

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND SOCIETY STUDIES

The framing of Donald Trump before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections. A case study of *The Herald*.

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**THE FRAMING OF DONALD TRUMP BEFORE AND AFTER
THE USA 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE HERALD**

Declaration

I, **(R135368H)** do hereby sincerely declare that this dissertation is my own original work that has not been previously submitted to any other university. In writing this work I duly complied with ethical issues and laws governing intellectual property. **Dissertation Title:** The framing of Donald Trump before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections. A case study of *The Herald*.

Signed.....

Date.....

Certificate of Supervision

I hereby certify that I personally supervised this dissertation in accordance with Department Regulations and the University General Regulations. On that basis, I confirm that this dissertation is examinable **Title of Dissertation:** The framing of Donald Trump before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections. A case study of *The Herald*.

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Acronyms

MDC Movement for Democratic Change

MDC-T Movement for Democratic Change – Team

ZANU PF Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

ZMMT Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

The study will look at how Donald Trump is presented in Zimbabwe's public media which is *The Herald* newspaper. *The Herald* is well known to be an ideological state apparatus for the ruling government. This is so because President Mugabe's government created the state-controlled *Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust* (ZMMT), a watchdog that eventually took overall ownership of *The Herald* and its sister papers (Nyahunzvi 2001). In Zimbabwe the media is much more polarized on political lines. Whereas the public media are accused of being pro *Zanu Pf*, private media employ "the nothing- can-ever-come-out-of-this-wretched government attitude (Mano 2005:65). At most instances, content in *The Herald* disposes the relations that Zimbabwe has with other foreign nations as previous US administrations have always been framed in *The Herald* as imperialistic, manipulative and exploitative. So this research will be looking at Donald Trump's portrayal and presentation in *The Herald* which is Zimbabwe's daily newspaper. The way he was framed before and after the USA 2016 presidential elections will be put into light.

1.2 Background of the study

With the coming out of the presidential office by Barack Obama, the coming in of Donald Trump became another spectacle for the African community also particularly for Zimbabwe. The former USA President Barack Obama had aroused expectations around the world, but nowhere as much as Africa (Lyman and Robinette 2009). There was a general feeling among Africans including the nation of Zimbabwe that when Barack Obama was elected as the president of the USA, he would bring a positive social and economic growth to the African continent, as he is of an African descent. Africa is a continent where politics is all about patronage, and as he was a president of the United States with Kenyan roots, Barack Obama seemed to many Africans like the ultimate political patron (Kruse 2015). Thus, his foreign policy focused less on Africa and more on Asia, the Middle-East and Europe and this was a great disappointment to Africa (Kruse 2015). So with Donald Trump coming into the American political scene with his American nationalistic stance, the world including African states eagerly awaited to see what he has to offer. Africa and the rest of the world witnessed the election of Donald Trump who became

president of America with his controversial, polarizing figure and his nationalistic rhetoric. What is interesting is the framing of his political rhetoric in *The Herald*. His nationalistic rhetoric resonates with that of the *Zanu Pf* leader Robert Mugabe but in *The Herald* Donald Trump is portrayed in an unparallel stance.

Through framing the news media influentially shape public opinion (De Vreese 2005). Thus “those who produce the news are aware of the expectations of the audiences as consumers or as citizens or some combination of both” (Oates 2008:5). The framing of him as a misogynist, ultranationalist only seemed to spur him to power as he managed to portray the media as giving out false news to tarnish since American presidential elections are a matter of global concern, events were also followed in all countries Zimbabwe included. With a population of around 12.5 million, the country has an estimated literacy level of 85 percent. By virtue of their literacy rate, it means that most Zimbabweans are in a position to read newspapers on their own and they were able to follow the development in the presidential race in America. Most articles on Donald Trump in *The Herald* are framed in a negative stance and leave room for the readers to deduce the type of relationship Zimbabwe has with the USA. Media coverage sometimes positions stories in either a favorable or unfavorable manner (Bystrom et al., 2001). The problem that arises is that many of the people ‘worship’ the printed word and will simply believe what they have read be it from a single newspaper without subjecting it to scrutiny and yet academics contend that all news is propaganda (Mbanje and Mahuku2012). Protective nationalism has had a long history in Zimbabwe with *The Herald* being the forefront of this kind of reportage especially on issues of internal politics in Zimbabwe and the country’s standing in the global relations. This nationalist message carried out by Donald Trump can also be compared to President Mugabe’s political rhetoric which is usually conveyed through *The Herald*. Thus, the coming in Donald Trump became another spectacle for the nation of Zimbabwe as his political discourse puts forward nationalism in a stance that is similar to that of Robert Mugabe where the whites were dispossessed from the farms they had in Zimbabwe under the notion of ‘*The 3rd Chimurenga*’. The framing of Donald Trump could therefore have been seen as an attempt to portray him in a negative stance, therefore establishing the type of relationship the Zimbabwean government has with the USA through *The Herald’s* articles on him.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The ascension of Donald Trump to political office was a development unprecedented and brought close scrutiny to media portrayal of him (Johnston; 2006). More importantly his political rhetoric while attracting controversy resonated well with some people and it culminated in his election as the President of America. His stance on putting the interests of America seemed to run contrary to the values of liberalism and unrestrained globalization that has taken hold in American politics (Johnston 2006). On the other hand Zimbabwean government has taken on a nationalist and protective stance on a number of issues and there seems to be a similarity in this discourse as it is fronted by Donald as well as the Zimbabwean government. *The Herald* being the government mouthpiece and also being state owned has always put forward the agenda of the government and ruling party and it is interesting to study how it framed Donald Trump as the politician and President elect of the USA. This study therefore intends to explore how *The Herald* has framed Donald Trump considering the similarity of the political discourse in Trump's nationalism and the government of President Robert Mugabe. It particularly looks at the kind of frames that were used on Donald Trump considering the antagonistic relationship between Zimbabwe and America that dates back to the early 2000s. Previous US administrations have always been framed in *The Herald* as imperialistic, manipulative and exploitative and this study seeks to find if Donald Trump was framed differently.

1.4 Significance of the study

Studies on framing in the media are quite abundant and these have largely focused on political parties in Zimbabwe with MDC-T being seen as a puppet of the West, with reference to the research on the "*Framing the proposed alliance of opposition parties prior to 31 July 2013 elections. A case of The Herald and Newsday*" (Chambwera 2014). The study is quite significant since it attempts to inquire the framing of an individual in the state newspaper who seems to espouse an ideology which is similar to that favored by the *Zanu Pf* government. It is therefore important to explore how *The Herald* has responded to the unique situation of having US presidential candidate who seems to be in synch with the current Zimbabwean political stance of Mugabe's nationalism.

1.5 Research Questions

- ❖ How did *The Herald* frame Donald Trump?
- ❖ What discourse was promoted in the framing of Donald Trump by *The Herald*?

1.6 Research objectives

The objectives of this study are to;

- ❖ To assess the framing of Donald Trump in *The Herald*.
- ❖ Identify the frames used by *The Herald* in reporting on Donald Trump

1.7 Delimitations

This study will focus on the framing by *The Herald* and thus will be restricted to textual analysis. Therefore, it will not delve into whether the particular framing resulted in change in public opinion. The study will mainly focus on framing in the articles on Donald Trump covering the month of April 5th 2016 to April 4th 2017 which might be a short period of time to establish all the frames generally utilized on him.

1.8 Limitations

Limitations are a result of the imperfections of the conceptual framework and study's design (Marshall and Rossman 1999). This research will be confined to *The Herald* and not any other local Zimbabwean newspaper, so having one media house's perspective will be limiting us from attaining varying angles on Donald Trump by other media houses. *The Herald* also does not have correspondents in the USA, so their objectivity is questionable since they repackage already written articles from other sources such as *Reuters* and *News24*. It being a state controlled newspaper is also a limitation as they are already prejudice towards the west, so automatically they can be deemed to be '*attack dogs*'.

1.9 Assumptions

Assumptions are the baseline for the successful implementation of the research and as such they guide the researcher on the techniques of collecting data. (Simon 2011) Assumptions are also things that are somewhat out of the researchers' control, but if they disappear, the study would become irrelevant. One reason why assumptions are important is that they frame and guide directly or indirectly the process of argumentation, evidence generation and conclusions (Nkwake2013). This research is based on the following assumptions: *The Herald* will grant the researcher permission to carry out the research and the data relevant for the study will be accessible. The editorial policies and ownership structure of the media house could be the cause of such representation in *The Herald*, as the ruling government hold majority shares in the Zimpapers organisation. Lastly, political interference will not influence or hinder the researcher's efforts in collecting data relevant for the study.

1.9.1 Summary

Chapter one will introduce the research outlining research objectives, questions and background of the research study. This chapter gives a direction to which the study aims to take and give an assumption of the findings it wishes to arrive at. Chapter two is concerned with the literature review and theoretical framework that outlines available literature on framing as well as theories that inform the research.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature review

2.0 Introduction

Literature review is a classification and evaluation of what accredited scholars and researchers have written on a topic (Taylor 2007). It consists of an overview, a summary, and an evaluation (“critique”) of the current state of knowledge about a specific area of research. The section would analyze the literature that has been written by various scholars pertaining to *The Herald’s* stories on Donald Trump. And the publications of Donald Trump. Through the framing theory the research will be in a bid to conceptualize the ownership and control patterns of *The Herald*. Objectives of the study will be attained through the review of literature. The study will draw literature from published and unpublished textbooks, journals and dissertations. It will also draw information from published stories in *The Herald* concerning Donald Trump.

2.1 The Herald is Zanu Pf ‘s ‘mouth-piece’

There is need to check the history of the control of press in Zimbabwe for us to understand the way in which Donald Trump was portrayed in *The Herald*. Invention of desired realities is enabled through patriotic journalism (Ranger 2005). Hence, in Zimbabwe being aligned to the ruling party is considered to be patriotic as the party itself has the word ‘patriotic’ in it. Though, it can be considered to be ironical as *The Herald* poses as a disseminator of Zanu Pf’s ideology in which the West are seen as enemies as evidenced by their portrayal of Donald Trump. So this study seeks to establish whether by Donald Trump’s framing, *The Herald* was keeping up with past discourses of enmity with the West.

Nationalism is interlinked to patriotism as further asserted by Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya (2011). So one can argue that the way in which *The Herald* presents stories shows nationalism as it is mandated to support the ruling government by its editorial policy, therefore one can say that it is *Zanu Pf’s* mouthpiece. Control of the press was a major characteristic of colonialism in the post colonial state in Africa (Mukasa1999). He clarifies that after gaining independence the elite

from the black society in Zimbabwe whose interests where similar to the colonizers took charge, therefore adopting the colonial way of managing the press. *The Herald*, with 90,000 readers has been the overwhelming force on the Zimbabwean media scene (Moyo 2005), thus its publications can be very influential as it caters for a majority of the literate population in Zimbabwe. Public figures are represented differently by media institutions especially those which are state controlled (Hall 1997).Therefore, the representation of Donald Trump in *The Herald* will be also dependant on the state or ruling party which is Zanu-Pf.So the relationship between the two will determine the nature of Donald Trump's representation which has a higher probability of being in negative frames. This is so because of the bad relations that the USA has with the ruling government in Zimbabwe since it imposed economic sanctions upon it in 2001.

The USA is also well known for criticizing the Zimbabwean government at various fora for its lack of, hence it introduced Bill S.494(Chigora and Dewa 2009).Their imposing of sanctions upon Zimbabwe in 2001 elevated the tension between the two, with Zimbabwe's economy crushing into turmoil.Mr Harry K.Thomas Jnr who is the USA ambassador to Zimbabwe pointed out that the government of Zimbabwe, when at loss to explain Zimbabwe's domestic economic or political difficulties, at times seek to assign blame to US policies or other external factors. Though the USA and the rest of the international community has always continued to engage the government of Zimbabwe on areas of disagreement, in reality, the depth of their bilateral relationship extends well beyond the skirmishes the audience might read in the press (www.zimdiplomacy.com). Therefore, the press which is *The Herald* being used in this study, has power to manipulate information in order to achieve their goals as media coverage sometimes positions stories in either a favorable or unfavorable manner (Brystrom et al.,2001).

