Former President of a Former Colony

How The Guardian reported on the final events leading to Robert Mugabe’s resignation
During the month of November 2017, the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe was taken into custody by Zimbabwe’s military. This was a move in order to shift the governmental power after which Mugabe after almost 40 years as President of Zimbabwe resigned from his post.

The thesis contains a Critical Discourse Analysis of articles published by one of the world’s great newspapers during this shift of power. The newspaper analysed is the British newspaper The Guardian. The analysis studied which characters and major topics are represented in the articles and how they are represented to see what fits inside The Guardian’s news reporting on the final events in the shift of power in Zimbabwe. In order to find these discursive attributes, pictures linked to the articles were analysed, the context in which the events happened as well as the discourse used in the articles from a perspective of orientalism, post-colonialism and ideology. Other theoretical aspects used are framing, representation and Critical Discourse Studies.

The empirical case in this research project involves three articles collected from The Guardian reaching from the reporting of Mugabe’s firing of his vice President, Emmerson Mnangagwa to the reporting of Robert Mugabe resigning as President of Zimbabwe.

The interest in this study is springing from the normative approach of news media to provide an objective story to the readers while providing the whole picture. With this mission many different challenges come along of orientalist and post-colonial character, as The Guardian is a British newspaper and Zimbabwe being a former British colony.

The results concluded an absence of post-colonial and orientalist representations in the news frames regarding Zimbabwe and its population, the most ideologically charged instances rather revolved around Robert and Grace Mugabe.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, ideology, journalism, orientalism, post-colonialism, The Guardian, Zimbabwe
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1. Introduction

In this section, the problem area subject to the study conducted in the thesis is introduced along with the importance of studying said problem. There is also a description of the specific empirical case that is studied.

On November 6th 2017, The Guardian (a British daily newspaper) reported that the 93-year old President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe fired his appointed successor, Emmerson Mnangagwa from the position of Vice President of Zimbabwe in order to make way for his wife, Grace Mugabe (Burke, 2017a). Claims can be made that this action would start a process that resulted in a shift of power after which Mugabe resigned from his post, after almost 40 years in power of Zimbabwe.

The reason for choosing to study the Guardian’s journalism can be motivated by looking at the role of global journalism. When it comes to news reporting, the role of global journalism can be described as to how journalism represents various complicated relations in the World (Berglez, 2008). These relations occur in between different organizations or different countries for example. The relationship between Zimbabwe and Britain can be described as a complicated one because of Zimbabwe’s previous status as one of the many colonies in Africa belonging to Britain (this historical context and colonial relationship is presented in more detail in the following chapter on contextual background). Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980, resulting in the Mugabe-controlled government led by the party ‘Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front’ (ZANU-PF). Britain was still suspected of trying to destabilize the country by supporting the party in opposition to the ruling power, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). This party was described by ZANU-PF as an agent for the British government (Willems, 2013). This is only one example of the tensions between Britain and Zimbabwe, making it interesting to study how a British newspaper frames this shift of power in a previous colony while facing the challenges of orientalism and post-colonialism.

As such, this study performs analysis on the meaning of the discourse used in articles published by the British newspaper The Guardian. The meaning is found in the breaking down of words in the text and objects in the pictures, the result is then studied in the theoretical frame of post-colonialism, ideology and orientalism to find underlying meanings. These meanings could potentially reveal how the newspaper reports on this issue from the context of the complex historical relationship. As such the focus remains The Guardian’s reporting on the events, broken down into several challenges connected to orientalism, post-colonialism and ideology.
To conclude my introduction, a significant event in a country with a complicated relationship to Britain due to a colonial past, is reported by British news media, which face several challenges. The empirical material is to uncover hidden meaning, via critical discourse analysis (CDA) regarding the texts and multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) regarding the pictures. This hidden meaning could reveal how the British newspaper deals with these challenges on the basis of the importance of professional journalism. The official statement of The Guardian is that the newspaper stands without political affiliations in order to maintain a liberal practice (www.theguardian.com, 2018). In this sense, there should not be any ideologically charged representations in their articles.

2. Contextual Background

Carvalho (2008) motivates the importance of historical context analysis when performing a CDA. In order to succeed in performing an analysis connected to the colonial past between Britain and Zimbabwe; a presentation of the historical context is in order. Presented in this chapter is therefore an intricate, contextual background to not only the relationship between Britain and Zimbabwe, but also the upcoming of Robert Mugabe, underlying reasons for the independence and the many issues that remained or came to be after the country won its independence.

The colonial relationship between Zimbabwe and Britain can be traced back to 1890, when the country then known as “the Ndebele state” was claimed British by the “Pioneer Column”, a group of professional adventurers sponsored by the British imperialist Cecil John Rhodes. The relationship between Britain and their colony might not however have been as supportive and intimate as one might think. As described by Lord Soames (1980), the last British governor, the commitment of Britain was “hesitant and reluctant” from the very beginning of the colonization (Soames, 1980, p. 405).

The financial expectations on the colony by the Europeans quickly turned from a previous focus of mining towards agriculture (Mlambo, 2014), the industrial market of the colony would not see serious development until after the end of the First World War and the subsequent Great Depression (Phimister, 2000).

African nationalist movements had occurred sporadically since the colonization, however with Zambia and Ghana among other African countries gained their independence in the mid 20th century, the country mobilized its political force into several political parties. These parties were all banned for various reasons until one party prepared for such an event by smuggling weapons into the country to make the members ready to battle colonial rule via
sabotage and, if needed “armed confrontation” (Mlambo, 2014, p. 147). This party was named Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU).

ZAPU was eventually officially banned because of its demonstrations that often resulted in violence and bloodshed. The banning led African nationalism into a state of chaos; the party split up and a new party was formed. The new party was called Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and its secretary general no other than the country’s future president, Robert Gabriel Mugabe (Mlambo, 2014).

It was in 1965 that the beginning of the end ironically came for the white government of the colony, when it proclaimed its independence from Britain via their Prime Minister, Ian Smith. The proclamation created friction between the colony and Britain as Britain wanted guarantees that the independent country would be going towards a majority rule, in this sense supporting the native population of the colony. A number of sanctions were put on the former colony by Britain while the independence also sparked numerous armed conflicts between the national government and the African nationalists in ZAPU and ZANU. These conflicts involved several nations as ZANU was supported by China in terms of extensive military support regarding weapons and equipment. ZAPU simultaneously received their support from the Soviet Union. South African guerrillas (MK) were also involved in the conflict, giving South Africa a reason for joining the national forces in their anti-rebellion struggle (Mlambo, 2014).

The guerrilla campaigns escalated gradually and in 1972 it reach a new level of intensity. This had several negative effects of the nations already strained economy as resources were destroyed and productive males were enlisted to the military. This accompanied by a global economic emergency as a result of an oil crisis in 1973 resulted in a country in great financial struggle. A series of sanctions also started to take their toll on the society and the economy, leading to an intense time of emigration of the white population. Emigration put more pressure on the remaining white people in regards to military and financial support for the government, resulting in even more emigration (Mlambo, 2014).

In 1979, the parties involved in the armed conflict that had affected the country for almost twenty years came together in the so-called ‘Lancaster House Conference’. One very important question in the conference in order to achieve peace was the question of land reform, the very thing that had such an importance in the building of the colonial agriculture. It was first when the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom agreed to provide financial support for the newly created government in order to purchase land from the white landowners that the two sides could come to a conclusion and political actions could continue. Other arrangements of the conference included a cease-fire, an authority in
the form of a British governor overseeing the transition, forsaking military means for political goals and accepting the outcome of the upcoming elections. These elections took place in the beginning of 1980, with an old party renamed, ZANU-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) lead by Robert Mugabe, claiming 57 out of 100 seats in the parliament in what can be described as a clear victory (ibid.).

The coming years after the election, the new government introduced several policies with a positive effect for the poor majority of Zimbabwe. In the 1990’s however, inflation, shortages for houses to the poor population of the urban areas, increased unemployment and a general increase in poverty came to strike the people of Zimbabwe (ibid). Along with the financial issues, corruption also increased with corruption cases ending up in court doubled from the period of 1990 to 1998 (Doig, 2006).

Robert Mugabe first made an attempt at reuniting with the political opposition as white politicians and ZAPU members were appointed to stations within the government. This would however not last long, as issues between ZANU and ZAPU resulted in more armed conflicts to pit allies against each other in 1983, resulting in the “Matebeleland crisis” (Mlambo, 2014, p. 197). The crisis took a strong toll on the civilian population, with almost 80% of the killings being performed by ‘5 brigade’ (Hatchard, 1998), fighters trained in Korea and loyal to Robert Mugabe. The hostilities ended in 1987, when the parties united into ZANU-PF, making Zimbabwe a one-party nation except for a few inferior parties (Mlambo, 2014).

Another complicated aspect was the ever-present issue of privileges enjoyed by the white population even after the independence, much of it being that the small population of white farmers possessed much of the land most suitable for agriculture. In an attempt at getting swift popularity, ZANU-PF accused the white farmers for all problems in Zimbabwe concerning the economy and the political climate. This resulted in supporters of the government removing the white commercial farmers from the land in a fierce fashion; in turn resulting in worse relations between the white population and the government in Zimbabwe (Mlambo, 2014).

One remain of the colonial rule was that the new government of Zimbabwe used the very same tactics to combat political opposition as the old, colonial government did. Many of the leaders in the new government, for example Robert Mugabe, spent time in jail for their political opposition and acting on behalf of the African majority. Despite having experienced the bad side of violent governance first hand, this was exactly what the new government used to encounter political opposition, violence (ibid.).

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3. Aim and Research Questions

In this section, the aim and purpose of the study is further presented along with the research questions.

Orientalist representations of the ‘dark continent’ have persisted through geopolitical representations of a continent of failed states, rampant disease, and poverty. (Sharp, 2013, p. 238)

Berglez (2013) establishes the purpose of studying global journalism with the various ways that it aids in democratic and informed decision-making. This proclaimed importance inspires the purpose for this study. It is springing from the normative approach of news media to provide an objective story to the readers while providing the whole picture. With this mission connected to the specific case of the thesis, different challenges of ideological, orientalist and post-colonial character may present themselves. Hence, this thesis studies how The Guardian handle the challenges in the reporting of three major events during the power shift in Zimbabwe by investigating several theoretically based research questions.

Sharp (2013) claims that the western civilizations represent the continent of Africa as an ensemble of unsuccessful states. Africa is often described as a continent with staggering numbers of starvation, poverty and uncontrollable violence, where the reluctant imperialistic powers of the West are forced to mediate with philanthropic aid or military backing to the absent, African continent. The claim that Western media presents an image of Africa constructed in such a way leads me to my first research question:

**RQ1: How does The Guardian discursively construct the events and actors during the shift of power in Zimbabwe?**

This question is the main question of my study, in order to establish how the discourse of The Guardian presents Zimbabwe, an African country and ex-colony during this shift of power.

Berglez (2013) presents various challenges facing the practice of global journalism, where the most relevant to this article is the one of ideology. This challenge constitutes the difficulty for journalists to be objective in their discourse and reporting while also promoting or repressing certain ideologies. The ideological challenge of being objective therefore leads me to the second research question:
RQ2: How do articles published by The Guardian approach the ideological challenge of global journalism regarding the covered events?

My third and last research question is connected to the analysis of thumbnails and photographs attached to the articles. Machin and Mayr (2012) address how meaning is created in pictures and photographs, this can be analysed using a modal critical discourse analysis (MCDA). These meanings are meant to complete the findings in the texts. Leading to my third and final research question:

RQ3: How do the pictures add to the overall ideological element of the discourse?

These questions should answer what the journalists choose to focus on, potential hidden meanings, the level of ideological objectivity they can maintain in their discourse and if there are clear examples of the journalists failing in ideological objectivity in the framing of the discourse. The ideological challenge of staying impartial is found in the representations according to Strom (2015), the analysis of the representations therefore show how The Guardian portrays ideological differences between Britain and Zimbabwe or if they indeed to.

4. Previous Research

Here the study’s research area is presented. The chapter presents what type of research that has been done in the area of interest along with what opportunities of contribution or potential gaps there could be. The topics of previous research presented and used were collected using two different search engines. One of them was the main search engine of the library of Jönköping University, Primo and the other was the database ‘Communication Source’, both available to me by the status of student. To search for previous research in search engines provided by University Libraries is a method recommended in the sense of it being “reliable”, “discerning” and “efficient” (Hansen & Machin, 2013, p.18). The research is collected on the basis of the theoretical approach to the presented research problem. As such it focus on ideology in the news, orientalism and ‘othering’ in news media, the challenge of global journalism, post-colonialism and studies on the representation of Zimbabwe.

4.1 Ideology in News

*Media texts are manipulated by different hands in order to justify their own act and get positive image in the public* (Oriujlou, 2012, p. 38).
The topic of ideology in news is analysed in various ways. Strom (2015) performed a CDA of 15 different articles and photographs in local Spanish-language newspapers in order to determine how the ideological approach in the news media challenged negative, ideological statements against “Latin@ immigrants” in the United States (Strom, 2015, p. 487). Three central terms in her study are transformative, sustaining and neutral ideologies. Transformative meaning ideologies or terms that challenge mentioned representations, sustaining meaning ideologies that actively preserves representations and finally neutral, preserving or challenging both or neither (Strom, 2015). This study relates to mine in purpose and methodology, the theoretical framework does however differ as the concept of transformative, sustaining and neutral representations are not applied in this thesis regarding The Guardian’s representations of the events in Zimbabwe.

