) raise the issue of patriotic journalism and patriotic history advocated by the ZANU-PF government at some point in history and how it generally impacted on the news gathering and writing process especially at state owned media houses like *The Herald* and the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC).

### **Patriotic Journalism and its consequences on news production**

Existing literature on media operations in Zimbabwe confirms a moment in history (2000-5) when journalists in the country were expected by the Mugabe regime to be patriotic or else the scribes and their media houses were treated as enemies of the State. Ranger (2005: 14) defines patriotic journalism as a division of Zimbabweans “into patriots and traitors and kind of patriotic hate journalism with its absolute division of the world into good or evil.” This kind of journalism insulated the ZANU-PF regime from any kind of criticism and any media house that highlighted the regime’s weaknesses was categorised as treasonous and imperialistic. This researcher refers to patriotic journalism to show how outside the newsrooms, the political atmosphere itself and the rhetoric of the times literary directed

journalists especially in State controlled media on what to write and what to ignore and in the process determining news values and content. This expectation by the State for patriotic journalism in Zimbabwe did not come with Jonathan Moyo as Ranger (2005) seems to suggest. It existed in the colonial era as noted by Saunders (1999:6), who quotes a Rhodesian Front official in the Ministry of Information, Ivor Benson in 1965, stressing the need for patriotic journalism saying, “The press must be free, no one denies that, but it must be OUR press, promoting OUR interests.” Any newspaper that violated Rhodesian interests was therefore regarded as treasonous. Ranger (2005:15) posits that patriotic journalism is highly flexible and people change from heroes to the shame list of traitors. He regards Jonathan Moyo as the epitome of patriotic journalism whose removal from the Ministry of Information marked the end of patriotic journalism and also saw him branded a traitor by the same media he ran with an iron fist.

Now that Moyo himself is moving from the pantheon of heroes to the list of traitors and sell-outs it maybe that an era is ending. We shall have to see how the State media develop post Moyo. A great purge of Moyo’s appointees is already underway in the press and ZTV and radio. We must watch closely to see whether the new men and women continue with patriotic journalism, (Ranger 2005:16).

In the above remarks, Ranger (2005) exposes the extent to which government is involved in the generation of news content in State media outlets like Zimpapers through the Ministry of Information using its shareholding. Ranger (2005) confirms that the State even decides on appointment of editorial staff as was highlighted earlier by Rusike (1990). It is Ranger (2005)’s argument that as Information Minister, Jonathan Moyo influenced the news gathering and writing process in the name of patriotic journalism which gave journalists, especially at State controlled media, parameters within which to report on events about the country. This is also highlighted by Tendi (2010:6) who posits that as Information Minister, Moyo “made expert use of state media to manipulate history and to provide a platform to nationalist academics”. According to Tendi (2010: 5), nationalist intellectuals who included American educated Tafataona Mahoso, Vimbai Chivaura, Ibbo Mandaza, Claude Mararike and Godfrey Chikowore were afforded a platform in the State controlled media to defend ZANU-PF and to promulgate the patriotic history narrative. Intellectuals who did not believe in the ZANU-PF ideology were denied access to the State controlled media and were “often branded western puppets”, (Tendi 2010:5). He adds that the State controlled media were

instrumental in disseminating patriotic history and packaged the ZANU-PF government as the sole source of independence, justified the chaotic land reform and exaggerated colonial atrocities. Tendi (2010) asserts that the control of the State media in the name of patriotism by Jonathan Moyo paid dividends for ZANU-PF.

It was a strategy that paid dividends. A 2004 national survey conducted by Afrobarometer...found that public trust in Mugabe's leadership rose from 20 percent in 1999 to 46 percent in 2004 while approval for his job performance rose from 21 percent to 58 percent over the same period (Tendi 2010:6).

This researcher argues that Ranger (2005) and Tendi (2010), just like Rusike (1990) and Saunders (1999) did not explain the current relationship between newspapers under the Zimpapers stable, in particular *The Herald* which is the subject of the study, and ZANU-PF as a governing political party with shareholding in the country's biggest media conglomerate. *The Herald* has not only reported negatively about some very senior ZANU-PF officials, it has scandalised them as was highlighted in Chapter 1 in what could pass as treason during Jonathan Moyo's patriotic journalism or Benson's Rhodesian era. This researcher believes interrogating these latest developments will add value to existing literature on political economy of the media in Zimbabwe.

This study is cognisant of other factors outside ownership that impact on news production. Scholars like Schudson (1989) employ a sociological approach in their analysis of the news production process and argue that political economists only offer "a bigger picture and miss the day to day practices of journalism," (Schudson 1989:268). Schudson lists internal factors like the social standing of a journalist, his or her political affiliation, economic or religious beliefs and the editor-reporter relations as affecting the news production process. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) concur with Schudson (1989) that intrinsic factors have an influence on media content. They add such factors as journalists' personal and professional background, their ethnicity, ethics and the influence of media routines on content. For Gramsci (1971), journalists are intellectuals in their own right and their viewpoints on issues determine what finally comes out in the media as news. Weaver and Wilhoit (1991:25), however, dismiss the internal factors as of little consequence "given the importance of organisational routines and constraints".

Extrinsic factors also influence media content. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) cite such factors as sources, advertising and social institutions like government and business. These are confirmed by Herman and Chomsky (1988). Examining the external factors help understand if journalists and media houses are all powerful in determining content or they are just pawns of some powerful interests. Shoemaker and Reese (1991, 1996) further suggest that media content is also a function of ideological positions. They suggest that media content is influenced by ideology of those in power and that mass media carry an ideology consistent with those interests which guarantees survival of the status quo.

### **Source influence on news production**

Sources are the actors who journalists observe or interview, (Gans 1979: 80). For Schudson (1989: 271), “The story of journalism, on a day to day basis is the story of the interaction of reporters and officials.” This argument, which speaks volumes about the influence of sources in news generation, is reinforced by Altheide and Rasmussen cited in Schlesinger (1978), who posit that what emerges from the production process is a view of the social order determined by the sources used and the position advocated. In their propaganda model, Herman and Chomsky (1988) also cite sources among the five filters that affect news production. They contend that there is a symbiotic relationship between the media and powerful sources. The media starve for news which sources then provide. Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that powerful sources use their relations with journalists to arm twist them into writing stories that save certain agendas or to mute criticism. They argue that powerful sources may even influence journalists to deny their critics access to the media. This view is endorsed by Hess (1984) who asserts that the centre of news generation is the connection between the reporter and the official or the interaction of the representatives of news bureaucracies and the government bureaucracies. “The only important tool of the reporter is his news sources and how he uses them” (Hess 1984:109). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) argue that sources influence media content when they withhold information, lie or provide the context within which information they provide is evaluated. They further posit that the selection of sources by journalists also affects media content with Gans (1979) suggesting that sources with political power more likely influence news reports than those without. The source’s quotability, credibility and assertiveness also play a role, (Streit 1985). This study confirms that sources named and unnamed shaped stories that were published by *The Herald* on ZANU-PF factionalism during the period under study. It notes that most of the sources were nameless and seeks to unearth how these sources were chosen. Insider

knowledge is used by the researcher, who during the period of the study had been promoted to News Editor for *The Herald*, from the position of Assistant News Editor Responsible for Investigations. The study will also highlight how like in Jonathan Moyo's patriotic history, some intellectuals were roped in by *The Herald* to help magnify a point of view or crush sentiments deemed unsavoury by whoever was in control of the newspaper between the rival ruling party factions.

### **Use of intellectuals**

This study treats journalists as intellectuals as suggested by Gramsci (1971). It locates the role played by *The Herald* journalists in ZANU-PF factionalism as intellectuals and how this impacted on the newspapers' editorial content. The study also examines the use intellectuals or political analysts by *The Herald* to drive an agenda against some ZANU-PF politicians. Gramsci (1971: 141) notes that "journalists, who claim to be men of letters, philosophers, artists, also regard themselves as true intellectuals". He describes journalists as functionaries of a complex superstructure adding that, "the intellectuals are the dominant group's deputies exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government" (Gramsci 1971:145). As intellectuals, journalists "are in active participation in practical life as constructor, organiser, permanent persuader and not just a simple orator" (Gramsci 1971:141). Gramsci further argues that intellectuals provide ideology and leadership for a mass base of non-intellectuals and this study will establish the direction journalists at *The Herald*, as intellectuals, wanted the mass within ZANU-PF to follow as factionalism ravaged the ruling party. The study makes this interrogation fully aware of Gramsci's argument that the dominant or ruling class retain their dominance through cultural and ideological means which help them build consent. This is corroborated by Thussu (2000:68), who posits that Gramsci's hegemonic ideology is rooted in the fact that "dominant social groups in society have the capacity to exercise intellectual and moral direction over society at large and builds a new system of social alliances to support its claims." Strinati (1995:171) agrees with Gramsci (1971) on journalists as functionaries of dominant groups and adds that the production of hegemonic ideology is best explained in regard to professional communicators like "journalists who are very important in amplifying systems of representation that legitimise the social system". Journalists are responsible for production and dissemination of ideas, (Strinati 1995:171). Some scholars like Gitlin (2003) argue that journalists, even as intellectuals, are tied to the hegemonic system.

We also need to understand that journalists though thought to be autonomous are bounded by the hegemonic system. They unconsciously frame the news that is in keeping with the institutional arrangement of the society or in other words the hegemonic ideology...they unknowingly have a tendency to promote the ideology of the political and economic elite by simply doing their job, (Gitlin 2003:269).

### **The impact of editor-reporter relations on news production**

It is the argument of this study that relations between the *The Herald* editor and some journalists in the newsroom impacted on the newsgathering and writing process and ultimately content. The study will argue that only selected journalists covered political developments in the ZANU-PF and this was specifically as per editor's instructions. Some of the journalists had personal tiff with the ZANU-PF officials they were assigned to cover. This research also notes that very little has been published on the extent to which the editor-reporter relations impact on the newsgathering and writing process as noted by Schudson (1989). This makes this study more relevant as the relationship between the editor and reporters plays a critical role in the generation of news as the case of *The Herald* will prove. The researcher is aware that many other factors other than the ones cited in this study determine and affect news production but for the purpose of this study, omits them. These include a journalist's religious or economic beliefs and such seemingly small issues like khaki envelopes (bribes).

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This study is grounded in the political economy theory. It seeks to explain the relationship between media ownership and news content having noted that *The Herald*, a newspaper owned and controlled by the ZANU-PF government, appeared to defy the traditional Marxian approach which asserts that owners of the means of production including the media ensure that what is published complies with their interests. It is also hinged on the news production theory as well as the framing theory. These theories help explain the news production process at *The Herald* during the period under study. The researcher is aware of the intercourse between the framing theory and the agenda setting theory in so far as they explain the news generation process.

## **The political economy theory**

The political economy theory of the media suggests that “the class which has the means of production at its disposal has control at the same time over means of mental production,” (Marx and Engels 1970: 64). The theory is rooted in the traditional Marxian approach which argues that economics determines the politics. Those in ownership of the means of production like the media, determine the ideology advanced by the media. The media legitimate the ideas of the ruling class, who happen to be owners of the means of production, and do not publish against its interests. According to Shoemaker and Reese (1991), political economists consider media ownership as the primary means through which the ruling class controls media content. Marx and Engels (1971) confirm that the ruling class derives power from control of capital. The political economy approach illuminates the forces that shape media institutions and what they produce while shining light on media’s relationship to power (Hardy 2014). It is also Hardy’s contention that the theory of political economy of the media tries to answer questions like whose voices and concerns are expressed by the media and whose ideas and values are represented in media discourses, and what is it that affects how that occurs? Hardy (2014) asserts that the political economy theory focuses on the production and circulation of meaning, and connects to the distribution of symbolic and material resources that enable people to understand, communicate and act in the world (Hardy 2014:9) To understand the role of the media in society, it is important to also know the relationship between media power and state power (Wasko 2005:38). “An important theme in political economy research has been tracking the relationship between political power and media power, and especially those relationships that involve the state”, (Wasko 2005:39). For Murdock and Golding (1973:205), political economy seeks an understanding of the basic features that underpin and shape the economic context and political consequences of mass communications. The political economy theory examines the contribution of the media in the reinforcement of political and social inequality (McChesney 2003). Therefore, control of the means of communication becomes an important basis of political power.

The researcher examines whether the ZANU-PF government, which owns and controls Zimpapers determined what *The Herald* published during the period under study as suggested by the political economy theory. Literature by Rusike (1990) and Saunders (1999) has confirmed that the ZANU-PF government determines what gets published by *The Herald* and through the Ministry of Media, Information and Broadcasting Services, is responsible for the

day to day editorial matters from appointment of editors to suggesting front page stories. This is an endorsement of the political economy theory. What prompted this research, however, is the violation of critical tenets of the political economy theory by *The Herald* when it started publishing against the interests of ownership – the ZANU-PF government. This caused serious outcry from some senior party and government officials including Mugabe himself.