“Representation is in the way in which meaning is somehow given to the things which depicted through the images or whatever it is, on screens of the words on a page which stands for what we are talking about” (Hall 1997:6).Thus, basing with *Zanu Pf's* perspective of the West articles on Donald Trump are subjected to partial objectivity as they portray their foreign policy in which the USA are adversaries. The study would be able to explore the relationship that exists between the journalists and their news coverage at *The Herald*. Zimbabwe's relation with the USA is also

highlighted, thus showing its foreign policy through analyzing articles on Donald Trump in which he is reported on with a contemptuous tone that is biased against him.

The print media the fourth branch of the government, thus journalists take aid in shaping the progress of government policies (Cater 1959). Framing enables people to “develop particular conceptualizations” (Chong & Druckman, 2007: 104) or reorientations about an issue. In Zimbabwe’s case, the USA is seen as antagonistic force through its imposing of sanctions upon the nation of Zimbabwe, so portrayal of it in their national daily newspaper would likely be negative in most cases. Moreso, a journalist is not only the recorder of government activities but he is also an active contributor, working as a pen for the government pushing forward their unfavorable agendas (Cater 1959:7). The government’s direct intervention in the editorial policies of *The Herald* has seen a number of prominent editors and journalists being fired because of a number of articles unfavourable to *Zanu Pf* party (Waldahl 2004). Farai Munyuki and Tommy Sithole are amongst the staff that was fired (Gandari 2010). Witness Mangwende who is a former Minister of Information, at one time declared that the idea of press freedom is utopian. He declared that freedom of the press should only be in tandem with the prevailing politics and economics of the country in which the media operate. Unfortunately this statement has been interpreted to mean that state controlled media support the ruling party without question. Thus, failure of a journalist to align to the government’s policies will result in dismissal from duties.

The Herald’s reportage fits well into Marx’s model where he notes that the media seeks to perpetuate the ideas of the ruling class in this case it is the government under *Zanu-Pf’s* authority. Caesar Zvayi who is the editor of *The Herald* is said to be a member of the *Zanu Pf* party, so assumingly due to his political affiliation he is more likely to be pushing the ruling party’s ideology. The degree to which Zimbabwean reporters ‘participate’, “oppose” or “adjust” to existing newsroom policies in which they are pushed at the end of the day to follow the press’ ideology has to be established (Mano 2005) .

Also when journalists write news they need to know the relevance to the audience and if it was a predictable event or not, also if it is positive or negative because “bad news sell” (Brighton and Foy 2007) .*The Herald* which is a ‘mouth piece’ of the *Zanu Pf* party is well known for

demonizing the *MDC* political party in their press, referring the party as an external link for the colonial powers. Accordingly on *Zanu Pf's* account, the oppositional *MDC* party is framed as the 'puppet of the West and a representation of the British 'colonial power' with a 'regime change' agenda' in Zimbabwe (Mutisi 2013) . Therefore , since the public relies on press for information especially issues of national importance any political utterances can influence the way they view a situation. "These political issues are generally not part of an individual's common experience; therefore the news media exercise a near monopoly as sources of information and orientation" (Kuypers2002). In this case, *The Herald* can help in pushing the *Zanu Pf's* domestic and foreign policies towards the locals where the USA and its affiliations are seen as adversaries of the nation of Zimbabwe and the reason why the nation is in such an offal economic state. This is so because *The Herald* serves as a public informer and educator as it is known to be under Zimbabwe's public service role.

The politicians' responsibility for a situation at the national level is implied by news coverage as this encourages viewers to attach more importance to their performance on that particular situation when evaluating their overall (Kuypers2002:7). So when negative issues on Donald Trump are highlighted upon by the media particularly *The Herald*, their perspective of him will be biased as it will be focusing on his negativity thus giving him an overall bad publicity. Referring to various headlines within *The Herald*, Donald Trump is seen as a manipulative imperialist with racial discrimination tendencies as he puts forward the notion of American nationalism.

His advocating for the elimination of immigrants on American soil gives the local audience an impression of a racist president, though Robert Mugabe's government land reform policies in the early 2000s are more of the same stance yet he is portrayed as a local hero (Mano 2005). Thus, the press plays a forceful role when presenting one's identity as it can give readers lasting impressions of a particular person. In the portrayal of Donald Trump , *The Herald* regurgitated the negative connotations pinned to him by other figures as factual. In this case *The Herald's* framing of Donald Trump before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections presents him as a discriminatory figure against other races whereas his political discourse is similar to that of

Mugabe's dispossession of the white farmers. Hence an adversary frame is put on Donald Trump through the articles published by *The Herald*.

2.1.2 Representation of Donald Trump, 'a constructed reality'.

Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully to other people (Hall 1997). It also denotes what is already in existence. 'Construction of social reality' is impacted by mass media that is by framing images of reality in a predicted and patterned way (McQuail 1994:331). Everyday reality is put into place and organized by a frame (Tuchman 1978). It involves the process of producing and exchanging meanings between members of a similar culture, thus in this study the local citizens are considered to be a unit. An interactive model of 'construction of reality' has important implications for conceptualizing framing as a theory of media effects, as framing involves picking particular aspects of perceived reality (Entman 1993:52). This selection of particular elements of reality leaving out some denotes a sense of individualism rather than that of a majority choice of selection. Therefore, in this study there is the individuality of the ruling government which is the *Zanu Pf* party. So in this study we will be confined to the *Zanu Pf's* perspective and ideologies where they perceive the West and its agents as enemies.

. Reflective, constructivist and intentional are three approaches encompassed in representation. The perspective of the representation and its meaning which is somewhere out there in reality is dealt with the reflective approach. Constructivist approach deals with the use of language and visual codes in the making of representations. The perspective of the producer or creator is dealt with through the intentional approach. How we view and react towards each other is influenced by social constructions. What we discursively construct determines our understanding and evaluation of people. By understanding how people construct reality you would have reached an overwhelming stage though interpretations on the constructions and what they imply may assist us in highlighting the political dimensions created by the discourse. It is assumed that when social reality is constructed there is the development and maintenance of meaning, hence there will be a sense of understanding through the interaction done within social/cultural groups (Luckmann 1967). So Donald Trump's coverage will have to be understood by the readers of *The Herald* through the way the press puts across their version of his reality with the use of certain frames. In the representation of a reality which is constructed by a person or a group there is use

of language, signs and images to ensure a clear understanding of the frame which the representation would have made use of .

People are considered to be passive of certain realities that are framed by the media and presented to them with the public service in particular. This is so because they view the public media as their informer and educator, so they are liable to trust whatever comes out of that media compared to the private ones which look at making profits. Therefore, this is contrary to the general assumption or norm that considers the public media to be an ‘educator and informer’,as nowadays the public media is now a server of the ruling elites interests in which they put their ideologies forward in the press. In this study, *The Herald’s* coverage on Donald Trump before and after the 2016th USA Presidential elections, ideologies of the *Zanu Pf* party can be seen to be evident in his representation.

There is the use of negative overtones and expressions within the frames that are used by reporters from *The Herald* in their articles on Donald Trump. We can assumingly position that this is due to the ‘not so good relations’ that the state has with the USA. The USA’s imposition of economic sanctions on Zimbabwe left such a dent in which they both perceive each other as adversaries. Reasons for these sanction impositions might be due to President Robert Mugabe’s regime which dispossessed white farmers from their land and left them with nothing. Another reason is that of the government’s refusal to abide with the West’s view of democracy concerning Zimbabwe which seems contrary to the ruling governments ideology as it does not want to be politically influenced by foreign nations with the USA and Britain in particular labeled as ‘Western imperialists’ trying to gain from Zimbabwe’s natural resources. So what the readers consume from *The Herald* concerning Donald Trump becomes their real life perspective, in which his representation establishes the way the ruling government perceives the West through the use of various frames.

News produced also pave way for the consumer’s construction and justification of the world .Through the criteria people find significant, they criticize and evaluate news media. Certain news outlets are known for making use of particular mental impressions, hence *The Herald* is well known for criticizing the ruling party’s oppositions framing them as puppets,establishing an

anti-Western impression even before the involvement of Donald Trump in American politics. So its representation of Donald Trump will be more likely to be biased basing on its historical and present relations with the West. Media is used in the construction and supporting of social realities, so there should be a questioning by scholars of the media's direct and indirect ability to produce and reproduce symbolic versions of the social world.(Thompson 1995).Issues such as race relations and immigration are 'symbolic versions' portrayed on Donald Trump's coverage in *The Herald*.

The media are the main focus in representation because they occupy the space between the viewers, listeners and the outside world (Williams2003).Therefore, mediation is then initiated which has to do with going in between. Objectivity is required from the media over their coverage as this gives the audiences the real impression without biasness. So what the locals read about Donald Trump in *The Herald* can become their perceived reality of him as the public media plays an educative and informative role in the society. The way a public figure is represented in the society is determinant to the media and how its relations with the person are configured. Therefore, it within *The Herald's* power and its major shareholder's influence to which how Donald Trump will be presented to the public. Thus, the type of frame in which he is presented will create a certain kind of reality and provide a lens to which the public will perceive him.

An intermediary is supposed to take an impartial role and as such the media are meant to make objective remarks regarding to their coverage. Representations are a result of media processes of selection as other information can be left out which are also part of reality(Croteau and Hoynes 1997:134).Nonetheless the issue of reality is controversial due to polarization in the nation's media houses with objectivity becoming unusual because of biasness of these intermediates.

The term bias was derived from a bowling game in which players gets to steer the ball in their own desired direction (McQuail1992:191).The systematic inclination to favour one interpretation or sympathize with one side is what can be termed 'bias' in news (Street 2001).Therefore, *The Herald's* reportage on Donald Trump is more likely biased towards the ruling government, in which his representation highlight and underline the relations that the Zimbabwean government has with the USA or the West. A reference of how Robert Mugabe is portrayed by the Western

media can also distinguish what type of relation exists between the two nations, as he has been subjected to a sustained barrage of criticism (Gowans2008).

Post modern scholars note that objectivity can be in existence as part of its play of power and particular views are supported (Fiske 1989a).With the pursual of reporting objectively, there is exclusion of ‘facts’ consciously and sub-consciously depending on the newsrooms editorial policy. So the leaving out of some parts of the story is depended with the reporter although the editor has the final say. On Donald Trump’s reportages or articles, there is a possibility of some of the content being left out in order to suit the editorial policy of *The Herald* as there is a consistency of a biased representation of him and other former USA presidents that is of negative connotations.

Creation of awareness concerning one’s identity can be classified as representation(Hall 1996).Representation involves the generation of facts and knowledge, thus it gives us an insight of the disseminator and indicate authority over portrayal(Foucault 1972).Representations are formulated in various ways through motion pictures and literary text. They also encompass processes of construction which is done through the use of gender, societal level, ethnic groups and age. Therefore besides the use of text, demographics are also pivotal in the context of representation. Variations in demographics influence the way a representation is enacted and in this study we are more concerned with the media’s role in the representation of Donald Trump rather than how the audience respond towards it. Due to its intermediary role, the media becomes the main focus as it interlinks and connects with consumers of media products.The output rests with the media, as the media is responsible for telling the world one’s story .So the way one is represented depends on the media house’s ideology and organizational influences. For instance, if a farmer gives his produce to a vegetable market owner, the assurance of getting the produce sold lies with market owner .For the produce to be sold ,other determinant factors such as the market location and the way it is decorated has to be of the consumer’s choice or expectations. Geographical location helps in setting up the context and tone in which one is represented as it also denotes the current situations that surrounds a news story. Thus representation of a person can be a form of identity modification or construction depending on the situation and the goals that are needed to be attained. The media have the capacity to set the pace for people, as they

decide on how to represent figures. Life in the society is based on representations as they set the frames in which people perceived from and what people think and people act is based on what is perceived to be true and not on what is true.

