

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my sisters Everngelister, Talent, Rumbidzai, my little brother Tanatsiwa and especially to my mum and dad.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

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To those that I did not mention by name, God will bless you for I will always have you in my prayers. I will always be grateful to you.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

Abstract

The study looked at MDC-T election campaign advertisements placed in the *Dailynews* before the July 31 2013 harmonized election. It focused on the advertisements that were placed in the *Dailynews*. The study sought to analyze how Zanu PF's discourses against MDC-T were countered in the advertisements. It aimed to make an analysis of how signs and symbols were manipulated as a way of fighting the status quo. The paper was analysing the packaging of MDC-T advertisements. Data was obtained through archival research. Sample size was selected from the newspapers that were published two weeks before the election date which carried the advertisements. Critical discourse analysis, content analysis and semiotic analysis were the methods used to analyse the advertisements. The study found out that MDC-T used band wagon to appeal to the people of Zimbabwe for votes. The study also found out that biblical allusion, allusion to soccer matches, use of appealing words, negative political advertising and comparative advertising were used as techniques to woo voters into accepting MDC-T ideologies.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

Acronyms

GNU- Government of National Unit

MDC-N – Movement for Democratic Change

MDC-T – Movement for Democratic Change -Tsvangirai

Zanu PF – Zimbabwe National Union Patriotic Front

ZBC- Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	7
1.1 Introduction	7
1.2 Background of the study.....	7
1.3 Statement of the problem	9
1.4 Significance of the study	9
1.5 Research Objectives.....	9
1.6:1 Main Research Question.....	10
1.6:2 Sub Research Questions.....	10
1.7 Limitations.....	10
1.8 Delimitations.....	11
1.9 Assumptions of the study.....	11
1.11 Structure of the study.....	11
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1 Introduction	12
2.1:2 Zanu PF labels MDC-T as ‘puppets’, ‘stooges’ and ‘sell outs’	12
2.1:3 Political advertisers as deceivers	15
2.1:4 Portrayal of Tsvangirai in the publicly owned media.....	17
2.2 Theoretical Framework.....	21
2.2: 1 Propaganda	21
2.2:2 Political Advertising.....	23
2.2:3 Political Economy of the sign theory	26
2.2:4 Conclusion.....	27
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	28
3.1 Introduction	28
3.2 Research Design	28
3.3 Unit of Analysis	28
3.4 Population	29
3.5 Sample size.....	29
3.6:1 Sampling Techniques	29
3.6:2 Purposive sampling	30
3.7 Methods of Data Gathering	31
3.7:1 Archival Research.....	31

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

3.8. Methods of Data Analysis.	32
3.8:1 Critical Discourse Analysis.....	32
3.8:2 Semiotic Analysis.....	33
3.9 Methods of data presentation.....	34
3.10 Conclusion.....	34
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS.....	35
4.1 Introduction.....	35
4.1 Use of football facts in MDC-T advertisements.....	35
4.2 MDC-T used Biblical allusion.....	37
4.3 Use of Slogan.....	37
4.4 MDC-T's 2013 advertisements portrayed Tsvangirai as a saviour.....	37
4.5 MDC-T advertisements made use of Bandwagon.....	42
4.6 MDC-T advertisements ridiculed Mugabe's old age.....	43
4.7 The use of appealing words in MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements.....	46
4.8 Conclusion.....	49
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	52
5.1 Introduction.....	52
5.2 Summary.....	52
5.3 Recommendations to MDC-T.....	53
5.4 Suggested areas for further study.....	53
5.5 Conclusion.....	53

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study seeks to critically analyze the Movement for Democratic Change- Tsvangirai (MDC-T)'s 2013 election advertisements placed in *Dailynews*. The way signs, symbols and discourse were used in the advertisements was explored. Over the years Zanu, PF has assassinated the character of MDC-T by labelling “sell-outs”, “stooges” and “puppets”. During the 2013 election period, MDC-T used advertisements to counter those discourses. Austin and Pinkleton (2002) are of the view that the packaging of a campaign advertisement determines the impact of the advertisement. However, this study is not going to focus on the impact but on how MDC-T packaged the advertisements as a way of countering “puppets”, “stooges” and “sell outs” allegations by Zanu PF.

This article will further look at how MDC-T manipulated signs and symbols in its advertisements as a way of attracting the electorate to vote for Tsvangirai. According to Meirick (2002) political advertising is a form of campaigning used by political actors in order to influence the decisions of voters. During the 2013 election period, MDC-T used political advertising in order to influence the voting decisions of Zimbabweans.

1.2 Background of the study.

In Zimbabwe, political advertising has long been used even in Rhodesia. Political advertising became more powerful in Zimbabwe during the liberation struggle. Frederikse (1981) argues that the Smith regime did not only have political power but they also had the power to control the media so they used it as a tool of spreading propaganda. Newspapers such as *The Rhodesian Herald* were used for advertising by the Rhodesian regime Feltoe (2002). Furthermore, Frederikse (1981) is of the view that during the liberation struggle the Rhodesian Government used advertisements to dissuade people from supporting the guerrillas. According to Windrich (1981), whilst the Rhodesian government used political advertising, the guerrillas were using story telling as their way of advertising. Frederikse (1981) put one of the advertisements called “Chimurenga is now liberating our country” from *The Zimbabwean News* which depicted the black people celebrating with a guerrilla fighter in front of them holding a gun. This was to conscientise the people that the struggle would bring them freedom.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

Zanu PF used political advertising to fight its opponents in the late 1980s and early 1990s but Chitando (2005) argues that the propaganda Zanu PF was not intense. During the 1990s Zanu PF did not worry much about elections as Zimbabwe was like a defacto one party state argues Chitando (2005). Edgar Tekere the former Zanu PF Secretary General formed Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), a party which contested against Zanu PF in the 1990 and 1995 elections. During these elections, Zanu PF's advertisements revolved around the discourse of "AIDS kills so does ZUM". Chitando (2005).

However, the rise of MDC in September 1999 marked a new era of journalism in Zimbabwe so did the placement of advertisements in the media. The period also saw the rise of a new form of political discourses. According to Ranger (2005) MDC was the first political party to pose a serious threat to challenge to Zanu PF's hold on power prompting Zanu PF to use state media as a tool to prop up its rule. As Chiumbu (2004) argues, the post 2000 Zimbabwe era marked a brand new chapter of media in Zimbabwe. Ranger (2005) postulates that the rise of MDC saw the rise of patriotic journalism, oppositional journalism and independent journalism. He argues that "...only recently have Zimbabwean newspapers such as *The Herald* became openly pro Zanu PF whilst *Dailynews* pro MDC". (Ranger 2005:42).

Moyo (2005) claims that *Dailynews* adopted a pro MDC stance and helped MDC and civil society campaign for a "No" vote during the 2000 referendum resulting in the first victory of MDC. Chuma (2008:3) suggests that "The triumph of the 'No' vote, which effectively torpedoed the would-be new constitution, was interpreted by both sides as a political victory against President Robert Mugabe by the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)". The 2000 parliamentary elections did not go down well with Zanu PF as they lost fifty three out of the hundred and twenty seats to MDC (Chiumbu 2003).

During this period, Zanu PF quickly changed its propaganda techniques. The reaction of Zanu PF to MDC victory of 2000 elections was the implementation of coercive control to the people. Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2009) argues that the justification of Zanu PF was to make sure that the country should not get into the hands of the opposition. According to McGregor (2002) the rejection of Zanu PF in the elections forced Zanu PF to embark on disruption of elections and coesion of the people.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

In reaction to the 2000 elections Zanu PF embarked on the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Zanu PF also came up with a tactic of name calling. According to Chitando (2005), during the 2002 Presidential elections Zanu PF's political advertisements revolved around the theme, "Our Land Our Sovereignty". MDC-T elections during this period were more informative than attacking Mugabe. During the 2005 Parliamentary Elections and the 2008 Harmonized Elections, Zanu PF emphasized on the allegations of MDC being "sell outs" and "puppets". Zanu PF accused MDC-T for being responsible for sanctions.(Chitando 2005).

This study will focus on how MDC-T used 2013 election advertisements to respond to Zanu PF's labels of "puppets", "stooges" and "sell outs".

1.3 Statement of the problem

Over the years, MDC-T has been labelled "stooges", "puppets", and "sell outs. Despite the fact that Zanu PF and MDC-T ruled the country side by side from 2009 to 2013, Zanu PF continued to call MDC-T names. MDC-T tried to counter that defamation of character but not much was written by scholars about MDC-T's counter discourses. Therefore this study will analyze how MDC-T used the 2013 election advertisements to counter these allegations. The study will also look at the techniques used in MDC- T's 2013 election advertisements placed in *The Dailynews* and how they were used as a way of perpetrating regime change.

1.4 Significance of the study

This study analyzes MDC- T's 2013 election advertisements in *The Dailynews* and how they were used as a way of perpetrating regime change. Scholars have always written of MDC-T as the political victim of Zanu PF. Much emphasis has been put on Zanu PF's labels towards MDC-T but the response of MDC-T has not been drawn much upon. This article is going to fill that gap by bringing out MDC-T's own side of the story. The paper will shade light to the readers about the counter discourses of MDC-T to Zanu PF allegations.

1.5 Research Objectives

- To show how MDC-T used 2013 election advertisements placed in the *Dailynews* to counter ZANU PF discourse.
- To analyze the persuasion techniques which MDC- T used in advertisements placed in the *Dailynews* during the 2013 harmonized election campaigns.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

- To examine how MDC-T manipulated signs and symbols during the 2013 election period to lure votes.

1.6:1 Main Research Question

- How did MDC-T use advertisements to counter Zanu PF discourses?

1.6:2 Sub Research Questions.

- Which techniques were used by MDC-T in its advertisements to lure votes?
- How did MDC-T package its advertisements to decampaign Mugabe during the 2013 election period?

1.7 Limitations.

Finance was one of the researcher's biggest constraints during the course of my research. The researcher needed transport money to go to Dailynews to do archival research. The researcher could not use the newspapers in the Midlands State University Media Studio because some of the newspaper editions which the researcher wanted to use were missing. Apart from that, this research focused on the *Dailynews* only because the researcher intended to find out whether the allegations from scholars such as Chitando (2005), Chiumbu (2003) and Chuma (2008) that *Dailynews* is pro MDC-T were true or false. However, this narrowed my study to only one paper at the expense of other newspapers. This means MDC-T advertisements which appeared in other newspapers will not be looked at.

For interest's sake, the researcher made a follow up of the people who designed the advertisements. The information department of MDC-T refused to disclose the names of the people who designed the advertisements. The researcher only found out the information that *Dailynews* did not design the advertisements that were placed in their newspaper.