### **News production theory**

The news production theory, as proposed by Manning (1950) and Breed (1955), scrutinizes how news is generated. This study unpacks the news production processes at *The Herald* at a time when factionalism in ZANU-PF had reached boiling point. The assumption remains that the ZANU-PF government owns and controls *The Herald* via its shareholding in Zimpapers and uses its stake to generate content consonant with its interests. The news production theory suggests, among other things, that journalists determine news values and ultimately media content (Manning 1955). They act as gatekeepers of media messages by selecting events that become news. This approach, which empowers journalists as deciders of news, is also elucidated by Breed (1955). Breed takes a sociological approach in his theory of social control in the newsroom that highlights a hierarchy of influences that affect media routines. From a sociological point of view, journalists working for media enterprises do not only use their discretion in producing news more than they conform to organisation policies, (Breed 1955, Schudson 1989, Reese and Ballinger 2001). Publishers get journalists to follow a policy which is not even written down. Breed (1955) notes that policy is learnt through socialisation in the newsroom. Journalists learn policy as they learn the job. They discover how the newsroom works and its values through some kind of “osmosis”. Breed (1995) suggests that journalists’ feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors especially by newly recruited scribes – who feel grateful for getting a job – also drive them to comply with policy. Ambition drives journalists, like getting a story on the front page. Sourcing stories that comply with policy becomes a value on its own for journalists. Breed (1955:339) notes when an anti-policy story reaches the desk “the story is changed, extraneous reasons like pressure of time and spaces are given. Thus the policy remains undiscussed and therefore unchanged”.

Elbot (1992) endorses Breed (1955)’s analysis saying reporters feel “the invisible hand” if they threaten institutional interests. Those who abide by the interests are rewarded through such incentives as by-lines and trips. Davis (2007) notes that news reporters end up not

pursuing objectivity but obsess about respecting policy and gathering more news leading to erratic reportage. The news production theory also identifies various other factors that affect the news gathering and writing process that have already been highlighted elsewhere like the influence of sources, a journalist's professional status and political attitudes. The news production theory is a framework applicable in the analysis of how *The Herald*, a newspaper where the ruling ZANU-PF party has a stake, ended up reporting in a manner that displeased some within the party hierarchy including its leadership as represented by Mugabe. The researcher believes that this framework explains even the news sourcing practices in the post Jonathan Moyo era and how these might have affected content on developments in ZANU-PF in *The Herald* during the period under study.

### **The framing theory**

This study is also grounded in the framing theory. Entman (1993:52) defines framing, a term that was coined by Todd Gitlin in 1980 in his study of American television network, as the selection of some aspects of reality by the media and making them more salient than others in a bid to promote a particular viewpoint or interpretation. Scheufele (2000) notes that the mass media set frames of reference that readers or the audience use to interpret events while Tuchman (1978) believes news frames shape everyday reality and are part of it. McCombs and Shaw (1977) posit that frames are an extension of the agenda setting theory because in framing news an agenda is set. By framing news journalists contribute consciously or unconsciously to supporting the status quo. The choice of news frames is driven by ideology and prejudice (Edelman 1993). Scheufele (2000) further suggests framing is also linked to gatekeeping. By framing, some news is put on the agenda while others are not.

It is important to note that frames are not cast in stone. They are malleable and can take any form and shape as observed by Goffman (1974). The frames depend on many factors including the interests of sources, journalists and the editor. Entman (1993) argue that it is not easy to explain why journalists favour some aspects of events they cover over others. The framing theory is of relevance to this study as it helps explain why *The Herald* adopted certain frames when reporting on certain senior ZANU-PF officials, who have gone public about their displeasure of the manner the newspaper framed them. Entman (1993) suggests that frames set specific agendas at any given moment and it the researcher's interest to establish if at all *The Herald* set an agenda against some senior ZANU-PF officials and

whether this did not violate the foundations of the political economy theory that assume that media ownership determines content.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has shown that political economy of the media, in particular ownership and control, largely determines what is published by the press not only in Zimbabwe. This scenario is not confined to media owned and controlled by the State like *The Herald*. It extends to the privately-owned media as highlighted by Ruhanya (2014) in his thesis on the relationship between the *Daily News* and the MDC and Ureke (2016) in the *Mirrorgate* scandal. The influence of media ownership on content is not peculiar to Zimbabwe as studies in countries like China also confirm that media owners are defacto editors and ensure that what gets published is in consonant with their interest. In fact, the Chinese experience has shown that people start newspapers to pursue certain agendas. The researcher also looked at theories that helped explain the relationship between media ownership and content generation in this chapter.

The next chapter deals with research methods and methodology. The researcher adopts a qualitative paradigm as it helps explain the news production process at *The Herald* at the time the ZANU-PF was experiencing serious internal fights over who succeeds President Mugabe on retirement. The qualitative approach as noted by Colaizzi (1978) uses thick description to describe, analyse and interpret a phenomenon. The researcher describes the news production process at *The Herald* through participant observation. Face to face interviews and archival research are some of the methods employed in data gathering. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used to analyse data gathered.

## **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY**

In this section, the researcher outlines methods used to obtain, structure, and analyse data. That is, how the research was conducted. Methodology is defined by Mouton (1996) as

methods of doing something. It includes sampling, data collection, data analysis and research design.

## **Research Approach**

This study adopts a qualitative research paradigm. Bryman (2001) calls it the interpretive approach. Atkinson (2001:7) defines qualitative research as “a social inquiry focusing on the way people interpret and make sense of the world in which they live”. The qualitative paradigm uses thick description or what Colaizzi (1978) terms exhaustive description to describe, analyse and interpret a phenomenon. Thick description includes detailed portrayals of participants’ experiences and goes beyond the surface to interpret, uncover feelings and meanings of their actions (Geertz (1993). It is “deep, dense, and a detailed account. It represents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationship that join persons to one another” (Denzin 1989a: 83). Description becomes the cornerstone of qualitative research as observed by Janesick (1994:216). Qualitative researchers are more of story tellers with Erlandson et al (1993) arguing that the clear description of culture or context help the reader follow the researcher’s pathway ultimately leading to similar conclusions.

In this study, the researcher describes the news production processes at *The Herald* at a time when the ZANU-PF government, which controls what gets published by the newspaper, was immersed in serious internal fights on who succeeds Mugabe as president of both the party and the state. The study goes beyond the surface to uncover through interviews, participant observation and archival research what exactly happened at *The Herald* beyond the normal news gathering and writing routines. The research analyses the extent to which ZANU-PF, as owners and controllers of news generated by *The Herald*, determined what was published by the newspaper during the period under study. Through thick description and participant observation, the researcher sheds light into the mystery surrounding *The Herald*’s reportage on developments in ZANU-PF that appeared to defy the parameters suggested by political economists on how the media operate.

## **Unit of analysis**

According to Trochim (2006), unit of analysis looks at who or what the researcher is analysing in the study. This could be a programme, a newspaper or an individual. Unit of

analysis is the core entity that the researcher analysis in his or her study (Torres-Reyna 2005). It is the subject of the study (Long 2013). This study is an interrogation into *The Herald's* ownership to find out how it appeared not to influence news generated by the newspaper as argued by critical political economists. As part of the investigation, the researcher analyses stories that were highly critical of some ZANU-PF politicians during the period of the study to the extent of offending the party president, Mugabe. These include headlines stories, editorials and opinion pieces.

### **Population**

Research population comprises all the participants under study, what Yount (2006) refers to as all the cases that constitute the known whole. These could be persons, events or objects. For Bryman (2012) and Fourie (2009), it is a pool of units from which a sample is chosen. The population of this study comprises political journalists at *The Herald*, the stories on ZANU-PF factionalism they wrote and the ruling party politicians whose portrayal by *The Herald* is the interest of the research. As already indicated these include Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development Minister Jonathan Moyo, who is also a former Information Minister, ZANU-PF National Political Commissar and Local Government Minister Saviour Kasukuwere and Youth Empowerment Minister and Mugabe's nephew Patrick Zhuwao and the First Lady Grace Mugabe, who often complained about alleged negative coverage of the former by *The Herald*. The researcher also looks at how *The Herald* covered the other ZANU-PF faction reportedly led by Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa whose other members were reportedly Zimbabwe National Liberation Warveterans Association (ZNLWA) chairperson Christopher Mutsvangwa, ZNLWA secretary-general Victor Matemadanda, Zimbabwe Defence Forces Commander General Constantine Chiwenga and legislators who included Justice Mayor Wadyajena.

### **Sampling**

A sample is a segment selected from an entire population for analysis (Haralambos and Holbourn 2004). Latham (2007) defines it as a subgroup of the population or a representative test of a group. There is no consensus yet on the size of a sample but Fourie (2009) and Bryman (2012) encourage a large sample as it reduces sampling error. Purposive sampling is deployed in this study in the selection of journalists and politicians to be interviewed. It is also used when selecting stories to be studied.

### **Purposive sampling**

Purposive sampling is all to do with selection of groups or categories to study on the strengths of their relevance to research objectives and theoretical position (Yin 2011). In purposive sampling specific units from the entire population are picked by the researcher for analysis (Babbie 2001). A researcher employs purposive sampling with a purpose in mind. As a senior employee within *The Herald* editorial structure, the researcher selected journalists in the newsroom for interviews. The researcher has the advantage of knowing who wrote what and when as he was the Assistant News Editor for *The Herald* before he was promoted to News Editor for the same newspaper during the course of this study. As part of his duties, the researcher convenes the diary meeting daily where stories for publication the following day are submitted to him by all news reporters. Senior journalists within the news production chain like the chief sub editor, deputy editor and the editor (now editor in chief) are included in the sample for their role in the news production process at *The Herald*. Their identity is not revealed for security reasons. Stories published by *The Herald* during the period under study (2015-2017) that ruffled the feathers of some senior ZANU-PF officials are also purposively selected for examination by the researcher. Stories perceived to be placing the Mnangagwa faction in good light are also studied.

### **Methods of Data Gathering**

Data gathering is a “systematic gathering of information relevant to the research” (Burns and Grove 2003: 373). Talbot posits that data collection starts when a researcher has decided on where and from whom to get the information relevant to the study. In this study, the research employs face to face interviews, participant observation and archival research.

### **Face to Face Interviews**

This is a face to face interaction. Face to face interview involves two or more people in a face to face situation who purposeful discuss and obtain valid information that helps the interviewer achieve his or her objectives (Kahn and Cannel: 1957). Selected senior political journalists at *The Herald* are interviewed on the news production processes. Focus of the interviews is on coverage of developments in ZANU-PF which has seen some party officials publicly castigating the newspaper generally known for its support for the ruling party in line with its editorial stance of supporting the government of the day. The goal is to establish whether the reporters looked for the stories or stories came to them. Were they assigned to

write the stories and if so, by who? An interview with *The Herald* editor helps explain why some in the ZANU-PF government were unhappy with the paper to an extent of suing reporters and the editorial hierarchy. Some ZANU-PF politicians affected by the negative reportage are also interviewed and so is the Secretary for Information, Media and Broadcasting Services, George Charamba, and Information, Media. Then Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Christopher Mushohwe turned down an interview with the researcher on the basis that his responses could be deemed biased by some quarters as he was somehow also a part of the study.

### **Archival Research**

For Philips (1997) archival research is carried out by someone who uses data or information they did not participate in gathering. Newspapers provide an important source of information in archival research. Stories that were published by *The Herald* about some senior ZANU-PF officials including the First Lady Grace Mugabe, Ministers Jonathan Moyo, Patrick Zhuwao and Saviour Kasukuwere provide insight into how *The Herald* framed the politicians and what agenda it was setting against the officials. Shultz et al (2005) note that archival research digs past events to get a complete picture and address issues of change over time. Shultz et al (2005) argues that archival research gives the researcher in depth information and evidence than any other data collection method. But archival research has its own weaknesses. Philips (1997) argues that the researcher might be affected by bias that may have taken place during data collection. This study is insulated from any such limitations as no one can undo what has been written and published.

### **Participant observation**

Participant observation, which is a key method in ethnographic methodology, is defined by Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte (1999:91) as “the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day to day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting”. DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) argue that participant observation enables the researcher to analyse the activities of people under study in their natural setting through observation and participating in those activities. Schmuk (1997) posits that observation also allows researchers to observe non-verbal expression of feelings and to determine such things as who interacts with whom. Participant observation is a key method of ethnographic methodology and Fine (2003:41) suggests that ethnography is effective when the researcher observes the

subjects in setting that enable him or her to “explore the organised routines”. The researcher worked for *The Herald* during the period of the study and was able to observe the newsgathering and writing process at the newspaper. In fact, as Assistant News Editor and later News Editor, the researcher also actively participated in the news production chain from the moment reporters submitted their stories ideas to the last step when sub-editors submitted the stories for printing. The researcher’s strategic position within *The Herald* editorial structure brought him closer to the offices that determine news generation. These included the editor for *The Herald*. The researcher was also able to observe the individual attitudes of reporters as they wrote stories that led some within ZANU-PF to raise the red flag.