Yilmaz (2014) studied the effects of dominant ideology in the media, specifically tied to events in Syria and how they were represented in ideologically opposing newspapers in Turkey. This study is of interest as it is not Western media covering the events but rather a country in a geographically and somewhat culturally close proximity. The study however concluded that there were a strong present of ideological bias in the Turkish reporting on Syrian news. The analysis covered aspects like numbers of articles, where the difference between Turkish and Syrian news was almost non-existing, however in the analysis of size of the articles the ones covering Syrian news where significantly smaller. The emphasis on the subject differed between the two Turkish newspapers where one showed great emphasis and one showed very little (Yilmaz, 2014). This study shows that ideological differences can be enough for a misrepresentation of another country’s news. It does not have to be a Western country covering an African nation.

When studying ideological traits of news texts, the linguistic tools of CDA have been proven to be of great value (Shojaei, Youssefi & Hosseini, 2013). Shojaei, Youssefi and Hosseini (2013) studied how ideological differences were represented and sometimes misrepresented in Western media regarding events in Iran and Syria. One of the linguistic tools showing highest results in the study was proven to be lexicalization, a strategy used in my thesis in the more extreme manner of over-lexicalization. For their collection of data, ten of the most popular newspapers from the UK and the US were chosen. These included Independent, the Daily Mirror, The Guardian, the Daily Telegraph, the Daily Mail from the UK; and the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the USA Today, the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal from the US. The choice of studying The Guardian connects well with the intent for my thesis. The results of their study showed that “the mass media simply cannot provide a perspective that is totally free from subjective interpretation of events” (Shojaei, Youssefi & Hosseini, 2013, p. 867). The language of Western news was also concluded to be very
ideological regarding featuring actors from Iran and Syria in their articles. Featuring of actors and who get’s a voice in the articles can consequently be used as an ideological factor in analysing news texts for ideological traits. Relatable to my study on which actors are featured in the articles and if it is heavy featuring of Western actors while the African and Zimbabwean ones are neglected.

Oriujlou (2012) performed a CDA in order to analyse the American news and how they ideologically represented Iran’s nuclear energy. Methodology in this study is very much applicable to my study as the headline analysis involved transitivity because of the methods way to “make the unbiased understanding of the ideology clear” (Oriujlou, 2012, p. 39). There is also a notion that the headlines are not necessarily well matched to the reporting as they may communicate ideological notions not fitting to the main article. Reasoning behind this could be creating consciousness of the public. This makes the news reporting even more important to analyse instead of only studying headlines in order to find the full ideological structure (Oriujlou, 2012). The complex relationship between headlines and the full article is also present in the fact that the journalist seldom writes the headline of the article (Bednarek & Caple, 2012).

4.2 Orientalism and ‘othering’ in News Media

Even though ‘orientalism’ as a concept might indicate a relation between ‘the West’ and ‘the Orient’, the conceptualization can actually be applicable to all countries and areas not included in ‘the West’. The concept has been used to analyse numerous tensions, topics and issues around the World like Somali pirates (Way 2013), the US invasion of Iraq (Trivundza 2004), the US public discourse regarding China (Ban, Sastry, Dutta 2013) and Western media coverage of Chinese gaming (Wirman 2016). As such, the concept is applicable to most socio-geographic relations as well as various topics, not limited to conflicts.

The methodology of the studies can be either quantitative or qualitative. Using CDA, Way (2013) studied the strategies of ‘othering’ as well as grammatical and lexical strategies to conclude that Western self-interests and military actions were the ones being served by the BBC, even though the historical context suggests that Western intervention was one reason behind the Somali pirate activities. In establishing specific ways of presenting another actor or nation as an ‘other’, Way (ibid.) used one tool of great interest to my study, the Van Leeuwen (1996) strategy of naming, whether the actor in the articles is mentioned by name often or not. If the actor is not mentioned by name it can be one sign of ‘othering’. The manner in which the case is approached heavily influences my study as both nations and specific actors will be included in the empirical material. As such the study conducted by Way
(ibid.) co-relates with mine in fundamental methodology as well as by aim of studying the media objectivity and how ‘othering’ can be expressed.

Ban, Sastry and Dutta (2013) implemented both the theoretical concept of orientalism and theory of ideology in their study in the context of neoliberalism in U.S public discourse concerning China. The concept of neoliberalism is not applied in this thesis, however the theoretical approach regarding how orientalism is applied in regarding a relationship between two nations is of much interest to this study. Mostly, the concept is used in order to see how the U.S discourse constructs the economy of China in relation to the domestic one. Comparable to my case could be how the socio-political climate is presented in the articles of The Guardian and how it could relate to the domestic one.

Wirman (2016) had another approach, as the most central theory of the study was a modified form of orientalism, referred to as ‘sinological-orientalism’. The modified version of the concept is not applied to this thesis, as the notion of portraying another country as an ‘other’ would be based more on similarities rather than differences. The study also used a different methodological approach compared to my study, as the empirical material covered consisted of more than 853 articles.

The quantitative methodologies used a much wider sample of hundreds of articles. Trivundza (2004), found clear signs of orientalist reporting in favour of the West via excluding facts and data in the studied articles. Ban, Sastry, Dutta (2013) found the Western news media recognizing the growing economy in China and thereby its evolvement as a powerful market actor. Contradicting the orientalist tradition of presenting the country as ‘barbaric’. Wirman (2016) found a varying discourse in Western Media regarding their representations of the Chinese gaming community.

> Chinese game player community and gamer representations in Western news reporting vary from addicted players, and their treatment centers to highly professional player teams and, further, “gold farmers” whose play takes the shape of laborious “grinding.” (Wirman, 2016, p. 309)

### 4.3 Challenge of Global Journalism

Berglez (2008) article evaluates the concept of global journalism in theory and method in the light of rising of transnational events and crisis. The topic of climate change, for example would because of its global character need a new method and theory for journalistic analysis rather than the domestic and foreign. The article concludes that the concept of global
journalism should result in more detailed ways of analysing news texts, especially in addition to discourse analytic methods. This study contributes to mine by validating the purpose of my study as well as the chosen method of critical discourse analysis. From the historical context described earlier in the thesis, there is also a history of events in Zimbabwe affecting other countries, as such it would be of use to see if the events covered in the material is described as such. What is most derived from this section of previous research is therefore the challenge of reporting on such complicated relationships.

4.4 Post-Colonialism: Voice and Representation

The termination of the political structure of colonialism has paved the way for a new understanding of post-colonialism and its effect on the shaping of modern society (Bhambra 2007). The modern development regarding comprehending the concept of post-colonialism and its impact on society can almost be comparable to the revolutions of race and sexuality according to Bhambra (2007). Bhambra also addresses the importance and positive effect of new voices being allowed in forums and fields where only particular people previously have been given voice (2007). This notion is useful in my study regarding the subject of who gets a voice in the articles written by The Guardian and who are left without in the same range as the research conducted on ideology by Shojaei, Youseffi and Hosseini (2013). One aspect of the article written by Bhambra (2007) that is not used in this thesis is the concept of race and gender. This thesis attempts to use the limited space to emphasize on the ideological section of post-colonialism in order to address the aim and research questions rather than race and gender. These concepts could however be an interesting addition in future research.

Another area previously governed as a British colony is the area of Palestine, where the Palestinian lands no longer lay under British rule from 1948 (Sabido, 2015). As such, Sabido (2015) studied media representation in the case of British news media reporting on the conflict between Israel and Palestine. In the study, four different newspapers were analysed during four different historical points in the conflict. CDA was used in order to provide insight into how the British news media situated itself towards the conflict, as Britain no longer remained in governance over the Palestinian area. This co-relates to my study as CDA is presented as a usable way of analysing one country’s news media portrays a former colonial area. Results of the study concluded that discourse and representations of the conflict as well as its agents evolved over time. Compared to my study, the colonial relationship between Zimbabwe and Britain is a different one in regards to historical context and the comparably short period of time it was since Zimbabwe became independent compared to Palestine. With that said the study does provide insight into post-colonial discourse in the case of British news and its representations.
4.5 Zimbabwe: Representation and Independence

Moyo (2011) studied how the CNN television reportages represented race and historical justice during the 2008 presidential election in Zimbabwe. Much of the study revolved around how CNN represented said issues via their news frames. The framing process was proven to be simplistic and lacking contextual grounding. The article approaches the challenge of global journalism in its reporting of African issues. The conclusion argue that CNN needs a shift from being very centred on the European perspective to perspectives outside of Europe in order to embrace and express the post-colonies of Africa and their various narratives. This article contributes to my research by providing insight into the research surrounding a Western media reporting on an African event, which very much compares to my study as one of the issues related to the challenge of global journalism as presented by Berglez (2008).

Willems (2013) discusses the independence of Zimbabwe and the celebrations that occur in memory of said independence as the ruling party of ZANU-PF alters the how and the why of Independence Day in Zimbabwe for political purposes. Empirical material in the study was the introduction of popular music, as well as the aesthetics, modes and styles of the celebrations. The study concludes that Independence Day changed in Zimbabwe, from being about freedom from “the Rhodesian colonial yoke” (Willems 2013, p. 1) in the 1980’s, to being about economic freedom in the 2000’s. Another alteration in the celebrations that occurred in the 2000’s was the freedom from involvement of alien actors. These alien actors were the United States, the Europe and the white farmers of Zimbabwe, all of which were considered to run the opposing party in Zimbabwe, the MDC. This study contributes to mine by providing an image of the socio-political relationship in post-colonial Zimbabwe and their perceived relation to the West.

4.6 Opportunity of Contribution

The previous research shows various examples of post-colonialist studies as well as studies of ideology and orientalism in news media and how Zimbabwe has been represented in the media. This study can hopefully be considered a contribution to that field of study.

An opportunity of contribution is presented by reviewing the previous research is the lack of research regarding post-colonial expressions in the news media regarding the relations between Britain and Zimbabwe from an orientalist perspective. Studies have been performed to look at post-colonialism from other angles but not yet in the way of CDA to expose potential orientalist expressions in The Guardian in regards to their history with Zimbabwe,
as a quite new independent nation compared to the research performed on British representation on the Israel Palestine Conflict by Sabido (2015).

5. Theoretical Frame and Concepts

This section presents the theoretical framework of the study. The theoretical construction of the problem involves the concept of post-colonialism and the theory of orientalism as well as the theory of ideology. The concepts of news framing, media representation and critical discourse studies are also presented in order to support the theoretical and methodological approach to the study.

5.1 Post-colonialism

The concept of post-colonialism refers to the period that comes after the end of the European colonial empires. It does not however suggest that the previous colonies are in an evolved state, recovered from the colonial era and in new, improved relations where the old ones have disappeared. In this sense the term of post-colonialism does not just symbolize the state after colonialism but rather a form of extension and evolvement of colonialism (Baaz 2001). As such the concept could be applicable to this study in order to see how this colonial past is brought up or related to in the articles presented by The Guardian.

If postcoloniality has been defined as the transcendence of imperial structures and their histories, such a definition is obviously contradicted by the everyday experiences and memories of the people in the ex-colonies. (Gikandi, 1996, p. 15)

To understand the effects of the colonial culture, it must be taken into consideration that colonialism was a mission of power, racial exclusion and domination, which still provides a context of modern identities (Gikandi, 1996). Studying the topic of post-colonialism, Venn (2003) notions that the colonialism perpetrated by Europeans separates itself from other colonialist models because of the way it portrays the people originally inhabiting the colonized region as ‘the other’. Venn describes this ‘other’ as not only something alien or unfamiliar but as an inferior species of living organisms deserving the Western guidance; motivated by Gikandi (1996) this might still be a noticeable context in modern time. The term can also be compared to the orientalist use of the concept of ‘Them’ and ‘Us’ discussed under the theoretical chapter of ‘Orientalism’. Even though post-colonialism has this in common with the theoretical concept of orientalism, there is a difference between the two concepts as this concept cover the colonial relationship between a colonial power and a former colony
(Gikandi, 1996), while orientalism look more at the societal level of Western society versus the rest of the World (Said, 2003).

In this study, the concept of post-colonialism can be understood from the potential action of the journalist presenting the people of Zimbabwe in any way as inferior to Britain as described by Venn (2003). An example of this could be the use of who gets a voice in the articles as noted in the previous research (Bhambra, 2007), a post-colonial example in that case would be only citing British politicians and ‘experts’ on their points of view regarding the events, while not mentioning or quoting African or Zimbabwean politicians, civilians or other actors.