This study used qualitative research methodology. Adler (1987) suggests that qualitative methodology is much involved in process unlike quantitative research methodology. At times the researcher found herself becoming subjective due to the process of qualitative research methodology where the results were based on the researcher's interpretation. However, this did not compromise the findings of the study because the researcher did not attach feelings to the study.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

1.8 Delimitations.

The study focused on the advertisements which appeared in *Dailynews*. The study only looked at the MDC-T's July 2013 election advertisements. The advertisements which will be used are the ones that had MDC-T advertisements for 2013 elections. The study focuses on *Dailynews* only which is a privately owned newspaper. Dumisani Moyo (2005) claims that *Dailynews* is pro MDC. This claim makes the *Dailynews* suitable for this study.

1.9 Assumptions of the study.

- This study is based on the assumption that. MDC-T used advertisements to bring out its ideologies.
- MDC-T advertisements emphasized on the issue of democracy.

1.11 Structure of the study

Chapter 1 includes the introduction, background of study, statement of problem, significance of study, objectives, research questions and assumptions. Chapter 2 is made up of the literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter 3 looks at methods of data collection, methods of data analysis and research design. Chapter 4 is the presentation of findings while Chapter 5 is the concluding chapter for this study.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified the problem and gave background information of the area under study. The chapter formed the basis of the research and a foundation of what the research is about has been laid.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Literature review is the evaluation, comparison and contrasting of the study under research and existing literature. It is meant to give weight and quality, relevance and meaning to the study. It identifies the loopholes relating to what has been written by other scholars concerning the research under study. According to Booke and Beile (2005) literature review justifies the study under research. According to Morton (1996) Literature review differentiates one's work from what has been written by earlier scholars. In this study, the literature which is going to be used are the various articles written by scholars about Zanu PF and MDC and literature about political advertising in trying to fill the gap left by earlier scholars.

2.1:2 Zanu PF labels MDC-T as 'puppets', 'stooges' and 'sell outs'

With regards to this theme, the literature written about MDC-T is minimal. This study is not going to take this as a limitation. There is much literature written about Zanu PF as a villain and MDC as a victim of Zanu PF. This is a gap left by scholars which this paper is going to fill. Much of the literature was written before MDC split up into MDC-T and MDC-M. This study is focusing on MDC-T because the names which have been given to MDC before the split up followed MDC-T. It seems the names followed the leader Morgan Tsvangirai.

Stooges, sell outs and puppets are the major discourses which Zanu PF uses against MDC-T especially during election periods. According to Chuma (2008) since the victory of MDC in the 2000 referendum, Zanu PF embarked on new propaganda tools as a way of winning back its hegemony. Name calling was one of the Propaganda techniques Zanu PF unleashed. Zanu PF has allegedly called MDC-T names such as puppets, stooges and sell-outs argues (Gatsheni 2009; Chuma 2008; Diane 2006; Chitando 2005; Mazango 2005; Dumisani Moyo 2005; Waldahl 2005; Alexander and McGregor 2001; ZESN 2000). All these scholars have written of MDC-T as a victim of Zanu PF. In fact, Chuma (2005) declares that MDC is the victim of the rogue state. The emphasis of these scholars is on the discourse which was used by Zanu PF against MDC-T. They overlooked the reactions of MDC-T towards name calling from Zanu PF. Only Chitando (2005) argues that the opposition MDC embarked on the use of religious themes in the fight for power with Zanu PF. However Chitando (2005) did not explain further to how MDC-T utilizes religious themes or what they say in these religious themes. Instead Chitando (2005) emphasizes on the religious themes of Zanu PF. Chitando

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

argues that the land question revolved around Genesis 1.1 "In the beginning was the land. The people were on the land. The people owned the land. As it was in the beginning, so shall it always be. Welcome to Zimbabwe. We are down to earth!" (Chitando 2005:224). This study is going to fill Chitando's gap by looking at how the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements used religious themes to counter Zanu PF's use of religious themes to attack Zanu PF.

Despite the fact that Zanu PF and MDC-T ruled the country side by side from 2009 to 2013, Zanu PF continued to call MDC-T names. According to www.zimissues.com during the GNU Zanu PF embarked on the look east policy for economic recovery whilst MDC-T maintained its relations with the western countries. As a result of different ideologies, Zanu PF still maintained allegations of MDC-T being western funded.

Politics in Zimbabwe is divided between two parts, the good and the evil. Chuma (2005) argues that Zimbabwean politics is divided into the binaries of good and evil. According to Chuma (2005) the state owned media has always pointed out MDC as the evil and Zanu PF as good. Zanu PF in this case is the good trying to represent the needs of Zimbabweans while MDC was representing the needs and demands of the British. Gatsheni (2009:1140) supports this view when he comes up with the notion that Zimbabwean politics "is divided into traitors, puppets, sell outs, enemies of the nation versus patriots and authentic national subjects". Chitando (2005) also agrees to this notion when he concludes that the ruling party portray politics as a battle between the forces of righteous and those of evil. This shows that scholars have portrayed politics in Zimbabwe as divided between the good party and the evil where MDC and its supporters are the enemies whilst Zanu PF qualified as patriots. This study differs from the above mentioned scholars as it is going to focus on MDC-T's use of the 2013 election advertisements in response to the binaries of good and evil which Zanu PF created.

Besides calling MDC-T puppets, stooges and sell outs, Zanu PF goes on to strip MDC-T of their Zimbabwean citizenship. All MDC-T supporters are labelled as not Zimbabweans because true Zimbabweans know who to vote for and know who fought for their freedom, thus according to Gatsheni 2009; Chuma 2005; Ndlovu 2009; Chuma 2005; Mazango 2005; Waldahl 2005. All these scholars coincide on the issue that the Zimbabwean identity of MDC-T and its supporters is always at question. According to Zaffiro (2002), Mugabe denied

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

to offer citizenship to urban inhabitants especially the citizens of Harare because they had voted for Tsvangirai. Urban dwellers became the rebels who were bought by sweets and sugar by a puppet leader. Kamete (2003) argues that urban residents were called totemless because they supported a puppet leader indicating that they were not 'real Zimbabweans'. This study is going to make a critical analysis of the use of advertisements by MDC-T as a way of addressing the issue of nationality since the above mentioned scholars did not offer MDC-T's responses towards the issue.

Zanu PF also accuses MDC-T of being stooges and puppets of the British because Zanu PF has always pointed fingers at MDC-T as a western funded party trying to perpetrate the interests of the British. According to Mazango (2005), MDC was formed a few months after the *Dailynews* had started publishing. The coincidence of a daily paper with substantial British shareholding supporting the new opposition party was too much for Zanu PF to swallow. As a result, Zanu PF saw the link between the two as funded by the western countries. Zanu PF used white farmers' support for the MDC as evidence that it was a puppet party. Chuma (2008) is of the view that the fast track caused the whites to lose their businesses and influence. MDC as an opposition party which was advocating for democracy paved way for the white settler capital's re-entry into the mainstream politics in Zimbabwe which is what Mugabe was getting rid of. This led to MDC being pointed out as a reactionary foreign funded party. Zanu PF and MDC have different ideologies as a result scholars such as (Gatsheni 2009; Chuma 2008; Diane 2006; Chitando 2005; Mazango 2005; Dumisani Moyo 2005; Waldahl 2005; Kamete 2003; Alexander and McGregor 2001); Final ZESN 2000) agree to the notion that Zanu PF accuses MDC of being a foreign funded party trying to perpetrate the interests of Britain.

MDC has always been written as vulnerable to Zanu PF in many different contexts. Chitando (2005) in his arguments bring out that the land reform programme era was the period when MDC was most vulnerable to Zanu PF. Chitando (2005:226) argues that

During the period 2000-2003, ruling party functionaries sought to portray Mugabe as acting in accordance with the demands of the ancestors. In some radio and television programmes, he was portrayed as an obedient 'child of the soil' who has acted decisively to return the land to its rightful owners. Members of the opposition and civil society were dubbed British puppets that were willing to reject their inheritance for a few British pounds. Mugabe himself resorted

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

to liberation war tactics of name-calling, emphasizing his support for 'traditional African culture' and referred to enemies, sell-outs and traitors. (Chitando 2005:226)

The issue of MDC being puppets got worse during this period because MDC was believed to be used by the white settlers in order to get back on the land which was taken during the fast track land reform programme. Mugabe (2000) as cited by Chuma (2005) argues that MDC promised good governance and protection of private property. Mugabe (2000) took MDC to be used by the whites in order to get back the land which had been taken. Kamete (2003) and Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2009) suggest that discourses such as '*vana vevhu*' 'children of the soil' left out MDC and its supporters. This implies that they were stripped off their citizenship since they were not being included in the national proceedings. This study is going to critically analyze how MDC-T's 2013 elections countered discourses such as *vana vevhu* and how it addressed the land question using advertisements.

The issue of sanctions is also one of the reasons why MDC-T is labelled puppets and stooges. The sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by the western countries are always associated with MDC-T. According to Mazango (2005) as MDC is labelled an agent of the western countries was believed to be advocating for neo-liberalism. Neo- liberalism was going to maintain the dominance and the influence of western countries. Mazango (2005) argues that according to President Robert Mugabe, the rejection of the neo-liberal economic model was through solving the last vestige of colonialism by redistributing large tracts of land held by white farmers to the landless; and, by containing Western sponsored opposition which is an instrument of sabotage and whose aim is to deliver the country back to erstwhile colonial masters through the back-door.

In the above discussed contexts where MDC was labelled stooges, sell outs, puppets and a reactionary political party, this study is going to look at how MDC-T 2013 election advertisements addressed the issues and tried to counter these allegations by Zanu PF is going to be thoroughly discussed in this paper.

2.1:3 Political advertisers as deceivers

Political advertising has been used by politicians as a way of winning votes during elections. Politicians have recognized that advertising has a way of reaching even the uninterested

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

people and has a great effect on changing their mind. Political advertisers use different types of advertisements in different types of situations but however Berger (2004) argues that deception exists in all political advertisements. It is used as a way of luring people into accepting ideologies being put forward. However, this is over speculation on Berger's part because it is not always the case that all political advertisers are deceivers. This study is going to find out whether or not MDC-T used deception in advertisements or not.

Political advertisers re-present the reality to lure votes. Bennet (1996) argues that if the advertisement is well put and convinces the viewer, he or she will certainly vote for that candidate but if he/she disagrees he will cast the vote to the opponent so as long as the advertisement does not blatantly misrepresent the truth it would have served the purpose. This shows that the truth is sometimes misrepresented in political advertising and the real situation on the ground is always manipulated in order to lure voters.

Some issues of salience which can turn off the voters are usually left out in political advertisements. Fowler et al (2012) are of the view that in political advertising, argument, non-verbal cues and symbolism are used to evoke effective response with the aid of conscious choice of what to include and what not to include aimed at discursive objectives relevant to the campaign. Fowler et al (2012) argue that what will be in the advertisements is deception which is meant to change the behaviours or the emotions of the voters. Romarheim (2005) argues that there is euphemism in political advertising. This however supports the view that there is deception in political advertising because serious issues will be taken lightly. Houser et al (2009) concur with Fowler et al (2012) when they argue that it is the quality of the advertisement that counts. In order to make a quality advertisement, politicians have a way of intentionally including some issues and excluding issues they believe will make the voters think otherwise. When the politics of inclusion and exclusion comes in political advertising, usually deception follows.