### **Methods of data analysis**

The researcher adopts the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method in his examination of data gathered through both interviews and from stories published by *The Herald* on developments in ZANU-PF during the period under study. The research is of a qualitative paradigm and works well with CDA. CDA is primarily motivated by the “desire to understand pressing social issues” van Dijk (2006:252). In this study, CDA helps examine how and why *The Herald*, a newspaper widely considered to be the official propaganda mouthpiece of ZANU-PF, turned against its own by selectively writing negatively about some ruling party officials. Texts position and construct individuals making available various meanings, ideas and versions of the world (Lucke 1996). Lucke (1996:12) further notes that CDA “systematically explores often opaque relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes”. It investigates how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power.

Van Dijk (2006: 279) and McGregor (2010: 2) argue that the role of CDA is to “provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the production of dominance and inequality”. CDA attempts to comprehend the relationship between the actual texts and the processes involved in producing the text. CDA analyses, criticises and interprets the text. In this study, CDA interrogates how and why *The Herald* produced texts that were highly critical of some senior ZANU-PF officials. It tries to understand why the texts were especially produced when the succession issue was not only tearing the ruling party apart but dominated every sphere of life. There is a battle within ZANU-PF on who succeeds President Mugabe, who at 93, might retire. As already indicated

earlier, there are two factions within ZANU-PF, Team Lacoste and G40. Lucke (1996: 20) asserts that the role of CDA is to critique texts and to critically investigate issues related to texts to expose what is going on behind our back. McGregor (2010:14) states that the main aim of CDA is to “uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the text”. CDA tries to understand what McGregor terms “the larger social context that bears upon the texts” while van Dijk (2006: 259) believes that CDA “focuses on the structure of the text and talk, namely the power enactment and discourse production.” Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000:448) argue that the purpose of CDA is to analyse “opaque and transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” Usage of CDA to analyse texts therefore works as some kind of enlightenment tool on receivers of media texts. Language is the heart of CDA and CDA is necessary for describing, interpreting, analyzing and critiquing social life reflected in the text. Of importance to note is the fact that CDA takes interest in the relationship between language and power. Bryman (2012) posits that CDA is heavily borrowed from the theories and approaches of the French postmodernist scholar, Michel Foucault. Foucault (1980) argues that discourse is a game of power. Discourse sets parameters of what can be said and cannot be said about a topic. It imposes itself as truth and is concerned with knowledge and power.

### **Methods of Data Presentation**

A thematic approach was used to present findings. Braun and Clarke (2006:82) note that “a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within data set”. There are several themes that came out from the texts produced by *The Herald* about some ZANU-PF officials that happen to contradict the basic tenets of the political economy theory. Thematic approach is largely used in qualitative data. This study is premised on qualitative research making this method of data presentation perfect.

### **Reflexivity**

The researcher participated in the production of news on ZANU-PF by *The Herald* that some ruling party officials considered offensive. As Assistant News Editor and later News Editor for *The Herald*, the researcher gives insider knowledge on the news production process

without bias. The researcher's political and ideological positioning does not in any way influence this study. Ncube (2014) highlights the importance of reflexivity when conducting research of ethnographic nature. Reflexivity helps readers explore ways in which the researcher's involvement in the phenomena he or she is studying influences and informs the research. Reflexivity is also a process of revealing the inherent biases in the process of knowledge production, dissemination and consumption.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter the researcher adopted the qualitative research paradigm to describe the news production process at *The Herald*. Thick description of the internal news making processes will help in the interpretation of the texts that were generated by *The Herald* on ZANU-PF factionalism. Participant observation, face to face interviews and archival research were the data gathering methods employed in this study while Critical Discourse Analysis will help analyse data gathered. Chapter 4 is on organisational analysis. The researcher in this section closely examines the ownership of Zimbabwe Newspapers 1980 (Pvt) Limited, who are the publishers of *The Herald*. The analysis is done from the political economy of the media perspective to see if indeed those in ownership and control of the press and the media at larger determine content generated as suggested by Marx and Engels (1970).

## **CHAPTER 4: ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS**

The relationship between Zimpapers, the publishers of *The Herald*, and government has always been a boss-servant affair save for a brief period when the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) oversaw the company's operations in the years soon after independence in 1980. Government has been able to control *The Herald* through its 51 percent shareholding in Zimpapers. In this chapter the researcher looks at the news production process at *The Herald* during the period under study. The focus is on how *The Herald* covered developments in ZANU-PF in the period after Jonathan Moyo was removed from the Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services. This saw the appointment of Christopher Mushohwe as the new Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services. Christopher Mushohwe was Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services from 2013 to October 08, 2017 when President Mugabe reshuffled his Cabinet and appointed Simon Khaya-Moyo as the Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services. George Charamba remained the Secretary for Information, Media and Broadcasting Service and doubled as the spokesperson for President Mugabe.

The ZANU-PF government has always used its stake in Zimpapers to ensure that news generated by newspapers under the stable like *The Herald* is in consonant with its interests. To achieve this goal, the ZANU-PF government makes sure that whoever it appoints editor for *The Herald* is a dedicated ruling party cadre or is sympathetic to its ideals. During the period under study, Caesar Zvayi was the editor for *The Herald*. Caesar Zvayi was appointed editor for *The Herald* on October 18, 2013 taking over from Innocent Gore. Prior to his appointment Caesar Zvayi had deputized Innocent Gore. The researcher was then a senior political reporter and confirms that as deputy editor for *The Herald*, Caesar Zvayi determined what *The Herald* published, and his promotion did not come as a surprise for many at Zimpapers. Prior to his promotion to the deputy editor's position, Caesar Zvayi was *The Herald* Political Editor and is known for vigorously promoting and defending the ZANU-PF ideology and policies. Caesar Zvayi was later promoted to be *The Herald* Editor-in Chief in June 2017. He did not relinquish the editorship of *The Herald*. The study notes that Caesar Zvayi worked closely with Minister Jonathan Moyo prior to the 2013 and remained editor for *The Herald* after Jonathan Moyo was moved to the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development. It is a historical fact that the ZANU-PF government does not appoint anyone to be editor for *The Herald*. It appoints persons whose track record show unequivocal support for the ruling party as noted by Saunders (1999), Rusike (1990) and Mukasa (2003).

Saunders (1999) argues that the creation of the ZMMT had served as a buffer between newspapers under the Zimpapers stable and ZANU-PF politicians. In other words, the ZMMT blocked politicians from interfering with Zimpapers operations and editors were fully in charge of the news production process. Saunders (1999) notes that the ZMMT's autonomy ended after it run out of funds and government intervened financially. Through the Ministry of Information, government handpicked trustees and senior ZANU-PF officials played an important role in the appointment of staff for senior positions in the company. Elias Rusike, a Zanu-PF member and former official outside the country, was appointed Zimpapers managing director in the mid-eighties. Rusike gave the Ministry of Information direct access to Zimpapers. He became "the hatchet man of the Ministry of Information inside the newspaper company" (Saunders 1999:17). Rusike (1990: 83) confirmed his loyalty to the ZANU-PF government saying, "Some of us are so patriotic and so consistent in support of the President (Mugabe) that we will not allow ourselves to be used by outsiders". This marked the genesis of the takeover of the day to day operations of Zimpapers and *The Herald* editorial by the ZANU-PF government through the Ministry of Information.

This development was reminiscent of the Rhodesian era when the settler regime used the same *modus operandi* to determine what was published in the *Rhodesia Herald*. Rusike (1990:79) confirms this saying as Chief Executive Officer and later Managing Director for Zimpapers; he was often summoned to the Ministry of Information to explain why that story was published and why the President story was not on Page 1. Dube (1995:54) argues that the ZANU-PF government took it upon itself to define what Zimbabweans had to read in newspapers by keeping a tight control on information flow from Zimpapers. Rusike (1990:79) explains how on his appointment as Zimpapers Chief Executive Officer he was told to report to the Zimpapers board while in practice "I was being summoned to the Ministry of Information to explain why that story was published." Saunders (1999: 18) suggests that government interference in Zimpapers operations is more pronounced when there is political tension in the country saying, "government's growing influence in Zimpapers ...were fuelled by rising political tensions in the country".

Mukasa (2003) argues that the formative years of independence saw the black government making efforts to decolonize the press as evidenced by the ZANU-PF government's purchase of Argus shares in the Rhodesia Printing and Publishing to establish Zimpapers, the publishers of *The Herald*. Mukasa posits that the ZANU-PF government went beyond decolonizing Zimpapers when it ensured that the selection of editors and senior staff was

acceptable to government. This, Mukasa (2003) argues, gave birth to a tamed press headed by government appointed editors who were ZANU-PF card carrying members and supported the party's interests. Criticising the ZANU-PF government became a taboo for the editors as the ruling party would not accept criticism by *The Herald* or any other newspaper under the Zimpapers stable.

Newspaper editors can represent the press in their capacity as members of the party, and if they have any complaints or concerns these must be raised during the party meetings rather than in the editorial columns of papers (Mukasa 2003:176).

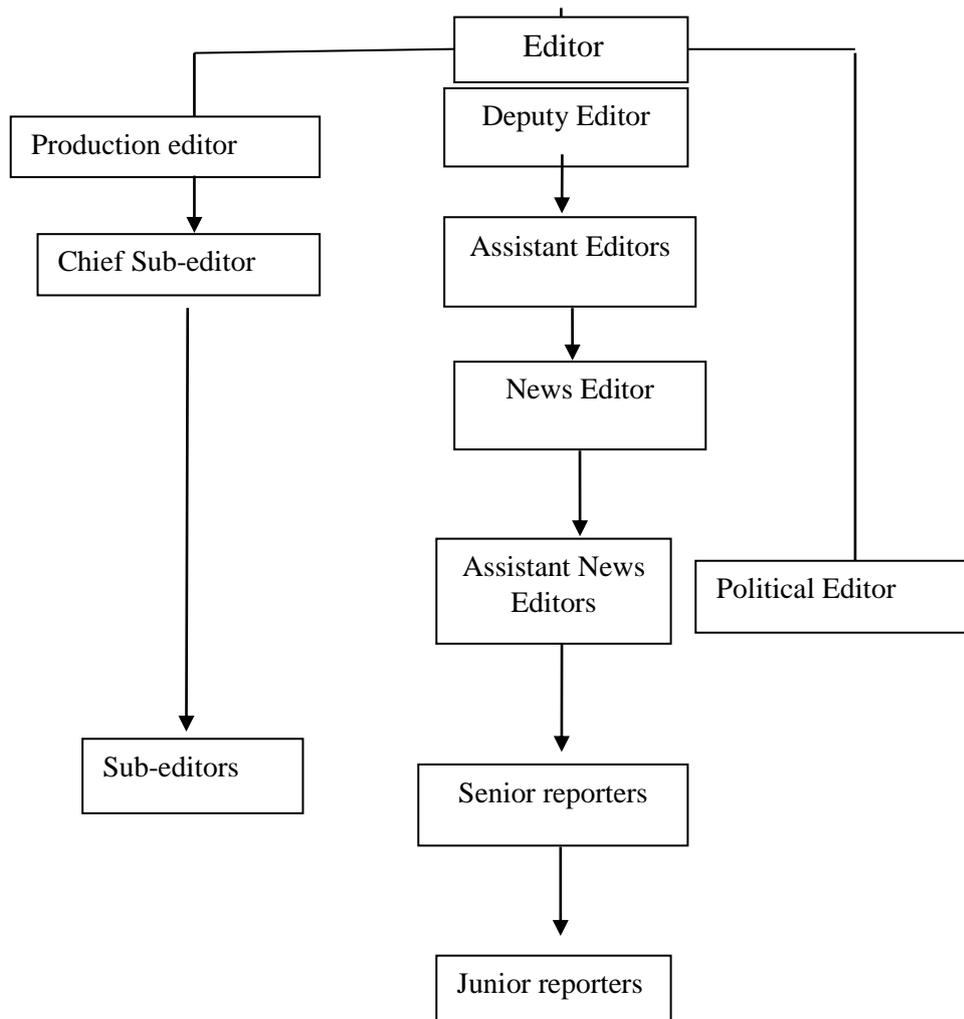
Criticism of the ZANU-PF government was also a punishable offence with Mukasa (2003) noting that *The Herald* editor Tommy Sithole was replaced by Charles Chikerema after he wrote an editorial criticising the police for tear gassing protesters during food riots. Chikerema was a known ZANU-PF cadre. Geoff Nyarota was removed from Chronicle editorship for publishing the Willowgate scandal. After his death, Chikerema was replaced by yet another party loyalist Bornwell Chakaodza. Mukasa (2003:178) asserts that editors for State controlled media like *The Herald* "were socialized to be ideological handmaidens of the ruling coalition" with "the bulk of the news in the state press tending to be stories that paint a consistently positive image of the country's leadership". The death of the ZMMT, which some scholars like Rusike (1990) and Saunders (1999), blame on the ZANU-PF government for starving the trust of funding, opened the gates for government interference in the operations of *The Herald*. The researcher confirms that the Ministry of Information oversaw *The Herald* editorial at the time of the study. It appointed the editor for *The Herald* and for other newspapers under the Zimpapers stable who unequivocally serve the interests of the ZANU-PF government. This is a confirmation of Rusike (1990:80)'s assertions that: "Zimpapers is now effectively under the daily control of the Ministry of Information. Zimbabweans should now accept that Zimpapers are owned and controlled by government and serve government interests". The Zimpapers editorial charter is also clear about the ownership of *The Herald* and other newspapers under the stable. It reads:

Zimbabwe Newspapers is a publishing company. It is a public company with 51 percent of its shares owned by the Mass Media Trust and the rest by pension funds, insurance companies, investment funds and individuals.