5.2 Orientalism

Originally, the concept of orientalism signified a political structure supporting and re-enforcing the differences between two groups: “Us” and “Them”. The ‘Us’ part was the ‘West’, meaning Europe and its familiarities. The ‘Them’ signified the foreign and un-familiar such as the Orient (Said, 2003). In this sense it is vastly connected to the concept of post-colonialism, however it is more connected to the differences between the societies of the West and the societies thought of as un-familiar, the un-familiar societies does not necessarily need to be former colonies of the West. The examples that could relate to the ‘Us’ or ‘Them’ of the articles are most attributes or word-connotations that in a clear manner would relate them to the West in either a relatable or an alienating way. This can be done via the presence of technological factors or items of clothing relatable to the West (smart phones, suits) or alienating to the West (military actors within a civilian environment).

All though the term “orientalism” mostly refers to the lands east of the Mediterranean to Indochina and Malaya, the effects of orientalism can be applicable to all the areas colonized or otherwise affected by the West (Europe). This involves Africa in a very similar degree to Asia (ibid.).

The thought behind the workings of orientalism can be described in the following manner: There is a central seat of power in a Western country, Britain for example. The power of Britain then spreads like ripples on water to foreign countries that maintains the British power while still being controlled by it such as former India, China and Zimbabwe. The British presence of power in these areas then allows ‘Us’ to accumulate various resources from ‘Them’ weather it is material wealth, human material or previously unknown knowledge. These resources are then processed by Britain and transformed into more power. As a result the local concerns of the central power becomes the general interest for the
imperial body as a whole. This relationship results in a western mind-set of oriental weakness in relation to the western strength (ibid.).

One problem with the research field of orientalism theory is the presupposition that the West is the strong and superior, while oriental or foreign areas are thought of as inferior (ibid.). This academic presupposition can be taken into consideration during this study and analysis of how The Guardian reports on main events in Zimbabwe in order to establish how these earlier formations of “scientific truth” (Said 2003, p. 46) are present in modern journalism, if indeed they still are.

In this study, the theory of orientalism is used in the sense of ‘othering’ that is created when presenting one side as ‘Them’ and another as ‘Us’. This could be represented in various ways in the articles, from clothes in pictures that could be considered to be in contrast to Western clothing, to referring to events as chaotic or violent.

5.3 Ideology

The concept of ideology is one used in different ways in different fields of study, Corner (2015) discusses the terms usage in media research in the following manner, differentiating it from previously popular thought of the concept only being relatable or applicable to the field of political science:

‘Ideology’ as a term of critical analysis promises a way into the exploration of the relationships between power, meaning and subjectivity, relationships with which the media are clearly quite centrally involved, both as constitutive and as representational agents (Corner, 2015, p. 266).

Ideology is however also considered in significant aspect when studying political power but also in regards to economic forms of power. Especially when a discourse can be concluded to support un-equal power-relations in a society or between nations, it can be considered to portray ideological power (Fairclough, 2015).

Studying ideology in news media has long been an important way of finding traits within the content of the text, otherwise not available only through analysing statistics of an event. When analysing ideological qualities of news, the interest is rather in how the actors and events are described (Van Dijk, 1988a). Of special interest when analysing international news reporting are the subtle signs of ideological values potentially present in portrayal of so called “developing countries and Third World actors and events” (Van Dijk, 1988a, p. 44). Examples of these signs can be the following:
• Attention on how the political situation might differ from the politics of western society, for example parliamentary democracy, hence the political events and activities can be portrayed as undemocratic (Van Dijk, 1988a).

• Events and economic problems are only covered by Western news media if they become issues related to Western society. Examples being business interests, debts, Western politicians being on a visit or in direct effect (ibid.).

• Coups and political unrest can be covered differently depending on how the coup would affect the West. If the coup could be favourable to the West, it can be given more positive attention by the newspaper (ibid.).

The theory of ideology is not necessarily only about politics, even though it can be applicable to the topic. In this study, ideology is approached in the way of “meaning and subjectivity” (Corner, 2015, p. 266). An example can be drawn from the last point presented above regarding portrayal of coups or political unrest. If the events could be favourable to the West, The Guardian could report on them as such by emphasizing on happy civilians or peaceful acts by the military.

5.4 Framing of News

*We can define framing as the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation* (Entman, 2007).

The concept of frames derives originally from Ervin Goffman (1959-), who describes a frame as to how a Western individual uses his or her perspective, approach or rules in order to interpret a situation, or making a non-significant event meaningful. This is described as the primary framework, which can be organized in many different ways and degrees, from articulate rules to more of a tradition of understanding. With different frameworks for different occurrences, the individual can interpret, identify or distinguish an apparently endless number of specific events, however if the individual were to describe these frameworks he or she would most likely be unable to (Goffman 1986).

There are however more ways of applying the concept of frames and framing. In the context of news, the producers of news has to be proficient at framing the messages to the public by identifying the event, understanding it and establishing its importance in a very short period of time while managing vast amounts of complicated information. This framing-process is
supposed to result in large amounts of international information being narrowed down to the most relevant, being communicated in simple and easily understood terms (Clausen 2003).

There are several forms of framing when it comes to news production, two of which are the textual and the contextual. First, the textual part of framing is strategies and conventions for presenting an event and assembling verbal and visual expressions in news presentations and second, the contextual parts of framing are the influences of actors and factors on news production at the global, national, organizational and professional level (Clausen 2003).

The theory of framing is of fundamental value to this study, as it involves the background of constructing texts both on a textual and contextual level, applicable to my textual and contextual analysis. And in the words of Clausen (2003) the articles would report on what is the most important in the most easily understood manner. This could be applicable to how the articles want the readers to understand the roles of Robert Mugabe, Emmerson Mnangagwa and the military for example, which can be noticed by how they are represented along with other events and actors.

6. Method and Material

This section presents the methodology of the study. As previous research shows, both qualitative and quantitative methods have been proven useful in the studying of similar areas and cases. As this thesis seek to uncover hidden discourse and meaning, a qualitative approach via a CDA is used along with a much smaller sample than a quantitative study would contain. This involves the analytical tools as well as motivation of data collection and the issue of validity and reliability.

The first research question cover how The Guardian discursively constructs events and actors. The broadness of this question results in several methodological tools being needed where CDA is the most fundamental as it is discursive construction that is under analysis. My second research question on how the articles approach the ideological challenge of global journalism is answered by how CDA seek to uncover ideological standpoints. Answering my third research question on how pictures add to the ideological element of the discourse is answered by using MCDA and iconography. These methods can basically be compared to the process of CDA in finding hidden meaning and discourse, however in pictures rather than in words (Machine & Mayr, 2012).
6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

*CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society* (Van Dijk 2003, p. 353)

Van Dijk (2013) clarifies that CDA as such is not a method but rather a scholar movement using many various methods to achieve their research goals. These goals generally consist of studying the lexicon, context, rhetoric or narrative structures. Which specific areas intended to include in the study is clarified in the section on analytical framework.

MCDA is used when analysing the pictures and photographs attached to the articles in order to find completing forms of meaning connectable to the textual analysis. This method consists of various tools and techniques but one of the most usable to my study being *iconography*. This tool looks at specific, individual aspects of the photographs such as attributes, salience and settings (Machine & Mayr, 2012); these are described further in the section on analytical tools.

*In CDA texts are analysed in terms of the details of the linguistic choices they contain as these allow the analyst to reveal the broader discourses that are realised.* (Hansen and Machin 2013, p. 120)

The theoretical approach to discourses and the study of discourse is that it is formed by various structures of the ideological kind. The structures do not only affect the discourse but the discourse affects the structures as well in reforming existing ones or forming new ones. Structures are formed by linguistic factors such as terms, grammar or other linguistic codes but they also involve other structures. These involved structures are rather once regarding societal issues like economy, gender matters, politics or educational topics (Fairclough, 2010).

Machin and Mayr (2012) divide the foundation of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) into three questions. First, you ask yourself what selections the creator of a text, image or speech has used. Second, you ask why the creator might have used these specific selections of words in the text or speech and elements in the image. Last, you ask what the consequences might be for the creator to use these certain selections. These questions are meant to break down texts and images in order to study how selections of specific words or elements in texts and
images can advocate certain identities, ideologies, values as a result of power relations or establishments.

6.2 Representation in Texts and Media

In the context of analysing news texts, the representation is classified in a hierarchy. In this discursive hierarchy there is one major set of information called “macropropositions” (Van Dijk, 1988b, p. 145) which is followed by more intricate details. The information typed into the article is also of nature placed in each subsequent headline according to the topic on which the information can be related (Van Dijk, 1988b). This comes from the news needing to be presented via a self-structured medium, the structures building this medium results in the news texts giving off certain perspectives to issues, topics and events. The structured perspectives can have to do with the employees’ wages, other financial aspects or specific agreements regarding how the medium is produced (Fowler, 1991).

Halliday (2004) writes about the major role that representation has in building the meaning of sentences and sub sentences. In this sense the representational meaning is to determine what the text is about. This is done by looking at what characters that are involved in the text, the actions that the characters perform and the circumstances in which these characters perform these actions. This is named the “ideational” meaning of the text (Halliday, 2004, p. 309).

The concept of representation has a fundamental value to this study, as it is the basis on which the methodological framework is built, alongside the building of frames presented earlier. As the aim of this study is to find underlying meaning relatable to context and ideology, this theory can be motivated in it being among “the three main types of meaning” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 135).

6.2 Analytical Framework

When constructing an analytical framework, there are certain points of special interest related to the performance of a CDA according to Carvalho (2008) in order to find hidden discourse and meanings of media texts. Some of these questions can be how things are said and expressed in the texts and what the possible consequences could be.

Carvalho (ibid.) presents an example of an analytical framework when performing a critical analysis of media discourse involving two levels: textual and contextual. The textual level looks at what the journalistic texts actually consists of by approaching items like layout, objects, actors, discursive strategies and ideological standpoints. These areas will help
unravel underlying discourse and how or if orientalist and/or post-colonial tendencies are expressed in the text and the images.

**Layout:** here, I am looking at the overall structures of the article. Headlines, the first lead as well as the following paragraphs are of interest to look at closely in order to see what reading the author prefers (van Dijk, 1988b). Interesting to note regarding headlines is that it is not necessarily the journalist who writes them but rather a subeditor (Bednar & Caple, 2012). Other layout related areas are length of the article as well as the presence or absence of images or other visual effects (Carvalho, 2008).

**Objects:** This tool look at what the specific objects of the discourse might be. In the case of this study it is constructed to cover the issues and events that have a major presence in the articles and how these could be related to the topic of the post-colonial relation between Britain and Zimbabwe from the aspects of orientalism, post-colonialism and ideology. The objects can for example be the political climate in Zimbabwe as well as the economic climate or the social climate with potential violence or other issues, as absence of focus on these issues still could be of interest to the thesis and research field. Most of all it covers what significant topics that are foregrounded in the discourse. The purpose of analysing objects are the determination of the focus of the article and what the journalist chooses to put focus on (Carvalho, 2008).

**Actors:** This is closely connected to my first research question in order to see who is mentioned in the article and the way in which the actors are represented. The characters can be represented as an actor performing an action or an object, being talked or written about. This term can be compared to the Fairclough “voices-term”, which ordinarily refer to speech, who is speaking in the article and who has their speech represented (1995). Analysing the various actors in the text is important in order to study the portrayal of opposing sides in a conflict or issue. It aids in the understanding of how the news media is aligned with the issue but also in the understanding of potential biases presented in the discourse of the news and the discourse of the presented social actors (Carvalho, 2008). Fairclough (1995) provides a usable connection between description of actors and presenting as an ‘other’. Presenting someone as an actor, performing an action, which could provide power to the actor as he or she is in a sense activated compared to an object, which in this case would be more passive, and by that reasoning more powerless.

**Discursive strategies:** Looking for certain tools used by the author of the text in order to get a specific effect or reach an agenda goal. Mainly used in this research paper will be *transitivity* as well as *lexical choices* (*word connotations* and *over-lexicalisations*).
Transitivity is a strategy or tool studied by scholars in order to find how a discourse promotes certain ideological standpoints by the representations of actors and their actions, “who does what to whom and how” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 104). The basics of transitivity is whether someone or something is represented as performing an action (being an actor) or suffering the consequences of said action (being the goal), the action by itself is in the method of transitivity called ‘process’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). One exemplification of this related to this study is the sentence “Robert Mugabe sacks vice-president” (Article 1), where Robert Mugabe is the actor, ‘sacks’ is the process and ‘vice-president’ suffers the consequences of the process as the vice-president is the one being ‘sacked’. This method finds how the text represents an actor and an action; the method is indeed significant in the analysis of newspapers and their ideological expressions (Fowler, 1991). Transitivity can also be helpful in illuminating participants, base and context, which can make the ideology behind the structures of the language in the text more clear (Oroujlou, 2012). The concept of transitivity can be connected to the concept of ‘othering’ in the same sense that the above-mentioned concept of ‘actor’. Where a person presented as performing an action would give the person an impression of power, activating them (Fairclough, 1995).

‘Word connotations’ is the strategy used when studying the choice of words used by the author of the article. One would look at if a certain term is used a lot in the discourse as well as if there can be a certain meaning (positive or negative) connoted to the word (Machin & Mayr, 2012). An example can be the usage of a word connected to the post-colonial image of representing the people of the African continent as some form of an inferior or alienated ‘other’ and differentiating the population from the ‘Us’ (Said 2003). This can be done by mentioning words previously used in representing African nations as failed states, poor states or chaotic states, without factual reasoning or motivations behind the notions (Sharp, 2013).