Many scholars argue that blatant lies are prevalent in political advertising (Daignault 2013; Gordon and Hartman 2013; Houser et al 2009; Franz et al 2004). These scholars argue that most of the political advertisements carry falsehood information which is deliberate in order to win the hearts of voters. Such political advertising usually misguides the voters into voting for candidates who do not fulfil their promises. According to Houser (2009:18) "political advertising is not always truthful and may contain falsehoods and deception". This led to the

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

dislike of political advertising in many countries. Gordon and Hartman (2013) are of the view that although advertising is a critical instrument used during campaigns, it can lose its value when voters decide not to vote for the candidate because of lies in his/her advertisements.

The manner in which political advertisements are packaged usually attracts the electorate. This is supported by Austin and Pinkleton (2002) who state that the packaging of a campaign advertisement determines the impact of the advertisement. As a result most campaign advertisers put lies in their advertisements in order to appeal to the voters for more votes. This study unlike Austin and Pinkleton (2002) is not going to look at the impact caused by MDC-T advertisements but it is going to analyze how it packaged its advertisements as a way of countering Zanu PF discourse at the same time trying to influence the voters into voting the party into power. If MDC-T used deception in its 2013 newspaper advertisements in the *Dailynews*, this study analyzed how it was used.

Berger (2004) argues that deception exists in political advertising because of the fact that politicians come up with visionary advertisements to make voters cast votes in their favour basing on the politician's character. King and Krasnow (2008) postulate that in political advertising there is much libel and slander on the opponent. Politicians turn to blatantly misrepresent their opponents in order to draw a large number of people on their side. By misrepresenting the opponent, the politicians who use deception will be building a good name. MDC's use of visionary advertising (according to Berger (2004)'s argument) will be explored in this study especially when one looks at the fact that Zanu PF has already assassinated the character of Tsvangirai. King and Krasnow (2008) claim that negativity calls for negativity. If a candidate negatively portrays the opponent usually the opponent fires back instantly.

From this angle, this paper will look at how 2013 election advertisements were used to fire back negativity from Zanu PF.

2.1:4 Portrayal of Tsvangirai in the publicly owned media

This theme is going to look at how Tsvangirai was represented in the publicly owned media. As the president of the opposition party in Zimbabwe, Tsvangirai has been negatively portrayed in the publicly owned media which are controlled by the ruling party Zanu PF. Chiumbu (2004:29) claims that "Since 2000, the state media in Zimbabwe have been

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

'contested terrain' with Zanu-PF as the ruling party taking firm control." With the ruling party taking control since 2000 when MDC had torpedoed the to be constitution negative portrayal of the MDC leader followed.

Williams (2003:121) contends that the "media are the focus in representation because they occupy the space between viewers, listeners and readers and the outside world." The media play a role in setting the agenda of its audiences through representation. According to Tiung and Hasim (2009:409) "The realities that we access through the media might be the realities that are created by the media and do not really represent the actual situation". The media can frame issues into what they want the people to consume. The public media in Zimbabwe have framed Tsvangirai in a negative manner to instill doubt in the minds of voters.

The Herald is notorious in portraying Tsvangirai in a negative way. It has portrayed Tsvangirai as a puppet and a sell out (Gatsheni 2009; Chuma 2008; Diane 2006 Chitando 2005; Mazango 2005; Dumisani Moyo 2005; Waldahl 2005; Kamete 2003; Alexander and McGregor 2001) This newspaper brings out explicitly that Tsvangirai is paid by the British to perpetuate British interest. *The Herald* published a cartoon of Tsvangirai receiving money from a white man thus implying that Tsvangira is a stooge of his funders, the whites or the British.

Moreover, the public media portrays Tsvangirai as a puppet. Mazango (2005) argues that during the 2002 presidential elections, the war veterans refused to vote for Tsvangirai saying that they would not salute a person who does not have war credentials. Chiumbu (2004) argues that Tsvangirai has been declared an enemy of the state and has been depicted negatively in *The Herald*, *The Chronicle* and the national television *Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC)*. Tsvangirai has been portrayed on ZBC as a coward who has ran away from the liberation struggle. Chiumbu's argument was one sided as she focused on how Zanu PF used the state media to represent Tsvangirai. In her paper, Chiumbu overlooked the response of Tsvangirai to his negative representation as a coward on ZBC. In contrast to Chiumbu's arguments this study is going to look at how MDC-T advertisements responded to Tsvangirai's portrayal as a coward.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

According to Hall the media frame reality. Mass media manufacture reality from the way they want the people to view things. This is noticed when one looks at the representation of Tsvangirai and Lorcardia's wedding on ZBC. The reportage was in such a way that viewers would believe that the wedding was a flop. The public media had pointed Tsvangirai as a womanizer. This is the perspective they wanted the audience to have on Tsvangirai.

Chiumbu (2004) argue that ZBC serves the mandate of public service media and it operates to promote development and national unit. Jingles are therefore played to promote national building. However, Ncube (2013) differs with Chiumbu (2004) in the sense that the jingles are not meant for national building but they are used in political contestations. Ncube (2013) argues that the *Team ndikusetere team*, jingle which is constantly played on ZBC was used to exclude Tsvangirai in the political hierarchy although he ruled side by side with Mugabe during the Government of National Unit. The jingle is also meant to naturalise the leadership of Mugabe thereby excluding Tsvangirai and Mutambara. This study concurs with Ncube's argument that MDC-T responded to the team line up by being keen to give Zanu PF a red card but differs on the techniques used MDC-T's response.

Chitando (2005) argues that the ruling functionaries stated that Mugabe would be showered by blessings for following the oracles of the ancestors while Tsvangirai would be condemned for he had inherited the demons of the British colonialist. This is to support the notion that the publicly owned media negatively portrayed Tsvangirai . Chitando goes on to argue that that the government fought against the emerging powerful opponent Tsvangirai and started to constantly bombarded audiences with messages that favoured Mugabe. Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2009) is of the view that the public media emphasized on Mugabe's discourse of 'I rule you because I died for you' meaning that Mugabe was a war veteran who fought for Zimbabwe to attain independence. In contrast to Mugabe's portrayal Tsvangirai became a sellout who was putting Zimbabwe back into the hands of the colonizers. This study differs with Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) in the sense that it will look into how Tsvangirai reacted to the 'I rule you because I died for you' discourse.

In addition to that, Mugabe (2001) argues that Tsvangirai is a terrorist. This is supported by www.swradioafrica.com which argues that *The Herald* was at the top of covering Tsvangirai's treason allegations and his trial in 2002. After the 2002 elections Tsvangirai and

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

two other MDC members were arrested for plotting to kill Mugabe. The website www.swradioafrica.com claims that the publicly owned media negatively portrays Tsvangirai because the video which was used against Tsvangirai was manipulated. Tsvangirai and his party members were let go because of the fact there was not enough evidence to arrest them for treason. The video of Tsvangirai and his members plotting to kill President Mugabe was broadcasted on ZBC. This shows that the public media in Zimbabwe takes an angle that suits them as a way of covering news. What the media does is to manufacture consent. This study on the contrary looked at how MDC-T advertisements re-presented Tsvangirai from his portrayal in the publicly owned media.

The press becomes one of the most visible sites of struggles for control of the state during the election period. According to Chuma (2008) *Herald* editorials was a call for national cohesion of different races and social interests under the ruling party. During the 2002 election campaign period, Chuma (2008) claims that the *Herald* published a story which was prefaced under the title 'let us'. "Let's Jealously Guard Attempts to Reverse Gains of Independence" was the headline of the newspaper meant to wipe Tsvangirai off the political picture.

The *Herald* portrayed Tsvangirai as a failure during the Government of National Unity. This is supported by Wafawarova (2013) who explicitly wrote that 'Tsvangirai is a small man in a big chair' in *The Herald* column. Wafawarova (2013) argues that before Tsvangirai became the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, he enjoyed the stupendous mass of sympathy support, both at home and abroad but when he was given a platform to prove himself, he proved to be a failure. In addition, the media has power to frame realities into a way they audiences want to consume it. According to media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe's 2013 report, ZBC has the power to selectively quote politicians and the weakness of politicians who make public statements that can be used to support issues they do not necessarily agree with. This was when Tsvangirai addressed the issue of sanctions. He said "Well, the issue of sanctions debate is a very contentious one in Zimbabwe. We want all sanctions removed". MMPZ (2013) suggests that concerning this statement, the station's selective portrayal of Tsvangirai's comments was to suit a particular editorial slant by omitting the context in which he made his comments.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

All the above mentioned scholars were focusing of negative portrayal of Tsvangirai in the state controlled media; these scholars portrayed Tsvangirai as a victim of the public media. This study contradicts with them in the sense that it is going to focus on how the MDC-T advertisements addressed the portrayal of Tsvangirai in the publicly owned media by representing him in a manner that appeals to the electorate.

2.2 Theoretical Framework.

Theoretical and conceptual framework will help to clarify the research questions of this study. This study is going to be guided by theories which explain political advertising. These theories and concepts include propaganda theory, political marketing theory, the concept of political advertising and political economy of the sign theory.

2.2: 1 Propaganda

Propaganda can be traced back to Rome where it was used by the Roman Catholic Church to lure pagan nations into Catholics. Jowett and O'Donnell (2006) suggest that Pope Gregory XV was the first person to use the word propaganda in 1622 when the Vatican City established Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide meaning Propagation of Faith. Ellul (1967) observes that when propaganda was being used by the committee of churches called Congregation de Propaganda fide, it did not have negative connotations. It was used to attract back the Christian nation who had pulled out Christianity.

Bernays (1928:1) argues that propaganda is an 'organized persuasion' when he wrote that it is the "the conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses in a democratic society" Propaganda does not need to manipulate the human mind in a way which is evident. Ellul (1973:2) affirms that "propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization."

If the voters' way of thinking is not directed, there will be nothing but confusion and chaos. Bernays (1928) is of the view that propaganda is a useful tool when it comes to manipulating the citizens' voting because in theory the constitution gives every citizen the equal right to cast a ballot paper and think that they are voting for whom they please but what propaganda

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

does is to direct the citizens on where to vote by manipulating their way of thinking. If the way of thinking of the voters is not directed, there will be nothing but confusion.

Waldrop (2012) argues that the main goal intended to be achieved by propaganda is "bandwagon" which he defines as everybody is doing it so why can't I, no one wants to be left out. In political advertising as Waldrop (2012) notes, appealing with the conformist in every one of us is what the politicians try to achieve such that people will vote for them.

According to Debbie (1999) propaganda operates in different types of techniques. These include band wagon, glittering generality, testimonials, transfer, repetition, emotional words, name calling, faulty cause and effect, compare and contrast.