The publications and broadcast stations will be supportive of Zimbabwe and its goals, and generally supportive of the elected government of the day

The researcher now looks at *The Herald* editorial structure during the period under study. An Organogram of *The Herald* shown below will help outline the news production process at the newspaper.

### The Herald Editorial Structure



As shown in the organogram, *The Herald* editor oversees the news production process. Caesar Zvayi was editor for *The Herald* at the time this study was conducted. Caesar Zvayi was deputized by Jorum Nyathi. Below Jorum Nyathi were two Assistant Editors. The researcher was the News Editor and had three Assistant News Editors. Below the Assistant News Editors are senior reporters and lastly the junior reporters. According to the Zimpapers editorial policy and code of ethics, editors must always consider the national interest and public benefit when editing *The Herald* and other newspapers under the stable.

On paper, the editorial policy for newspapers under the Zimpapers stable like *The Herald* gives editors absolute powers over what to publish although, as already alluded to by Rusike (1990), editors take instructions from the Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services. The Zimpapers code of ethics also speaks on the duties of *The Herald* editor as it does on all others managing newspapers under the stable. On editor's ethics, it reads:

Editors are responsible for applying the general policy of the company as well as this code to their newspapers. They should read this code and apply it in tandem with the editorial charter of independence that they have signed.

Editors and top management should not dissemble as to the ownership of the newspaper. There is unethical about having the State or in our case the Mass Media Trust, owning the majority of shares so long as readers are aware of this, just as there is nothing unethical about anyone else owning a newspaper so long as this ownership is public.

The organogram also highlights the presence of a Political Editor within *The Herald* editorial structure. The Political Editor was Tichaona Zindoga during the period under the study. Tichaona Zindoga had no reporter under him and reported directly to the editor of *The Herald*. While this study focuses mainly on the news production aspect of *The Herald*, it will also examine politically opinionated articles that were written by Tichaona Zindoga on developments in ZANU-PF during the period under review. Within *The Herald* editorial structure is a department of sub-editors headed by the Chief-Sub Editor and works closely with the Production Editor. At the time this study was conducted Rosenthal Mutakati was the Chief Sub-Editor for *The Herald* while Willard Gareth was the Production Manager.

The researcher now outlines the news production process at *The Herald*. Every morning the News Editor, in his absence his deputies, convene a meeting with reporters at 8.30am. At this meeting each reporter submits his or her story ideas. Each reporter is expected to submit at least two story ideas. These are suggested stories that reporters would be working on for publication in *The Herald* the following day. In the newsroom reporters cover different areas, what in journalism are referred to as beats. There are political reporters, health reporters, parliamentary reporters, municipal reporters, crime, courts reporters and agriculture reporters, among other areas of specialty. The reporters present their stories ideas to the News Editor and his deputies. The News Editor accepts or rejects the story ideas for a variety of reasons. The reasons for rejection of story ideas by the News Editor include lack of newsworthiness in

the information presented by a reporter. Some stories are rejected for failure to adhere to *The Herald* editorial policy of supporting the elected government of the day. After collecting the story ideas, the News Editor or his deputies attend an editors' caucus, known at *The Herald* as the "diary meeting". This is a meeting of all desk editors. It is chaired by *The Herald* editor. In his absence, the deputy editor chairs the meeting. The News Editor presents each story idea to the meeting. Other desk editors in charge of sports, business, entertainment and features also presented their story ideas for discussion by the meeting.

The story ideas are digested at the caucus to further measure their news worthiness. The story ideas are also evaluated to see if they do not violate *The Herald* editorial policy. After the diary meeting, the News Editor and other desk editors advise reporters under their guidance on how to develop their story ideas into publishable stories in the next edition of *The Herald*. Another editors' meeting is convened at 3pm every day. Again, the editor chairs the meeting or in his absence his deputy. It is this afternoon meeting which decides on which stories to give prominence by placement on the front page. The decision is made collectively and what is agreed on stands unless something later happens after the meeting worth putting on front page. When this happens, the editor replaces the suggested front page stories. This means *The Herald* editor is guided by the editors' afternoon caucus on which stories to give prominence.

In the newsroom, after writing their stories reporters submit them to the News Editor and his deputies through a system called Atex. The system shows the path the story would have taken from the time it was written by the reporter up to a time it is placed on the pages by the sub-editors. The News Editor and his deputies edit the stories as they are submitted by each reporter. Where necessary they summon the reporters for further instructions on how they should handle the story to make it flawless. The News Editor and his deputies then submit the stories in the system where the Assistant Editors pick them for further assessment and editing. After cleaning the stories, the Assistant Editors submit the articles to the Deputy Editor for further assessment. The Deputy Editor in turn submits the stories to the Editor. The Editor, after going through the stories, submits them to the Chief Sub-Editor for further proof reading and placement on pages. Stories that are considered "small" or less politically sensitive do not take the long route. These are mostly crime and court stories, health or municipal stories. Such stories do not always reach the editor's desk as the deputy or assistant editors send them directly to the sub-editors for further proof reading and placement on pages. However, highly sensitive stories like those on ZANU-PF factionalism must

traditionally take the longer gatekeeping route. This is anticipated to clear loopholes in the news production process. The Production Editor's main mandate is to ensure that the news production process meets the printing deadlines. The Production Editor handles the actual newspaper production process and not the editorial part of it. It must be someone well versed with the mechanical newspaper production process. The Chief Sub-Editor on the other hand works closely with *The Herald* Editor and the News Editor. Together with the editor, the Chief Sub Editor crafts the headlines mainly for the front page stories. The Chief Sub Editor makes a proposal for the headlines, which the editor approves or disapproves. The same is done for stories whose headlines are put on roadside banners or posters. The News Editor ensures that the Chief Sub Editor is supplied with stories when need arises. The stories, however, must pass through the gate keeping path already outlined.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, the researcher outlined the traditional news production process at *The Herald* as he participated and witnessed it as Assistant News Editor and later News Editor. The researcher also looked at *The Herald* ownership and how it influences the news production process. This section of the study also examined *The Herald* editorial policy and the Zimpapers code of ethics as they related to the news gathering and writing process. The chapter briefly examined the ownership and control of the newspaper in the colonial era when it was still the *Rhodesia Herald*. Then it was owned and controlled by Cecil John Rhodes.

## **CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter the researcher presents, analyses and discusses findings of the study. The findings are presented thematically. Data was gathered from interviews with journalists at *The Herald* who were involved in writing of stories that some ZANU-PF officials argued

scandalized them. Participant observation and archival research were also employed in the gathering of data for this study. There are two approaches to data analysis – the deductive and inductive approach. Burnard et al (2008) suggests that the deductive paradigm is used only when the researcher is aware of the likely or probable responses from participants. The inductive approach on the other hand is used when the researcher analyses data with no predetermined framework. This study adopts the deductive approach because as a journalist working for *The Herald*, the researcher experienced what was happening during the period under examination.

### **Presentation of findings**

In a research that adopts a qualitative approach, data gathering methods like interviews, participant observation, and use of archival material help identify themes. Themes emerge when for example, those interviewed give similar responses. Interviews with political reporters (identified as participant A, B, C and D), subeditors, the deputy editor for *The Herald* and Permanent Secretary for Information, Media and Broadcasting Services George Charamba generated several themes. Participant observation and use of archival material in this study also generated themes as will be shown in the subheadings below. The changes in the news gathering and writing process observed by the researcher and confirmed by participants, who comprised political reporters that were interviewed in this study also generated another set of interesting themes.

### ***The Herald* as an active player in ZANU-PF factionalism**

The study contends that *The Herald* was an active participant in ZANU-PF factionalism during the period under review. The extent to which *The Herald* was a part of the factional fighting in the ruling party dated back to the period when the newspaper was complicit in scandalizing then Vice President Joice Mujuru and other senior ZANU-PF officials in the run up to the 2014 congress. *The Herald* published hard news stories in which ZANU-PF officials that included then Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Minister Jonathan Moyo, First Lady Grace Mugabe and even President Mugabe made serious allegations against Mujuru at public platforms without verifying the allegations or seeking her comments as required in journalism. In some instances, *The Herald* quoted unnamed sources when it made allegations against the then vice president. Some of the headline news stories that *The Herald* published on Mujuru then were: “Mujuru for cops, not commission” (November 5, 2014), “Mujuru in US\$4 million scandal”(November 29, 2014), “Mujuru sucked in fatal

scandal” (November 26, 2014), “MDC formed in Mujuru’s house”(October 18, 2014), “Mujuru in \$1 million scandal” (October 30, 2014), “Top detectives to probe Mujuru” (December 24, 2014), “Call to discipline bad apples” (December 8, 2014), among others. The allegations were never followed up with legal prosecution after Mujuru was dismissed from ZANU-PF. This study will not focus on the Mujuru era but only uses it to highlight current developments in relations between ZANU-PF and *The Herald*. The study examines relations between *The Herald* and ZANU-PF from 2015 to 2017. The researcher argues that while factionalism has always existed in ZANU-PF even during the liberation war (Sithole 1979, Martin and Johnson 1981). The internal fights on who succeeds the 93-year-old Mugabe, reached a crescendo level during the period under study.

*The Herald’s* active participation in ZANU-PF factional fights manifested itself in several ways that included biased reporting on events as they unfolded and persistently looking for stories that deliberately framed the G40 faction members negatively. The G40 members were also denied an opportunity to respond to allegations that *The Herald* raised against them. There are two factions in ZANU-PF as already indicated – the G40 and Team Lacoste. It is alleged the G40 faction comprises Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere, Patrick Zhuwao, Eunice Sandi-Moyo and the First Lady Grace Mugabe. The media associated Grace Mugabe with the G40 faction after on many occasions she publicly defended Jonathan Moyo and Saviour Kasukuwere when they faced either arrest or expulsion from ZANU-PF. It is alleged that Team Lacoste comprises Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa, the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWA) chairman and former ZANU-PF Norton legislator and deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Chistopher Mutsvangwa, Shuvai Mohofa (now late), Josiah Hungwe among others. Media reports also suggested that Team Lacoste had the backing of the military. The military was associated with Team Lacoste after Commander of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces General Constantino Chiwenga publicly slated some G40 faction members like Jonathan Moyo for undermining the authority of Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa.

*The Herald* published several news stories, opinions and condemnatory editorials on the G40 faction members that included Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere, Eunice Sandi-Moyo and Patrick Zhuwao. The stories are listed below.