Over-lexicalisations give the reader a sense that the author of the text attempts an exaggerated level of persuasion in the discourse. This would in that case show by repeatedly using of certain words or synonyms of those words (Machin & Mayr, 2012). An example that might come up in the articles would be constant referring to Robert Mugabe’s age by either mentioning it in the specific number of years or describing him as ‘old’ or ‘aged’.

**Ideological standpoints:** Looking for presentation and application of the ideological standpoints of The Guardian as a newspaper, either regarding the ideological differences and how they are portrayed from a perspective of orientalism, or if they are mentioned at all by the author. The ideological aspects does not necessarily relate to politics though but rather to the overall discourse of the texts regarding portrayal, use of words and potential agendas by the author/newspaper. The importance of ideological standpoints as well as the difficulty of
establishing such is also mentioned by Carvalho (2008).

Ideology is an overarching aspect of the text. It is embedded in the selection and representation of objects and actors, and in the language and discursive strategies employed in a text. However, one should expect the ideological standpoints of an author not to be always explicit in the text, especially news texts (Carvalho, 2008, p. 170).

The tool of ideological standpoints is in accordance to Carvalho (2008) applicable when looking at the “overarching aspect” of the text (Carvalho, 2008, p. 170). As such it is used in this study to interpret the overall results found using the discourse strategies (transitivity, word connotations and over-lexicalization) and the textual levels of layout, actors and objects.

The contextual level rather studies wider aspects of the representation, for example the socio-historical context of the analysed issue (Carvalho, 2008). The importance of involving context in a CDA is also emphasized by Van Dijk (1997) as one of the main principles of CDA. Related to the theoretical framework, the context of the analytical tools will be the historically complex, post-colonial relationship between Britain and Zimbabwe, as described by Willems (2003) and in detail presented in the previous section of contextual background. This study applies the historical context to the contextual analysis in order to see to which extent the history of Zimbabwe and Britain’s effect on said history is present in the articles.

The images attached to the article as well as the video thumbnails are analysed in accordance to the iconographic tools of attributes, salience and settings.

When analysing the attributes in images or photographs connected to the text, ideas or values by the author is the goal. In this sense attention to the objects in the image or photograph is of great importance. This consists of looking at what kind of objects that are present in the picture and what they might communicate in the sense of values or ideas represented in the discourse (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Salience is used when studying whether an object or actor in an image or photograph is made to be specifically obvious to the viewer. This can be noticed in several different ways like size, colouring, focus or if the object can carry great potential of cultural value. Reasons behind salience in a photograph or an image would be to foreground certain things, creating a certain meaning (ibid.).

Settings in a photograph or an image conveys more overall ideas as they show the environment in which the photograph is taken and the environment may communicate a
great deal regarding values of discourse. Much brightness in the photograph could for
eexample mean that it brings optimism to the discourse, while darkness of course would
communicate the opposite (ibid.).

6.3 Material

The material collected for performing this study is online articles derived from the website of
the British newspaper The Guardian. As such The Guardian cannot be representative for all
of British news media but it is rather used in this case as a prism of less peculiar
representations. In order to cover as much as possible of the event, three articles will be used.
First, one covering the event that started the process, the sacking of Mugabe’s vice president.
Second, one article from the middle section of the event like the military takeover and
securing of the presidential family. Third, one article reporting on Mugabe’s official
resignation will be analysed. Both text and images will be studied in order to achieve a full
analysis.

During the time-period from the first event of Robert Mugabe letting Emmerson Mnangagwa
go until the final event of Mugabe’s resignation, approximately 64 posts were published on
The Guardian’s website. These posts consisted of a variety of different contents including
video-clips only, photographs only, letters to the editor, opinion posts, material from BBC
and articles produced by The Guardian’s journalists. The slim collection of articles derives
from the short period of time; with it there were three major events that could or should be
receiving quite some journalistic attention. As such it could also be the biggest target towards
potential, hidden meaning and discourse. These three events were the key events during the
shift of power: the sacking of Emmerson Mnangagwa, the military intervention and finally
the resignation of Robert Mugabe.

In two of the articles, there are ‘profile’-descriptions regarding Grace Mugabe and Emmerson
Mnangagwa. These are mentioned in the context of presenting the two individuals as
important actors, however the texts have not been part of the analysis as they are presented
in a different textual build and externally attached and in need of interaction in order to
show. This also goes with the videos attached where only the thumbnails are analysed in their
role of added pictures.

6.4 Validity and Reliability

With the issue of validity in performing a study, the main question regards if the operational
level of the study relates to the theoretical one. Basically the validity as such questions if the
study of the empirical material covers what the theoretical chapter says that the thesis is
studying (Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson & Wängnerud, 2012). The validity and reliability of the study could therefore be checked by use of the theoretical aspects and context. The orientalist notion of ‘othering’, examples of post-colonial tendencies and ideological aspects are re-occurring in the analysis and/or conclusion, thus connecting the theoretical concepts and aspects to the empirical and operational content.

As a non-native speaker regarding the English language, there could be that certain word connotations connote stronger or weaker sensations to me than it might an English native-speaker. In the study, I remain as clear as possible in my connotations in order to account for thought patterns that might not come across as clear. There have been a few cases where the meaning and connotations have been questionable to me (for example the word ‘dogged’). In these cases native-speaking English individuals have been consulted in order to achieve an analysis where the question of being a non-native speaker did not stand as a central issue. As such these few cases has still been approach and studied.

Regarding the validity of my methodological approach, scholars have given voice to various critiques towards the tradition of CDA that can be worth to mention in this study. First, some academics think that the methodology of CDA is somewhat incoherent and that, instead of performing a disproportionate analysis via terms stating somewhat obvious facts, the method could be used together with politic economic research or ethnography (Hansen and Machin, 2013). Despite this critique, CDA is successfully used in comparable previous research studies (Sabido, 2015, Way, 2013), validating the approach to this study. Another issue with CDA worth noting could be reading into the meaning of words that might have certain connotations to some individuals, and different connotations to others.

Further more regarding methodological limitations, the tools chosen for the analysis (layout, objectives, actors and discursive strategies) could be too numerous for the study to allow it to focus on a substantial level on either, even though too few tools could taint the reliability of the result by making the methodological aim to narrow. This issue could be a product of the study’s limited page number. With the limited amount of pages available to perform the study, the chosen analytical tools could also be slightly restricting towards the analysis as the pictures or the texts could include other important or interesting aspects than the ones covered by my analytical tools. Another limitation of the study can be related to transparency, as the preferred tool of references in the thesis is APA, page numbers are excluded when not referring to quotes.
7. Analysis and Results

This is where the analysis and results of the CDA are presented along with what the analytical framework produced by presenting the data found in the analysed texts and images. People, actions or words relatable to the analytical methods are marked in bold. Last in the chapter the results are concluded, using the textual and contextual tools presented by Carvalho (2008) in relation to my theoretical framework.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of the article</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Number of words in the article</th>
<th>Visual content (photographs and/or videos)</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Mugabe sacks vice-president to clear path to power for wife.</td>
<td>Burke, J.</td>
<td>605 words</td>
<td>1 photograph</td>
<td>6 nov, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Mugabe’s grip on Zimbabwe ebbing away after military takes control.</td>
<td>Burke, J.</td>
<td>1862 words</td>
<td>2 photographs, 1 picture, 1 video</td>
<td>15 nov, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugabe resignation ushers in new era for Zimbabwe.</td>
<td>Burke, J. Graham-Harrison, E.</td>
<td>1616 words</td>
<td>2 photographs, 4 videos</td>
<td>22 nov, 2017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.1 Layout

The word count of the articles increased significantly from the first article. With the increased size of the articles, the number of visual elements accompanied by the text also increased with the most visual elements being present in the third article, covering the reaction in Zimbabwe after Robert Mugabe’s resignation.

Simply looking at the addition of words as well as images, videos and photographs added to the articles as the events evolved. The Guardian increased their efforts in the reporting of the three events and thereby the perceived importance of them. If the newspaper wanted the events to go by relatively unnoticed as a subject of less importance, the articles most likely would not have been longer and more resourceful. Only looking at the numbers and not the material (yet), the longer articles could still be an opportunity for the Guardian to channel a
orientalist approach described by Sharp of describing Zimbabwe as a failed state (2013) or presenting it as inferior to the West (Said, 2003).

“Robert Mugabe sacks vice-president to clear path to power for wife” (Burke, 2017a)

“Robert Mugabe’s grip on Zimbabwe ebbing away after military takes control” (Burke, 2017b)

“Mugabe resignation ushers in new era for Zimbabwe” (Burke & Graham-Harrison, 2017)

Starting with the headlines used in the articles to cover the events in Zimbabwe, the clear main social actor of the headlines is Robert Mugabe. Looking at the analysis section of actors as described by Carvalho (2008) he is presented as a subject in most headlines, performing actions like firing his vice-president, or having performed a resignation that leads to a new for the country. In the article covering the military takeover however, Mugabe is rather presented as a subject, having is grip loosening as a result of the military taking control. Subject or object, it is however clear that he is the main actor in the topic regarding the headlines while Grace Mugabe and Emmerson Mnangagwa, two other actors in the centre of the attention, never gets mentioned by name in headlines and only share a third each in headline mentioning compared to Robert Mugabe. According to the actor-definition by Carvalho (2008) this should indicate a preferred reading of the person Robert Mugabe being in the centre of events rather than the political party of ZANU-PF or the general, political state of Zimbabwe for example, which is at least mentioned in the third headline. It can, however be referred back to the fact that the journalists who wrote the articles most likely did not determine the headlines in accordance to Bednarek and Caple (2012).

“Dismissal of Emmerson Mnangagwa, once seen as likely successor to Zimbabwe’s president, paves way for Grace Mugabe to take over” (Burke, 2017a)

“Head of state, who sacked his vice president last week in apparent attempt to give power to his wife, meets senior military officers after a day of house arrest” (Burke, 2017b)

“Jubilation in streets and parliament tinged with uncertainty about future following decades of authoritarian rule” (Burke & Graham-Harrison, 2017)
Regarding the lead of the articles, two of them still focus the preferred reading around the three supposed main actors of the events in Zimbabwe; the former head of state, Robert Mugabe, his wife, Grace Mugabe and the former vice president, Emmerson Mnangagwa. The third article, published after the resignation of Robert Mugabe and in the headline mentioning the new era for Zimbabwe, and thereby providing more attention to the general socio-political climate in Zimbabwe, does not even mention any of the three previous actors in this section. This lead suggests an increased preferred reading of the socio-political climate in Zimbabwe and by mentioning the “jubilation in streets” with the parliament being uncertain, the difference between citizens and politicians are a great focus of the lead and therefore delivered as a preferred reading of the article.

7.2 Actors

As Robert Mugabe, Grace Mugabe and Emmerson Mnangagwa appear frequently in the texts as main actors; only clear examples have therefore used in the analysis. Worth noting is also that this section of the analysis will be performed in accordance to the methodological definition of actors analysis as presented by Carvalho (2008) as well as the discursive strategies of over-lexicalization and word connotations.

7.2.1 Robert Mugabe

The main actor of the events covered in this thesis is the president himself, Robert Mugabe. This analysis investigates how he can be portrayed as either an actor, described as a person performing actions, or as an object, someone being talked or written about in the discourse.

Robert Mugabe has fired his powerful vice-president, clearing the way for his wife, Grace, to succeed him as leader of Zimbabwe (Burke, 2017a).

This sentence has Robert Mugabe portrayed as an actor of great measures as he performs two actions. The dismissal of his vice-president is portrayed in a very dramatic fashion by the use of the word ‘fired’, the ‘clearing the way’ also presents the president as a person of great action.

Tensions are rising in Zimbabwe amid a deteriorating economy and a vicious struggle to succeed Mugabe, who is 93 and visibly ailing after 37 years in power. The sacking of Mnangagwa appears to settle that contest in favour of Mugabe’s wife, who is 52 (Burke, 2017a).

This is one of the sentences mentioning the age of Robert Mugabe and also the negative effect it is starting to have on him. Ailing can give connotations to him almost being sick or ill which does not necessarily present him as a potent and suiting president and leader of a country. In
this sentence he is rather portrayed as an object then the actor performing actions. He is written about in a negative way in the article for a president, as his mentioning is focused on his age and ‘visibly ailing’. This sequence therefore contains one of the many over-lexicalizations in the articles regarding Robert Mugabe’s age and potential consequences of said age, another example presenting him as “increasingly infirm” (Burke, 2017b).

A former guerrilla leader, Mugabe was ready to sacrifice his country’s economy to maintain his grip on power, turning to increasingly tired revolutionary rhetoric, corruption and coercion to stave off any threats. Few other than the close associates who benefited directly from Mugabe’s rule will mourn his passing from power (Burke, 2017b).