Propaganda is used by political advertisers to appeal to the people for favourable results. "Propaganda is systematic, strategic mass communication conveyed by an organization to shape perceptions and manipulate the cognitions of a specific audience. Its ultimate goal is to direct the audience's behavior to achieve a response that furthers the political objectives of propaganda organization." (Jowett and O'Donnell 1996:6). In order to achieve their goals, propagandists brainwash and trick audiences into believing that what they want them to believe. Romarheim (2008) argues that in Jowett and O'Donnell's definition of propaganda, there is no reference to dialogue. Propaganda is a one way communication which is meant to give positive results through manipulation of the audiences.

In addition to that, propaganda operates in different ways but there are three major ways in which propaganda works. These ways include calling for action that makes it seem wise, it suggest that the action about to be taken is correct, it provides a sense of belonging. In its nature, propaganda naturalizes things. Propaganda must always gain people's trust. According to Bernays (1928) propagandists make use of symbols and appealing words to ensure positive responses from the people. Propagandists make an effort to deliberately exaggerate some issues and twist the meaning of other facts to bring strong responses from the people. Telling lies is a technique seldomly used in political in propaganda although some propagandists use it. Lying in propaganda has a risk of loosing the trust of the people.

Propaganda is calculative in nature so as a result it cultivates the human minds into following what it needs. The propaganda message tries to induce action to people by altering their

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

minds. However, not all propaganda is evil. Ellul (1973) argues that propaganda does not need to be untruthful in order to persuade people but it has to be calculative and manipulative even. This means that sometimes there is an element of truth in propaganda.

Romarmheim (2005) is of the view that propaganda is an instrument used to maintain the status quo and that propaganda is a strategic communication designed to choke opposition and terminate change. This study is going to find out whether Romarmheim's argument holds water. It is going to analyze whether MDC-T used propaganda in its advertisement. This will prove whether or not propaganda is a tool which the opposition uses to fight back the ruling class.

2.2:2 Political Advertising

Political advertising is defined by Robbs (2009) as the use of media by political actors in order to increase their exposure and to make known their intentions to the voters. Politicians purchase advertising space of the media in order to convince the voters that they are the right candidates and voting for them has great advantages. Political candidates use the mass media on commercial basis to transmit messages to the voters, (Bolland 1989) cited by McNair (2011). Political advertisements are therefore a platform which political candidates use to present themselves to the electorate.

Kern (1989) explains that there are four stages of political advertising which a candidate should go through during election campaigns. These four stages include name identification which is making the candidate known to voters. The second one is argument which shows the candidate's ideologies and where he stands on issues. The third stage is attack which focuses on the opponent and the fourth one being positive visionary appeals. Positive visionary appeals is giving hope to hopeless situations and offering compassion to those in need.

The concept of political advertising has different techniques. These techniques include negative political advertising, attack advertising, comparative political advertising and advocacy advertising. All these techniques are used by politicians as a way of swaying the voting decisions of the people from voting for their target candidates. These techniques are going to be thoroughly discussed in relation to whether MDC-T used them during the 2013 harmonized elections.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

2.2:2.1 Negative Political Advertising.

Austin, Um and Austin (2002.14) state that ,“Negative political advertising typically contains a one-sided attack on targeted candidate designed to draw attention to the target’s weaknesses, such as flaws, voting record, public misstatements broken promises and the like.” This type of advertising is usually called ‘mudslinging’ or ‘attack advertising’.

Negative political advertising instills doubt in voters’ minds about the ability of the target to rule the country. It creates questions to the votes on whether they should trust the target candidate enough to the extent of letting him/her govern the nation. Pinkleton, Um and Austin (2002) argue that negative political advertising tactics are often used by political actors as part of the candidate’s campaign arsenal. This is because it gives positive results. It manages to cultivate the minds of the voters. This research attempts to find out whether negative political advertising was used by MDC-T to prove the in capabilities of Zanu PF.

Berger (2004) argues that an effective negative attack is attacking the policies of an opponent. Attack in the opponent is policies usually attract the voters especially if they too are not satisfied by the policies of the target. Usually the candidate who will be attacking the opponent’s policy will be advocating for better policies.

Pinkleton (1997) cited by Clark and Fine (1999) suggests that there are varying forms of negatively portraying a competitor in political advertising. These forms include negative issue and negative image advertising. Negative issue advertising according to Johnson –Cartee and Copeland (1989) refers back to off putting issues involving the candidate. These are normally scandals, corruptions and the religion of the candidate. Negative image advertising is defined by Johnson-Cartee (1989) as reference to a person’s specific personalities and traits. This type of negative advertising cites person’s personal characters.

However negative political advertising has a risk of creating sympathy of the target of the advertisement by the voters. Usually the voters feel pity for the target leading them to think otherwise and vote for the target. (Garramone (1984), Merritt (1984), Steward (1975), Surlin and Gordon (1977)-) argue that citizens get tired of negative political advertising because it is unfair, deceptive and uninformative as a result the votes will fall in favour of the target.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

Pinkleton, Um and Austin (2002) claim that voter disgust with negative political advertising is increasing. It leads to negativism and cynicism.

This study aims to critically analyze if MDC-T used negative political advertising. If it was used, it is also going to assess how it was applied in the advertisements in order to entice the people into voting for Tsvangirai.

2.2:2.2 Comparative Advertising

The effect of negative political advertising is turning the voters off leading the voters to sympathise with the victim of the advertisement. (Pinkleton 2013, Garramone 1984; Surlin and Gordon 1977;-). As a result, politicians now use comparative political advertising to convey negative information about the other candidate (Pinkleton 2013). This is because direct comparison is enough evidence to convince the voters of how incompetent the target candidate is.

According to Meirick (2002) “A comparative advertisement, in contrast with negative political advertising, is one that directly compares two candidates on specific points so as to present one in a more favourable (and one in a more negative) light”. Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1991) refer to comparative advertising as a direct comparison.

It is a form of political advertising that unfairly discredits, dispages and attacks the oppositional contestant during the election period. This type of advertising exaggerates the nature and intentions of the victim. Comparative political advertising is the direct comparison of the candidate and his/her opponent pointing out the weaknesses of the opponent. Clark and Fine (1999) argue that comparative political advertising tries to change perceptions of the public by showing the advantages of supporting the advertisement's sponsoring candidate at the expense of the target audience. This is usually done through comparison of health records, criminal records, past accomplishments and intended accomplishments in the near future in comparison with the victim candidate.

Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1991) bring out two forms of comparative advertising. These include direct comparative advertising and implied comparative advertising. Pinkleton (2013:21) observes “comparative advertising uses a two sided message to identify the targeted candidate and contrast specific aspects of the candidate and contrast specific aspects

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

of the candidate's records experience or issue position". The definition of implied comparative advertising comes from Pinkleton (2013:21) when he says that it "is one-sided in that it does not mention the targeted candidate specifically. Instead such advertising draws the audience into making candidate comparisons based on their knowledge of key campaign issues and their interpretation of the advertising message".

The intentions of this paper is find out if the above explained concept applied in the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the *Dailynews*. Since Zanu PF has embarked on name calling, this study is going to find out whether or not comparative advertising was used by MDC-T to address this issue.

2.2:3 Political Economy of the sign theory

Political economy of the sign theory applies to both commercial and political. This theme is going to be analysed in relation to how MDC-T packaged its advertisements. Baudrillard (1981) argues that the language used in political and commercial advertising is the same but however the only difference is that political advertising does not use ethical codes.

Political economy of the sign theory is a theory propounded by Jean Baudrillard. The main focus of this theory is how the consumerist culture is created. (Baudrillard 1981:146) argues that "because the logic of the commodity and of political economy is at the very heart of the sign, in the abstract equation of signifier and signified, in the differential combinatory of signs, signs can function as exchange value (the discourse of communication) and as use value (rational decoding and distinctive social use)". Baudrillard was putting across the issue that objects are now viewed as signs and signs as objects. Products are valued for their sign value not their utility value.

In commercial advertising, advertisers turn to frame meaning in order to give value to the commodity. Commodities now carry different meanings inscribed to them by advertisers. Commodities carry status. Baudrillard (1983:150) argues that "few objects today are offered alone without a context of objects to speak for them: and the relation of the consumer to the object has consequently changed; the object is no longer offered in their meaning. Washing machine, refrigerator, dishwasher and so on have different meanings when grouped together than each one has alone as a piece of equipment".

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

In political advertising, the candidate who manages to put sign values to their products attracts more votes. According to Baudrillard (1983), the value which the product holds is what matters. His argument is different from Marx's theory of commodity which emphasizes on value use. Apart from that, McBillig (1997) argues that Baudrillard's political economy of the sign theory is different from Adam Smith's genuine needs relating to genuine use. The political economy of the sign theory by Baudrillard gives the proliferation of the sign value.

Commodities are not merely to be characterized by use-value and exchange value, as in Marx's theory of the commodity, but sign value the expression and mark of style, prestige, luxury, power, and so on becomes an increasingly important part of the commodity and consumption. According to Baudrillard (1983) humans are essentially oriented towards symbolic exchange, the exchange of gifts, actions, signs and so on for their symbolic rather than their material value. Since human beings are the centre of symbolic action, political advertisers turn to manipulate human beings by introducing new ideologies with different meanings. Just like in commercial advertising, political advertisers also attach meaning to the ideologies which they will be trying to sell to the people. They package them in a way that influences audiences to vote in favour of the political advertiser.

This study aims to look at the political economy of the sign theory in political advertising. It aims to explore whether signs were attached in MDC-T advertisements. If they were attached the study will find out the meanings of the issues raised. It is going to explore how value was attached to issues raised in MDC-T advertisements in order to convince the audiences to vote for the party.

2.2:4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on political advertising, portrayal of MDC-T and Tsvangirai. Concepts such as propaganda, political advertising concept and political economy of the sign theory were used to add value to the study.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at the research designs used in this research such as the sampling techniques, methods of data collection and methods of data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

According to Trochim and Land (1982) research design is a way of joining together mechanisms of a research into a systematic way. Patton (1980) is of the view that research design is the researcher's planned process of getting results in a bid to accomplish objectives. A research design is a guide used for collecting data, analyzing data in order to answer the questions of the research.

Qualitative research was used in this study. Adler and Adler (1987) are of the view that qualitative research in as much as it does not have anything to do with numbers, it involves subjective methodology and the researcher of a qualitative research is the research instrument. In its nature, qualitative research seeks answer to a question, collects evidence and produces findings which is exactly what this research intends to do. According to Stokes (2003) qualitative research is mainly concerned with meaning and its interpretation. Qualitative research methods answers the why and how unlike the quantitative research method which answers how much and how many. Patton and Cochram (2002) suggest that the methods of qualitative research are more interested in words rather than numbers.

This study is a critical appraisal of the MDC-T's advertisements for 2013 elections hence this research methodology is qualitative in nature.