This research was conducted in order to explore on how a political figure such as Donald Trump was represented in Zimbabwe's public media which is *The Herald* in this particular study. Basing with previous articles published in *The Herald*, former presidents of the United States of America have been represented in a negative manner, thus with the coming of Donald Trump we intend to see if this has changed or if it is still done in the same manner by this local media house. The background of Donald Trump being more of business oriented rather than political gives us a high speculation on how he will be represented in *The Herald* basing with his new venture in modern day politics. So his representation will be more likely to be of a greater difference with those who were already based in the field of politics, with his racial slurs getting him more attention. This is so since the modern way of representing politicians in the media and public is often fabricated with sugar coating in order to gain a large political following. Thus, artificial representations of politicians have become a norm of the day with media houses accepting bribes. Donald Trump seems to be exposed to the audience by *The Herald* as a courageous being who does not mind being hated for airing out his opinions in which he passes out narcissistic comments with the notion of putting 'Americans first'. His portrayal in *The Herald* draws a lot of adversity from local nationalists who mostly are *Zanu Pf* supporters who view the West in a certain political context that criticizes their imposing of economic sanctions upon Zimbabwe in the early 2000s. Therefore his representation is of a greater interest to this study as we intend to find out if there are no traces of fabrication or exaggeration which are known to be done by certain media houses when representing personalities of political figures.

Different meanings and interpretations are contained by representations and assist in finding out how representations are formulated. Reality is related to representation as people take note of it in accordance to their personal experiences. Hence, his partial reality is depicted through *The Herald's* representation of him, as media houses are known to be agenda setters who tend to push their own ideologies without giving full factual information due to their political inclinations. This maybe because they will be wanting to create a certain impression of him which gets along with their particular objectives. This study's motive is steered towards looking

at how Donald Trump's identity is constructed in the local daily newspaper which is *The Herald*, thus exploring the kind of frames uses on him.

2.2 Theoretical framework

Theoretical framework is the structure that supports a theory of a research study. The existence of the research problem under study is explained by the theoretical framework which also introduces and describes it. Theories are formulated to explain, predict and understand phenomena and, in many cases, to challenge and extend existing knowledge within the limits of critical bounding assumptions. For this study the framing theory was utilized under theoretical framework since the research seeks to establish the frames prevalent in *The Herald's* coverage of Donald Trump before and after the 2016th USA presidential elections. News production influences the frames that are used and these frames are not just selected from nowhere. The research study will not exist in isolation but it is linked to the already existing theories on this subject and as such, the research will make inferences to such theories such as Framing which is an extension of Agenda setting.

2.2.1 Framing

Framing can be defined as a process of selecting certain characteristics of a perceived situational reality and give them more prominence in a interactive context , in such a way as to promote a certain definition of a problem(Entman 1993).Therefore, some scholars criticized the above definition as not adequate. They argued that Entman defining of framing is problematic when attempting to differentiate it from agenda-setting and priming (Scheufele and Iyengar 2011).Hence, to distinguish which is which is important as these theories serve as the basis of this study. It is therefore necessary to make the distinctions right away since this study is based on framing and not agenda setting or priming.

Framing focuses more on presentation rather that agenda setting that encompasses the giving of prominence to issues (De Vreese 2005). McCombs and Shaw are the ones who put forward the theory of agenda setting in1972.Through their theory we are told what to think about rather than what to think by the media. Therefore, their theory inter-connects and is more similar with

Cohen's descriptive that states that the news may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. As it is not concerned with what one communicates but it focuses on how one communicates (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). Agenda setting tends to give major importance to an issue through running it through to the audiences frequently, therefore the audiences end up showing interest to the news (Scheufele and Iyengar 2011).

Priming then stipulates that if media coverage leads to an issue being more prominent in the audience's minds, there is a higher likelihood that it will be used as one of the standards by which governments, policies and candidates vying for public office are judged. Meaning is given through framing as there will be events unfolding (Gross 2007). Realities are constructed by the media through framing, thus political sensitive issues may be moulded in a way that generates particular reactions. This research will thereby seek to discover if *The Herald* managed to create their own reality and what kind of depiction they had of Donald Trump in their news stories. Thus, the audience is tuned in a way on how to make the information attained from the media applicable to the situations given unto them and they are pushed to have a particular line of thought through framing. Hence, in this particular study the theory of framing is of greater relevance as it looks at how framing is built in *The Herald's* coverage on Donald Trump before and after the 2016TH USA presidential elections.

Popular media is pivotal in the in formulation of political knowledge (Adams, 2003), thus through this theory of framing we will be of greater assistance to us in finding out whether *The Herald's* presentation of Donald Trump was enacted in a way to serve certain interests. The media is said to have become political protagonists, thus representation of reality is now being done with biasness (Hall 1997). Hall further asserts that reality is not represented by the media, therefore through construction reality is formulated and framing takes place with the omission of some news information due to certain editorial policies. Hence, in this research we are set to discover the ideological positioning that is influencing *The Herald's* portrayal of Donald Trump.

"Particular conceptualizations" are developed by people through the process of framing (Chong & Druckman 2007:104). Certain political agendas and views are promoted through framing, as a

frame is known to be an organizer of everyday reality (Tuchman 1978).Political reality and promotion of preferred views are shaped by specific frames, therefore agenda setting is intertwined with the framing theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).We are able to know what agenda is been set through the frames utilized by media houses. This research seeks to establish the agenda set by *The Herald* on Donald Trump's coverage through investigating the prominence given to certain frames and their positioning.

There are various dimensions when it comes to framing (Scheufele1999).Consumers of news create their own views and opinions basing on how framing is applied upon a figure or situation. The tone of the published articles determine how consumers digest information they acquire from the press (Scheufele 1999).Journalists who gather information and also report on it are pivotal in the emanating of opinions from the public. To frame a narrative is to “select some view of a perceived reality and make them more prominent in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a certain definition of a problem (Entman1993).By putting a main focus on a particular story headline, prominence of an issue is thereby raised.Hence,a constant highlighting of a story makes the readers become more memorable of the information The term salience means “qualification a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to consultation ” (Entman,1993, p. 53). An increase in salience improves the chance that the audience will remember the information. Info can be added or taken out according to the message that media want to communicate to the public. There is addition and subtraction of information which aligns to what the media wants to deliver to the consumers. So concerning *The Herald's* coverage on Donald Trump before and after the USA 2016TH presidential elections, it is more likely that there was a certain level of exaggeration and omissions in order to cater for their editorial policy's interest that support the status quo which is *Zanu Pf*.

Media framing is studied as a process. There are framing communicative processes such as frame setting and frame building. In which frame setting is the interacting of the media frames' and a person's prior predispositions and knowledge. Also communication is considered to be more of a dynamic action that is and not static (De Vreese2005).One's understanding of the headlines can be influenced by frames applied , therefore there has been a serious examining of the setting of a frame. Through this, mirror frames are availed to the consumers. Frame building

deals with the factors that determine the news structural makeup and its process involves the interacting of the high class people and the media practitioners. Framing has an influential role in the social world and people are likely to follow the media's perspective unconsciously or either with acknowledging it (De Vreese 2005). Hence, framing on a person and on a society as a whole has certain effects. On a personal level, the effects may result in one's diversion of thoughts concerning a certain issue and on society it can lead to adoption of certain policies or selection of certain choices (De Vreese 2005). Concerning the study on *The Herald's* coverage of Donald Trump before and after the 2016th USA presidential elections, the framing done can influence a person's mindset upon it, hence that is why framing is an important part of this study. One can view framing in communication as positive or negative depending on the audience and what kind of information is being presented. It is "a schemata of interpretation" that enables individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label" occurrences or life experiences (Goffman 1974). The information presented about Donald Trump in *The Herald* will be factual, but the way in which he is presented will raise a certain notion in one's mindset. Schemata are cognitive structures that present knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus including its attributes and the relations among attributes (Fiske and Taylor 1991:131). These schemas enable audiences to decide consciously or unconsciously on how to place certain information in their understanding of the world (Entman 2010). Therefore, the way Donald Trump is framed or presented in *The Herald's* will influence how he is placed in one's current world.

Framing is said to be a second level of agenda setting. This is so since it just does not enlighten the audience what to think about only, but how to consider that issue which is the second level of agenda setting. There are many framing techniques that reporters and editors apply which are metaphor and stories in the form of myths or legends (Fairhurst and Sarr 1996). Comparing to something else leads to framing of a conceptual idea, through use of metaphors. Stories frame a topic through narrative in a vivid and memorable way. Framing techniques such as slogan, jargon and catchphrase are put to use.

The use of a catchy phrase is more memorable and relatable when framing an object. This theory is relevant in this study as it brings about clearly how news on Donald Trump before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections is constructed and presented to the audience in *The*

Herald's coverage of him. It enables us to tell whether intentionally or unintentionally the reporter dresses and present a story. So this theory helps us in understanding the research problem, whether the news is or not reported innocently but politically or with bias depending on the writer and owner and in this case it is *The Herald's* presentation of Donald Trump's. It enables us to view how Donald Trump's political rhetoric was portrayed in comparison with that of Robert Mugabe's government since their political discourses are similar in putting nationalism first.

In "*Frame Analysis*", Erving Goffman's argument rests on distinctions, on the one hand, between what is taken to be real from the perspective of the observer in any situation and actual occurrence and, on the other, between fabrication, internal and sometimes collusive misinterpretation of a situation by one person for another, and simple errors in framing and self-induced alterations."So in the case of *The Herald*, we would be looking at these varying possibilities concerning published stories about Donald Trump. Goffman outlines a conceptual definition of framing. He defines a frame as, "definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events, at least social ones and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman 1986:10).

Consistency in *The Herald* about Donald Trump and how his remarks and opinions are presented will implant a certain mental picture in the people's minds. News values guide the selection of stories based on characteristics like prominence, human interest, conflict, unusualness, timeliness and proximity as asserted by (Shoemaker&Reese1996). Portrayal of prominent figures of the west in the daily newspaper is subjected to negativity as this depicts the type of relationship we have with them as a nation. Amongst the figures from the West who were portrayed in a negative manner in the past are Tony Blair, George Bush and David Cameron to mention a few. So it can be clear that a certain agenda or foreign policy will be inducted to *The Herald* by the ruling party through the process of framing. This framing is done through catchy headlines which captures the audience's mindset and make them highlight certain issues in a certain way. So this study will help us examine the frames put to use on Donald Trump's reportage in *The Herald*.

Mass media actively set the frames of reference that readers and viewers use to interpret and discuss public events (Tuchman 1978). *The Herald's* headlines on Donald Trump clearly show that through their headlines they can divert or dictate a person's thought pattern concerning in a way. For instance a headline on the 17TH of March 2017, that was phrased "*Making America Great at American's expense*", can make a person have a biased view of Donald Trump as it depicts him as an extorter of funds. Media framing is based on the notion that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an impact on how the audience interprets the story (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). Stories are given a spin in order to cater for organizational purposes in which a certain policy will be put forward, thus this is an input process under the process model of framing research (Shoemaker and Reese 1996). *The Herald* being the government's mouth piece which is anti-west is more likely to portray the USA and its political figures as imperialistic, manipulative and exploitative. So Donald Trump who was a prospective USA president before the 2016 presidential elections and became president falls in line.