This is one sequence connecting Robert Mugabe’s past to his present behaviour in a really negative manner. It is portrayed as it is because Mugabe was a guerrilla leader he would be willing to sacrifice the health of the country to remain in power. Relying on ‘tired’ rhetoric, ‘corruption’ and ‘coercion’. This past is however something shared by his predecessor. Mugabe is portrayed as an actor and subject in being written about but turning towards certain methods to stay in power. Robert Mugabe is also portrayed as an object in several sentences, being written about and portrayed as quite a negative ruler. This can be read from an example of word connotations where he “finally” yield to “popular and political” demand, giving the impression that politicians as well as the society wanted him gone. More words appear in a similar manner in order to present Mugabe as stubborn and almost desperate in his attempt to stay in power, examples of this kind of discourse can be seen in the usage of words like “refused”, “clinging” and him being “unwilling” (Burke & Graham-Harrison, 2017).

Crowds also turned up to cheer MPs when they began impeachment proceedings on Tuesday afternoon, and began singing, dancing and chanting in Africa Unity square. Though many Zimbabweans respect Mugabe’s role as a guerrilla hero of the liberation struggle, fewer and fewer were willing to defend his recent record (Burke & Graham-Harrison, 2017).

This sequence provides one situation where Mugabe’s role in the war of independence is applauded in him being described as a ‘guerrilla hero’ respected by many. Even though his history might be respected, his more recent actions are the ones portraying him in a less positive manner. As he is not written about as performing any actions, Mugabe is rather presented as an object in this sequence.
Grace Mugabe is mentioned as ‘first Lady’ in this sequence, referring to her status as wife of the President, not necessarily as her own political actor. Her un-popularity is also mentioned along with the mentioning of an alleged assault performed in South Africa. This sequence present Grace as an object written about, connected to the words of negative connotations she is also not presented in a positive manner. Presenting Grace as an object rather than a person of action while also lacking support is a re-occurring portrayal in another article where the journalists describes her as “deeply unpopular” and a person with “few allies” (Burke, 2017b).

“What if I get in [as vice-president]? What’s wrong with that? Am I not in the party? If people know that I work hard and they want to work with me, what is wrong with that?” the first lady said (Quoted in Burke, 2017a).

This is one of the few moments where any of the main actors are directly quoted in the articles. She appears to be very defensive in the quote as the entirety of the sequence is consisting of questions. She is portrayed as an actor asking defensive questions in order to question the topic of her becoming vice president. That she is quoted in this manner can however be considered a great favour by the journalist, to provide Grace with this kind of voice in the discourse.

Even Zimbabweans reluctant to criticise the man who led the country to freedom from the British briddled at the prospect of a Mugabe dynasty. Much of the anger evident in recent demonstrations focused on Grace – and the faction that had formed around her (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

This sequence places Grace Mugabe in the centre of much of the populations ‘anger’, representing her in a negative way. She is not portrayed in this manner alone, though, as her ‘faction’ of political followers shares this ‘anger’. She is not portrayed as an actor in this sequence but rather as an object, target of ‘anger’.
7.2.3 Emmerson Mnangagwa

Moyo said Mnangagwa, 75, a former intelligence chief, had exhibited disloyalty, disrespect and deceitfulness (Burke, 2017a).

This sentence of Emmerson Mnangagwa being described by another person and thereby mentioned in the article does not present him as a positive object. He is described with the words ‘disloyalty’, ‘disrespect’ and ‘deceitfulness’. Not positive attributes to assign a potential, future president.

Until recently, Mnangagwa was tipped as Mugabe’s likely successor, partly because of his support within the country’s powerful security establishment and among veterans of Zimbabwe’s 1970s guerilla war (Burke, 2017a).

This sequence describes the support in the country talking for the Mnangagwa presidency. One adjective presented is ‘powerful’; the adjective is to describe the security establishment supporting Mnangagwa, portraying him as having allies of power. The veterans are also mentioned as supporting him. He is not portrayed as an actor in this sequence but rather as a well-supported object. The role of well-supported object re-occurs where the strong support for Mnangagwa among the military shows in more than one article, as another article claims that he “has strong support among many in Zimbabwe’s armed forces” (Burke, 2017b). That the support comes from the military might portray him as more of a military than if it would have been ‘the people’ or ‘political elite’ that supported him,

Despite his alleged involvement in atrocities in the 1980s, Mnangagwa was also the preferred candidate of much of the international community, where he was seen as most likely to guarantee a stable transition and implement economic reforms (Burke, 2017a).

This sequence plays well in favour of Emmerson Mnangagwa in several ways. For one he is somewhat released of responsibility regarding the actions performed in the 1980’s, most likely referring to the ‘Matebeleland crisis’ mentioned in the contextual background. With his involvement being ‘alleged’, there is a possibility that his involvement was non-existing. He is portrayed as an object with many positively connoting words like ‘preferred candidate’, ‘stable transition’ and ‘economic reforms’. He is also described as having support in the ‘international community’, providing an ‘Us’-feeling to readers outside of Zimbabwe.

Mugabe’s sacking of Mnangagwa came as a shock to many observers.

Nicknamed “the crocodile” from his time fighting in the country’s
**liberation wars**, he had been considered the most likely candidate to succeed Mugabe if the president decided to step down or died in office (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence presents Mnangagwa as an object being written about. The ‘shock’ might infuse some form of ‘othering’-feeling in the readers, as something did not follow the plan. The nickname ‘the crocodile’ is mentioned, however not explained, leaving the reader with a sense that the nickname must refer to something good, as it is associated to the term ‘liberation wars’ not ‘guerrilla wars’.

**Mnangagwa, 75, the war veteran, Zanu-PF stalwart and former spy chief, is expected to be sworn in to replace Mugabe as president later this week. However, he is not the obvious face of change** (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

This is one of few times that Mnangagwa’s age is brought up, even though it is not described in a negative manner in the same way as in the case of the almost twenty years older Robert Mugabe. The term ‘war veteran’ is presented as a part of his past in a résumé sort of fashion along with his loyalty to the party and his past as a spy chief. This sequence proclaims one sense of doubt in regarding his future role as it claims ‘he is not the obvious face of change’, change that Zimbabwe according to other sequences severely need. The military history of Mnangagwa does however present itself in several places over the empirical material with one example mentioning “his time fighting in the country’s liberation wars” (Burke, 2017b). This could relate to the earlier notion describing Mnangagwa as a military rather than a politician or man of the people.

“My desire is to join all Zimbabweans in a new era,” he wrote. “In that new Zimbabwe it is important for everyone to join hands so that we rebuild this nation to its full glory, this is not a job for Zanu-PF alone but for all the people of Zimbabwe.” (Quoted in Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017)

In this sequence, Emmerson Mnangagwa as an actor is quoted in one of the very few occasions that the main actors are quoted. The quote is presented in a hopeful way joining ‘all the people of Zimbabwe’ in a uniting way. As Emmerson wrote the text, there is no surprise that many words with positive connotations can be found like ‘join hands’, ‘rebuild’ and ‘glory’.
7.2.4 The Military

Zimbabwe remained in political limbo a day and a half after the military takeover that appears to have put an end to Robert Mugabe’s 37-year grip on power (Burke, 2017b).

In this sequence the military is written about as an object in a rather positive manner, as it is ended a ‘37-year grip on power’. That the country is in ‘political limbo’ and not ‘political chaos’ is also presenting the move in a positive manner.

The military declared on national television in the early hours of Wednesday morning that it had temporarily taken control of the country to “target criminals” around the 93-year-old president. It now seems likely that the ruthless rule of the world’s oldest leader will be definitively over within days (Burke, 2017b).

The military is here portrayed as an actor; the military also gets the room in the article to justify their actions of taking ‘control’ in order to remove crooks surrounding the president. The action is also presented in the effect of ending a ‘ruthless rule’ and as such it is portrayed as justified.

The Zimbabwean military have insisted – despite appearances – that a coup had not taken place (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence presents the military again as an actor. Adding the word ‘Zimbabwean’ enforces that it is the national army and not some foreign force. That it insists on that the events were not a ‘coup’ is optimistic however doubted. If the action had been described as a ‘coup’ it might reach a ‘them’-feeling to the readers as it could connote a form of violence. The presence of ‘despite appearances’ could have two effects, either doubting the military or enforcing the ‘insisted’.

A military spokesman, Maj Gen SB Moyo, pledged that “as soon as [the armed forces] are done the situation will come to normalcy” during an announcement of the military intervention on state television early on Wednesday (Burke, 2017b).

The military is in this sequence supported by a named individual, presented as an actor. Presenting a spokesman in the article keeps the military from being an anonymous force without any palpable identity, hence making it more human. The spokesman is also quoted verbatim on how everything would return to normal when the soldiers were finished.
Chris Mutsvangwa, the head of the war veterans’ group, issued a statement from Johannesburg on Wednesday praising the military for carrying out “a bloodless correction of gross abuse of power” that would return Zimbabwe to “genuine democracy” (Burke, 2017b).

A war veteran, being quoted verbatim, applauds the military in this sequence. The military is hence portrayed as an actor in the ‘carrying out’ of a great action with presumably positive effects. As such the military is presented in a believable and positive way in this section.

**The military generals** moved against Mugabe due to factional struggles within the ruling Zanu-PF party, and with the support of his presumed successor Emmerson Mnangagwa, a party stalwart and liberation war veteran known as “the Crocodile” (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

This section also presents humans in the form of generals in the company of the military, making the actor more palpable. The actions of the military generals are mollified in the use of the words ‘moved against’ in comparison to ‘performed their coup’. The action is also justified by the support of Mnangagwa as well as the ‘factional struggles’ dividing ZANU-PF.

### 7.2.5 Other Actors

The information minister, Simon Khaya Moyo, told reporters at a press conference in Harare on Monday that Emmerson Mnangagwa had been removed from his post (Burke, 2017a).

An elevated minister in the Mugabe government is in this sequence portrayed as an actor in announcing the laying off of Emmerson Mnangagwa. He is not quoted and as such there is no intense word connotations to refer to, however in how it is described the event appears to be more civil and professional than the words ‘fired’ or ‘sacked’ would have connoted.

*By Wednesday, it was “game over” for Mugabe, as Piers Pigou, a South Africa-based analyst for the International Crisis Group put it. “It’s just a question of how soft the landing is .... But the [army] still need him to provide a veneer of legitimacy and constitutionalism. If he doesn’t want to play ball that is a bit of a problem.” (Burke, 2017b)*

An external actor is here represented and portrayed as an actor, being generously quoted verbatim. Being an analyst for an international section generates a sense of ‘Us’-feeling as it does not confine the reactions to Zimbabwe alone. Pigou is also based in South Africa, providing an external voice to the events.
The fragmented opposition has not publicly condemned the military move. Nelson Chamisa, the deputy head of the opposition MDC party, called for “peace, constitutionalism, democratisation, the rule of law and the sanctity of human life” (Burke, 2017b).

In this sequence, a highly ranked politician within a named oppositional party is presented as an actor. He is also quoted verbatim using words with positive connotations, portraying the statement and person in a positive way. This while the opposition does not condemn the event that transpired.

The South African president Jacob Zuma said in a statement that he had spoken to Mugabe, who told him he was “confined” but “fine”. Zuma called for calm and a transition in line with the Zimbabwean constitution (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence presents another head of state to the neighbouring country of South Africa. Zuma is presented as an actor as he is releasing a statement as well as calling for ‘calm’. Words of positive connotations are used in the representation, both the ‘calm’ and wanting the shift to be in accordance to the constitution of Zimbabwe.

Boris Johnson, the UK’s foreign secretary, told parliament that the UK wanted to see “proper, free and fair elections” in the former British colony. Presidential polls are due to be held next year but may well now be brought forward (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence presents a British politician as an actor. Boris Johnsons is quoted verbatim and portrayed as giving the opinion o the United Kingdom. This sequence also brings up the post-colonial relationship, however as that part is not quoted it might be the journalist’s words and not Johnson’s.

The African Union called for the “constitutional order to be restored immediately and ... all stakeholders to show responsibility and restraint” (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence presents the African Union as an actor quoted verbatim. The African Union is being presented in quite a responsible way referring to the quote presented by the journalist. As such the representation acts in the African Union’s favour.
Chipanga, who on Tuesday said he and his followers would be “prepared to die” for Mugabe, had been a strong supporter of the president and his wife (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence quotes a supporter of Robert and Grace Mugabe verbatim. The supporter is also presented as talking for ‘his followers’. The quote presented by the journalist is very aggressive and dramatic compared to the one uttered in the previous section. The aggressive quote connotes to less professional and civil sentiments compared to if it had been regarding life and peace instead of death and conflict.

**Evan Mawarire, a pastor and one of Zimbabwe’s best-known activists, called on Zimbabweans to “remain calm and hopeful, alert but prayerful”**. Mawarire, who has been jailed and prosecuted since launching the #thisflag movement last year, which led to huge protests, said developments were “the culmination of the work that citizens have been doing” (Burke, 2017b)

The journalist here presents an oppositional activist as an actor and an object. Mawarire is presented as a ‘pastor’ and also one of the ‘best-known activists’ of Zimbabwe. The words used to describe Mawarire connote positive sentiments compared to if he just would have been described as a ‘notorious activist’. Mawarire is also presented as somewhat of a victim because of his activities as shown by the words ‘jailed and prosecuted’. The overall presentation is however a responsible and positive one, as concluded by the quote verbatim as well as the description.