3.3 Unit of Analysis

Unit of analysis is what or who is going to be studied. According to Stokes (2003) the unit of analysis is the major entity to be studied. Stokes goes on to say that unit of analysis is the people, groups, organizations or anything else that has relevance, whose characteristic the researcher wish to observe, describe and analyse.

The unit of analysis of this research is the signs and symbols, and language which MDC used in its advertisements for 2013 July elections.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

3.4 Population

According to Oxford Dictionary population are the organisms of the same type or species who live in the same area usually sharing the same values. Population is the summation of individuals who are interest to the researcher because of their same characteristics.

Rossmann (2004) argues that population is composed of two groups which are target population and accessible population. Target population is the entire elements which the researcher wishes to study. Accessible population is the individual or the objects which the researcher has enough access to. Fourie (2007) argues that population is the large sum of people or samples where samples are drawn.

Population is either the individuals or the items used in the research. In this research the population which is going to be used is the *Dailynews* newspapers which had MDC-T advertisements. These Newspapers will be ranging from the papers which were published less than two weeks before the election date, 31 July 2013. Among those newspapers is where the sample sizes was drawn because not all newspaper advertisements published in *Dailynews* were used in this study.

3.5 Sample size

According to Panneerselvam (2005) when choosing a sample size the first question which the researcher should ask himself/herself is how many units does he/she wants to use in the study. This research chose six *Dailynews* papers which contained MDC-T's 2013 advertisements. Dailynews started to publish MDC-T's election advertisements two weeks before the election date. From the newspapers which were published, only nine newspapers which contained the advertisements were used as sample size.

3.6:1 Sampling Techniques

Sampling is the process of picking up subsets from the rest of the population. It is collecting data about the small amount from a large population depending on their qualities. Sampling has advantages that there will be more accuracy in the data collected due to its limited size and it saves time. Panneerselvam (2005) claims that sampling is not only applicable when generating or collecting new data, but is also relevant when conducting a historical research. A sample saves the researcher from dealing with overwhelming huge amounts of information that are not easy to comprehend.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

Sampling is a central practice in data collection. According to Doherty (2001:10) “sampling involves following a rigorous procedure when selecting units of analysis from a larger population”.

Sampling is divided into two methods which are probability and non probability sampling. In probability sampling all the units have an equal chance of being selected into a sample while in non probability sampling units have an unequal chance of being selected. According to Doherty (1994) when using probability sampling the first step is to decide the samples you want to use before choosing them. Non probability sampling is much suitable in in-depth qualitative research. There are various types of sampling techniques. These include random sampling, stratified random sampling, convenience sampling, snowball sampling and purposive sampling among others. The researcher used purposive sampling to sample *Dailynews* editions that contained MDC-T advertisements.

3.6:2 Purposive sampling

The study made use of purposive sampling which, according to Rossman (2004), is also known as judgmental sampling because it is selected according to the researcher's instincts. It is selected basing on the knowledge of the characteristics which will be used in the study. Oliver (2006) argues that purposive samples are chosen basing on who the researcher believe is apposite for the research. It is usually used when there are a few expertises in an area to be studied. It is used when there is need for the researcher to put a judgement to his or her samples. Bernard (2002) argues that the qualities which the population or unit posses make the researcher to calculatedly choose purposive samples.

In this research, purposive sampling is a very suitable research technique because it gives the opportunity to choose the MDC-T advertisements in the *dailynews* which the researcher saw as suitable for the research. The researcher used purposive sampling to choose the advertisements which related to the study. From the available advertisements in *Dailynews*, the researcher calculatedly chose samples basing on her judgement that they would fit in her study. I selected all the six MDC-T advertisements that appeared in the ten issues of the *dailynews* that carried the advertisements. Rossman (2004) claims that Purposive sampling gives clear results to the research because it takes only the population of concern to the study. Oliver (2004) is of the view that “purposive sampling is a form of non probability sampling in which decisions concerning the individuals to be included in the sample are taken by the

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

researcher based upon a variety of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue or capacity and willingness to participate in the research” thus according to Oliver (2004.1) According to <http://www.ask.com/questions>, it is a technique where characteristics are consciously and objectively chosen by the researcher to make sure that the characteristics are pertinent to the research.

3.7 Methods of Data Gathering

These are the techniques which were used when choosing the relevant information for this study. Archival research was the only method of attaining information which was used in this study.

3.7:1 Archival Research

“Archival research is a screening technique to determine the necessity for actual field observations and to help define an appropriate scope of work for a particular investigation” (Rossman 2004.5). It is used to attain information which is enough to develop research design, select the correct methodology and allow for a smooth data interpretation and evaluation. Geiger and Mocre (2011) postulate that archival research is the use of generated information in either a library, a safe place or a website for references, access to information from the past or for detective work. Ventresca and Mohr (2001.11) claim that “archival research methods include a broad range of activities applied to facilitate the investigation of documents and textual material produced by and about an organization”. Ventresca and Mohr (2001) goes on to say that it is the study of documents that were created in the distant past providing unavailable information at that moment. However, this study is not going to look at documents created in the distant past but as recent as last year during the 2013 election period.

Moreover, It is collecting information or records from the past even yesterday's information. It is used when one needs to get a complete picture of past events and it gives detailed information. Archival research is a data gathering method which was used in this research.

This research used archival research as a method of data gathering because *Dailynews* newspapers from two weeks before the elections will be used. The researcher chose newspapers from the *Dailynews* Library because the past newspaper editions are safely archived. The researcher could have used newspapers in the Midlands State University Media

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

and Society Library because it is more convenient but some of the newspaper editions which the researcher wanted to use were not available. The *Dailynews* library keeps all editions from the first edition which was published in March 1999. The researcher purposively chose samples of advertisements from the newspaper editions which had the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisement. The researcher chose archival research among other methods of data gathering because it is the only method of data gathering she could use to access documents from the past.

3.8. Methods of Data Analysis.

Data analysis is the process of evaluating data using an analytical approach, suggesting conclusions and supporting decision making. Patton (2002) is of the view that data analysis is the transformation of data into logical and methodological findings. In this study, critical discourse analysis, content analysis and semiotic analysis were used to analyse the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements attained from the Dailynews.

3.8:1Critical Discourse Analysis

Rodgers (2004:2) argues that "Critical discourse analysis is not only a description and interpretation of discourses in social context but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work." Van Dijk (1998.16) postulates that "critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power is abused, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by textual talk in the social and political context". Fairclough (1993.135) argues that "critical discourse analysis is discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determinant between a) discursive practices, events and text and b) wider social and cultural structures , relations and process to investigate how such practices and events and text arise out of and are ideologically shaped...". It tries to make opaque issues in connection to language and its practices in the society clear.

It studies complex issues. However, Wodak and Mayer (2005) argue that critical discourse analysis does not only look for negativity in issues. It looks at both sides of the coin. Van Dijk (1998) postulates that critical discourse analysis is usually motivated by hot complex social issues. Unlike discourse analysis which looks on face value of the issue, critical discourse analysis tries to dig deeper and tries to understand reasons behind the matter. It also gives points of view and perspective and reasons.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

Van Dijk (2008:18) goes on to claim that "...critical discourse analysis should take an explicit socio and political stance". It is mainly concerned with power relations. It tries to understand the nature of socio political power and dominance. Rodgers (2004) argues that it tries to understand how those in power make use of language to maintain hegemonic power. It is interested in how discourse produces and reproduces domination.

This study is going to look at the discourse used in MDC-T advertisements for the 2013 elections and how it tries to gain power and domination in the Zimbabwean society. Critical Discourse Analysis will be used to analyze text which was used in the advertisements such as Morgan is more and "*chinja maitiro*". Critical discourse analytical tools such as classification, connotation, metaphor, deletion and topicalization will be used to analyze the use of discourse in MDC-T advertisements. This study used critical discourse analysis is to understand how MDC-T manipulated people through use of discourse.

3.8:2 Semiotic Analysis

Semiotics is widely used when analyzing media content because it mainly deals with text analysis. Chandler (2013:14) postulates that "The primary goal of semiotic analysis is to establish conventions, identifying significant differences and oppositions in an attempt to model the system of category relations (syntagmatic and paradigmatic), connotations, distinctions and rules of combination employed". Chandler (2013) goes on to say texts such as painted advertisements are complex signs enough to contain other signs.

It is applied to anything which stands for or symbolizes something. McQuail (2010) argues that, in semiotics, the analyst seeks to connect the signifier (an expression which can be words, a picture or sound) with what is signified (another word, description or image). The use of language is noted as it is considered to be a description of actions. As part of language, certain signs match up with certain meaning. Semiotics seeks to understand the underlying messages in texts. In general, semiotic analysis examines the use of signs and symbols and symbols to depict something.

Semiotic analysis is a research technique or methods used to analyze the signs. In this study, semiotic analysis will be used to analyze the signs and symbols which MDC used in advertisements. Signs such as the palm and symbols such as a rooster used in advertisements will be analyzed using semiotic analysis.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

3.9 Methods of data presentation.

The nature of this study influences the use of thematic approach as a form of data presentation. Braun and Clarke (2006) postulates that thematic approach is a qualitative analytic method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns and themes within data. Thematic approach is a suitable way of presenting qualitative data because it is systematic and logical. It minimally organises and describes your data set in rich detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) coding is the primary process for developing themes within the raw data by recognizing important moments in the data and encoding it prior to interpretation. The interpretation of these codes can include comparing theme frequencies, identifying theme co-occurrence, and graphically displaying relationships between different themes.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter served as the methodology of this study where the population which was used, the methods of data collection, the sampling techniques, methods of data analysis and data presentation were thoroughly discussed.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the whole study. The data which will be presented was collected from the libraries of *Dailynews* through archival research and presented thematically.

This paper was not looking at the impact which the MDC-T advertisements had on people. The main focus was to find out the manipulation of signs, symbols and the discourses which were used as a way of countering Zanu PF discourse and Zanu PF hegemony. According to Foucault, discourse is power yet to be seized. The paper analyzes how MDC-T was reacting to labels such as sell outs and stooges which they were called by Zanu PF as a way of seizing Zanu PF discourse using campaign advertisements in the *Dailynews*. In addition to that, the study was analysing different techniques used in MDC-T advertisements to persuade the people to vote Tsvangirai and the party into power. Barthes (1997) cited in Biocca (1991:23) argues that

photograph communicates both denotative and connotative meaning. Images are captured and reprinted and depict an actual event through proportional dimensions but also secondary connotative meanings which viewers perceive according to their interaction with and understanding of a complex system of culture codes.

The way signs and symbols were manipulated to create meaning will be analysed through the use of semiotic analysis.