A painter's decision concerning which type of frame to use on a piece of art, determines the type of prospective buyers that will arise when it is displayed or advertised. Their reaction towards the piece is also a contributing factor and it will vary due to the type of frame chosen. How a certain issue is expressed is of paramount importance as, "framing is more of not what you say but how you say it" (Scheufele and Iyengar 2007:9). With reference to the media, the way a story is addressed to the public enforces a certain opinion about the particular content and formulates a kind of lens on which to perceive it. *The Herald's* way of presenting Donald Trump's pushes certain perspectives and also gives us an idea of their editorial policy. Agenda setting deals with salience of issues, whilst framing is concerned with the presentation of issues (De Vreese 2005). So how Donald Trump is represented and framed in *The Herald* is of main concern in this study.

There are two possible approaches to doing a content analysis of frames in news which are deductive and inductive (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Deductive is more of trying to verify the extent to which certain frames occur in news and predefining them as content analytic variables. In this approach there is need to thoroughly determine the possible frames likely to be in existence because only those frames defined a priori will be made use of. It can be utilized on

large samples and also made use of in comparing different frames in media or within the press. Inductive approach analyses an article in an open view to attempt to reveal the placing of possible frames (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000:94). This approach requires a lot of labor and replication of it is a difficult process.

2.3 Conclusion

Literature related to the study was reviewed in this chapter and the theoretical framework that gives the study important information was also looked at. It therefore indicated that the coverage on Donald Trump establishes the perspective that *The Herald* as a public media has of Donald Trump who is also considered to be an agent of the West by the locals. A patriotic duty of going in line with the ruling government policies in which the government holds a majority share of *Zimpapers* was enacted by *The Herald*, thus establishing the relationship in existence with the USA as portrayed through the different frames of Donald Trump brought out in the press.

CHAPTER THREE

Research methods and methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focused on how the research is to be done. Practical steps to be followed from the start to the end are demonstrated. The research paradigm to be employed is outlined, the unit analysis, sampling, data gathering methods, methods of data analysis as well as data presentation methods. Procedures to be undertaken by the researcher are outlined by the research methodology, as he attempts to describe, explain and predict phenomena. Decisions undertaken by the researcher are specified in the research methodology and the reasons why there were made (Rajasekar 2013).

3.1 Research paradigm

This research made use of the qualitative research paradigm. It is also a framework that gives guidance to a researcher when carrying out the research and sets out the parameters for the researcher's thought pattern and how he intends to do the research (Wanuni 2012). Qualitative research has more to do with acquiring an in-depth understanding on why people act the way they do and say the things they say, thus it has interest in meanings (Khuram et al, 2011). This research is interested in finding out how *The Herald* framed Donald Trump and reasons behind the framing, thus qualitative research is more suitable.

This paradigm is fit for my research because framing done by *The Herald* has to do with the social, political and economical values of their controllers, owners and staff as well as other groups with interests in the public media. It provides information concerning beliefs, opinions and relationships of individuals (Mack 2005). Frames made use of by *The Herald* have an imprint of those who produce them and thus I thereby sought to acquire some information about them as well. Qualitative research is of no particular reality but involves different perceptions that can

change with time and what we know has meaning only within a given situation (Joubish et al, 2012).Therefore, Donald Trump’s framing that is enacted in *The Herald* took place within the context of various situations before and after the 2016 USA presidential election. The main aim of a qualitative study is to gain a deeper and complex understanding of a particular social context (Mack et al 2005).There is less priority in generalizing when conducting in qualitative research. In this study I sought to gain a rich understanding of the frames employed as well as the discourses promoted by such frames in the context of Donald Trump before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections.

3.2 Research Population

A research population is a large collection of individuals or objects that is the main focus of a scientific query Castillo (2009). The populations of this research are journalists who reported on Donald Trump during the specified period of the study. These journalists from *The Herald* who reported on Donald Trump are an important sector the target population, they are considered to be resourceful to the study. So in this study, the targeted population comprises of the editor of *The Herald* and other journalists who reported on Donald Trump, such as Stephen Mpofo and Joram Nyathi. This target population is important to the study in that journalists from *The Herald* who reported on Donald Trump before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections are the main focus. Due to inadequate time, I was unable to get hold of the editors or journalists from *The Herald* in order for them to provide reasonable judgment and responses on Donald’s Trump presentation in their press since they are experienced in the field of politics publishing.

3.3 Unit of Analysis

The study utilized newspaper articles from *The Herald* that reported on Donald Trump from the 5th of April 2016 to 4th April 2017.A unit of analysis is the entity that is used in an analysis (Gunter 2000).Units of analysis can be artifacts (books, photos, newspapers), geographical units (town, state), individuals and groups (Trochim 2006).Experts and journalists from *The Herald* who reported on Donald Trump are the unit of analysis in this research. The editor and journalists are also important in the analysis, this is so because the editor chooses what gets in

the paper and the journalists are the ones that report on the news, and in this case it concerns the articles on Donald Trump in *The Herald*. Donald Trump representation in *The Herald* is the main focus of the study, thus he is considered to be part of the unit of analysis. For us to attain the objectives of the study the unit of analysis is considered resourceful.

3.3.1 Sampling methods

A subset of the population is a sample (Castillo 2009). The inability to test all individuals in a given population enables sampling to take place. It is important to choose the sample deliberately in order to make sure that the clients, external participants and group consider it to be an efficient sample Cochran (2002). In this research, non-random sampling was utilized for selection of data and for responding to research questions. Purposive sampling was the main technique used on the articles in *The Herald* concerning Donald Trump. Only eight articles were chosen from *The Herald* that focused on Donald Trump so as to give proper and enough attention to each since the process of analyzing them consumes time. The reason for picking ten articles is because I found seventeen articles focusing on Donald Trump within the period specified in the research, so the ten picked contained the most relevant information to the researcher. Purposive sampling was utilized because the research focuses on particular stories that focused on particular events, meaning anything else outside those events was not relevant. Sampling is “a process of selecting subjects to partake in a research investigation on the sense that information provided is considered to be in line with the research problem (Oppong 2013).

Purposive sampling is considered to be the best method for qualitative research by a lot of scholars (Oppong et al, 2013). It looks at cases that contain a lot of information, thus it is more suitable for this study. Certain qualities are required from participants by the researcher through purposive sampling (Koerber 2008). There is active selection of the most productive sample that answers the research question in purposive sampling (Marshall 1996). From the stories published and appearing in the online archives of *The Herald* I selected only the stories focusing on Donald Trump. Therefore, they make up my statistical universe (Oppong 2013). I utilized the priori approach where there is a pre-determination of the way for selection of those participating in the research (Bryman 2012). Attention was given to articles on Donald Trump starting from the point

when his interest in the USA presidential candidacy was highlighted in *The Herald*. This is because the first reaction to the breaking of the news was key to the coverage that ensued thereafter and the frames employed in the beginning were likely to have continued throughout the discursive period.

3.4 Methods of data gathering

In gathering data archival research was made use of. This is because the news articles that demonstrated the framing of Donald Trump before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections were to be found either in old newspapers or archived stories on The Herald's websites. Online archives of The Herald were sourced to get the relevant material. Routinely gathered records of an organization or a community are considered as archival data (Marshall 2006:107). The research questions must be in thought as one chooses the documents required for analysis.

As I sought to establish the frames employed by *The Herald*, it follows that I had to use archival research to find the newspaper articles in which the frames were to be found. Key words related to the Donald Trump were entered into the search sections of *The Herald* so as to retrieve the relevant articles. This archival criterion comprises of reading through quickly over recently published newspaper articles and getting news stories from websites, therefore it is an efficient way of showing the participants' values and beliefs (Marshall 2006). Articles that were in archives of *The Herald* were utilized. Online newspapers will be accessed dating from the given period of focus in this study which dates 5th April 2016 to 4th April 2016. Donald Trump's name was entered in *The Herald's* search engine in order to access data relevant for the study in which he is the main focus with a variety set of frames pinned upon him in order to establish a certain agendas in favour of the status quo. There is a great resourceful value in utilizing archival research as it serves as the basis of acquiring written evidence. There is both online and offline press for efficient accessibility. Archival research is not only limited to its tangibility as documents required for the study are portable and can be stored electronically. This is of a greater advantage as one would have saved the energy in carrying large piles of newspapers

which can become laborious to stock. The availability of data online and offline is pivotal for the efficient conduction of the research depending on the location., as at times its hard to access some hard copies of the press, due to staleness or slight damages of the paper.

3.5 Methods of Data analysis

Critical discourse analysis was used in analyzing data, as it looks at the part played by language as an efficient method for the creation of an ideology and socio-cultural change (Bryman 2012). Donald Trump's framing in *The Herald* before and after the USA 2016 presidential elections was a discursive event which I planned to give an analysis on basing on its contextual social practices. A discursive practice is a practical social action that makes use of language (Fourie 2009). It is analyzed with the three dimensional framework (Bryman 2012). There is examining of the actual content, structure and connotation of the text. Also there is the dimension which examines the kind of discursive interaction used to communicate beliefs and meaning. Lastly, there is the social practice dimension which looks at the social context in which the discursive event is happening. I made use of the above dimensions postulated by Bryman (2012) in critical discourse analysis on analyzing the framing of Donald Trump in *The Herald*.

I analyzed selected articles at the level of words, phrases, sentence level, textual level as well as other advanced methods under critical discourse analysis (Huckin 2002).Also I analyzed metaphors which are analogies which allow us to map one experience in the terminology of another experience and thus to acquire an understanding of complex topics or new situations(Vosniadou & Ortony 1989) .In *The Herald*, on the 12th of November 2016,metaphors are made use on Donald Trump as he is referred to as a 'maverick' in race for the presidential seat against Hillary Clinton under the headline , "*Trump: The whisper behind that turned the gale in front*".

In my research I also made use classifications looking at how Donald Trump was classified in articles, as classification is the intentional labeling of things or figures. Also presuppositions were analyzed in this research, as they consist of the use of phrases or words that assume truth of a statement. Presuppositions such are statements with assumptions such as ‘*Mr. Trump may even re-look the sanctions on Zimbabwe*’, under the article published on the 20th of February 2017 in *The Herald* headlined, “*Let Trump prove himself: President*”. This phrase is standing as an assumption, since it is lacking clarification from the subject who is Donald Trump. Of which there would be a lesser probability that Donald Trump would look at African countries especially concerning sanctions upon Zimbabwe in this context, as evidenced by his quotes noted in the article titled “*BREAKING NEWS : Donald Trump foreign policy: ‘America first’*”. He states that, ‘My foreign policy will always put the interests of the American people and American security first’. Hence he is classified as a narcissist who only considers his own race, thus this frame further builds up to portray him as a racist.

I analyzed the articles on Donald Trump through transitivity, topicalisation, deletion, intertextuality and insinuation at the sentence level which is according to Huckin (2002). Agent-patient relations found in a sentence are considered to be transitivity and in *The Herald* it shown by the public press’s relationship with *Zanu Pf*. Topicalisation has to do with positioning an element at the top of sentence with the intention of giving it popularity. The leaving out of information deliberately in a sentence is analyzed through deletion, therefore on Donald Trump’s coverage there are instances of some important information not giving full detailed in *The Herald*. Borrowing of words and phrases from other sources is defined as inter-textuality by Huckin (2002).