### ***The Herald* news stories on Jonathan Moyo**

“Knives out for Jonathan Moyo” (April 24, 2017)

“Barking Moyo tongue lashed” (June 29, 2017)

“Fire Prof Moyo: Warvets” (July 7, 2017)

“Shape up, or ship out: Moyo told” (July 10: 2017)

“Outrage over Moyo’s utterances” (June 03, 2017)

“Moyo attacks VP, lauds Sekeramayi” (June 02, 2017)

“Moyo’s Mgagao camp defence falls short” (July 10, 2017)

“Moyo fails to back Chiwenga thesis claims” (July 12, 2017)

“Gen Chiwenga reads the riot act – warns anti-command agric lobby” (June 27, 2017)

“Command Agriculture: OPC exposes Moyo” (July 6, 2017)

#### ***The Herald* editorial comments on Jonathan Moyo**

“Bellicose Moyo needs disciplining” (June 03, 2017)

“Egoistic Moyo hoist by own petard” (June 30, 2017)

“Prof Moyo should use proper platform” (July 05, 2017)

#### ***The Herald* opinionated pieces on Moyo**

“Something ugly with Moyo’s head” (June 21, 2017)

“Jonathan Moyo and the Gollum effect” (July 13, 2017)

“Criticism of command agriculture an act of rogues” (June 23, 2017)

“Of those who live in glass houses” (July 7, 2017)

#### ***The Herald* news stories on Kasukuwere**

“Six provinces reject Kasukuwere” (April 17, 2017)

“10 provinces say no to Kasukuwere” (April 22, 2017)

“Youth League wants Kasukuwere out” (April 25, 2017)

“Drama at Kasukuwere probe” (April 26, 2017)

“President to decide on Kasukuwere” (May 1, 2017)

“Kasukuwere tests waters, summons chairpersons” (May 02, 2017)

“Bulawayo youths slam Kasukuwere” (May 18, 2017)

“Midlands saga: Kasukuwere under fire” (May 25, 2017)

“Kasukuwere saga needs closure: ZANU-PF affiliates” (May 26, 2017)

“Kasukuwere probe report now complete” (May 29, 2017)

“Provinces snub Kasukuwere again” (June 6, 2017)

“Presidium to decide on Kasukuwere” (June 22, 2017)

“Tyson’s Goliath moment looms” (June 27, 2017)

“Kasukuwere consults traditional church leader” (July 8, 2017)

“Kasukuwere belittles command agriculture” (July 10, 2017)

“Kasukuwere slammed for interference” (July 18, 2017)

“Warvets call for Kasukuwere ouster” (August 10, 2017)

***The Herald* editorial comment on Kasukuwere**

“Glaring irony lost to Kasukuwere” (July 11, 2017)

***The Herald* news stories on Patrick Zhuwao and Eunice Sandi-Moyo**

“Zhuwao in policy shocker” (June 23, 2017)

“Zhuwao diverted funds, says ZYC” (February 24, 2017)

“ZYC savages Zhuwao, Lumumba” (February 23, 2017)

“Minister Zhuwao implicated” (May 20, 2016)

“Sandi-Moyo joins twitter” (May 24, 2017)

“Politburo okays Sandi-Moyo, Mahoka resignation. Orders pair to return loot” (April 6, 2017)

“League resolves to fire Sandi-Moyo, Mahoka. Case referred to NDC” (March 29, 2017)

“Sandi-Moyo defiant” (March 24, 2017)

“Sandi-Moyo, Mahoka demos reach crescendo” (March 25, 2017)

“Daggers out for Sandi-Moyo, Mahoka: Accused of insulting First Lady” (March 22, 2017)

### ***The Herald* editorial comment on Zhuwao**

“Zhuwao needs assistance, handholding” (June 23, 2017)

“Problem Patrick has bigger issues to fight” (June 24, 2017)

An application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on the stories that were published by *The Herald* on Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere, Patrick Zhuwao and Eunice Sandi-Moyo be they hard news, opinionated or editorial comments reveal an interesting trend. Texts position and construct individuals making available various meanings (Lucke 2006). CDA examines how texts are shaped by relations of power. CDA also looks at the role of language, language use, discourse and communicative events in the production of dominance and inequality. CDA further seeks to understand the relationship between the actual texts and the process involved in producing them. Lucke (2006) argues that CDA interrogates texts to expose the goings on behind the scene. It exposes the ideological assumptions hidden in the texts. CDA analyses opaque and transparent structural relationship of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. An assessment of stories cited in this study show that *The Herald* was setting an agenda to have the G40 members especially Jonathan Moyo and Saviour Kasukuwere dismissed from ZANU-PF or relegated to less influential positions in the ruling party as the fight on who succeeds President Mugabe on retirement raged on. For example, between April 2017 and August 2017, *The Herald* published 11 hard news stories that set the agenda for the dismissal of Kasukuwere on allegations that included creating parallel structures in ZANU-PF to topple President Mugabe from power. The study notes that most of the stories were not based on events but involved *The Herald* instigating party organs and provinces to have Kasukuwere dismissed from ZANU-PF or dropped from the commissariat department. A hard news story titled “Kasukuwere saga needs closure: ZANU-PF affiliates” written by senior political reporter

Felix Share published on May 26, 2017, is a case in point. In the story the reporter solicited comments from ZANU-PF affiliates with a clear agenda to have action taken against Saviour Kasukuwere. Even the framing of Saviour Kasukuwere as “embattled national political commissar” was meant to paint a picture of a man on a political knife edge. The story repeatedly tells its intended readers that Saviour Kasukuwere “was rejected by nine out of 10 ZANU-PF provinces” and continues to “sow seeds of division in the revolutionary party” affecting the ruling party’s preparations for the 2018 harmonised elections. The story quotes Zimbabwe Liberation War Collaborators (ZILIWACO) vice chairperson Josephine Gandiya saying, “The people have spoken and we want party programmes to go ahead as we have elections around the corner. The politburo knows that the party is for the people and we expect it to hear the people’s wishes.” No efforts were made to seek Saviour Kasukuwere’s comment on the allegations that he was stalling party programmes and sowing divisions. Another hard news story followed on August 10, 2017 headlined “Warvets call for Kasukuwere ouster”, a reiteration of a call for the dismissal of Saviour Kasukuwere by the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association. Earlier on July 8, 2017, *The Herald* senior political reporter Farirai Machivenyika had written a story under the headline, “Kasukuwere consults traditional church leader”, which was based on a social media report. The story was framed to portray an image of a Saviour Kasukuwere battling to save his political life to an extent of “consulting a traditional church leader”. The story also suggested that Saviour Kasukuwere consulted the traditional church leader Evangelist Chamoto of the Guta Ramwari church after dumping his “Chipinge traditional healer Sekuru Ndunge”. The usage of the word “traditional” was deliberate and well calculated. In Eurocentric racist discourse the word “traditional” is associated with dirty, evil and backwardness or primitiveness. As noted by McCombs and Shaw (1977), framing is an extension of agenda setting. In framing an agenda is set. *The Herald* framed Kasukuwere as a power-hungry politician who wanted to topple President Mugabe from power. The newspaper went further and framed Saviour Kasukuwere as a backward politician who, despite his youthfulness, “consults” traditional church leaders and traditional healers when his political career is under threat. *The Herald* did not seek comments from Evangelist Chamoto and Sekuru Ndunge in violation of the basic journalism principles. *The Herald* reinforced its anti-Saviour Kasukuwere crusade through an editorial comment under the headline “Glaring irony lost to Kasukuwere” published on July 11, 2017, which was a reaction to overtures by the national political commissar that *The Herald* required a new pair of hands that was not biased in its reportage on developments in ZANU-PF. The comment read:

What amuses us is that he (Saviour Kasukuwere) does appear lost to the irony that it is the ruling party that may soon require a fresh pair of hands in the position of national political commissar. Cde Kasukuwere, who has been rejected by the majority of the country's provinces, now has an axe hanging over his head after being found guilty of a raft of accusations (*The Herald* July 11, 2017).

What emerges from the editorial comment is a picture of *The Herald* that is at loggerheads with ownership as represented by the ZANU-PF national political, commissar Saviour Kasukuwere. This is an infringement on the proposition by political economists that media owners ensure that what is published by the press is in consonance with their interests as the class which owns the means of production including the media, determines what gets published. The political economy theory asserts that the media legitimates the ideas of the ruling class. While Saviour Kasukuwere declared war on *The Herald* when he tweeted “@theherald will require a new pair of hands soon. It's on.” *The Herald* refused to be intimidated and in its editorial comment responded that “Nobody would be surprised by such attacks, we are getting used to them” (*The Herald* July 11, 2017). It is important to note that the editorial policy is written by the editor and reveals the position of the newspaper on important national issues.

*The Herald* also initiated and sustained the discourse on the need for ZANU-PF to dismiss another alleged G40 member Jonathan Moyo through a series of stories that framed the former Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Minister as an unrepentant traitor after he was sucked from ZANU-PF in 2005 for participating in harmonized elections as an independent candidate in Tsholotsho. Jonathan Moyo was later re-admitted into the ruling party. In a hard news story titled “Fire Prof Moyo: Warvets” published on July 4, 2017, *The Herald* quotes ZNLWA chairman Christopher Mutsvangwa calling for the dismissal of Jonathan Moyo “for his unbecoming behaviour” and for “shredding every rule in the book in the country” when he attacked Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa. Christopher Mutsvangwa is further quoted by *The Herald* saying, “we cannot continue to have such kind of traitor because of his background...an anti-government minister because he denounces command agriculture...he defies even the President”. The framing of Jonathan Moyo as a sell-out is reiterated by *The Herald* in a hard news story written by Daniel Nemukuyu headlined “Moyo's Mgagao camp defence falls short”. The story alleges that Jonathan Moyo “could not have been at ZANLA (ZANU military wing) camp in Tanzania in 1976 as the camp did not receive any new recruits during that time”. It quoted Air Marshall Perrance

Shiri dismissing Jonathan Moyo's claims that he briefly joined the liberation struggle when he attempted to undergo training as a guerrilla in Mgagao. The story goes further to state that Jonathan Moyo was "part of Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole's team during which he sold out Zimbabwe Defence Forces Commander General Constantino Guveya Chiwenga". This is an attempt by *The Herald* to delegitimize Jonathan Moyo by not only framing him as a wartime deserter but also as a sell-out who tried to cause the murder of General Constantino Chiwenga. In ZANU-PF circles, Ndabaningi Sithole is regarded as a sell-out and linking Moyo with Ndabaningi Sithole was a deliberate attempt to frame him as a sell-out as well. Also, in ZANU-PF one's political worthiness is measured by their contribution in the liberation struggle and portraying Jonathan Moyo as a wartime deserter ruins his political standing in the revolutionary party – ZANU-PF.

*The Herald* published yet another hard news story "Shape up, or ship out, Moyo told" on July 10, 2017 in which it claimed that pressure was mounting on "embattled ZANU-PF politburo member Professor Jonathan Moyo" as youths in the Midlands Province wanted him censured for criticizing command agriculture. The Midlands provincial youth secretary for administration Justice Mayor Wadyajena is quoted in the story saying, "We say action should be taken against him (Jonathan Moyo). He is a political turncoat". What is evident here is the framing of Jonathan Moyo as a traitor and sustenance of an agenda and discourse by *The Herald* for the punishment or dismissal of the politician from ZANU-PF. *The Herald* had earlier published another hard news story written by senior political reporter Farirai Machivenyika on June 03, 2017 under the headline "Outrage over Moyo utterance". The story was framed to show a politician battling for political survival. It read, "ZANU-PF Politburo member Professor has come under fire for his unprovoked attack on Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa with some affiliates and political analysts calling on the revolutionary party to take decisive action against him." The story was an initiative by Farirai Machivenyika who sought the opinion of Zimbabwe National Liberation War Collaborators Association (ZLWACO) chairman Pupurai Togarepi on remarks by Jonathan Moyo suggesting that Defence Minister Sydney Sekeramayi was better placed to succeed President Mugabe than Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa. In the story, Farirai Machivenyika asks leading questions like "what action he (Pupurai Togarepi) thought should be taken against Prof Moyo?" to which Togarepi responds: "This attack on VP Mnangagwa is not an attack on him, but an attack on the President, who is the appointing authority. I think the leadership of the party should rein him in." Pupurai Togarepi suggests that ZANU-PF must either suspend

or expel Jonathan Moyo. Christopher Mutsvangwa's opinion is also sought and he paints Jonathan Moyo as a traitor on a path "of undoing Chimurenga II and its eternal prospects of national hope". *The Herald* further quotes Mutsvangwa stating that "The G40 have found their last political refugee is narcissism at SAPE. Jonso (Jonathan Moyo), the wartime deserter and treacherous spy, never was ZANU-PF. The people's struggle has finally winnowed him away like chaff of the grain harvest". The story also quotes Tanzanian-based analyst Tafadzwa Mugwadi urging ZANU-PF not to take Moyo's remarks lightly but as an "orchestrated and well thought strategy to undermine and devalue the liberation legacy epitomized by its living stalwarts including the appointing authority whom VP Mnangagwa deputises". Tafadzwa Mugwadi describes Jonathan Moyo as of a warped mentality adding that the danger was that Jonathan Moyo was "being arrogated unusual and unfettered freedoms to be off-rail and offside without reprimand". The views of other political analysts like Goodwine Mureriwa and Tendai Toto are also sought, and they condemn Jonathan Moyo and demand that ZANU-PF punishes him. It is clear that *The Herald* framed Jonathan Moyo in its hard news stories as a traitor bent on destroying a revolutionary ZANU-PF from within and as such deserving punishment by way of suspension or expulsion from the party.