“I’m excited for myself, my baby, the whole nation,” said Mildred Tadiwa, who was out with her five-month old daughter. “My daughter will grow up in a better Zimbabwe.” (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017)

This sequence presents a civilian in Zimbabwe as an actor quoted verbatim. The quote being most of the section expresses hope and excitement for the future, mentioning the child in the quote enhances the feeling of relating as well as connoting stronger to the future. Presented by a civilian and not a politician or oppositional leader this presents a feel for how the general population in Zimbabwe might feel. The event is in that represented as a positive happening not resulting in any negative feelings like fear or un-certainty.

7.3 Objects

In the analysis of objects covered in the articles, the thesis has in accordance to the definition by Carvalho (2008) been looking at issues and events focused in the articles. This section
does not present the findings from article to article but rather events to events in order to present an overall picture of the representation. Presenting the bigger picture in this manner could provide a more clear view on potential ideological stances in accordance to the ideological definition by Carvalho (ibid.).

7.3.1 The Triangle of Power

One object with a very clear presence in the reporting is the power triangle of Robert Mugabe, Grace Mugabe and Emmerson Mnangagwa. Above all the rivalry between Mnangagwa and Grace Mugabe is of special interest as the rivalry is mentioned numerous times in the article. The political rivalry being described as a bitter feud, where Grace was accused of poisoning Mnangagwa.

Robert Mugabe has fired his powerful vice-president, clearing the way for his wife, Grace, to succeed him as leader of Zimbabwe (Burke, 2017a).

This sentence much describes the overall view of most of the articles chosen in this analysis, looking again at the layout section where it was the topic of one headline and two leads. Mnangagwa is portrayed as a goal in the sentence, suffering the results of the process of firing conducted by the main actor, Robert Mugabe. He is however a positive goal by the assignment of such an adjective as ‘powerful’. Mugabe is also portrayed as an actor in performing the process of clearing the way for Grace, who is assigned the role of goal in this sense. In the last section regarding the succession, Grace could be portrayed as the actor in performing the process of succeeding Robert Mugabe, now the goal of the discourse. Emmerson is the only one only being portrayed as a goal, suffering consequences, however he is portrayed as a powerful character. Word connotations in the sequence can be the choices of the words ‘fired’ as well as ‘clearing the way’. Firing someone in this sense gives a more dramatic flare to the sequence rather then for example ‘dismissing someone’ or ‘laying someone off’. The notion of the way being cleared for Grace also gives the connotations of terminating all forms of complications or obstacles, this is quite ironic as it was the action that started the events leading up to Robert Mugabe’s resignation.

Tensions are rising in Zimbabwe amid a deteriorating economy and a vicious struggle to succeed Mugabe, who is 93 and visibly ailing after 37 years in power. The sacking of Mnangagwa appears to settle that contest in favour of Mugabe’s wife, who is 52 (Burke, 2017a).

Another section covering the laying off of Emmerson Mnangagwa and how it was conducted in order to promote Grace Mugabe’s chance at becoming President of Zimbabwe. This
sequence is not as short and efficient as the previous sequence though. ‘The sacking’ is presented as the actor in this case, aiding the goal of ‘Mugabe’s wife’ via the process of settling the contest of succession. Mnangagwa’s role in the sequence is a very passive one as he is part of the actor, but in a negative fashion as he was the one being sacked. That the competition for the presidency is in connotations described as quite un-civilized in the sense that it is described as a vicious struggle. This gives connotations to it first of all being malicious, brutal and spiteful but also the description of it being a struggle, something violent and resourcefully draining.

But the increasingly infirm president’s gamble exposed deep factional divides within the ranks of ZANU-PF as well as the political weakness of his wife and her faction (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence does not mention Emmerson Mnangagwa in the triangle but rather focuses on the weaknesses of the Mugabe’s. Robert Mugabe is presented as weak physically as well as he is portrayed as a person taking a non calculated risk in his ‘gamble’. Grace Mugabe is however not portrayed as physically weak but rather politically. This does not limit itself at her ‘political weakness’ but rather her whole political faction within the party. The sequence does not involve many examples of transitivity connected to the political actors however Robert is involved in one via his ‘gamble’ which performed the process of exposing factional divides, these are analysed further in the section below in the political climate within ZANU-PF.

The takeover by the armed forces appears to have resolved a bitter battle to succeed Mugabe that had pitted his wife Grace against the former vice-president, Emmerson Mnangagwa (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence is another example of the whole triangle and its presentation in the articles. Robert Mugabe is presented as the actor performing the process of pitting his wife and the former vice-president against each other. The most probable goal in the sequence is the first lady, Grace Mugabe who suffers the consequences. These consequences appear to be mentioned in the first section of the sequence as it presents a takeover performed by the military to achieve the process of resolving ‘a bitter battle’. These two actors (Robert Mugabe and the military takeover) are presented in two very different ways in the discourse. Robert Mugabe is represented as a negative form of actor as he ‘pitted’ his wife against the former vice-president. This in turn created a ‘bitter battle’ that had to be resolved by military intervention. There can be seen a small version of ‘othering’ in this sense as Robert Mugabe creates a problem by placing two of the country’s most important political actors, who are also members of the same political party, against each other.
He was Mugabe’s right-hand man for years, falling out of favour only as Grace’s political influence increased. Mnangagwa is dogged by many of the accusations of corruption and human rights abuses that tarnished Mugabe’s own record (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

‘He’ (Emmerson Mnangagwa) is initially described in a close relation to Robert Mugabe as his ‘right-hand man’. Again the situation is still described as his political position falling in favour of Grace Mugabe and her political influence, which in other sections is described as being quite weak. This is also one of few sequences that mention Emmerson Mnangagwa’s involvement in previous political issues in Zimbabwe like corruption and human rights abuses. ‘Accusations’ of these issues are described as ‘dogging’ Emmerson, not giving the same clear connotations as the effects had on Mugabe, as described in the same sentence. Using the word ‘accusations’ in this sentence removes much of the liability as it also removes much of the gravity and reality to the corruption and human rights abuses that in other sentences appear to have been very real in Zimbabwe (ibid.).

The military generals moved against Mugabe due to factional struggles within the ruling Zanu-PF party, and with the support of his presumed successor Emmerson Mnangagwa, a party stalwart and liberation war veteran known as “the Crocodile” (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

In this last section regarding the triangle of power in Zimbabwe as presented in the articles of the Guardian, the generals of the military ‘move against’ Robert Mugabe. Worth to mention is that it is ‘the military generals’, giving the connotations the all the generals of the army of Zimbabwe was behind the decision and action. Emmerson Mnangagwa is described as supporting the action and in a flattering description as well. Even though both Robert Mugabe and Emmerson Mnangagwa fought in the liberation war, only Emmerson gets the entitlement of ‘liberation war veteran’ in the article. This can be a clear example of the discourse working against Robert Mugabe and in favour of Emmerson Mnangagwa.

7.3.2 ZANU-PF in trouble

One object with strong presence in the articles was the political divide within the party of ZANU-PF, much of it circulating around main actors but it also gives the impression of a party divided in the political elite of Zimbabwe.

On Saturday, Grace Mugabe cranked up the pressure against Mnangagwa, calling him the “root cause of factionalism” that was gnawing at ZANU-PF. She also accused the vice-president’s supporters of booing her while she gave her speech (Burke, 2017a).
In this section, Grace Mugabe blames Emmerson Mnangagwa for the issues within the party of ZANU-PF; these issues are described as a result of factionalism. Having one main actor within party and thereby also the First Lady of the country mentioning a political issue within the party makes it quite clear. The fact that it is blamed on another main actor within the party makes the divide more apparent. Using the word ‘gnawing’ to describe the effect factionalism would have on the party gives the connotations of a rodent slowly hurting the party, the choice of words could therefor give the impression that Grace Mugabe compared Emmerson Mnangagwa, as the appeared cause of the gnawing, to a rodent. This word is not written as a quote by Grace Mugabe though like the section of factionalism was. This gives to believe that the author of the article chose the word instead of words like ‘troubling’, ‘worrying’ or ‘dividing’, which could sound more neutral but still negative in the sense.

Forty-eight hours of drama and confusion had begun on Monday when the army chief – flanked by other senior officers – warned he was prepared to “step in” to end turmoil in the ruling ZANU-PF party (Burke, 2017b).

In this sentence, there is a clear example of negative connotations to the description of the current state in the ruling party almost compatible to the theory of orientalism and its portrayal of ‘them’ as chaotic. Again the author appears to have chosen the word ‘turmoil’ as it is not visible as a quoted word such as the stepping in section shows. Stating the political climate in ZANU-PF as a state of turmoil can be a lexical choice legitimizing the military actions to end the so-called turmoil.

The military generals moved against Mugabe due to factional struggles within the ruling ZANU-PF party, and with the support of his presumed successor Emmerson Mnangagwa, a party stalwart and liberation war veteran known as “the Crocodile” (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

Another example of the name of Mugabe being used in the same sequence as factional complications within the party. The factional struggles are here not defined or explained but Mugabe is alone in the sentence against military generals and Emmerson Mnangagwa. This leads to him being portrayed as the sole reason for the factional struggles within the party in regards to this sequence.

Members of the ruling ZANU-PF have anointed Mnangagwa president in waiting, although his succession will not be automatic because he is no longer vice-president (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).
This is one text where the divide is not mentioned but rather portrayed as a united political unit in the action of anointing Emmerson Mnangagwa. The sentence does not involve Robert or Grace Mugabe in this otherwise positive sentence; this could give a notion towards the two factions and place much blame on Robert and Grace. Without these two major political actors the party becomes one and anoints a new President in waiting, the party is thereby no longer in a deep factional divide.

7.3.3 The military takeover

_The takeover_ by the _armed forces_ appears to _have resolved a bitter battle_ to succeed _Mugabe_ that had _pitted_ his wife _Grace_ against the former _vice-president_, _Emmerson Mnangagwa_ (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence presents the military as an actor of positive measures as it performed the process of resolving this ‘bitter battle’ that it is understood that Robert Mugabe started in his process of pitting one political figure against another. As such the portrayal of the military takeover in this sequence is a positive one, as instead of creating problems, they resolve a ‘bitter battle’.

_The military generals moved against Mugabe_ due to _factional struggles within the ruling Zanu-PF party_, and with the _support_ of his _presumed successor_ _Emmerson Mnangagwa_, a _party stalwart and liberation war veteran_ known as “the Crocodile” (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

In this last section regarding the military takeover in Zimbabwe as presented in the articles of The Guardian, the generals of the military move against Robert Mugabe. Worth to mention is that it is ‘the military generals’, giving the connotations the all the generals of the army of Zimbabwe was behind the decision and action. They are presented as actors, performing the process of moving against the goal, Robert Mugabe. That they ‘move against’ can be a presentation of defiance compared to the previous actions of taking control or resolving conflicts. The connotations can still be considered positive though as they are supported by the ‘presumed successor’.

7.4 Iconographic Analysis

The pictures and photographs have been analysed with the iconographic tools of attributes, salience and settings. The orientalist notion of ‘othering’ in the sense of ‘them’ and ‘us’ have been taken into consideration in the analysis as to whether there is a feeling of ‘us’ or ‘them’ in the picture. The overall topic of the pictures was Emmerson Mnangagwa, Robert Mugabe, Grace Mugabe, military actors or the general state of Zimbabwe as presented by pictures.
from the streets. In order to avoid repetitiveness in the study, pictures that covered too similar or identical topics are only represented by one picture chosen in accordance to the theoretical framework. On this basis six visual elements were chosen for analysis out of the original ten that were attached to the articles.

The first photograph (Picture 1.) analysed is the only visual media used in the first article studied in this thesis, covering the letting go of Emmerson Mnangagwa by Robert Mugabe. The main attribute of the photograph is Emmerson Mnangagwa during what appears to be a political speech. Emmerson can be viewed in the photograph as the only clearly visible person apart from a small glimpse of the very top of a few other people.

![Picture 1. Emmerson Mnangagwa was described as disloyal, disrespectful and deceitful by Zimbabwe's information minister. Photograph: Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi/AP](image)

The clenched fist high up in the air provides a strong ideological statement while a microphone is being held in the other giving impressions of a political speech. Other notable attributes are the suit he wears, a black suit under which a shirt and a tie of bright colours can be seen, something that might resonate as a feeling of ‘Us’ as a suit can be well connected to Western society. One detail regarding the suit is three cuff buttons on his right sleeve and four cuff buttons on his left, with the fourth being another style of button, maybe this imperfection could be an attempt at portraying Emmerson Mnangagwa as more human and an imperfect man of the people. The values and ideas connected to the attributes are of a professional stature considering the clothing as well as political or ideological both considering the clothing but also the clenched fist raised in the air and the microphone in the speakers hand. One sign of salience in the photograph would be the clear focus on Emmerson Mnangagwa as well as the clear political symbol of raising a clenched fist in the air during a speech. Even though he might not be laughing or smiling on the photograph, the brightly coloured setting of the photograph provides an optimistic sense to the picture. Furthermore the setting is a clear political one as he is standing on a stage and also being the only other
person on the stage standing. The optimistic feeling in addition to the stage on which he stands as well as the previously mentioned values and ideas would provide a positive, ideological feeling to Emmerson Mnangagwa.