At textual level, I did an analysis on heteroglossia, omission and foregrounding which are features highlighted by Huckin (2002). Register shifts, discursive differences, text with multiple voices is what heteroglossia encompasses and identifying these voice variations makes it possible for the analyst to pick out inter-textual linkages, hence positioning the text in a sociocultural ground (Huckin2002:9). The intentional leaving out of certain information in a text is what is called omission. An example can be that of the leaving out of some vital information in

Donald Trump's statements in *The Herald*, thus this enables the creation of a certain frame in which the public perceives him. Framing enables people to "develop particular conceptualizations" (Chong & Druckman, 2007: 104). This is done in order to steer the perspectives of the public into falling into a certain line of thought concerning Donald Trump. Some statements in *The Herald* which are said to be of Donald Trump were mis-quoted deliberately to set a certain frame which would be biased. An example can be the issue of immigrants in America which have invited a rage of criticism of Donald Trump all over the nation calling him a racist in whom his nationalistic rhetoric is similar to that of Robert Mugabe through the land reform programme. Thus, *The Herald* highlighted more on fragments of his statements rather than the whole lot in order to establish a certain manipulative frame of their choice that is influenced by the ruling party's ideology

Due to lack of adequate time readers do not completely add a critical perspective to what they read, hence producers of text take advantage (Huckin 2002). Therefore, readers then apply cognitive shortcuts. If reading positions are in repetition over a long duration it may lead to the creation of an ideology within the readers mind making it commonsensical, especially if it fits in with the readers preliminary. Also persuading readers with a text can be done through argumentation, thus it has to be analyzed in the framing of Donald Trump by *The Herald*.

3.6 Methods of data presentation

Qualitative data presented in a descriptive way is what is called thematic analysis (Anderson 2007) and in presenting data I utilized thematic analysis. This is so because as I analyzed the framing of Donald Trump and the social and institutional factors influencing it, themes began to emerge that I then took advantage of presenting my findings. A theme captures something important about the data in alignment to the research question and its importance is measured in terms of how much it captures something important regarding the research question (Braun and Clarke 2006:10).

In presenting my data I used six phases of thematic analysis which were formulated by Braun and Clarke (2006). The first three phases were under the critical discourse analysis that I had already undertaken. Data familiarization is the initial stage. There was repetition in reading the data in order to have an in-depth understanding of the content. With the ten articles I had selected, I had to undergo a process of familiarization.

Coding was made use of in this research. Coding has to do with taking note of an important moment and noticing it earlier in time to the process of interpretation (Fereday 2006). It can be done either practically or by software where there will organization of data into groups (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Search for themes which are “a pattern in the information that at minimum organizes and describes possible observations and interprets phenomenon aspects” (Fereday 2006:4), is also another phase. In this phase, an overarching theme is formed by analyzing codes that are established with the linking or related codes. Some codes may lead to the formation of main themes and sub themes resulting in the discarding of others (Braun and Clarke 2006). Afterwards I attained a collection of all noted themes and the pieces of data related to them.

Reviewing of themes is the fourth phase as themes also refined (Braun and Clarke 2006). Through refinement some themes were discarded as there was lack of adequate data to back them up whilst others ended up falling under one theme. The data set determined the validity of established themes.

Naming and giving the themes definition fell under phase five. Each theme was taken into consideration and I had to clarify on the aspect of data each theme carried. Interesting points on the data were identified and justifications were made for the interest in them. A sense of what the theme is about should be brought out through names which are punchy, and more expressive (Braun and Clarke 2006). The last phase is the production stage where data collected then tells a story in a “concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting way” (Braun and Clarke 2006). I had to link the argument presented to the research question.

3.7 Summary

In this study I looked at the research approach and methodology used. Interviews and archival research methods were used to gather data. Critical discourse analysis and content analysis were used in analyzing the data gathered. Chapter four will look at the organizational structures of *The Herald* and how they conduct their business paying particular attention to the editorial sector as the audience is not of main focus in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

Political economy of *The Herald*

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter there would be an analyzing of *The Herald* under the *Zimpapers* organization. Of importance will be the organizational statement, mission statement, core values and the structure. There would also be an assessment of the ownership and control patterns of the *Zimpapers* organization.

4.1 *Historical background*

In 1891, W.E Fairbridge founded *The Herald*, but at that time it was known as *Mashonaland Times*. With time it became known as *Zambesia Times* then proceeded to be known as *The Rhodesian Herald*. After attaining independence, it was now called *The Herald* up to date. In the colonial era it was a subsidiary of the Argus Group-owned Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company(Rusike,1990).The colonial regime had a tight control of newspapers under the company through restrictive laws(Frederikse,1982;Saunders,1999).The Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust was then set up after independence, through funds acquired from the Nigerian government and 51% of the former Argus Group was attained which is now *Zimpapers*(Saunders,1999).As time went on the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust which was supposed to help *Zimpapers* and the government work smoothly together became bankrupt and the government started to assist it financially until it was sidelined(Rusike,1990).Editors where now being hired and also fired by the government at given circumstances(Rusike, 1990; Saunders, 1999).

4.2 Zimpapers' political economy

Power relations between capitalistic enterprises and public intervention in the production, distribution and consumption of media products are studied through political economy (Curran and Gurevitch 2000). Therefore through the above description, political economy is viewed via three core tasks which are the production of meaning as exercise of power, political economy and textual analysis and consumerism or sovereignty (Curran and Gurevitch 2005).

Political economy is a complex phenomenon as it is an attempt to interlink how media systems are moulded by ownership, market structures, commercial assistance, technologies, labour practices and government policies (McChesney 2008). When researching in the media world, political economy is of paramount importance concerning macro questioning of media ownership and control, interlocking directorship and other factors that bring media industries with political economy and social elite (Baratte 1995.) Political economy mainly emphasizes on ownership and control, with particular attention to the funders who determine the content to be produced. Hence, *The Herald's* coverage on Donald Trump is subjective to the ruling government's interest in which *Zanu Pf's* ideologies are put forward.

The intervening of government is seen as a viable solution in curbing the private media's influential role on production of meaning in cultural goods by political economists. Therefore, there is an argumentation on the state posing as a regulator, rather it is seen as an entity that publicizes of its authority (Curran and Gurevitch 2005). Which asserts that the government can use the media to serve their interests and not be concerned with safeguarding the climate in which media operates through certain regulatory policies. Articles on Donald Trump in *The Herald* pertaining to his coverage before and after the 2016th USA presidential elections clearly shows the governments' role in being the mouth piece of the *Zanu Pf* party through their anti-West reportage stance in which negative frames that they utilised. Hence, political economy focuses on funding and control and this goes in line with the statement that says "you can not bite your feeder's hand". So the reality will be constructed upon the government's influence in which *Zanu Pf's* ideologies are put first.

Owners of the media are influential in the content produced and this antagonizes ethics or professional practise of the journalism. So the news that will be disseminated to the audience will be based on the owner's selection as there would have employed journalists who share the same views with them (Curran and Gurevitch 2005). The journalists are supposed to have the same political inclination with their bosses or funders of their place to avoid being dismissed from their jobs. Textual content in the media is arranged in a manner that suits the owners views and goals. This goes under the core task of textual analysis and political economy.

Raw information is attained by the media and rearranged in a way that supports their interests. For instance in America, Pulitzer promoted their interests through their press and demonized other political views (Gurevitch 2005). The ideological positioning of a media house determines how the information gathered is then manipulated to serve their interests. Perspectives of media houses are dependent upon their political lens and orientation, as the press can be best used as a greater tool or a mode of ideological state apparatus in which they can best exert their influence upon the general public. Some journalists term it as the 'selling of ideas', as some media houses sell content in way that attracts the general public indirectly. So the frame in which the news is decorated in is the responsive measure as some assert that "bad news sell" (Brighton and Foy 2007). One can safely conclude that *The Herald* is mainly bound by the ideologies of the *Zanu Pf* party where oppositional forces against the ruling party are 'politically redressed' and viewed in via a 'biased political lens'. Hence, ideologies of the ruling government are put forward to the general public by *The Herald* which is under *Zimpapers*, an organization where the government holds majority shares.

The political scene in Zimbabwe is made out of a context that operates on a '*patriotic discourse v.s oppositional journalism*'. This is because of the majority shares that the ruling government has at *Zimpapers*, thus this puts them on a pivotal position in their control of power as it has political influence over the biggest media house in Zimbabwe. The link between the economic and political system with media communications is what is also termed political communication (McChesney 2008). When mass media concentrates in the hands of the ruling class which has

monopoly over ownership and control political communication arises (Strinati2010).Relating to the research, journalists who are affiliated to the *Zanu Pf* party are the ones who get employed and those in sync with the government also get first preference. On articles concerning Donald Trump So this forces one to align to the ruling government's policies in order to be employed. An example of Caesar Zvayi who is believed to be a firm supporter of the *Zanu Pf* party who is working undercover as a central intelligence officer. Therefore, if a journalist has aspirations of working for *Zimpapers* , he or she should be in support of the ruling party's ideology in order to be employed.

Due to such a political situation in which affiliation to the ruling party pays off, one is pushed to lick the boot of the *Zanu Pf* party. This compromises the ethical way of practicing journalism and displaces neutrality giving an unbalanced view from the practitioner. The propaganda filters by Chomsky apply to this research which are advertising, flake, source, ownership and control. Content of the *Zimpapers* organization is influenced by the ownership and control in which the governments hold more shares with 51%.Four other companies have shares namely *Old Mutual* - 23.8%, *National Social Security Authority*-3.10%, *Intermarket*-3.38% and *Zimpapers Pension Fund*-2.28%.Therefore, having such shares the government has influence over content published in *The Herald*. So any bad relations that the government has can be combated through their ideological state apparatus which is *The Herald* in which their policies are disseminated through it. This limits and controls the power of journalists, as they serve as a pen for the ruling party due to the government's ownership and control in which it is the major share holder.

4.2.1 Zimpapers' vision statement

Zimpapers is aimed at adding value to customers, employees and shareholders through their publications. Its vision is on satisfying the existing market and also creating new ones both within the country and outside. Portraying a good organizational image and maintaining it is another vision that it values.

Zimpapers has managed to satisfy its local market by supplying newspapers nationwide on a daily basis with *The Herald* being supplied from Monday to Saturday. Though at times logistical faults have resulted in failure to deliver the press in time in other remote areas. Due to its control by the ruling government which is pro-*Zanu Pf*, it has failed to penetrate in other foreign markets

because of its ideologies in which it works as a state apparatus. However it managed to establish a newspaper with Namibia known as *The Southern Times* which is under the *NAMZIM* group.

Its alignment to the Zanu-Pf party has resulted in its unbalanced view when publishing stories. Referring to this study, the west particularly Britain and the USA are seen as enemies of the nation by the ruling party thus it is inevitable for *The Herald* not to criticize or frame any political figure from there. This has resulted in the failure of its vision as it has constantly failed to be in good books with some of its prospective customers who are not in support of the ruling government and that include foreign markets as well. *Zimpapers* to some extent has managed to go according to its own vision statement through their political ideologies in which it is in favour of the ruling government.

4.2.2 Zimpaper's mission statement

The reason behind an existence of an organization is explained by a mission statement as asserted by Christopher(2015).The mission of *Zimpapers* is to add value to customers, stakeholders and employees by producing exceptional newspapers, print and package products.

Zimpapers poses as the fourth estate in informing and educating the nation. It provides content that is in demand to the general public like issues within their country and also international relations. Hence, the framing of Donald Trump in *The Herald* is of significance to the locals as it informs and educates them of the relations they have as a nation with the west in particular the USA which is has one of the strongest influential economy in the world. Also the reporting of *The Herald* on local politicians has been a daily norm, so focusing on Donald Trump who has been of a great global political interest lately will give them a wider perspective with reference to their local politics.

Advertisers who bring in revenue to *Zimpapers* are provided with spacious sections in which they can inform the public about their services and products. With its business oriented audience it caters for various markets and with a high readership in the nation it speeds up economic transactions within the country. Both small and big advertisers are catered for and the pricing depends on the amount paid. So *The Herald's* reportage should also fit with the advertiser's interests.

4.2.3 Zimpapers' objectives

An objective is a goal sought or aimed at. *Zimpapers* aims to deliver a fair balanced report of each day's news. This would adequately reflect the principal happenings in all parts of the world. It also aims at producing newspapers of the highest, practicable quality on a profitable basis thus serving the best interest of the community and the company. Operations are also to be conducted ethically and ensuring the use of efficient manpower (materials, capital through planned production, cost effectiveness, training and development). Also *Zimpapers'* ultimate objective is to provide suitable working conditions and opportunities for advancement.