4.1 Use of football facts in MDC-T advertisements

The soccer game has been used by politicians in Zimbabwe in the political contestations. Usually the soccer game is played between Zanu PF and MDC-T. During the 2013 election period, MDC-T made reference to the soccer game in its advertisements. This was to answer to Zanu PF's references to soccer where they left Tsvangirai out. According to Ncube (2013:8) "in spite of Tsvangirai and Mutambara's presence in the hierarchy of power, the announced 'team line up' excludes them. This could be interpreted as Zanu PF hegemony which attempted to naturalise that Mugabe is the legitimate leader of Zimbabwe giving an impression that people like Tsvangirai are pretenders". MDC-T also used soccer to respond to Zanu PF's soccer team and to rebuff the *Bhora muggedhi* (appendix2) discourse by Zanu PF.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

In the advertisement of *football facts*, MDC-T was telling the people that it was time for Zanu PF to be voted out of power. The advertisement compares Mugabe to Banda who was the president of Malawi. In his nineties Banda was still ruling Malawi. He ruled the country until he was overthrown in his thirty third year in power. Mugabe was ninety years during the 2013 election period. It was also his thirty third year in power. MDC-T was positive that just like Banda they would overthrow Mugabe. Borrowing the words *game over* from football, meant that Mugabe's time was up. This time he would loose the game which he has been winning for the past thirty three years.

A man holding a red card and a whistle in the *football facts* advertisement is a technique borrowed from football. In football, showing a red card means that the player is being disqualified. The advertisement shows that Zanu PF was being removed from the game of ruling Zimbabwe. The red colour of the card is MDC-T's colour to insinuate that MDC-T is the one to overthrow Mugabe and his government. In addition, the advertisement alludes to Mugabe and his political history to predict the destiny of Tsvangirai to rule Zimbabwe. The advertisement has a table of statistics that Mugabe was fifty seven years old when he became the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. Tsvangirai was also fifty seven when he became the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe during the Government of National Unit. At sixty one Mugabe became the president after Canaan Banana. Tsvangirai was sixty one in 2013 implying that Tsvangirai was definitely going to become the president of Zimbabwe. The word *becomes* in the statement that *Tsvangirai 61 becomes the President of Zimbabwe* shows positive determination that MDC-T was definitely going to win the election. However, this was over speculation on the part of MDC-T because the predictions did not come to pass.

It's time for team Zimbabwe to win used in the advertisement is to appeal voters of Zimbabwe who in this case are the supporters of the soccer match between Zanu PF and MDC-T. MDCT made itself the team for the people insinuating that it is the people's party. The advertisement states that it is time for the people's team to win. In the advertisement, MDC-T was declaring itself the party which has already won the people's hearts. The *people's team* was a discourse carefully selected as a reaction to Zanu PF's accusations that MDC-T was selling out the country. MDC-T is driving towards the fact that although Zanu PF called MDC-T sell outs stooges and puppets the people of Zimbabwe have made a choice to support MDC-T.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

4.2 MDC-T used Biblical allusion.

In the 2013 election advertisements, the researcher found out that MDC-T made use of biblical allusion.

The allusion was used to counter Zanu PF's biblical themes. Chitando (2005) argues that Zanu PF using biblical themes to put an emphasis on its argument that MDC-T is a puppet party especially during the land reform programme. However, MDC-T resorted to use the same technique to attack Zanu PF. In the advertisement *33years of desperate leadership*, (appendix 3) there is allusion to the bible verse cited from Proverbs 29:18 "*where there is no vision, the people perish*". The bible verse was not innocently quoted in this study was not innocently used. It is a metaphor meant to show that Zanu PF is a confused party which has no vision. The party contradicts itself in the ways they handle issues. Apart from that the bible verse is insinuating that Zanu PF is a divided party. Zanu PF was signing a death penalty for Zimbabweans because of lack of vision. With these factors, the future of Zanu PF is bleak. The bible verse is trying to warn people not to vote for Zanu PF, if they do the future of Zimbabwe will die because Zanu PF lacks vision.

4.3 Use of Slogan

Slogans were put in every advertisement of MDC-T for the 2013 elections. Slogans condense longer messages into short, easily remembered phrases. The MDC-T slogan is *chinja maitiro maitiro chinja guqula izenzo izenzo guqula* change your actions. The slogan is usually written in Ndebele and Shona to cater for those who do not understand English language. Most of the people in Zimbabwe speak Ndebele and Shona. Putting the slogans in Shona and Ndebele makes them understand. The slogan however excludes some people who do not speak both Shona and Ndebele. Bernays (1925), Slogans are a propaganda tool meant for those who have a low IQ in society who takes things at face value. The slogan means that the people should change their habit of voting for Zanu PF and consider voting for MDC-T. The MDC-T slogan is raising a palm. A palm in this case represents more items which Tsvangirai has to offer to the people.

4.4 MDC-T's 2013 advertisements portrayed Tsvangirai as a saviour

MDC-T made use of advertisements to portray Tsvangirai as a savior. This was a way of countering his portrayal in the publicly owned media. The portrayal of Tsvangirai was to counter the Zanu PF's discourse of Mugabe as a hero.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

MDC-T advertisement sold Tsvangirai as a hero more than the messages in the advertisements. According to Baudrillard (1983) products are valued for their sign value and not their utility value.

This research found out that MDC-T advertisements borrowed a technique of Baudrillard's political economy of the sign theory from commercial advertising where objects now carry different meanings. Baudrillard (1983) argues that the commodity is no longer offered with their innocent meanings but they now have meaning and value attached to them. MDC-T advertisements were packaged in a way that meaning and value were attached to voting for Tsvangirai. Vote Tsvangirai X did not only mean voting for Tsvangirai into power. It now carried a status of more. The more people have moved to more advertisement which showed Tsvangirai standing amidst of nice houses, a nice car, a quality infrastructure of Joina City, fresh fruits, a truck of fuel, school children in uniform, a nice bus for better transportation, lots of money and a laptop shows that voting for Tsvangirai has a meaning attached to it. Voting for Tsvangirai carried a status of affluency. The advertisement created desire and need in the people to vote for Tsvangirai and to create the need for people to buy the ideologies that MDC-T was selling.

On the bottom part of the *lest we forget* advertisement is a conversation. In the conversation box is a Tsvangirai who is dressed in a suit with a smile on his face to show that he is happy. The conversation box is pointing to the picture of Murambatsvina, cholera outbreaks, black to black violence, police brutality, loss of lives and shortage of fuel. This is to show the people that Tsvangirai is the solution to all the problems that they went through when Zanu PF was still in power.

Beside the picture of Tsvangirai are words written *July 31, its time to move to more (appendix 7)*. More in this case is a short cut of the name Morgan. There are two arrows which points to Tsvangirai to show that he is the person who is offering more. The conversation depicts that Tsvangirai would solve health issues; he would give places to stay, stop violence in the country, stop police brutality, reduce the mortality rate and solve the economic crisis in Zimbabwe.

MDC-T promised people more. This was to make the people of Zimbabwe vote in favour of the party because many people are in need of jobs. Due to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe,

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

companies shut down leaving people with no jobs. MDC-T advertisement portrays Tsvangirai as a saviour who will give people jobs after a lot of suffering.

In the *move to more jobs (appendix 1)* advertisement, the lady is raising her hands to how victory. The advertisement was trying to insinuate that MDC-T will ensure victory in getting jobs if people vote it into power. The advertisement has the picture of a woman. It shows that MDC-T would cater for gender balance. Women will have an equal share in the attainment of jobs. The doctor in the *more people have moved to more advertisement*, is a female doctor. This was to emphasize on the fact that MDC-T respects the issue of gender equality.

The MDC-T election advertisements addressed the issue of farming. Farming was addressed to argue with the Zanu PF discourses which were used against MDC-T during the land reform programme.

According to Chitando (2005) Zanu PF began using the land reform programme during the election period. Zanu PF election slogan began to revolve around the issue of land reform programme. According to Chitando (2005) Mugabe was said to be the one who remains in power because he was following the oracles of the ancestors while Tsvangirai would never win the elections because he was not in support of the fast track land reform programme. The *more for farmers (see appendix 8)* advertisement suggested otherwise. Tsvangirai was promising farmers more of what they are being offered by Zanu PF. In the picture of the *more for farmers* advertisement, there is a picture of a farmer with a smile on his face. This advertisement appeals to people to vote for Tsvangirai into power then farmers would be satisfied and always put a smile on their faces.

In addition, MDC-T promised bumper harvests if people vote Tsvangirai into power. The *more people have moved to more (appendix 8)*, is a picture of various types of fruits and vegetables. Behind the farmer were big nuts, healthy chicken layers and a fat bull. These images were representing good harvests in Zimbabwe which would follow if Tsvangirai is voted into power. In the advertisement there is a picture of a farm with green farm products. The picture is insinuating that voting for Tsvangirai means a bumper harvest. Voting for Tsvangirai means there won't be drought anymore. The picture of a green field and a tractor guarantees farmers better equipment when they vote for him. In a nut shell, it is clear that MDC-T was addressing the issue of the land question at the same time luring the electorate into voting for Tsvangirai.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

It came to the attention of the researcher that MDC-T used flashback in its newspaper advertisements. Flashback was used to remind the electorate of their past experiences when Zanu PF was in power. The flashback was meant to turn voters against Zanu PF. The researcher found out that flashback was meant to remind the voters about the failures of Mugabe.

The advertisement called *lest we forget* took the people of Zimbabwe down the memory lane where they had various challenges with Zanu PF in power. The advertisement was a reminder of the past experiences of how Zanu PF misused power. The advertisement was giving the people reasons to change the government. The flashback was used to give voters reasons to vote for Tsvangirai.

The advertisement shows people lying desperately in the hospital. The title of the image is written cholera. MDC-T was showing explicitly that it blames Zanu PF which was a ruling party before the government of national unity for the cholera outbreak. This picture entails that Zanu PF had failed to create healthy facilities for the people. Moreover, MDC-T was accusing Zanu PF for offering poor sanitation services to the people. The picture insinuates that if Zanu PF had offered enough sanitation, cholera would have not started. Also it shows that Zanu PF failed in stopping cholera from spreading.

In addition to that, the picture of *cholera outbreaks* (see appendix 7) showing people lying down on beds in the clinic shows facilities of the clinic or hospital. The patients in the picture do not have blankets covering them implying that Zanu PF had caused Zimbabwe to be a poverty stricken country such that hospitals could not afford blankets. In addition to that, the picture shows that the economic sector of Zimbabwe is not in good shape because of poor quality stretcher beds which the people were laying down on instead of real beds. The *cholera outbreak* picture was trying to show the failures of Zanu PF in the health and economic sector.

The second picture on the *lest we forget* advertisement is *murambatsvina* (see appendix 7) . Operation *Murambatsvina* was the operation clean up which the Zanu PF government implemented. This campaign was devastating to most people for they lost their houses, businesses and places to stay. The picture reminded the people of the devastation they went through during operation clean up. It was more of giving people a choice to vote for MDC-T rather than Zanu PF. On the picture, there is a man touching his head to show his devastation

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

while he was watching as his homestead was being burnt to ashes. This was trying to show how Zanu PF had emotionally violated the people of Zimbabwe. The man in the picture represented all the people who lost their houses during operation *murambatsvina*.