The Second photograph (Picture 2.) analysed provides an interesting analytical opportunity as it displays military in the middle of civilian lives and therefore could be showing the uncivilised and chaotic image of an African country previously common in orientalism and post-colonialism (Sharp, 2013). The attributes present in the picture are of great contrast as they consist of one tank (or “armoured personnel carrier” as it is described in the subtext of the picture), three soldiers, and two women. Even though there are military personnel present in the picture, their presence is not presented as threatening or hostile as two of the soldiers are sitting on the carrier. The third soldier holds his rifle in a relaxed manner along his side, barrel pointing towards the ground and his other hand seemingly halfway into his back pocket. The soldiers are therefore not conveying ideas of a country at war or high-alert considering their representation in the photograph. The two women present in the picture also look quite relaxed in the image, walking very close to the carrier and one of them using an umbrella as a walking stick. Military in the middle of the street might convey somewhat of a ‘Them’-feeling since it should be normatively uncommon to a peaceful, Western civilization. Looking at the factors of salience in the picture, the colouring provides a clear contrast between the dark green colours of the carrier and the soldiers’ uniforms and the colourful clothes worn by the civilians.

![Picture 2. Young women walk past an armored personnel carrier in Harare. Photograph: Jekesai Njikizana/AFP/Getty Images](image_url)

The focus of the picture as well as the factor of size puts the carrier in a central role as it is the biggest object in the image as well one of the most focused, alongside the civilian women.
placed in the centre of the picture. The *setting* of the image *is* a street after what appears to have been rain, considering puddles of water and the umbrella present in the picture. It also appears to be daytime but not necessarily a sunny day; this alongside the puddles of water could create more of a relatable ‘Us’-feeling compared to if it would have been an image of tropical heat. To summarize this picture, there are tendencies towards both ‘Us’-feelings and ‘Them’-feelings but the overall feeling is a peaceful and controlled one, despite the great military presence in the picture.

![Robert Mugabe addresses ZANU-PF members gathered to show support for his wife, Grace, on 8 November. Photograph: Jekesai Njikizana/AFP/Getty Images](image)

The third photograph (Picture 3.) features Robert and Grace Mugabe as the most noticeable attributes. An expressionless Robert Mugabe and a laughing Grace Mugabe in clothes that stands out from other colours; yellow suits covered with “ZANU-PF”, and yellow berets with the flag of Zimbabwe at the very front. Behind the couple there is a glimpse of three other individuals out of which two appear to be wearing more conventionally coloured suits. Robert Mugabe appears a bit more weathered than his wife who is portrayed as very vigorous with a pair of intensely styled eyebrows for example. That Grace Mugabe appears on such a joyous mood brings somewhat of a positive feeling to the photograph, something that would have been increased if Robert Mugabe also appeared in a similar mood. There are also an abundance of different microphones in front of them, leading to believe it is a political or otherwise public gathering and speech that is being presented, especially in combination to the “ZANU-PF” visible on the suits. With such outstanding clothes and colours, there is a ‘Them’-feeling towards the Mugabe couple as it makes them stand out from more neutral, Western clothing. Signs of salience noticeable in the photograph are closely connected to the apparent attributes as the very bright colours of the very focused and sizeable couple in the photograph stands out. Creating a clear focus on Robert and Grace Mugabe and the attributes mentioned like difference in perceived vitality and the yellow uniform. The *setting* of the
photograph is according to the attributes of microphones a speech of some kind, most likely political or public considering the ZANU-PF text on the suits. Brightness in the photograph such as the yellow suits, the clear, although blurred weather in the background as well as the white smile of Grace Mugabe provides an optimistic feeling to the photograph, even though the contrast between the couple and the people in the background creates some form of a ‘Them’-feeling towards the couple in the front. To summarize this photograph, there are both ‘Us’-feelings and ‘them’-feelings present, and most ‘Them’-feelings coming from the portrayal of Robert and Grace Mugabe. The couple stands out in every aspect of the photograph covering colour, focus and size. The many bright colours as well as the bright smile of Grace Mugabe provide an optimistic sense to the photograph.

The fourth picture (Picture 4.) subject to my analysis is the thumbnail featured on the article covering Robert Mugabe’s resignation. The most obvious attribute of the picture is the large number of what appears to be joyous, cheering or celebrating people. Two people in the picture hold their smartphones up in the air; either because they just filmed something, recorded something or maybe even called a relative. This present attribute of smartphones could be something conveying a feeling of ‘Us’ as it shows technical advancement relatable to the Western society. Out of the four people in front of the picture, three appear to be women. To members of a Western society this could also be an attribute providing an ‘Us’-feeling as it portrays somewhat a progress within gender equality, this might be more relatable than only seeing male participants in the picture even though the rest of the room could be consisting of male participants. Whether this is the case or not is difficult to see on the thumbnail but the video might reveal it. Another great attribute in the picture is a balcony in the peripheral section of the picture where more people are appeared to be cheering. All of these people are not necessarily as well dressed as the people up front in the picture as a few of the people on
the balcony wear T-shirts and the ones up front wear suits or something quite equal to a suit. Regarding signs of salience, there are a lot of different colours in the picture because of the large variety of clothes worn by the people in it. The focus of the picture would appear to be on the five most visible characters in it; the three women, one man next to the women and another man standing on what appears to be a table while holding his phone high up in the air. The setting of the picture is a basically big room that appear to be able to hold a quite large amount of people. The subtext under the picture explains that the video is about celebrations in the parliament following the official resignation of Robert Mugabe.

![Picture 5. Zimbabweans celebrate Robert Mugabe's resignation – video](image)

The fifth picture (Picture 5.) analysed is another thumbnail from the article covering the resignation of Robert Mugabe. It presents one of the most obvious ‘Us’-feelings of all the analysed pictures thanks to one very focused attribute in the very front of the picture. This important attribute consists of a woman wearing the jersey of a soccer team from Britain: Liverpool FC. Other attributes providing an ‘Us’-feeling is the smartphone in the top right corner, being a somewhat modern, technological device it should not portray the population of Zimbabwe as technological inferior to Western readers. Other attributes of interest are the clothes worn by the people in the picture, giving the impression that this is indeed the common people of Zimbabwe cheering. Yet another attribute is the flag of Zimbabwe being waved in the back of the picture, combined with the cheering connoting towards a happy situation for Zimbabwe. Signs of salience in the picture are yet again the many colours present via the people’s clothes and the very bright sky. The focus is aimed at the clear sign of ‘Us’-feeling, the woman in the Liverpool FC shirt. With the shirt being red and therefore attracting attention, the act of cheering performed by the woman and the placement being the woman in the foreground; this sign of salience is very optimistic and connecting the joy in Zimbabwe to the people of a Western society. One sign having a large size in the picture is
the bright, blue sky giving optimistic feelings to the viewer. The red Liverpool shirt as foregrounded also gets a sizeable amount of room, enhancing before mentioned effects. The setting appears to be a street somewhere in Zimbabwe, for people being able to walk around, cheering on a street in this manner presents a feeling of a people celebrating in an organized, safe manner.

The sixth picture (Picture 6.) analysed is a thumbnail of the last video featured in this article. The main attributes to this picture are the three men reading a newspaper with a main article headlines ‘Adios Bob’! The three men differ in clothes as one wears a suit and tie; one appears to wear a shirt under a jacket and the third not being entirely visible with what he wears. It does appear that he wears a plain jacket though. This, alongside with the very English title of the newspaper ‘New Day’ provides the reader with somewhat of an ‘Us’-feeling. All three of the men appear shocked or interested rather than happy or sad, as neither smiles nor tears are visible. Signs of salience in the picture could be the bright colours of the background along with the bright colour of the newspaper. The obvious focus in the picture is the newspaper while the men’s faces are placed in somewhat of a peripheral blur. The newspaper also takes up most of the size in the picture, almost covering all the men, showing that the purpose of the picture really was to foreground the newspaper and the people reading it, most likely in English, providing a sense of ‘Us’ in the picture. The setting appears to be a street with bright colours, showing some form of optimism, together with the brightly coloured newspaper, however the entrance behind the three men along with the windows of the building is covered with a fence-like metal protection. This could provide more of a 'Them'-feeling as it gives the entrance a cage-like appearance.
7.5 Historical Context Analysis

The historical context analysis consists of the contextual background to the post-colonial relationship between Zimbabwe and Britain. It is studied how or if the history is brought up in the articles literally or sub-textually using my methodological tools.

Until recently, Mnangagwa was tipped as Mugabe’s likely successor, partly because of his support within the country’s powerful security establishment and among veterans of Zimbabwe’s 1970s guerilla war (Burke, 2017a).

The fight for independence, crucial in the contextual history of Zimbabwe and its colonial status is mentioned in several different ways throughout the articles presented by ‘the Guardian’. In this sequence it is presented as a ‘guerrilla war’ while in other examples it is presented as a ‘liberation war’ or a ‘war of independence’. All of the terms used refer back to the history of rebels fighting the government’s armies.

Despite his alleged involvement in atrocities in the 1980s, Mnangagwa was also the preferred candidate of much of the international community, where he was seen as most likely to guarantee a stable transition and implement economic reforms (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence could most likely refer to the events in the ‘Matebeleland crisis’ in the beginning of the 1980’s. This is another event with big effects the country’s population, and still this is one of very few occasions that it is mentioned. Even though ZANU-PF through ‘5 Brigade’ did much harm to civilians while in power (Hatchard, 1998).

Boris Johnson, the UK’s foreign secretary, told parliament that the UK wanted to see “proper, free and fair elections” in the former British colony. Presidential polls are due to be held next year but may well now be brought forward (Burke, 2017b).

This sequence presents one of two occurrences where the British part of Zimbabwe’s history and present state is mentioned. It is also the only sentence that describes Zimbabwe as a ‘former’ ‘colony’. Even though there are numerous sequences mentioning ‘liberation’ or ‘independence’, few sequences mentions the exact liberation from what.

He has ruled as an autocrat, prepared to sacrifice the economic wellbeing of 16 million people in order to remain in power. Industry and farming have collapsed throughout the country, while inflation has spiralled and
only 10% of young Zimbabweans can find jobs at home (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

This sequence relates to the contextual history of the deteriorating economy from the 1990’s when inflation and increase un-employment (Mlambo, 2014). The agriculture collapsing is in close relation to the context as agriculture was one of the biggest economic factors since the colonization began and it was still a hot topic when white commercial farmers were forced away in the early 2000’s.

Even Zimbabweans reluctant to criticise the man who led the country to freedom from the British bridled at the prospect of a Mugabe dynasty. Much of the anger evident in recent demonstrations focused on Grace – and the faction that had formed around her (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

The act of liberation or independence is re-occurring in the discourse relating back to the colonial era. This sequence does verbatim connect the independence and liberation to ‘the British’ in a way that is only presented once in the three articles studied in this thesis. With the British colonial age being a bigger part in the country’s history than the time post-independence, it is mentioned quite seldom in the articles.

8. Conclusion and Answers

This chapter concludes the study by answering the research questions. The question is answered by the summary of the results connected to theory and previous research. This is also the section where the ideological standpoints are applied as the conclusion look at the overall aspects of the discourse by attending to the results. Now the framing and media representations presented in the theoretical sections become more visible as we see how The Guardian framed the message and performed their representations of actors and events.

8.1 RQ1: How does The Guardian discursively construct the events and actors during the shift of power in Zimbabwe?

The events presented in this article, are constructed with great difference, as can be concluded by only looking at the layouts of the articles. Compared to the first reported event, Mugabe laying-off Mnangagwa, the other two articles increased tremendously in regards to word count and attached visual media such as pictures or videos. In regards to headlines and leads, the main event and therefore the preferred reading in accordance to Carvalho (2008),
was that Robert Mugabe laid off his Vice President in order to clear the way for his wife, allegedly. According to (Oriuijou, 2012), the headlines are not always well matched to the article, though, as the journalist seldom writes the headline of the article (Bednarek & Caple, 2012).

The main actors in the articles are Robert Mugabe, Grace Mugabe and Emmerson Mnangagwa. Robert Mugabe is often presented as an actor or performing actions, this would represent Mugabe as a person of action, a form of positive ‘othering’ according to Fairclough (1995) as action would imply power. This in the context of orientalism would not portray him as weak and inferior to specifically Europeans (Said, 2003). He is however often presented in a negative way regarding his actions; furthermore his age is being subjected to over-lexicalization when occurring in several places along with negatively connoting words, such as him “visibly ailing” (Burke, 2017a). Grace Mugabe is also portrayed in quite a negative manner by the journalist, repeatedly mentioning her lack of support and describing her as a “far from a popular figure” (Burke, 2017a). She is often presented as a mentioned object instead of someone performing action and rather presented as the wife of Robert Mugabe than an individual and political actor. Emmerson Mnangagwa is presented in a different fashion where he suffers consequences of Robert Mugabe, making him a goal in the sense of transitivity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). He is mentioned as a ‘preferred’ leader with strong support, and as such being the main actor of the three whose interests could be served in the articles.