Hence, the coverage of Donald Trump in *The Herald* is going in line with *Zimpapers'* first objective of reflecting the principal happenings in all parts of the world. However to some extent a fairly balanced report is not produced of each day's news concerning Donald Trump as some his news is derived from other foreign news agencies such as *Reuters* which may have their biased views on them. Also considering the current state which the nation of Zimbabwe is in, the ruling government sees the USA leadership as exploitative and manipulative because of the economic sanctions which were imposed on Zimbabwe years ago. So their coverage on the USA and its political figures might be one sided or *Zanu Pf* oriented focusing mostly on their flaws.

4.2.4 Zimpapers' core values

A belief that a certain mode of conduct is preferable to an opposite or contrary mode of conduct what is defined as a core value (Rokeach 1973). They stand as a structure that represents the way an organization operates. Core values are visualized by organizations as lighthouses that give navigational aid pointing towards attaining growth and development. Core values interlink with an organization's dealings concerning their work and social beliefs and work. More and more studies show that successful companies place a great deal of emphasis on their values. Hence, as any other organization that operates as a public service, *Zimpapers* also has core values. These core values are as follows;

- ❖ Social responsibility
- ❖ Reliability
- ❖ Credibility
- ❖ Integrity and accountability
- ❖ Ethical business practices
- ❖ Customer orientation
- ❖ Team work
- ❖ Stakeholder value
- ❖ Recognition of employee contribution

4.2.5 Zimpapers' core business

According to Collins English Dictionary core business is the business activity that is the main source of a organization's profits and success. The core business is usually the activity that the company was originally set up to carry out .Educating and informing the general public is *Zimpapers'* core business. On a daily basis, *The Herald* is published to make sure this happens with its focus on politics and burning issues of the day. Its circulation supports its core value of social responsibility as it has a wide outreach that keeps the nation of Zimbabwe updated on happenings within the country and all over the world.

However, on credibility and ethical business practices it has shortfalls as it operates as a state ideological apparatus pushing forward the ruling party policies. Its alignment to *Zanu Pf* has found it being biased and lacking neutrality, as it mostly portray enemies of the ruling government in a negative frame. *The Herald's* lack of political blindness has made it play a less role of being the fourth estate, as they operate as propaganda tools of *Zanu Pf* (Chuma, 2005, 2008; Moyse, 2009; Waldahl, 2005) . Donald Trump's coverage in *The Herald* before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections is mainly subjected to biasness making it unbalanced due to the current relations that Zimbabwe has with the USA.Despite his nationalistic policies running on the same political discourse as that of president Robert Mugabe, he is framed as a racist in *The Herald* and this seems biased as it is not quite parrarrel to that of the president of Zimbabwe

4.3 Funding mechanism

A funding mechanism is a method through which funding is availed to an individual or an organization (www.businessdictionary.com). The government being the major shareholder in *Zimpapers* brings revenue through its advertising as over 50% of adverts in the organization's press come from it. *Zimpapers* also trades shares at the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange (ZSE) and it is aimed at generating profit. Advertisements have a greater percentage over stories as there is a ratio of 60:40, with stories occupying less space than adverts. Big companies such as *Econet* and Old Mutual are clients to *Zimpapers* and contribute to its revenue. Therefore, with this in place advertisers should have power over content published but with the existence of the government such is not possible as it is state -controlled. Thus, *Zimpapers'* editorial policy is conducted by the government which is the major shareholder.

4.4 Editorial policy

An editorial policy is a short document that clearly states what stories will and will not be written Smallman (2008). *Zimpapers'* editorial policy is meant to be in support of the existing government and it is mandated to serve as a public informer to the nation of Zimbabwe. Their reportage seems to be in alignment with the governments' policies. *The Herald* clearly shows its support for *Zanu Pf* (Mutsvairo 2013). *The Herald's* pro *Zanu Pf* stance can be said to be evident on Donald Trump's coverage prior to the 2016th USA presidential elections and afterwards basing on the study's given period of focus. Its anti-west stance can be explained on Donald Trump's coverage. The sources of *The Herald* that were made use of were influenced by ownership and control. Government control over *The Herald* and the influence of *Zanu Pf's* hatred of the West were evident in the frames used on Donald Trump in his coverage. The journalists may have been sympathetic towards Donald Trump, but the views of the ruling party in control of state media carried the day.

So referring to the coverage of Donald Trump before and after the 2016th USA presidential elections, *The Herald's* portrayal of him would probably be from *Zanu Pf's* perspective which favors their ideology since it controls the public media.. Elites have control over the output of *The Herald* through funding and shareholding. *Zimpapers'* editorial policy is crafted in a way that it is supposed to be in support with the government. When President Robert Mugabe travels

outside the country, a reporter from *The Herald* will be in his company, therefore with the absence of the local private media this creates an ethically questionable relationship between the news media and sources of news. The shunning of private media reporters in such scenarios clearly depicts *The Herald's* strong affiliation with the *Zanu Pf* party as it is entrusted to give favorable accounts of the head of state's visit to other countries. This gives rise to questions concerning such journalists if they can be objective when President Mugabe is in the face of adversaries during election times and other national hardships. With editorial policies of *The Herald* being influenced by the government, a number of prominent editors have been dismissed from duty for not publishing what is favorable to *Zanu Pf* (Waldahl 2004).

4.7 Operations of the Zimpapers

All departments within the organization enable the efficiency of the operations as they are depended on each other. These departments are the editorial department, accounts department, advertising department, technical department, production department information and technology department, transport and circulation department. The smooth running of these departments ensures the sustainability of *The Herald* in being the nation's public informer. Since this study is focusing more on the reportages done by the journalists and editors from *The Herald* which is under *Zimpapers*, the editorial department will be only focused on.

4.7.1 Editorial Department

Stories that are published in the press are the editorial departments' responsibility. In this department there are editors, sub editors and reporters. The editorial policy is the main guide for this department. Information is acquired by the reporters by attending events and going out in the field investigating newsworthy issues. The stories acquired by the reporters are edited by the sub-editors who are also involved in the design and layout of the newspaper. The sub-editors then send the stories to the editors who take a look at them before forwarding them to the chief sub editor who does the gate keeping. This is where reviews take place therefore keeping their editorial policy in check. Firm supporters of the ruling party within the journalists are the ones

who head this department. Therefore, professionalism is compromised as their way of operating does away with journalism ethics.

4.8 Zimpapers' company profile

In 1980, *Zimpapers* came into being after buying shares from the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company. It is located in three cities namely Harare, Mutare and Bulawayo. It publishes seven newspapers which include *The Herald*, *The Chronicle*, *H-Metro*, *The Sunday Mail*, *Manica Post*, *Umuthunywa* and *Kwayedza*. All these newspapers cater for different areas. With Namibia's New Era newspapers partnership with *Zimpapers*, *The Southern Times* came into existence and it covers southern African region known as the SADC. Their partnership is known as *Namzim*.

The organization has three printing divisions which are commercial, namely *BoldAds*, *Natprint* and *Typocrafter*. These divisions operate differently as there is printing and packaging of books. Calendars and diaries are also printed by these divisions. *Zimpapers* has subsidiary companies such as *Herald investments*, *Natprint* and *Beatrice road Enterprises Limited*. *Zimpapers* acquires most of its revenue from advertising which constitutes 60% of the annual income

4.9 Conclusion

Zimpapers' political economy was looked at in this chapter with the editorial department being the main focus as it is important for this study. Their relation with other organizations and its structure is also attended to which enables the smooth functioning of the company. It is clear that the editorial policy of *The Herald* is influenced by the *Zanu Pf* party which is the ruling government, thus it can be said that *The Herald* serves the ruling party's interests by being its mouthpiece therefore establishing their political inclination.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Introduction

Findings of this research will be presented thematically. The main objective of this study was to explore how Donald Trump was presented in *The Herald* which is a public media platform. Framing and the representation theory are of a greater assistance in our attempt of understanding the findings of this research. The findings also helped us in establishing how political figures from the west are framed in the national newspaper with Donald Trump as our centre of study. Archival research, sampling qualitative research and case studies were used as methods of getting various observations or results.

5.1 Donald Trump the ‘adversary’

In the article titled “*20 more days to a ‘rigged’ election!*” (20th of October 2016), phrases such as ‘panic attacks’ were used to describe Donald Trump’s action towards the upcoming presidential elections in the USA. Mostly, someone who is known to have ‘panic attacks’ is someone who is considered to be weak spirited in nature and not confident. In the article it reads,

‘Some people think that as the election date draws closer, Trump might be having panic attacks, but according to media reports, “Trump has raised the possibility for weeks of illegal activities that could tarnish the November election result’.

Thus, *The Herald* in using such a phrase towards Donald Trump can be considered as a way of portraying him as a ‘fearsome’ person who was afraid to lose the 2016TH USA Presidential elections against Hilary Clinton. Through analyzing content, I found out that Donald Trump was already perceived as a candidate who had already lost even before the elections were held.. The words and phrases used to express Donald Trump’s run for presidency helps us to establish the enmity between the ruling government in Zimbabwe and Donald Trump. As there is a main element of portraying him as a potential loser who is already seeing his defeat in the disguise of ‘rigged’ elections. This enmity can be further referred to the people of the USA as well, as the article states

‘Some people can’t be bothered about who occupies the White House after Obama, because the US presidency is a straitjacket position, run by the Industrial Complex. However, Trump’s drumbeat about a rigged election-rigged by corrupt people-is getting louder by the day, as he also claims that the US electoral system is heavily biased against him, working in cahoots with the media’

So by classifying the people as ‘corrupt’, *The Herald* unparallels the global view of the USA as an ideal nation without much of economic and social life flaws as Zimbabwe even adopted its currency. Thus, through the above quoted statement, it can be evident that there is a certain level of criticism that is demonizing its society as unfit for ethical norms as corruption is considered to be an unethical practice. Hence, through this article I noted that framing of him in *The Herald* was employed in a manner that already foresaw his loss and him giving an excuse for it. Donald Trump was portrayed as one who was growing fears of losing the election to Hillary Clinton, thus him applying a defensive approach by already assuming the US electoral system of being biased against him frames him as a weak willed politician or loser.

In another article titled “*Trump and fascism: Democracy fatigue*” (20th June 2016), Donald Trump is referred to as a “popular scoundrel” implying that his popularity is associated with bad publicity. The story further goes on comparing Donald Trump’s political discourse with that of Jacob Zuma referring to it as a way of ‘cheap politicking’ and also giving a negative description of USA’s democracy associating it with a democracy that is struggling. This phrase raises connotations of a democracy that is in a failing or crumbling stage. A segment article reads,

‘This is the kind of cheap politicking associated with struggling democracies, the kind of stuff that led Julius Malema and others to vow they would “die for Jacob Zuma”, if he did not become South Africa’s next president after Thabo Mbeki. Of course, Malema has repeatedly apologized for the thoughtless vow-of course after the effect, deadly effect to be precise’.

I analyzed this article at via the sentence level, as there was the use of inter-textuality which connects two different texts or situations in a single sentence. It makes use of an external text to give reference or a certain similarity. So in the above text Donald Trump was likened to Jacob Zuma before he became president of South Africa when he made people make vows towards him

and when he became president he then failed to deliver what he had promised before. Hence, *The Herald* is framing Donald Trump as a ‘liar’. Negative symbols are attached to a person or an idea through ‘name-calling’, therefore *The Herald’s* labeling of Donald Trump helps us establish the relations that the ruling government has with the USA. This negative portrayal of Donald Trump was done towards the 2016th USA presidential elections were held. Since the ruling government is controlled by the *Zanu Pf* party, *The Herald’s* editorial policy is always inclined towards the party’s ideology which views the West and its agents as ‘adversaries’ of Zimbabwe. Hence, in this study it is the United States of America with Donald Trump as its agent.