The agenda to cause Jonathan Moyo's expulsion from ZANU-PF was glaring especially in opinionated articles that were written by *The Herald* Political Editor Tichaona Zindoga which even went highly personal in their attack on the politician. There is also a deliberate usage of the words "embattled" and "under pressure" in the description of Jonathan Moyo to paint a picture of a man who is politically on the ropes like Saviour Kasukuwere. The description of Jonathan Moyo as unrepentant appeared targeted at the ZANU-PF leadership to act against a cunning and sell-out character within its ranks. In an opinionated article headlined "Something's ugly with Moyo's head" published on June 21, 2017, Tichaona Zindoga attacks Jonathan Moyo for criticizing command agriculture saying the programme was a dominant theme at President Mugabe's rallies and constituted "what is turning out to be a strong political and policy message ahead of elections in 2018". Tichaona Zindoga claims that "the callousness with which Prof Moyo pours scorn on a government programme" should leave any opposition politician green with envy and "is truly shocking" and goes further to accuse Moyo of "spitting on the land, itself a sacred, spiritual and economic commodity". *The Herald* attempts to frame Jonathan Moyo as an opposition politician within the ruling party who even spits on our sacred land. Tichaona Zindoga concludes that Jonathan Moyo is not only insane but is a national security threat stating that, "There is something ugly about Prof

Moyo's head (no pun intended) – which needs examining as a matter of urgency and in the interest of the ruling party and general security of the country. In fact, Prof Moyo has totally lost his head.” In another article published on July 13, 2017 by *The Herald*, Tichaona Zindoga likens Moyo's character to that of Gollum in John Ronald Reuel's *The Lord of The Rings*. Tichaona Zindoga writes:

Gollum is largely described as wily, scheming and evil character, whose love for The Ring corrupts him and ultimately leads to the destruction of the powerful ring, which is said to give power to whoever wears it.

Some characterization of Gollum is that he is a misunderstood character, a hero with a tragic flow. Both generalizations appear to apply to our Moyo, even more pertinently on how his love for power may actually lead to the destruction of ZANU-PF from within.

In the article, Tichaona Zindoga frames Jonathan Moyo as an evil and power-hungry politician whose love for a leadership position in ZANU-PF could actually lead to the party's destruction, a chilling warning to ZANU-PF and its supporters that it had an enemy within. *The Herald* also framed other alleged G40 members negatively especially Patrick Zhuwao as an incompetent Minister in the ZANU-PF government who did not know the responsibilities of his ministry in a hard news story written by Takunda Maodza titled “Zhuwao in policy shocker” published on July 23, 2017. Again, the story was a reaction by *The Herald* to criticism of the command agriculture scheme by Patrick Zhuwao. Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa spearheaded the command agriculture programme. The story reads:

Youth, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Minister Patrick Zhuwao yesterday shocked many when he failed to locate command agriculture within government's economic blue-print, ZimAsset, as he accused *The Herald* of highlighting command agriculture to prop up unnamed people.

This is not the first time Minister Zhuwao has displayed embarrassing ignorance of government policy as President Mugabe had to issue out a statement on April 11, 2016 clarifying government's position on the indigenization and economic empowerment policy after a series of howlers from Minister Zhuwao who is supposed to administer the policy (*The Herald* July 23, 2017).

The active participation of *The Herald* in ZANU-PF fights is confirmed by none other than the Permanent Secretary for Information, Media and Broadcasting Services George Charamba, in an interview with the researcher on October 20, 2017. According to George

Charamba, the faction that appeared to have taken the lead at any given moment in the race to succeed President Mugabe automatically took charge of *The Herald* editorial. As already indicated earlier, there were two factions battling to succeed President Mugabe – G40 and Team Lacoste. Allegations were that Team Lacoste rooted for Vice President Mnangagwa while the G40 wanted the First Lady Grace Mugabe to succeed her husband and its members, it was alleged, included Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere and Patrick Zhuwao. War veterans reportedly backed Mnangagwa and their members, it is alleged included Christopher Mutsvangwa, Josiah Hungwe and the military. George Charamba told the researcher that lack of consensus in ZANU-PF reflected itself in *The Herald* as Zimpapers is technically an organ of the party by virtue of it being a creation of government after it bought shares in the Argus Printing and Publishing Company delinking the newspaper group from its South African ownership. To date, government has shareholding in Zimpapers through the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust. All along *The Herald* and other newspapers under the Zimpapers stable had unquestionably supported the ZANU-PF government as a wholesome political entity but the moment the ruling party showed fault lines, it confused the Zimpapers newspapers stable on which path to follow editorially. George Charamba argues that this exposed *The Herald* as lack of consensus in ZANU-PF meant a scramble for control of key party structures like Zimpapers by factions within the ruling party.

Once there is lack of consensus (in ZANU-PF) you then have an attempt by individuals to hegemonise structures of ZANU-PF which also include Zimpapers. So, the relationship between ZANU-PF and Zimpapers necessarily becomes multi-layered to reflect the lack of consensus within the party.

The relationship between Zimpapers and the party is no longer reducible because then the fragmentation of thinking in the party translate into conflictual messages and direction at Zimpapers. Zimpapers becomes an extended patient of that fragmentation in the party. It mirrors that fragmentation.

Under the circumstances, it is not unusual for the instructions that reach Zimpapers to be multiple and even conflictual in practical terms. You then have a situation where divisions within the party will re-enact themselves within the newsroom.

Just as the party will give conflicting messages so too will be the editorial direction exhibit that multiple voices. The question then arises, which voice becomes dominant and necessarily translate to which segment within ZANU-PF controls the editorial direction? (Interview with researcher on October 20, 2017).

George Charamba notes that control of *The Herald* editorial became a contested terrain during the period under study and this raised confusion inside and outside ZANU-PF as newspapers under the Zimpapers stable including *The Herald* traditionally supported the ZANU-PF ideology editorially as government had shareholding in the media house. George Charamba unequivocally states that the ZANU-PF government created Zimpapers to make sure that “Zimpapers titles are a conduit through which messaging of ZANU-PF and ZANU-PF government is made” (interview with researcher October 20, 2017). When factionalism erupted in the ruling party it meant that control of *The Herald* editorial became a contested terrain. With the fragmentation of the governing elite, *The Herald* became symptomatic of that fragmentation.

There is a message crisis within the party and that crisis takes itself to the newspaper. If Zimpapers had a life of its own, it will have sailed free from the contradictions in the party, but it cannot. It is the creature of the party confirming the relationship between the party and Zimpapers (Interview with the researcher on October 20, 2017).

George Charamba asserts that there were no such editorial problems at Zimpapers and particularly at *The Herald* before the emergence of factionalism in ZANU-PF.

As long as there is consensus in ZANU-PF then necessarily the relationship between the party and the mission of Zimpapers is straight forward. A problem then arises in circumstances in which there is fragmentation of viewpoints within ZANU-PF, an amalgamative of the ruling elite in which there is therefore contestation in terms of interpretation of its ideological position. This is what others call factions (Interview with the researcher October 20, 2017).

What emerges from the interview with George Charamba is essentially a confirmation that a certain ZANU-PF faction controlled *The Herald* editorial during the period under review. Judging by the nature of stories that were published by *The Herald* already highlighted in this study, one can safely conclude that Team Lacoste was in charge of the newspaper editorially. This is because *The Herald* consistently scandalised members of the G40 in its editorial as already highlighted in this study. *The Herald* only stopped its negative framing of the suspected G40 members after the First Lady Grace Mugabe publicly came to Jonathan Moyo and Saviour Kasukuwere’s defence. The First Lady also publicly denounced George Charamba at a rally in Chinhoyi for writing what she termed nonsense in his column Nathaniel Manheru on Saturday. Grace Mugabe further slammed *The Herald* for publishing negatively about some ZANU-PF officials in reference to Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere and other ZANU-PF members suspected to belong to the faction G40 while

reporting positively on Team Lacoste. The scolding of Charamba by Grace Mugabe and the sudden stop by *The Herald* to scandalise the G40 members suggests that the Permanent Secretary was probably behind publication of stories that framed Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere and Patrick Zhuwao negatively although George Charamba denies. The researcher and political reporters at *The Herald* also stated that they never got instructions from George Charamba or then Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services on how to cover developments in ZANU-PF during the period under study. This suggests a covert operation unlike during the Jonathan Moyo era when as Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services he would directly contact reporters and give them instructions on how to write stories that framed Joice Mujuru negatively.

The remarks by Grace Mugabe at the Chinhoyi rally admonishing Charamba left *The Herald* in an editorial quandary. Its ownership was at war with each other, which war it took to *The Herald* in the form of stories. The faction that controlled *The Herald* at any given moment sought to use the newspaper to editorially annihilate the rival camp. It would appear Team Lacoste controlled *The Herald* during the period under review as shown by the nature of stories published by *The Herald* at the time which, as already outlined, were negative of G40. Charamba confirms that the intervention by Grace Mugabe left *The Herald* at crossroads editorially.

In some cases, fragmentation in ZANU-PF and the editorial dilemma can resolve itself in a number of ways – the editorial policy mirrors that fragmentation. You find a paper which is quarrelling with itself or which reflects the faction which is dominant.

Quarrelling with itself is a moment of editorial indecision. Papers reflect various contestations but when one faction overcomes the other then you find the paper will take after the dominant faction. One side would have been vanquished.

The less obvious level is where the paper can decide to retreat and become colourless – disengage politically. That is a lot more complex. In such a situation it will not want to identify with either of the contentious parties. That means avoiding any controversies. It will see no evil, hear no evil or write no evil. Sometimes it might deal with issues non-political. It becomes a setting for clutter where everyone dumps stories unprocessed. There is no marshalling of messaging in one direction; everyday is a different day editorially. The paper lacks personality.

It lives by the day rather than working a viewpoint. Even editorial content retreats from political issues to deal with technical issues, which is the phase which you (*The Herald*) are

in. You have retreated. You are playing safe. You are editorialising on water not being clean and traffic lights not functioning. You will not talk about the forthcoming ZANU-PF special conference... Editorially, you do not want to offend either side (factions). It reflects state of flux where none of the vying factions have taken control (interview with researcher October 20, 2017).

George Charamba also argues that the constant reshuffling of Ministers for Information, Media and Broadcasting by President Mugabe was also an indicator of a search for consensus in the ZANU-PF government.

You find even ministerial appointments show a search for consensus. The limbo phase sees high turnover of ministers (of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services) to a point where those in the newsroom do not know the direction to take. As ministers change, each one project own spheres of sensitivities which has the effect of circumscribing you (*The Herald*) editorially.

George Charamba claimed to be also a victim of ZANU-PF factionalism when asked why the change of ministers in the Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services had not abated the perceived factional reporting by newspapers under the Zimpapers stable like *The Herald*, which is subject of this study. Some quarters within ZANU-PF and outside blame Charamba instead for the manner *The Herald* reported under the period under review, a charge he denies.

If contradictions within the party sharpen not even the bureaucracy gets sparred. The political authority is non-consensual. Then the tendency is always to play it safe. You are in a state of quandary. You are in an editorial twilight, so you wait for the politics to sought itself (In an interview with the researcher on October 20, 2017).

The study argues that the reshuffling of information ministers was meant to find a sober character who rides above factional fights currently rocking the ruling party. Three Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Ministers have been appointed since ZANU-PF factionalism became a public issue. Jonathan Moyo left in 2015. He was replaced by Christopher Mushohwe. Christopher Mushohwe was Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services when this study was conducted. He was moved from the ministry in October 2017 to that of Presidential Scholarships and was replaced by ZANU-PF Secretary for Information and Publicity Simon Khaya-Moyo. While Christopher Mushohwe was not publicly identifiable with any faction in ZANU-PF, his tenure as Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting, which is the period covered by this study, saw *The Herald* being

accused by ruling party politicians alleged to be G40 members of negative publicity. It is also a period the G40 suspects like Jonathan Moyo and Saviour Kasukuwere, after being denied positive space in *The Herald* and newspapers under the *Zimpapers* stable, turned to the social media platforms like twitter where they not only defended themselves but launched fierce attacks against *The Herald* editorial for alleged factionalism and bias. Eunice Sandi-Moyo joined twitter on March 24, 2017 at the age 71 and her first tweet was a defence against a story in *The Herald* that accused her of abusing ZANU-PF funds when she was Deputy Secretary of the Women's League. The researcher was unable to interview the G40 members to get their views on the manner they were reported on by *The Herald* but managed to get a video presentation by Jonathan Moyo to the ZANU-PF Politburo on June 19, 2017 in which he accused Team Lacoste of capturing state institutions like *Zimpapers* in order to remove Mugabe from office and capture power. The video presentation is titled Blue Ocean Strategy Document and is accessible on <http://www.facebook.com/1stTV/videos/1133767550090061/>.