The picture of *Murambatsvina* is manipulated in such a way that the setup of the homestead being burnt down is a rural. This is because of the desertedness of the house and the a bushy background. The other house which was being burnt down was a hut. The picture, criticizes the justification of *murambatsvina* that everyone in Zimbabwe has a rural homestead. Those residing in urban areas that were affected by *Murambatsvina* were supposed to go and stay at their rural homesteads. The picture shows a contrast between Zanu PF's justification of *Murambatsvina* and the real situation on the ground. The picture of operation *murambatsviana* was a reminder to the people of Zimbabwe that they once became homeless because of Zanu PF.

The third picture on this advertisement is the *black to black violence*. Violence in Zimbabwe took place during the 2002 presidential election campaign and during the 2008 election period. The violence was mainly between Zanu PF and MDC-T who were the major competing parties in the country. The picture in this advertisement presents a person who is seriously injured. He has wounds and bruises at his back. They show that the person was whipped till he was injured. The bandage in his head has blood on it to show that the person has a head injury. Since the picture is in the MDC-T advertisement, the implication is that the person is a MDC-T supporter attacked by Zanu PF members. This picture literary points a finger at Zanu PF for the violence. The picture was accusing Zanu PF as the initiator of the violence which took place during the election periods.

The fourth picture on the advertisement is *police brutality (see appendix7)*. The picture is showing the policemen in uniform beating people. The picture shows the use of cohesive control by the state to make the people of Zimbabwe conform. According to Antonio Gramsci in his theory of hegemony, when hegemony which is rule by consent fails the ruling party embarks on cohesive control. The advertisement shows that Zanu PF was at the lowest of its hegemony to the extent that it was resorting to using police force to make the Zimbabweans act in the manner which Zanu PF wanted.

The fifth picture on the *lest we forget* advertisement shows men and women walking down the road with a coffin on a scotch cart. The name of the picture has a caption written *loss of*

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

lives(see appendix7) . The caption does not give a reason to what caused the loss of lives. This implies that Zanu PF was responsible for all deaths that befall people during its reign no matter what the cause of the death was. In addition to that, the people in the picture seem to have walked a long distance by foot because there are no houses anywhere near the road. In this picture, MDC-T was trying to remind the people of the deaths which took place with Zanu PF in power and the long distances which they walked due to lack of transport.

Fuel shortages is the sixth picture on lest we forget advertisement. The picture shows cars scattered all over the place. The cars were near a B.P. filling station meaning that they were waiting for fuel. The picture is dull to give an impression that it was at night. Fuel Shortages is one of the evidence of economic crisis in Zimbabwe. The picture was reminding the people of the ques they stood during the time economic crisis in Zimbabwe.

The advertisements were simply meant to portray Zanu PF as a visionless party; a party that can be simply fooled by an uneducated traditional healer into believing that diesel was oozing out of rocks at Chinhoyi. The use of images of Mugabe at a Mapostori gathering was meant to also reinforce the idea that Zanu PF was visionless and was a party that believed in mystical solutions to Zimbabwe's problems. In other words they were meant to show that Zanu PF has no solution at all to the problems facing the country.

4.5 MDC-T advertisements made use of Bandwagon

The researcher found out that MDC-T made use of bandwagon technique in the election advertisements as a way of attracting electorate to vote for the party.

Bandwagon is a technique that people feel obliged to do something because everybody is doing it. According to Bernays (1928) the simple definition of bandwagon is if everyone is doing it so why can't I. It is basing on the assumption that because everyone is doing it, then it is the right thing to do. In MDC-T advertisements, bandwagon was used to make people believe that almost everyone was going to vote in favour of MDC-T. The statement, *more people have moved to more* was to get at those not decided yet to vote for MDC-T. The first *more* in this statement means the majority amongst the Zimbabwean population. This implies that society in Zimbabwe has turned against Zanu PF and they moved to MDC-T where they would get more food, more education and more jobs.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

It has come to the attention of this study that the advertisement with the name *31 reasons why Zimbabwe has moved to more(appendix4)* made use of bandwagon technique. The picture in the advertisement has a pool of people behind Tsvangirai and his wife. The people were raising the MDC-T flag and they were wearing red which is the party's regalia to show their full support to Tsvangirai. The picture shows that a whole bunch of people are in support of Tsvangirai and they accepted Tsvangirai as their leader. This advertisement was meant to influence those who were still supporting Zanu PF to change their minds and to make them feel left out. . The people were holding the Zimbabwean flag. This was to clearly show that the people wanted Tsvangirai to become the president of Zimbabwe.

4.6 MDC-T advertisements ridiculed Mugabe's old age

The researcher found out that MDC-T advertisements reduced Mugabe to small size through the use of negative political advertising. Chang and Park (1998) note that negative political campaigning is also known as smear campaign or attack advertising that negatively portrays the target candidate to damage his or her political status. It is an attempt to woo voters in order to win the polls by attacking an opponent rather than emphasizing the positive attributes or the manifestos of the candidate launching the attack.

The technique was used by MDC-T in its advertisements. It negatively portrayed Robert Mugabe who was the major opponent candidate of MDC-T during the 2013 elections. The advertisement *Musi weChitatu, tose ngatibatei jongwe muromo tichinovhotera shanduko* on Wednesday everybody should wake up early to go and vote for change, carries the negative political campaigning technique. The picture shows a hand which is open, advancing to clench a rooster which is trying to run away. The rooster is associated with Robert Mugabe. His party members call him *Jongwe* which means the man of the house. It is known in the African culture that Jongwe is the head of the house. Zanu PF was naturalising the leadership of Mugabe by calling him Jongwe.

In the picture, the rooster has bandages on his body. This was representing the health status of Mugabe. The rooster's eyes are half closed implying that it was weak. This picture was trying to portray how bad the health of Mugabe was. MDC-T during the 2013 elections emphasized on Mugabe as octogenarian. The advertisement was showing that Mugabe is too weak to rule the country. This was negatively portraying Mugabe to the people. MDC-T was trying to give

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

people reasons not to vote Mugabe because he was sick and weak to run the country till the next election period if he wins.

More so, the advertisement is showing Mugabe's old age. The rooster in the picture is old, does not have any feathers left on its body except only one at its back. The head of the rooster shows that it is old in age but the body is small and skinny. The small body is putting emphasis on how old the rooster was. The advertisement was showing the in capabilities of Mugabe to rule the country because of old age.

In addition, the rooster is sweaty from running away from the hand which was advancing to it. In other words, what this advertisement was trying to portray is a Mugabe who is a coward. A Mugabe who runs away when push comes to shove instead of standing and fighting his ground like a man. This advertisement was trying to counter Zanu PF's discourse of Tsvangirai being a coward who ran away from the liberation struggle. In the picture it is Mugabe who is running away like a coward.

MDC-T advertisements were used to reduce Robert Mugabe who is the president of Zimbabwe to a lower level. The advertisements show no respect of Mugabe. Reducing Mugabe to a lower level was a technique used by MDC-T to make the people loose their respect for Mugabe. In the advertisement *musi wechitatu tose ngatibatei jongwe muromo tichinovhotera shanduko* the rooster on the picture is a cartoon. It is a contrast of the hand which is advancing towards the rooster. The hand is representing the MDC-T party. The hand is a real human hand to show the originality of the MDC-T party unlike the cartoon which represents Mugabe. The cartoon represents a Mugabe who is weak and a Mugabe who is old.

Another advertisement which Mugabe was negatively portrayed is an advertisement called *33 years of desperate leadership*. The statement negatively attacks Mugabe as a leader who spent thirty three years in power trying by every means to stay in control. He was desperate that he would do just anything to remain the president of Zimbabwe. The top picture of this advertisement shows Zanu PF members performing rituals. They were bare footed. In the traditional culture of Zimbabwe, people perform rituals bare footedly. The Zanu PF members in the picture were clapping hands to complement the fact that they were performing rituals. On the lefty side of that picture is a woman who is dressed in a long dress with designs of clay pot. The designs on the dress are associated with traditional healers and spirit mediums. The picture is photo shopped such that the Zanu PF members are looking in the direction of

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

the woman. It seems they were clapping at her. The picture is trying to show that Zanu PF is a party which follows African Tradition.

The picture on the bottom is a total contrast of the top picture. This is where this advertisement's negative attack is clear. In this picture, Mugabe was wearing a white gown and he was holding a rod. He was amongst the church members of *Mapostori* the Apostoles praying with them. MDC-T used this picture to show the confusion in the Zanu PF party. The advertisement was showing that Zanu PF appeals to God for people's votes at the same time performing traditional rituals to appeal with the spirit mediums for votes. The advertisement shows the desperation of Mugabe to remain in power. This was negatively attacking Zanu PF to lure the people into voting MDC-T into power. The intension of this advertisement was to make the Christians distaste a party which is still carrying rituals of the African Traditional Religion at the same time the followers of the African Traditional Religion would distaste a person who embarks on the Christian religion. The two religions are a total contrast of each other. MDC-T was trying to give a choice to the people by showing how confused the Zanu PF party was.

In addition to that, just like the advertisement of a rooster the advertisement namely 33years of desperate leadership has a picture of Mugabe wearing a *mapostori* uniform. The picture is manipulated such that Mugabe looks older. The picture makes Mugabe the oldest person amongst others. His body is small to show his old age and to put emphasis on his deteriorating health. According to Austin, W.E' Pinkleton B.E & Um N (2002) negative political advertising calls for more negativity. Zanu PF advertisements for the past elections manipulated the pictures of Tsvangirai to be an uglier man. In response to that, MDC-T advertisements for 2013 elections also manipulated the pictures to emphasize on Mugabe's deteriorating heath and his old age.

Comparative political advertising was used in MDC-T advertisements during the 2013 election campaign. The advertisements were comparing Tsvangirai and Mugabe. Negative political advertising in this case was not clear. This is because there was not an advertisement that compared Tsvangirai and Mugabe side by side. However, in the advertisements Mugabe's weaknesses and failures are laid out while another totally different advertisement giving Tsvangirai solving those problems.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

The picture of Mugabe in one of the advertisements portrays him as a very old person. On the contrary, the pictures of Tsvangirai show a young and enthusiastic aspiring leader. Tsvangirai is smartly dressed and is always putting a smile in pictures of each and every advertisement. The age difference was used in the advertisements as a way of appealing to the people of Zimbabwe to vote for a president who is young and energetic.

The *lest we forget* (appendix 7) advertisement shows pictures of people suffering from cholera, houses being burnt down because of *murambatsvina*, police beating up the masses, people walking long distances by foot and fuel shortages. These were Mugabe's failures being laid out in MDC-T advertisements. In contrast to that advertisement, *the more people have moved to more* advertisement there are pictures of a doctor to display good health facilities, the joina city structure to represent good infrastructure, benz bus for better transportation, a hp laptop for technology, an employee holding money to show better wages, a nice house for shelter, a tractor for better farming equipment, green fields to represent bumper harvests, children in uniform to represent better education. These were what Tsvangirai was promising the people in comparison to what Mugabe did for the people.