Furthermore, the media frames applied by *The Herald* on Donald Trump where he was further classified as a ‘fascist’ likening him to ‘Adolf Hitler’ are also evidence of inter-textuality. Through the headline titled “Trump and fascism: Democracy fatigue” (20th June 2016) agenda setting can be seen to be in existence as there is salience of an issue which is ‘fascism’ in this case. This then sets an agenda in which we are influenced by the media to think in a certain way. So in this scenario we are made to perceive Donald Trump in a certain frame or ‘constructed reality’ whereby he is considered to be a dictator and this is also a form of classification when applying critical discourse analysis. Thus, what *The Herald* said and how it said it supports the assertion of framing as a construction of a social reality in which the audiences are made to view Donald Trump as a modern fascist who is being likened to the ‘ruthless Adolf Hitler’. Hence, the headline denoting him as a ‘fascist’ can be said to be a result of a process of frame building being influenced by the *Zanu Pf’s* ideology. The table below briefly explains this paragraph;

Table. 1

Input	Processes	Outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Organizational pressures ➤ Ideologies (<i>Zanu Pf’s</i> ideology and Zimpaper’s editorial)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Frame building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Media Frames (Donald Trump as a ‘fascist’)

policy)		
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Prior to the 2016 USA presidential elections, euphemism was made use of in *The Herald's* article titled “*US polls: A season of madness*” (4th of August 2016). Both candidates, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton were referred to as ‘frogs’ with the statement reading,

“Americans are being asked to choose between frogs that have had lipsticks smudged on them, and with Trump ending up the Republican Party nominee, it is an understatement that democracy has gone rogue”.

A ‘frog’ is universally viewed as an unpleasant creature, thus referring them to such clearly depicts both of them as unfit for the USA presidential seat in the perspective of *The Herald's* reporter Hildegade Manzvanzvike. The frogs having ‘lipsticks’ is ironical in the sense that a lipstick is used by females to enhance beauty, so a frog being naturally unappealing will still not have a positive effect or look even if it applies of ‘lipstick’. This use of dysphemism which denotes ‘unpleasantness’ or uses derogatory words is a form of patriotic journalism used in the state controlled press as literary weaponry to combat any ideology which is not parallel to that of the ruling party which is *Zanu Pf*. So in this case of Donald Trump, him being a Western political figure, derogatory frame is enacted upon his personality. Thus through *The Herald*, *Zanu Pf's* view of the West and its people frames an element that of a ‘disgusting’ nature to the extent of likening USA prospective leaders to frogs. A contemptuous tone enables the audience to realize that adversity frame is in existence.

Furthermore, in the article titled ‘*US polls: A season of madness, hypocrisy*’ (4th August 2016), hatred of the West by the ruling government is greater to extent of being associated with dirt through the term ‘muck’ stated in *The Herald*. ‘Muck’ refers to dirt or waste matter, thus it is stated in a cut out phrase from an article featured in *The Herald*, ‘

‘The rise of Trump reveals another side of the United States - a US that wants to poke its nose in the internal affairs of other sovereign states, when there is muck in its backyard’.

Associating the USA with dirt is also another expressive form of way of denoting hatred, as hate journalism is said to have flourished for many years(Ranger 2005)Adding to the frame built by *The Herald* on Donald Trump and the USA through their press, USA is deemed to be a ‘nose poker’ budging into other nations’ business whilst they have their own problem which is said to be Donald Trump. A political discourse of interference by the USA is established, thereby giving out an insight of the ruling government’s thoughts concerning the USA. When one reads the above phrase a certain frame of the USA as an ‘interferer’ comes into play. This then takes us back to the drawing board in which we are made to take thought on the reasons behind Donald Trump’s negative frames. This might be because of the USA not minding its own business particularly in the economic and political scenes of other nations which includes Zimbabwe. Government officials from the West are known to have always subjected President Robert Mugabe to a “sustained barrage of criticism” accusing him of committing crimes against democracy (Gowans 2008).Moreso,Donald Trump is also framed as a ‘problem’ and the only solution would be his downfall in which the ruling government’s ideology is put forward portraying the hatred that is in existence towards him and his country. So it can be said that this way of reporting gives us an insight of *The Herald’s* editorial policy in which political figures from the West are hated by the ruling party, with the USA in particular.

Also figurative speeches made use of by the journalists denote the adversity that exists between their establishment and Donald Trump who can be seen as the face of the West in this case. In the article titled “A season of madness, hypocrisy” (24th August 2016), Donald Trump was said to have a ‘black soul’ as he is said to have showed no remorse to the Muslim parents who lost their son whilst on duty. Below are Mr. Khan’s remarks:

‘He (Trump) has a black soul, and is totally unfit for the leadership of this country the world is receiving us like we have never seen. They have seen the blackness of his character, of his soul’.

'Black' is symbolic color with negative connotations. It being opposite to white brings out a comparative aspect that denotes its effect as that of 'no light'. Having a black soul also depicts him as an evil being without a heart.

This is because of his nationalistic policy which is a way of reproach towards immigrants. The use of such words expresses hatred and enables one to make sense of the situation that is in play of a media frame which is surrounding a political discourse (Kinder and Sanders 1990). This media frame applied by *The Herald* enables us to further establish the reason why Donald Trump is perceived in such a way. Hence, Donald Trump is framed as a political figure with a racist personality in *The Herald*.

Moreover, in another article published on the 14th of April 2017 with the title "*For Trump, the grass ain't singing*" reported by Stephen Mpofo, symbolism and figurative speech was made use of to indicate Donald Trump's environmental repercussions of introducing coal as an additional source of energy. Part of the article reads,

'In the first bout and bursting with energy after being installed as the new guru at the White House, America's new president, Mr Donald Trump, stormed into the ring for a bare-knuckled combat but ended up shadow fighting as his opponent and immediate predecessor, Mr Barack Obama rested peacefully at home and watching the proceedings in the ring with nonchalance as his successor pummeled away at his immediate legacy'.

Metaphorically in the above section of the mentioned article, Donald Trump is said to have indulged in 'shadow fighting' instead of fighting his opponent which is Barack Obama in this particular context. 'Shadow fighting' is a metaphorical expression that is implying that he was fighting himself, in terms of the things that he does not like but he goes on to project it on to others. Also shadow also represents a form of 'lifelessness' in which it can be seen in the dark through light but cannot be tangible. His depiction of such can be equated to 'effortless energy' which is in reference to his presidency in this context bringing out *The Herald's* biasness against him through this frame.

The figurative imagery of the grass no longer singing signifies harm done to the environment. Also the grass symbolizes 'growth', hence when the grass is said to have stopped singing it shows that its growth has come to a halt. His idea on introducing coal as an additional source of energy is being pinned down through this article as it is considered to be detrimental to the society as a whole through global warming. Therefore, Donald Trump is being framed as a potential threat to the world's ecosystem through his attempt to introduce coal as an energy source in this era despite him being the leader of a powerful and influential nation in the world. Hatred towards him by *The Herald* is being further being asserted by the selection of such coverage as this causes disregard from environmentalists and the world as a whole. Hence, the dislike for Donald Trump by *The Herald* which is state controlled is portrayed through framing him as a 'threat' to the society and the environment.

In another article titled "*Best argument against Democracy*", Donald Trump is likened to former apartheid leader named PW Botha by *The Herald* reporter Joram Nyathi. A highlight of his policies in which he wants the exclusion of foreigners or immigrants from American soil were said to be parallel to PW Botha's apartheid stances in which he saw the '*blacks of not planning their lives beyond a day..*'. This stands as a mode of stereotyping, as there is a generalization of all black people as unorganized.

The Herald by shedding light on the negatives done or said by Donald Trump and not looking at his positive developments such as restoring peace in the USA is subjected to the hatred that the state controlled press has against Donald Trump. The use of such inter-textuality rests upon a time when the political climate in South Africa was characterized by a segregation scheme known as 'apartheid' which favored the whites. Such reference or likening builds a frame that is of a negative connotation on Donald Trump. Therefore, through this article Donald Trump is framed as a narcissistic who is a ruthless white master hated by the natives which he racially oppresses.

The imposition of sanctions upon Zimbabwe by the West in 2001 saw Zimbabwe's public media which is *The Herald* criticizing presidents and political figures from there. Reasons behind the imposition of sanctions were due to the USA's views of President Robert Mugabe as a dictator and oppressor of his own people. Hate journalism has flourished for many years (Ranger 2005), therefore a frame gives a deeper meaning to an image and also creates a shape which can be either positive or negative. Therefore, with reference to these articles mentioned under this thematic finding of him as an adversary, Donald Trump was given a bad shape by *The Herald*. In Donald's Trump coverage, political connotations were mostly at play as his victory was not foreseen and this is clarified by the tone and diction used in *The Herald*. Literary devices and certain phrases were made use of in Donald Trump's framing in *The Herald* and these have enabled us to establish the adversity towards him. Hence, basing on the ten articles that I read and analyzed in *The Herald*, there was use of hard-hitting terms in describing Donald Trump before and even after the 2016 USA presidential elections, therefore there is framing of him as an adversary of the state.

5.2 Donald Trump the nationalist

In the article published on the 24th of February 2017 titled "*Africa's long road to decolonization*" the reporter Joram Nyathi takes note of President Robert Mugabe's interview in which he stated that,

‘When it comes to Donald Trump...talking of American nationalism, well America for America, America for Americans-on that we agree. Zimbabwe for Zimbabweans’.

This statement done by President Robert Mugabe is in line with Donald Trump's vision of wanting to put Americans first before any other race, hence their perspective is one and the same. Donald Trump's notion of wanting to make '*America great again*' also lies within the context of land as his most desired goal is to do away with immigrants on American soil. Whereas on that issue he is reported on with a biased view against him making him seem like he is completely different from President Robert Mugabe who share a similar national policy in the political context of land control.

In *The Herald*, Donald Trump's protective nationalism is critically reported on along racist notions, whereas Robert Mugabe with the similar stance of nationalism is presented to the audience as a national hero and a liberator. President Robert Mugabe's political discourses have largely been dismissed as evidence of bankrupt nationalism or as the last refuge of a scoundrel (Ranger, 2005; Ndlovu –Gatsheni 2003). Although in *The Herald* which is part of Zimbabwe's public media he is depicted as a heroic figure to the nation of Zimbabwe which is an unparalleled stance that is different from Donald Trump's representation in which he is labeled as an 'extreme racist'.

Donald Trump's move of wanting to exterminate immigrants within the USA with the Muslims in the forefront can be also equated to President Robert Mugabe's land reform movement in which the white farmers were chased out of their farms. The move that was done by President Robert Mugabe of the land reform program is similar to that of Donald Trump's anti-immigrant notion he raised of wanting to send back Muslims to their respective countries of origin with a threat of wanting to construct a big wall at the border the USA shares with Mexico. Therefore, these national policies of President Robert Mugabe can be said to be of the same kind as those of Donald Trump as they both rest along racial lines and have the aspect of land repossession.