The researcher was unable to secure an interview with *The Herald* editor Caesar Zvayi on the extent to which ZANU-PF factionalism affected the news gathering and writing process at *The Herald*. However, his deputy Joram Nyathi confirmed that the fights in the ruling party seriously affected the news production process as news managers had to carefully do some "balancing act" whenever they covered stories on ZANU-PF. In an interview with the researcher, Joram Nyathi revealed that it was even difficult to write a simple crime story as it was interpreted as factional in some quarters in the ruling party. Joram Nyathi has since stopped writing his Thursday column in *The Herald*, *Spectrum*, which critically analysed issues ranging politics to economics. This was out of fear that some in ZANU-PF could read it with factional eyes and assign him a faction in the party. This came after George Charamba had also discontinued his Nathaniel Manheru column as well after he was publicly slammed by Grace Mugabe at the Chinhoyi ZANU-PF rally. According to Nyathi, *The Herald* is in a very tricky situation where it is not sure which stories to publish on developments in ZANU-PF and which ones not to for fear of being associated with either of the factions in the party.

*The Herald* has been put in a very difficult position where the reporters and editors are not sure how to report about the ongoing infighting in ZANU-PF. For some strange reasons, whichever way you report one faction will accuse you of supporting a rival faction. You must do a delicate balancing act when reporting on reality. There is fear of being accused of aligning yourself to a certain faction in the party. I do not know if things are going to get

worse but probably they are at their worst (Interview with the researcher on October 10, 2017).

Jorum Nyathi said the very idea of factions in ZANU-PF created a troubled relationship between *The Herald* and ZANU-PF. Exercise of extreme caution became the modus operandi for journalists and gate keepers at *The Herald*. Nyathi revealed that self-censorship has reached worrying levels at *The Herald* because of the internal fights confirming earlier assertions by Charamba that *The Herald* was now playing it safe to avoid offending anyone in either of the ZANU-PF factions.

We are more cautious than earlier. These days the next question is which faction do you belong? It does really affect how you report not necessarily because we are supporting a certain faction. What this factionalism thing has done is that a person commits what looks like a crime and the moment you report on it, it appears as if you are attacking the faction rather than reporting a crime unless if it is something in court. There is more self censorship in *The Herald* when it comes to reporting political issues on the ruling party than what you find in the private media. Almost everybody is classified as belonging to either of the factions (interview with researcher October 10, 2017)

### **Major shift in news sourcing tradition at *The Herald***

The researcher noticed a major change in news sourcing practices at *The Herald* during the period under study at *The Herald*. Sources are major players in the news generation process and as posited by Schudson (1989:271), the story of journalism is the story of the interaction of reporters and officials daily. Herman and Chomsky (1988) suggest that powerful sources use their relations with journalists to arm twist them into writing stories that serve certain agendas. For Shoemaker and Reese (1996), sources influence media content when they withhold information, lie or provide the context within which information they provide is evaluated. Interviews with senior political reporters at *The Herald* indicated that there was a major change in news sourcing practices at the newspaper during the period under study. Political reporters claimed that most of the story ideas on developments in ZANU-PF at the time did not originate from them. They “came to them”. They said such stories came directly from *The Herald* editor as “special projects” and after normal working hours when other journalists would have gone home for the day. A senior political reporter, who for the purpose of this study is identified as Participant A, said:

Most of the times instructions came from the editor directly to us especially when the stories were to do with developments that were happening in ZANU-PF. What I know happened was that you were called to the editor's office late in the evening and be given a story to write on what was happening in ZANU-PF at the time. Such stories are referred to as "special projects" by political reporters in *The Herald* newsroom. This is because they came after the normal working hours when almost everyone had gone home (Interview on September 24, 2017).

However, unlike during the Jonathan Moyo era, the political reporters claimed that they never got instructions directly from the Ministry of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services on how to handle stories on events in ZANU-PF. As Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services, prior to his re-assignment to the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development, the researcher confirms that Moyo gave instructions to political journalists in *The Herald* newsroom on how to handle stories that scandalised some senior ruling party officials like then Vice President Joice Mujuru and other party cadres believed to be in the Mujuru faction like Didymus Mutasa, Rugare Gumbo, Temba Mliswa, among others, who were later dismissed from ZANU-PF on charges of trying to assassinate President Mugabe. *The Herald* repeatedly trumpeted the charges without backing them with facts. Participant A, as did other participants that were interviewed by the researcher, said neither Minister Christopher Mushohwe nor George Charamba gave them any instructions or information directly on what was happening in the ruling party for publication in *The Herald*. They said if such instructions were ever issued they were probably given to the editor for *The Herald* who in turn assigned the political reporters and not directly from the Minister or Permanent Secretary.

The researcher confirms observing political reporters being summoned to *The Herald* editor's office usually after 5pm where they were given stories to write on what was happening in ZANU-PF at the time – the factional fighting. The reporters were not summoned as a group. A reporter would be summoned individually whenever there was a story to write. Preferred were reporters who the editor had so much faith in their abilities to handle the stories. At times the editor would simply phone the News Editor and ask for a political reporter to come to his office. Most of the times the editor would not brief the News Editor why he wanted to see the political reporter. At times he would hint on it. It became an open secret that whenever a political reporter was summoned to the editor's office he was going to get a story to write with instructions on how to handle it. That is, things like who to phone and what questions to ask.

What remained a secret was where the editor got the instructions on the stories he gave the political reporters. The source remained a mystery, but the agenda appeared obvious. That reporters were assigned stories that scandalised the G40 faction members is also confirmed by a leaked Whatsup chat unwittingly sent to Saviour Kasukuwere and Jonathan Moyo by *The Herald* senior political reporter Sydney Kawadza. Jonathan Moyo posted the chat on his twitter handle. To Saviour Kasukuwere, Sydney Kawadza sent this message:

Minister, can I please call you I need a favour. Ndirikuda kubatsirwa panaapa. I have been asked to talk to Professor Moyo about his allegations on the issue of Chiwenga's PHD. It is not easy thing for me since I am coming from the wilderness. Ndinzwireiwo kuti vanotii Professor Moyo. Atori Ma1 angu chaiwo. From Kawadza.

To Jonathan Moyo, Kawadza texted this message:

Professor Moyo, good afternoon. My name is Sydney Kawadza from *The Herald*. I have been tasked to engage you and discuss issues related to your statement yesterday and probably clear the air on certain issues for possible publication. One of the issues is on General Chiwenga's PHD. I hope you will be able to assist and grant me the interview.

Sydney Kawadza uses the words 'I have been asked' and I have "been tasked". This implies that the stories he was working on did not originate from him as a journalist but were assigned to him. This further indicates that Sydney Kawadza did not source the stories, the stories were instead given to him by some office, confirming what other political reporters indicated earlier in this study.

### **The gate keeping process annihilated**

What emerged from interviews with the political reporters is a confirmation of the deliberate violation of the traditional gate keeping process at *The Herald* during the period under study. As outlined earlier elsewhere in this study, the News Editor and his deputies procedurally oversee the newsroom. All reporters in the newsroom report to them and any communication or instruction from the editorial hierarchy must pass through the News Editor or his deputies for onward transmission to reporters. This path is followed whether the stories are political or non-political. The period under review, however, witnessed a violation of this tradition as direct interaction between the editor and selected political reporters increased.

The researcher also observed that after writing the stories that came from the editor as special assignments, the selected political reporters would not submit them to the News Editor or anyone else for editing. They emailed the stories directly to the editor. Procedure, as earlier outlined in Chapter 4 on organisational analysis, all news reporters submit their story ideas to the News Editor or his deputies. The News Editor is the first port of call and accepts or rejects the story ideas for lack of newsworthiness or for violating *The Herald* editorial charter. The News Editor or his deputies take the story ideas to the morning desk editors' caucus for further deliberations on them. The editor chairs this meeting. Instructions from the meeting on how to handle the stories are relayed to the reporters by the News Editor or his deputies. After writing the stories, the news reporters submit them to the News Editor or his deputies through a system called Atext. This is an Information, Communication and Technology platform that allows the News Editor and his deputies to pick stories and edit them as they come from the reporters. According to the newsroom structure, political reporters are news reporters and report to the News Editor and not the Political Editor. After editing the stories, the News Editor and his deputies submit the stories to the Assistant Editors for further cleaning up. Depending on how sensitive the story is, the Assistant Editors may submit the stories directly to the Chief Sub Editor for placement on pages. Sensitive stories are released to the editor or his deputy for further editing and assessment. With such stories it is the editor who then submits them to the Chief Sub Editor. The study confirms a violation of the gate keeping principles at *The Herald* as observed by the researcher and confirmed by Participant B. In an interview with the researcher, Participant B revealed that "The stories (on developments in ZANU-PF during the period under study) did not follow the proper channels. After writing the stories, we sent them directly to the editor through his email". This was also confirmed by an Assistant Editor at *The Herald* who told the researcher that with stories on ZANU-PF factionalism "you would wake up the following morning to find them in the newspaper".

### **Intellectuals for a ZANU-PF faction**

The researcher notes that the political reporters at *The Herald*, who generated stories that scandalised the G40 faction members, are not ordinary scribes. They are holders of degrees in media and communication studies and according to Gramsci (1971), they are intellectuals. Besides the journalists, the study observed that *The Herald* made use of some intellectuals to frame the G40 members particularly Jonathan Moyo as treacherous and deserving to be

expelled from ZANU-PF. The newspaper relied on the same intellectuals or political analysts whenever it published a story on the G40 members and their viewpoints were always uniform – that ZANU-PF must urgently expel Jonathan Moyo who was literary the mouth of that faction. These are, according to Gramsci (1971), traditional or institutionalised intellectuals. Traditional or institutionalised are men and women who have a special qualification but are used by those in power to sustain their ideology for hegemonic purposes. Gramsci posits that traditional intellectuals claim to be independent while they are tools for use by those in power. They are assimilated mouthpieces of hegemony. The researcher argues that political reporters at *The Herald* and the intellectuals or political analysts they quoted in their stories on G40 faction members complemented each other in setting an agenda against Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere and other politicians belonging to that ZANU-PF faction.

In interviews with political journalists at *The Herald*, the researcher discovered that in their day-to-day operations the scribes consciously became salesmen for a ZANU-PF faction running under the moniker Team Lacoste. They did this by generating news content that was scandalous of the G40 faction and protective of Team Lacoste. The reporters did this with perfection as only a few years ago they had been literary hired by then Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services Jonathan Moyo to annihilate the Mujuru faction, which appeared then to be favourites to succeed President Mugabe on retirement. It emerged from the interviews with the political reporters that they perfected their art – negative framing of the G40 faction members – through direct interaction with the editor for *The Herald* who socialised them into knowing the publishable and unpublishable on ZANU-PF factionalism during the period under study. This is confirmed by Participant A, a senior political reporter at *The Herald* who revealed that while stories that framed the G40 faction were assigned to them directly by the editor, when not assigned such stories they knew what was expected of them. Participant A revealed that:

When we sourced stories on our own, we looked for stories that we knew were wanted by our superiors especially the editor. For example, when Saviour Kasukuwere was under fire in ZANU-PF we knew that anything negative about him and his family qualified to be on the headlines in *The Herald* (In an interview with researcher on October 08, 2017).

This study contends that the political reporters not only knew how to source stories that scandalised the G40 members. They became specialists in framing the selected ZANU-PF officials negatively using experience gained during the era when Jonathan Moyo was Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services and used same scribes for *The Herald* to

politically crush the Mujuru faction. McCombs and Shaw (1977) posit that frames are an extension of the agenda setting theory because in framing news an agenda is set. It would appear *The Herald* negatively framed the G40 faction members to disqualify them from the race to succeed President Mugabe in the same manner the newspaper had negatively framed Joice Mujuru and ultimately caused her dismissal from ZANU-PF. *The Herald* also made use of what it termed “political analysts” – intellectuals it created to help frame the alleged G40 faction members negatively. The study states that views from the same political analysts were sought whenever *The Herald* published a story on the G40 faction members. The intellectuals or political analysts that were extensively and repeatedly used by *The Herald* were Tanzanian based Tafadzwa Mugwadi, Tendai Toto and Goodwine Mureriwa. In a hard news story under the headline “Outrage over Moyo utterances” written by Farirai Machivenyika and published on June 3, 2017, *The Herald* roped in Tafadzwa Mugwadi to condemn Jonathan Moyo for criticising command agriculture. Command agriculture was a government initiated programme led by Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa that saw farmers getting inputs like seed and fertiliser from the State. The farmers would repay the inputs through grain deliveries to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). Tafadzwa Mugwadi strongly criticised Jonathan Moyo for criticising the viability of command agriculture saying the ZANU-PF politician had a “warped mentality”. Tafadzwa Mugwadi further states that it was dangerous for ZANU-PF “to allow Moyo unfettered freedoms” and to be “offside without reprimand”. Another political analyst Goodwine Mureriwa is quoted in a story slamming Jonathan Moyo for proclaiming during a public debate at SAPES Trust that Defence Minister Sydney Sekeramayi was a better candidate to succeed President Mugabe instead of Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa. Goodwine Mureriwa is quoted framing Jonathan Moyo as a divisionist saying “These two men (Mnangagwa and Sekeramayi) have worked together since the liberation war up to today and Professor Moyo and his cabal after seeing that their ambitions for power have all but gone, they want to rope in Cde Sekeramayi into their project.” *The Herald* senior political reporter Farirai Machivenyika also quotes another intellectual Tendai Toto in the same story urging ZANU-PF to investigate Moyo for misconduct.