4.7 The use of appealing words in MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements.

The researcher found out that MDC-T made use of appealing words in its advertisements in order to influence public opinion into believing that MDC-T is a better party than Zanu PF.

The statement, *the time is now civil servants* (appendix 6) has a civil in block letters and highlighted. This gives weight to the job description of the civil servants. The *time is now* is telling the civil servants that the only opportunity they have to change their fate is through voting MDC-T into power on the 31st of July 2013. MDC-T promised hope to the civil servants. Due to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe, the civil servants were slowly becoming the subalterns. Civil servants were being looked down upon even by people with low income wages. As a result, MDC-T appealed with the civil servants to attract their votes. There is use of classification because of the advertisement's efforts to show the importance of the civil servants.

Underneath the picture of the civil servants are words written in red that *civil servants you are special*. From a classical approach of critical discourse analysis, MDC-T chose the word

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

special because it is manipulative. The word special in this context was used to make the civil servants feel important again. It makes them feel that they belong. The word special in this statement is trying to home the fact that with Zanu PF in power, the civil servants felt neglected. The use of the word *special* in this context was not innocently used. The repetition of the word *special* in the statement, *this is your special time to make your special vote count* shows that MDC-T desperately needed the civil servants to vote for the party into power. The MDC-T's statement that 'Zimbabwe is counting on you to set your own future' was meant to make the civil servants believe that the future of the country lay in their hands. The advertisement made it seem as if the whole nation was depending on the decisions of the civil servants to make the future bright by voting Tsvangirai into power. On the other hand, it was MDC-T itself which was counting on the votes of the civil servants. The civil servants constitute a large number of voters in Zimbabwe so winning the hearts of civil servants meant a higher probability for MDC-T to win the elections. The statement was trying to bring out that voting for MDC-T meant more hope and more jobs. Much better Zimbabwe with reference o this advertisement is the Zimbabwe where Tsvangirai and his MDC-T party will be ruling the country.

In addition to that, on the same advertisement there are words written *no one can force you; your freedom is your vote*. MDC-T was leaving it in the hands of the civil servants to vote for the president whom they want. However, this statement is manipulative because it makes reference to the people's freedom. The statement is insinuating that all along the people of Zimbabwe were living in captive of Zanu PF and they were colonized by their own president and the government which they had vote into power. It was time for the people to break their own chains. Voting MDC-T would mean that the people will be voting for their freedom. The only way out was to buy their freedom with a vote.

The last statement states that ... *in a way you are now a freedom fighter*. The word *freedom fighter* is written in capital letters. This was to intentionally counter the hegemony of Zanu PF. Mugabe and his party managed to stay in power for thirty three consecutive years because they are freedom fighters who fought for this country. Zanu PF portrays itself as the bulwark of Zimbabwe's sovereignty and independence. It operates in the discourse of nationalists and patriots because they freed Zimbabwe form British colonialism. This discourse was supposed to be seized because it would have furthered the hegemony of Zanu PF. In this advertisement, MDC-T was giving everybody a chance to become freedom

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

fighter. It was following in the paths of Zanu PF to rule the country all in the name of fighting for the freedom of the country.

In the *move to more jobs* advertisement, the words are written in bold letters in order to grab the attention of the people. In addition to that, the words are designed in the shape of a trumpet. They start as thin growing bigger. This is to show that jobs used to be few but with MDC-T in power, the jobs would become.

The repetition of the words *Morgan is more* in each and every advertisement of MDC-T is to try and appeal with the people to vote for MDC-T such that they will get more in return. In this case, MDC-T advertisements were trying to bring forward the fact that Tsvangirai's ways of ruling and governance will be better than Mugabe's. The advertisements were trying to imply that Morgan is more than Robert Mugabe in terms of governance and policies. In addition to that, Morgan is more brings out that the political, social, economic and legal environment of Zimbabwe was not in good shape due to the failures of Zanu PF. As a result, Morgan is more was convincing the people that voting into power would heal the social, political, economic and environmental situation of Zimbabwe.

Morgan is more is a discourse which MDC-T came up with as a way of countering Zanu PF discourses. Zanu PF has allegedly accused Morgan Tsvangirai of being a sell out, a stooge and a puppet of the foreign countries. As a result, MDC-T came up with the discourse of Morgan is more as a counter discourse. More in this case means that when people vote for Tsvangirai they will have everything which they wish for in abundance. What Zanu PF offered, MDC-T would offer it in abundance.

The caption on the bottom of the six pictures is written *a 33year ride, never again!* The caption shows that during the thirty three years of Zanu PF's ruling, the party failed dismally. What it only did was to bring misery into people's lives. It failed to meet the basic needs of the people such as shelter and health. It shows that the people of Zimbabwe were not prepared to go back to such an experience. The words *never again* in the caption are implying that the people were not going to vote for Zanu PF because of what they went through during the thirty three years of the party in power. There is a black colour on the background of the

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

words *a 33 year ride, never again!* This means that the thirty three years which people went through during Zanu PF's reign were dark ages which people should not go through again.

On the top part of the advertisement are words written *vote wisely if you do not want to go back to this*. MDC-T was giving people a choice of whether to go back to the economic crisis which they once went through or to vote for MDC-T which would guarantee a better economic sector. The advertisement is warning the people that they will surely experience economic crisis if they vote for Zanu PF.

MDC-T resorted to the use of Shona language in some of its advertisements to make the majority of the Zimbabweans understand the points which they were trying to bring forward. The majority of the Zimbabweans understand the Shona language so using shona in the advertisements guaranteed that those who do not understand English would read and understand the Shona advertisements. *Musi we Chitatu, tose ngatibatei jongwe muromo tichinohotera shanduko* (appendix 2) is a message in one of the advertisements published by MDC-T. The statement has various connotations. At face value it means that people should wake up early on Wednesday to go and vote for change. *Shanduko* in the context of this statement is changing the government from Zanu PF to MDC-T. It means change in terms of governance and policies. *Tose ngatibatei jongwe muromo* means silencing Mugabe and his party by voting for MDC-T on the election date. *Tose* is appealing with everybody to turn against Zanu PF.

At the bottom part of the *musi wechitatu tose ngatibatei jongwe muromo tichinohotera shanduko* advertisement are three words written in shona *#povho yaramba* the masses have objected, *#bhorarapera* the match is over and *#jongwe mmupoto* put the rooster in the pot. Since Jongwe represents Mugabe, *#jongwe mupoto* in this context means getting rid of Mugabe for good. Putting Mugabe in the pot means removing him from his power forever because when something is cooked, it awaits eating and that is the end of it. *Bhorarapera* in this case means that is the end of Mugabe and his party. *Povho yaramba* means that the people are tired of Zanu PF's ways of governance. It also means that the people are not going to vote for Zanu PF.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter was analyzing the findings which were obtained from the archives of the *Dailynews*. The researcher found out that in the advertisement, MDC-T portrayed Tsvangirai

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

as a saviour and Mugabe as a failure. Appealing words were used to woo voters into voting for Tsvangirai. Also the researcher found out that slogans and manipulation of pictures was used to counter Zanu PF's allegations of sell outs, puppets and stooges. Critical discourse analysis and semiotic analysis were the methods of data analysis used to analyze data.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-
T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the concluding remarks for the research. The chapter concludes the study that has been conducted to critically analyze the use of advertisements by MDC-T to lure votes during the 2013 election period. The chapter sought to link the objectives of the study with the data collected to find out if the research questions were answered and if the objectives were achieved. Recommendations to MDC-T will be made for future references.

5.2 Summary

The research sought to find out how MDC-T used the 2013 election advertisements to counter discourses of Zanu PF such as 'puppets' of the whites, 'stooges' and 'sell outs'. The study also aimed to find out the techniques which MDC-T applied in the advertisements as a way of luring the people into voting for MDC-T into power. This study also looked at how signs and symbols were manipulated in the advertisements as a way of conveying meaning to the voters.

This research found out that Tsvangirai was portrayed as a saviour whilst Mugabe as a failure. The advertisements manipulated images in order to belittle the target opponent Mugabe. Mugabe's political failures in power were emphasized as a way of decampaigning Zanu PF during the elections. Negative political advertising was used to some limits. The advertisements stressed on Mugabe's ill health and his old age. In addition to that, the advertisements portrayed Zanu PF as a confused party which made the people of Zimbabwe perish. The advertisements made reference to the bible to emphasize the confusion and the lack of vision of Zanu PF. Tsvangirai was represented as a saviour who would rescue Zimbabweans from Zanu PF. The advertisements insinuated that Tsvangirai would offer everything that the people wished for in abundance.

MDC-T advertisements made use of the Shona language to make the people who do not understand English have a better understanding of the ideologies being put forward. MDC-T packages its advertisements in a way that the slower in society would not have challenges in reading the advertisements. This was why the slogan was put each and every advertisement. However, the slogans are written in Shona and English thereby marginalising other parts of the country who do not understand the languages.

Political advertising in Zimbabwe: A critical appraisal of the MDC-T's 2013 election advertisements placed in the Daily News.

The researcher also found out that MDC-T came up with discourses such as *Tsvangirai is more and more people have moved to more* in its election advertisements. These discourses were meant to counter names which were given to MDC-T by Zanu PF. *Tsvangirai is more* shows that despite the fact that he is called a stooge he can meet the demands of the people. Various discourses were used to counter Zanu PF hegemony. The civil servants advertisement opened a chance for everybody to become a freedom fighter was bruising the ego of Zanu PF because freedom fighting is where their ego lay hence MDC-T countered Zanu PF hegemony. Words such as *special* used in the advertisements were not used innocently. They were used as a way of appealing to the people to vote for MDC-T.

5.3 Recommendations to MDC-T

The researcher recommends that MDC-T should continue to use promises in advertisements because the people usually vote for a person who tells them what they want to hear. Effective propaganda wins the hearts of people because it tells them what they want to hear.

Moreover, the researcher recommends the intense use of name calling because this technique is appealing. *Jongwe mupoto* rooster in the pot was the only name calling technique which the researcher noticed. In return, MDC-T should answer name calling with more name for Zanu PF. The names should be placed in the advertisements.

The researcher recommends MDC-T to compare Tsvangirai and Mugabe or Zanu PF and MDC-T in the same advertisement so that the people see clearly the weaknesses of the opponent. In the 2013 advertisement, comparative political advertising was present but it was not direct. MDC-T used totally different advertisements in different papers to compare Mugabe and Tsvangirai.

5.4 Suggested areas for further study

As this research covered only part of the subject of analyzing MDC-T advertisements, a lot can still be looked at. I recommend that the impact of MDC-T advertisements should be looked at as an area of further study. The effectiveness of MDC-T advertisements should be studied to find out if they are not appealing enough to persuade the people to turn against Zanu PF.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter serves as a conclusion of the whole dissertation. In this chapter, the summary of the whole dissertation was made and recommendations were given to MDC-T.

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