Robert Mugabe's land reform program clearly showed his dislikes of whites which can be equated to Donald Trump's extreme hate for Muslims. On a few occasions, President Mugabe has openly declared his dislike of white people (Associated Press, 2009). "The only white man you can trust is a dead white man", Mugabe said according to *The Telegraph* (*The Telegraph*, 2008, June 5). The *Zanu Pf* party which under President Robert Mugabe's leadership has resorted to nationalistic discourses among other things, equitable land redistribution and anti-imperialism in order to whip up anti-white and anti-British sentiments by raising the spectre of British re-colonization (Mazango, 2005). His nationalistic movement of repossessing land from the white farmers is glorified in *The Herald* which is completely opposite to Donald Trump's representation concerning his hatred of immigrants with the Muslims in particular. Robert Mugabe's movement is seen as a liberal move that was done for the people of Zimbabwe from the way it is reported on in *The Herald*. These articles for example show the newspaper's

unshaken and continuous loyalty and support for the land reform. “Zimbabwe: War against Land Reform Unwinnable” (*The Herald*, 2009b), “Zimbabwe: Land Reform a Success—Survey” (*The Herald*, 2011, February 5), “Zimbabwe: Farmer Reaps Fruits of Land Reform” (*The Herald*, 2009a). It is also viewed as an economic expansion enhancement and it ignores the plight of white farmers losing the land (Mutsvairo 2013). In an article published on the 27th of April 2016 titled “*Donald Trump’s foreign policy: America first*”, it is noted that Donald Trump called for a temporary ban on Muslim foreigners entering the USA. This act by him can be classified as the same movement that was done by President Robert Mugabe of chasing away white farmers through the land reform program.

More so, the title “*Donald Trump’s foreign policy: America first*”, can be seen as a product of fragmentation which lies under critical discourse analysis. This is so as it is seen to be cut from a full statement he said, therefore it was possibly done by *The Herald* in order to create an opinion or a certain line of thought for the readers. Thus, these varying frames between the two figures shows the force that is being at play in which we are made to establish that the relations of the ruling government in Zimbabwe with the USA are not in good terms. So probably that is why Donald Trump is being represented in *The Herald* with a negative stance apart from being put in the similar frame as that of President Robert Mugabe that portrays him as a liberal hero of his people.

5.3 Donald Trump a ‘racist’.

Euphemism denoting Donald Trump as a racist is made use of. It is noted that the slogan ‘*Make America Great Again*’ is described as a thinly veiled euphemism for ‘*Make America White Again*’. Part of the article titled “*Trump and fascism: Democracy fatigue*” (20th of June 2016) reads,

‘*Make America Great Again*’ is a thinly veiled euphemism for “*Make America White Again*”, and it sounds like a slogan for fascist movements — the ones

Washington would quickly invade and demolish if ever they happen to raise their ugly heads elsewhere in the world’.

Donald Trump’s supporters are further likened to Adolf Hitler’s supporters in the sense that they do not care much about the use of ethnic stereotypes. The above statement is however true as during his broadcasts whilst campaigning live, he expressed his resentment for Arab immigrants which he labeled “terrorists” who are unleashing terror to the citizens of America and the world as a whole with the 9/11 attacks as a reference. Therefore, it can be safely said that Donald Trump’s portrayal as a racist comes as strong acclamation not only by *The Herald* itself but also by other media houses.

In the coverage of news, race plays a major role. Referring to *The Herald’s* coverage, Donald Trump is framed as an ‘extreme racist’ through the quotes of his racial slurs. The titles on articles concerning him bear a heavy load full of racial discriminatory connotations and they create an opinion in which we are pushed to label him as a racist. Amongst the articles I gathered, titles such as “*Trump and fascism. Democracy fatigue*” and *Donald Trump’s foreign policy: America first*” give an implication of him as a person who is not race-conscious.

The Herald’s objectivity on Donald Trump might have been mixed with their political influence in which the *Zanu Pf* party’s ideology is pushed forward with an anti-west approach due to the sanctions that were imposed on Zimbabwe in 2001. Hence, we can not conclude that their highlighting of Donald’s Trump’s racism in their press is a work of bias with political intentions but rather a representation of reality which is not a social construction but what is currently taking place. Other foreign media houses apart from *The Herald* also criticize his racial slurs in which he puts ‘*America first*’ before any other nation.

On the 14th of May 2017, *The Chicago Tribune* published an article on a study conducted by the Harvard University where they found out that in Donald Trump’s first 100 days in the office, ‘*the tone of the news coverage of the president was 80% negative to 20% positive. CNN and NBC struck a 93 percent negative tone on their Trump stories, with only 7 percent positive..*’. Therefore, negativity being drawn from his racial slurs by *The Herald* can be termed as a factual representation of reality whereby his racial discrimination tendencies are portrayed

through his controversial statements. In *The Herald's* article "*Trump and fascism: Democracy fatigue*" published on the 20th of June 2016, there is a statement that says, '*Trump's answer to the crisis in the USA is the exclusion of others*'. Through this statement, *The Herald* is implying that Donald Trump's solution to America's problems is the elimination of other races in their country, hence this classifies and characterizes him as a racist.

Within the articles, there are also phrases that clearly show his attitude towards other races. In the article titled "*Donald Trump's secret Rhodesian connection*" published on the 3rd of February 2017, a link connecting Donald Trump to former Rhodesian cabinet minister is established. During the colonial era, William Harper is said to have publicly declared that South Africa and the neighboring Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique would "*be under white rule forever*". His slogan was '*Rhodesia first, last and always*' which was later shortened to just '*Rhodesia First*'. This slogan is similar to that of Donald Trump's in which he says '*America first*', hence William Harper who was a former Rhodesian cabinet minister believed in white supremacy through the undermining of the African people by colonial rule. Therefore, through this slogan being used by Donald Trump in the modern era one can clearly note some racist tendencies that he possesses as it is clearly portrayed by *The Herald's* article on him concerning the secret Rhodesian connection.

Despite him having similar political discourses of protective nationalism with President Robert Mugabe, Donald Trump was presented in an unparalleled way where he is seen as a racist promoting white supremacy through his dislike of immigrants within the USA. The article was published before he got into power which was at the time he was campaigning to be president. So it can be said that *The Herald's* ideology was not in support of his race for presidency. Therefore, *The Herald* had already shown their perspective in which they demonized him through the use of comparisons.

5.4 Conclusion

Findings of this research were presented thematically and discussed with reference to the political discourse in the USA in which Donald Trump was the centre of the study and partly that of Zimbabwe with reference to Robert Mugabe's land reform program of 2001. In this chapter, it was argued that behind Donald Trump's framing in *The Herald* there were political influences coming from Zimbabwe's ruling government which pose as an anti-west movement. This negative portrayal of Donald Trump might be a result of the past in which economic sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe because of Robert Mugabe's regime which is considered to be undemocratic. However, the main focus in this chapter was on presenting the findings on the framing of Donald Trump in *The Herald*, which had varying frames from being viewed as a 'racist' to a 'protective nationalist' and then to an 'adversary' .

Chapter 6

Summary, recommendations and conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I summarized the whole study and gave recommendations to *Zimpapers* which is the organization that runs *The Herald*. The main purpose of this research was aimed at looking at the reasons behind the framing of Donald Trump in *The Herald* and the types of frames used on him prior to the 2016 USA presidential elections and afterwards. It also assessed the extent to which he was framed from April 2016 to April 2017. This study will be an addition to the literature that is already in existence in terms of news coverage as I noticed that there are a few scholars that conducted a study on the framing of international political figures in the Zimbabwean public media which in this case is *The Herald*. The way foreign figures are presented in the local public media establishes the type of relations the two countries would have.

6.2 Summary and conclusions

This research was carried out to establish how *The Herald* framed Donald Trump before and after the most anticipated 2016th USA presidential elections. In this research other scholarly views were made use of, as literature on framing enabled this study to be easily conducted though there were a number of obstacles that were encountered throughout. This study is unique in that it focuses on an international political figure and how he is portrayed in *The Herald*, as most scholars only look at framing from a national view with local political parties at play. With the specification of the time being looked at which is before and after the 2016 USA presidential elections, I was able to draw *The Herald* articles through archival research both online and on printed press.

The study was a ploy of recognizing the frames prevalent in *The Herald's* coverage of Donald Trump during the specified period and acknowledged that such frames are not random but are influenced by certain factors that are present in the production of news. Qualitative research was

pivotal in this research as it assisted me in establishing the deeper meanings behind Donald Trump's framing. Data was analyzed through critical discourse analysis and it was then presented thematically. The context of this coverage was based on the case of the ruling government being in control of *The Herald*, therefore Zanu Pf's interests were being advanced through the media platform which serves as a public informer for Zimbabweans. With the relations between the USA and Zimbabwe being sour due to the sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe in 2001 and the USA government's dislike for Mugabe's régime, Donald Trump's portrayal was subjected to negativity. Therefore, this study was an exploration on the frames used on Donald Trump's coverage bringing out his protective nationalism which can be likened to that of President Robert Mugabe though portrayed differently in *The Herald*. Donald Trump was framed as a 'racist' with his narcissist remarks. He was also framed as an 'adversary' of the state as the use of different expressions gave such connotations. So it seeks to discover the reasons why he was portrayed in such kind of ways in *The Herald*.

6.2.1 Conclusions drawn from the findings

Conclusions drawn from the findings are very important to this study, as they are the main reason why this research was even partaken. Through the findings I was able to establish the relations that Zimbabwe has with the West, as frames pinned onto Donald Trump heavily express *Zanu Pf's* ideologies. These frames on Donald Trump vary from being viewed as a 'racist' to a 'protective nationalist' and then to an 'adversary' to the nation of Zimbabwe. I also drew that the editorial policy of *Zimpapers* communicates the ruling government's domestic and foreign policy that poses in the name of 'patriotism' in which *The Herald* serves the interests of the *Zanu Pf* party rather than serving that of the general public as it is a public service media platform. Thus, *The Herald's* framing of Donald Trump has a political inclination of the *Zanu Pf* party, as this was communicated through the articles which were of particular focus in this study. We are then pushed to go back to the drawing board and look at historical political discourse where the enmity began. So reasons for such frames built on Donald Trump can be interlinked to the imposition of economic sanctions by the USA upon Zimbabwe in 2001, which was a result of the USA's antagonism with the current Zimbabwean government. The West which also includes the USA, saw the imposition of such sanctions necessary as they viewed President Robert Mugabe's régime as 'undemocratic and dictatorial'. Hence, that is where the enmity emanated from as the *Zanu Pf* party which holds majority shares in the *Zimpaper's* organization influences

the editorial policy of *The Herald* in which countries from the West are constantly labeled as 'Western imperialists' trying to gain from Africa's resources which includes Zimbabwe. So we can safely conclude that *The Herald's* framing of Donald Trump was portraying the 'sour' relations that were already in existence between the West and the Zimbabwean government, with America representing the West in this study.

6.3 Recommendations

The study establishes that the public media in Zimbabwe serves the ruling government by disseminating its foreign policies in their platforms, thereby clearly distinguishing their relations with other nations through the public media's way of reportage. I would recommend that there is a great need for the public media to be objective and not take any political sidings as that should be left for party owned newspapers and not the public service press as international news is also of a greater importance to the general public.

6.4 Suggestions for further study

The study only focused on the framing of a foreign political figure done by one local newspaper which is *The Herald*. So for future purposes I would suggest that a research should be conducted on the same area focusing on other local and foreign newspapers which are not influenced by any such as interviews which can give the study a deeper depth enabling the researcher to have a greater understanding on the reasons behind the framing employed by newspapers due to direct interaction with the reporters.

6.5 Conclusion

The Herald showed its support for the government through the framing of Donald Trump in which the ideology of the *Zanu Pf* party that views the West as adversaries due to the sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe in the early 2000s. Therefore the type of framing done can clearly show *The Herald's* ideological positioning. Hence, *The Herald's* portrayal of Donald Trump before and after the 2016TH USA Presidential elections shows that the ruling government of Zimbabwe has a past record with the USA which might not be positive as the study is clearly made up of a contemptuous tone all throughout. Lastly, it can be said that *The Herald* assisted in attaining an objective of *Zimpapers* which is its mother organization by letting the locals know of the

principal happenings around the world through Donald Trump's coverage. Though the coverage was more on the informing side rather than performing the educative role, which is done by most public media nowadays in a verge of pushing their political ideologies or profit oriented goals.

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