If there is evidence of misconduct, then appropriate disciplinary action can be taken. If Professor Moyo was expressing opinion on who he prefers to succeed President Mugabe, such an opinion on preferences are still against the party directives not to publicly debate succession issues (*The Herald* June 03, 2017)

In another story under the headline “Call to censure Jonathan Moyo” in which *The Herald* sought comments from political analysts over remarks by Zimbabwe Defence Forces Commander General Constantino Chiwenga that critics of command agriculture were detractors engaging in subversive activities, senior political journalist Sydney Kawadza seeks the views of Tafadzwa Tafadzwa Mugwadi and Goodwine Mureriwa. Tafadzwa Mugwadi describes Jonathan Moyo’s views on command agriculture as “treacherous” and must be “handled as serious security breach for cabinet members who have sworn to their secrecy all matters discussed therein.” Tafadzwa Mugwadi further states that:

This is a serious breach in a sovereign, the world over and smacks of fatal treason. Command agriculture was successful. No amount of factional malice and twitter rants will erase it. However, it is ironic that ZANU-PF has allowed a parallel government to exist with its own parallel agenda that is documentarily, historically and factually nurtured around Professor Jonathan Moyo whose full of I know it all approach to policy discourse is both academically disproved and realistically errant to say the least (*The Herald* June 28, 2017).

Tafadzwa Mugwadi describes Jonathan Moyo’s behaviour (criticising command agriculture) as “how gate-crushers, late-comers and sell-outs turned revolutionaries in a people’s revolution behave.” Goodwine Mureriwa also dismisses Jonathan Moyo as a cabinet minister and Politburo member who is betraying the people. The same intellectuals’ views are sought in a story headlined “Analysts slate Moyo over command agriculture” written by *The Herald* political reporter Farirai Machivenyika on March 16, 2017. In the story, Farirai Machivenyika quotes Tafadzwa Mugwadi rallying ZANU-PF to punish Jonathan Moyo severely for criticising command agriculture saying that, “ZANU-PF has got to show that it has an unshakeable and steadfast system of rules by taking decisive action against those promoting discord and undermining others”. The discourse and agenda set by *The Herald* against Jonathan Moyo, seen as the G40’s chief strategist, remained to have him disciplined or expelled from ZANU-PF by framing him as an unrepentant and undisciplined traitor. *The Herald* further quoted Tafadzwa Mugwadi downrightly advocating the dismissal of Jonathan Moyo from ZANU-PF. Tafadzwa Mugwadi told *The Herald* that “If one reads the twitter rants coupled with an interview that he (Moyo) gave to the Standard; one is shocked to learn that Professor Moyo is still a member of the party and a cabinet minister.” Toto weighs in saying Jonathan Moyo’s criticism of command agriculture was counterproductive. The same intellectuals are also hired by *The Herald* to slam Saviour Kasukuwere. In a story headlined “Analysts slam Kasukuwere over sinister lawsuit” written by senior reporter Innocent

Ruwende on November 10, 2016, *The Herald* quotes Tendai Toto criticising Kasukuwere for suing the newspaper. This was after *The Herald* had implicated Saviour Kasukuwere in the Chishawasha residential stands allocation scandal. Tendai Toto is quoted accusing Kasukuwere of trying “to intimidate or silencing the media house (*The Herald*) from practising informative and accountable journalism”. Tendai Toto further indicated that it was sad and “painful for ZANU-PF as the governing party, that Minister Kasukuwere is suing a public media house ahead of other media houses that published the same set of fact and story.”

## **Conclusion**

The researcher presented and critically analysed the findings of the study in this chapter. The study showed that ZANU-PF factionalism seriously impacted on the news gathering and writing process at *The Herald* in the period 2015 to 2017. The researcher asserts that *The Herald* is an appendage of the ZANU-PF government and as confirmed by Secretary for Information, Media and Broadcasting Services George Charamba, the fighting that happened in the ruling party reflected itself in *The Herald's* editorial content. Whichever ZANU-PF faction between the G40 and Team Lacoste appeared to be leading in the race to succeed President Mugabe also had power to determine what *The Herald* published. *The Herald* editorial policy was briefly suspended. The study contends that Team Lacoste was leading the race to succeed President Mugabe during the period under review and by extension appeared to have been in control of *The Herald* editorial content. The researcher came to this conclusion after critically analysing the stories that were published by *The Herald* on ZANU-PF during the period under study. The stories consistently framed the G40 members negatively.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **CONCLUSION**

This study exposed how ZANU-PF factionalism extended to *The Herald* in the period 2015-2017 with the newspapers becoming an active participant in the ruling party internal fights.

There are two factions in ZANU-PF battling to outdo each other in the race to succeed President Mugabe, who at 93 might retire anytime. The factions are Team Lacoste and G40. It is alleged Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa leads the Team Lacoste faction while the First Lady Grace Mugabe is associated with G40 whose members, it is alleged, include Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere, Patrick Zhuwao, among others. Team Lacoste members allegedly include ZNLWA chairman Christopher Mutsvangwa, politburo member Josiah Hungwe, Shuvai Mahofa (now late), among others. *The Herald* supported Team Lacoste and this manifested in the nature of stories the newspaper published on developments in the ruling party during the period under study. The stories, as illustrated in the study, scandalised the G40 members. *The Herald* framed the G40 members that included Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere and Patrick Zhuwao negatively as it set an agenda to have them either disciplined or dismissed from ZANU-PF. This was not the first time that *The Herald* has been used as a tool to fight other party members in ZANU-PF. When he was Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting Services, Jonathan Moyo used *The Herald* to scandalise and delegitimise Vice President Joice Mujuru's contribution in the liberation struggle. *The Herald* went as far as accusing Joice Mujuru of trying to kill President Mugabe through witchcraft. Joice Mujuru was subsequently dismissed from ZANU-PF and government.

The study also revealed how the news production process at *The Herald* was manipulated to serve factional interests. There was a major shift in news sourcing tradition at *The Herald* with political reporters who wrote the stories that scandalised the G40 members confirming that most of the times *the* story ideas on developments in ZANU-PF did not originate from them. They said such stories came directly from *The Herald* editor as "special projects" and after normal working hours when other journalists would have gone home for the day. This was unlike during the Jonathan Moyo era when the political reporters would get instructions directly from the then Minister of Information, Media and Broadcasting, Services on how to frame Joice Mujuru negatively.

The gate keeping process was also disabled with political reporters dealing directly with *The Herald* editor when working on political stories that scandalised the G40 members. The study highlighted how after writing the stories that came from the editor as special assignments, the selected political reporters would not submit them to the News Editor or anyone else for editing. They emailed the stories directly to the editor. Procedure is that all news reporters submit their story ideas to the News Editor or his deputies. The News Editor is the first

gatekeeper and oversees newsroom operations but during the period under review, stories on ZANU-PF factionalism found their way into *The Herald* without the News Editor's knowledge or participation.

The study also showed how *The Herald* roped in intellectuals to help push an agenda to have Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere, Patrick Zhuwao disciplined, demoted or expelled from ZANU-PF. The same intellectuals' views were sought whenever *The Herald* published a story on these politicians and their viewpoints were always the same – discipline or dismiss the politicians from ZANU-PF. The intellectuals also framed Jonathan Moyo as an unrepentant traitor bent on destroying the revolutionary ZANU-PF from within while Saviour Kasukuwere was portrayed as divisionist ruling party national political commissar whose love for power risked destroying ZANU-PF. Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa, who allegedly led Team Lacoste, was framed as a liberation icon and a man of action after he oversaw the successful implementation of the command agriculture programme that saw Zimbabwe realising a bumper harvest in years. Anyone who criticised the command agriculture programme like Jonathan Moyo risked editorial assault by *The Herald*. The attack on the G40 members only stopped after the First Lady Grace Mugabe intervened and castigated the newspaper for targeting certain politicians for abuse. This was in reference to the G40 members Jonathan Moyo, Saviour Kasukuwere and Patrick Zhuwao. *The Herald* was in an editorial quandary when this study was conducted. It avoided publishing stories that risked antagonising either of the ZANU-PF factions.

The study adopted a qualitative approach as it is largely descriptive and interpretive. As the News Editor at *The Herald*, the researcher employed participant observation, interviewed political reporters and used archival material in his data gathering methods. Participant observation enabled the researcher to participate while also observing the news gathering and writing process at *The Herald* during the period under study. Interviews and use of archival material was meant to counter the shortcomings of participant observation, which has its own biases. The researcher tried by all means humanly possible to be an objective observer and participant of the news gathering and writing process at *The Herald* during the period under review for the benefit of this study.

The study was driven by the political economy theory, news production theory and the framing theory. It diagnosed the legitimacy of the political economy theory on media operation after *The Herald*, a newspaper owned and controlled by the ZANU-PF government appeared to

shred assumptions that media owners determine editorial content. The study highlighted the shortcoming of the political economy theory. It made use of the news production theory to unpack the news generation processes at *The Herald* at a time ZANU-PF factionalism had reached stretching point. The news production theory suggests that journalists determine news values and ultimately media content. This study, however, proved that political reporters at *The Herald* did not enjoy such powers when they wrote stories on ZANU-PF factionalism. They did not source the stories. They were given to them by the editor.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Government must de-invest from Zimpapers**

The blatant interference by both ZANU-PF and government officials in the operations of Zimpapers and its stable of newspapers like *The Herald* is a blow on the journalism fraternity. It does not only affect the newsgathering and writing process but threatens the security of journalists as they go about their duties. The government and ZANU-PF officials interfere in the operations of Zimpapers on the strength of the State's stake in Zimpapers. This is evidenced by the threats made on *The Herald* senior political reporter Felix Share by Saviour Kasukuwere, the ZANU-PF national political commissar and Minister of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing. Kasukuwere called Share son of a bitch and threatened to deal with him for publishing stories that the politician argued scandalised him. De-investing from Zimpapers by government is also in line with the Windhoek Declaration of 1991 which exhorts signatories to the document to ensure the establishment and maintenance of an independent press. An independent press is that which is free from government, political or economic control. Such a press is an essential ingredient in the development and sustenance of democracy in any nation. Government shareholding in Zimpapers also makes it difficult for newspapers under the stable like *The Herald* to effectively play the Fourth Estate role on the same government. The roles include checks and counterbalances on other state powers namely the executive, judiciary and legislature. There is no way *The Herald* will effectively monitor the executive or the other estates without a backlash on the editor by government, which owns the newspaper with a majority shareholding.

### **Reactivation of the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust as matter of urgency**

In the event government insists on maintaining its shareholding in the Zimpapers, it is important to urgently re-establish the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT). The replay of ZANU-PF factionalism in *The Herald*, as exposed by this study, underscores the need to urgently ringfence Zimpapers. What this study has helped illuminate is the vulnerability of *The Herald* and other newspapers under the Zimpapers stable to abuse by political actors in ZANU-PF especially during times when the ruling party experiences serious succession related fragmentation. The editorial policy is suspended, and the newspapers is highjacked by whichever faction is dominating at the time. Such a newspaper loses direction editorially and essentially becomes a clutter. This study therefore recommends the re-establishment of the ZMMT as a matter of urgency. An independent board must chair the ZMMT. Politicians must not be appointed to the board – be they from the ruling party or opposition political parties. The board must be chaired by respected non-political board of trustees with interests cutting across all sectors of the society. Appointment of editors to *The Herald* and other newspapers under the Zimpapers stable must be done by the trust. The trust must also be empowered to dismisses the editors when they fail to exercise their duties satisfactorily. The trust must self-fund as previous experiences have proved that government funding compromised its vitality and effectiveness.

### **Zimpapers must join the Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe (VMCZ)**

The study further recommends that Zimpapers must immediately join the Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe (VMCZ). The VMCZ is a professional media self-regulatory body. It comprises local journalists, the civil society and other stakeholders that subscribe to the tenets of media freedom, independence and the practice of ethical journalism. Created in 2007, the VMCZ promotes professional journalistic standards and safeguards media independence and integrity. Currently, it has been difficult for individuals scandalised by *The Herald* to seek recourse at the VMCZ as Zimpapers is not a member. This probably explains why some ZANU-PF officials who felt defamed by *The Herald* like Saviour Kasukuwere and Jonathan Moyo ended up suing the newspaper at the High Court.

### **AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY**

This study is confined to the political economy of *The Herald* at a time the ZANU-PF government was riddled by factionalism. The study did not examine how the privately-owned

media covered ZANU-PF factionalism, an area that provides an opportunity for further research by anyone interested in the political economy theory on media operations.

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