The objects covered in the study conclude word-connotations that are mostly in favour of Emmerson Mnangagwa and supporting the military actions central to the event. Fairclough’s (1995) view on performing actions leading to a portrayal of power can be applicable here as well, even though in a complicated manner. Robert Mugabe is often portrayed as the actor, as he performs most of the actions in the sentences. The word-connotations (Machin & Mayr, 2012) does not present him in a positive way though. The other major object encountered is the political or factional divide within the ruling party of ZANU-PF. This object and the issues it described concluded the ideological standpoints as presented by texts (Carvalho, 2008), to be issues not regarding the country, the political state or the populous, but rather focused on two problematic actors, Robert and Grace Mugabe, even in the case of issues of ZANU-PF. As such, the objects covered in the article are not necessarily affected by orientalism (Sharp, 2013, Said, 2003) or post-colonialism (Venn, 2003). The objects might in that case contradict Gikandi (1996) about post-colonial tendencies being apparent in modern day media.
One ideological aspect to look for in the analysis of news media texts applicable to this study is the one of how coups or political unrest can be covered differently. The reporting would depend on how the coup would affect the West (Van Dijk, 1988a). This specific event of a political shift of power is rarely even mentioned as a coup, it is especially quoted from the military in the article that the takeover was not a coup (The Guardian, 2017a). This, connected to the positive word-connotations used in reporting on the event would mean that the coup should be beneficial to the West (Van Dijk, 1988a).

As the framing process would narrow all the information presented to the journalists in producing their articles for The Guardian to the very most important ones (Clausen 2003). It is interesting to note that the vast majority of the focus of the articles was on individual relations rather than the socio-economic state of the country and political actions that either had been taken or were anticipated to happen after the shift of power.

8.2 RQ2: How do articles published by The Guardian approach the ideological challenge of global journalism regarding the covered events?

The ideological challenge described by Berglez (2008) concerns news media reporting on complicated relations. In the context of orientalism and post-colonialism, this could be approached as to how The Guardian sustains orientalist representations of Zimbabwe as an African failure haunted by poverty, as previously done through versions of geopolitical representations (Sharp, 2013).

Regarding the complicated relationship between Britain and Zimbabwe in the sense of colonial power and former colony, it can be seen as less ideological, as a big sign in ideologically charged news can be comparing one ideology to the other in a negative way (Van Dijk, 1988a). Exemplified in this study an orientalist ideology would have been more palpable if constant political comparisons occurred, presenting the overall ideology of Zimbabwe as a lesser political ideology than the one in Britain. The negative aspects assigned to Zimbabwe are rather coming from Robert Mugabe’s governance than the overall political ideology, as concluded above.

Another key ideological aspect covered by Van Dijk (1988a) is the economic aspect. Where economic problems are only brought up if they become a burden to Western society. This can be compared to the popular, orientalist description of African nations being stressed by poverty (Sharp, 2013). In the articles, it is more described as an issue for the people of
Zimbabwe than a nuisance to the Western society, as such the ideological reporting of economic struggles are present but more in accordance to Sharp (2013), portraying Zimbabwe as a land in poverty. This problem is also assigned to Robert Mugabe though, as he was willing to sacrifice the country’s economy in order to remain President (Burke & Graham Harrison, 2017).

8.3 RQ3: How do the pictures and photographs add to the overall ideological element of the discourse?

The pictures that were analysed using iconography provided a lot of material regarding other aspects of the event than just the three main actors. Robert Mugabe, Grace Mugabe and Emmerson Mnangagwa were present in some of the pictures but the majority had them excluded to present people celebrating or military actors.

In regards to the theory of orientalism and the ‘Us’ and ‘Them’, where a feeling of ‘Them’ should promote alienation and un-familiarity (Said, 2003), there were more aspects of ‘Us’-feelings in the pictures in regard to clothing and technology, this would not present them as inferior to European civilization according to the theory of orientalism (Ibid.). There are however aspects that could connote a sense of ‘Them’ in the pictures when it comes to the presence of military personnel on the streets and broadcasting news on a television station. One other sense of ‘Them’ comes with a photograph on Robert and Grace Mugabe in bright, yellow suits wearing military style berets while other people in the photograph wear suits. These objects could be represented as something alien and un-familiar to Western readers. As such the iconographical analysis of the photographs and the thumbnails add to the ideological element via the conclusion that the aspects of orientalism and post-colonialism seldom alienated the climate of Zimbabwe or portrayed its population is inferior to the West.

The otherwise popular, post-colonial and orientalist representation of African nations being riddled with un-controllable violence and poverty (Sharp, 2013) is not an element present in the pictures presented in the articles. The pictures show the complete opposite version with much focus on harmony, happiness and tranquillity. Even in a picture with a very clear military presence, the overall iconographic attributes, signs of salience and setting provide a sense of tranquillity and peacefulness. As such, the pictures did not provide any notable ideological elements of orientalism or post-colonialism in the regards of the society of Zimbabwe.

Comparable to the first research question, the pictures attached to the articles also provided more positive connotations towards the shift of power than negative ones. This would, in
accordance to the theoretical framework, enhance the above-mentioned conclusion that the coup comes as a welcome political event to the West from an ideological perspective (Van Dijk, 1988a).

8.4 Summarizing Discussion

This section relates the results of this study to the previous research conducted in the field in order to see how the results differ or confirm said results. The section therefore compares the results found in the previous research of orientalism, post-colonialism and ideology in the news.

The previous research conducted by Way (2013) Trivundza (2004), Ban, Sastry, Dutta (2013) and Wirman (2016) shows how diverse the orientalist presentations can be, as some cases show clear ‘othering’ in the favour of the west (Way, 2013 Trivundza, 2004) other cases show west acknowledging previous object of ‘othering’ growing economies and important market actors (Ban, Sastry, Dutta, 2013, Wirman, 2016). This study did not correlate with the previous research in the sense that Western society was hardly mentioned in relation to Zimbabwe in the articles. As such the country was rather covered independently and not in contrast or relation to the West.

The thesis does agree with Ban, Sastry, Dutta (2013) and Wirman (2016) in one sense though, as the material does not portray Zimbabwe as a ‘barbaric’ country, a relatable result as the one reached by Ban, Sastry, Dutta (2013) and Wirman (2016). The negative, aggressive attributes are rather confined into two actors within the material, Robert Mugabe and Grace Mugabe.

Regarding ideological issues in the text, Shojaei, Youssefi & Hosseini (2013) were correct in regards to this article that the news media had a hard time being completely subjective in their texts. This can show in the presentation of Robert and Grace Mugabe, where Robert gains near exclusive blame for the country’s current financial state. Most of the other actors in the articles that are mentioned or quoted are also against Robert Mugabe, as such the ideological sense of the articles overall could be against the Mugabe’s and in favour of the events and shift of power. Emmerson Mnangagwa is rarely portrayed as an actor at all, in that sense being kept away from connotations of power, as described by Fairclough, this could be a form of ‘othering’ (1995). In the context of ideology in regards to orientalism or post-colonialism, the articles might be viewed as ideologically un-tainted however. This

Bhambra (2007) stresses the importance in presenting voices from people who might not previously or generally receive a voice in a post-colonial landscape. As this goes, the reporting by The Guardian agrees with that statement, as many of the individuals cited or quoted in the
articles were from Zimbabwe or other countries, outside of the conventional 'West'. Had there been a strong, post-colonial presence in the articles, maybe there would only be quotes or citations from British politicians or social and political science experts. Instead the reader gets to hear from everyone from Robert Mugabe, Grace Mugabe and Emmerson Mnangagwa to general civilians welcoming the change. One part that might not have gotten as much room as the others were actors speaking in support of the Mugabe’s, they were represented and quoted though so there was no complete exclusion. As such, the material follows Bhambra’s (2007) conclusions.

9. Suggestion for Further Research

This section raises potential ways in which this case or topic could be studied further in was that could contribute to the present results and conclusions to either confirm or contradict them. Apart from increasing the sample in order to provide a picture of how The Guardian covered the whole time period rather than only the three major events, a broader picture can also be provided via another form of analysis.

9.1 Contextual-Synchronic Analysis

Carvalho (2008) mentions one more form of contextual analysis applicable in performing a CDA, specifically the one of comparative-synchronic analysis. This would mean that empirical material is collected on the same topic, during the same time, but produced by different authors. The empirical material could also be from the same news outlet and different news outlets. The collected data could then potentially be compared to statistical or factual numbers to study what the journalists bring forward and how they present it to uncover ideologies, biases or discourse agendas. As this methodological tool would include more newspapers on a British level, a European level or maybe an international level it could include more elements of orientalism, however the post-colonialism would most like only be applicable to the relation between Britain and Zimbabwe if Zimbabwe would be the subject for the journalism.

10. References


10.1 Data collection references


Annexe 1

Robert Mugabe sacks vice-president to clear path to power for wife

Dismissal of Emmerson Mnangagwa, once seen as likely successor to Zimbabwe’s president, paves way for Grace Mugabe to take over.

Emmerson Mnangagwa was described as disloyal, disrespectful and deceitful by Zimbabwe’s information minister. Photograph: Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi/AP

Robert Mugabe has fired his powerful vice-president, clearing the way for his wife, Grace, to succeed him as leader of Zimbabwe.

The information minister, Simon Khaya Moyo, told reporters at a press conference in Harare on Monday that Emmerson Mnangagwa had been removed from his post.

Moyo said Mnangagwa, 75, a former intelligence chief, had exhibited disloyalty, disrespect and deceitfulness.

Tensions are rising in Zimbabwe amid a deteriorating economy and a vicious struggle to succeed Mugabe, who is 93 and visibly ailing after 37 years in power. The sacking of Mnangagwa appears to settle that contest in favour of Mugabe’s wife, who is 52.

The first lady is far from a popular figure in Zimbabwe. Her image has suffered after an alleged assault on a model she found in the company of her sons in a luxury apartment in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Granted diplomatic immunity after the incident, Grace Mugabe was allowed to leave South Africa despite a police inquiry. She denies any wrongdoing.

Reports of extravagant purchases, including property in South Africa and a Rolls-Royce, have also angered many in Zimbabwe, where an economic crisis has deepened.
Until recently, Mnangagwa was tipped as Mugabe’s likely successor, partly because of his support within the country’s powerful security establishment and among veterans of Zimbabwe’s 1970s guerilla war.

Despite his alleged involvement in atrocities in the 1980s, Mnangagwa was also the preferred candidate of much of the international community, where he was seen as most likely to guarantee a stable transition and implement economic reforms.

The feud between Mnangagwa and Grace Mugabe has been bitter and public. Last month the first lady, who leads the women’s league of the ruling Zanu-PF party, publicly denied she was behind the attempted poisoning of her rival in remarks broadcast on state TV.

Mnangagwa claimed he had been poisoned when he fell ill at a rally in August and had to be airlifted to hospital in South Africa. The veteran official has seen his own political stock plummet after accusations from party rivals that he was plotting to get Mugabe to step down in his favour. He denies the accusation.

On Saturday, Grace Mugabe cranked up the pressure against Mnangagwa, calling him the “root cause of factionalism” that was gnawing at Zanu-PF. She also accused the vice-president’s supporters of booing her while she gave her speech.

“What if I get in [as vice-president]? What’s wrong with that? Am I not in the party? If people know that I work hard and they want to work with me, what is wrong with that?” the first lady said.

A visibly angry Mugabe told the same rally that he and his wife were tired of constant insults from people who identified themselves as Mnangagwa supporters.

Fears of the return of 2008’s hyperinflation have led to panic-buying and rocketing prices in Zimbabwe, while confidence in the parallel “bond note” currency, launched by the government nearly a year ago, has collapsed.

The fractured opposition, meanwhile, has been unable to channel national discontent into a strong play for power. The main opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, has health problems and recently received treatment in South Africa.

Elections are due in Zimbabwe next year.

Mnangagwa was appointed vice-president in 2014, taking over from Joice Mujuru, who was axed after Grace Mugabe launched a campaign accusing her of plotting to topple the president.
Annexe 2

Robert Mugabe's grip on Zimbabwe ebbing away after military takes control

Head of state, who sacked his vice president last week in apparent attempt to give power to his wife, meets senior military officers after a day of house arrest.

Mugabe is 'safe and sound' Zimbabwe's army says – video

Zimbabwe remained in political limbo a day and a half after the military takeover that appears to have put an end to Robert Mugabe’s 37-year grip on power.

Talks between the president, who has been confined to his residence in Harare by the army, and senior military officers continued on Thursday morning, with senior church leaders and envoys sent from neighboring South Africa involved in mediation efforts.

The Zimbabwean capital remained tense but calm amid the political uncertainty. Troops have secured the airport, government offices, parliament and other key sites.

The rest of the country has remained peaceful. The takeover has been cautiously welcomed by many Zimbabweans.

The military declared on national television in the early hours of Wednesday morning that it had temporarily taken control of the country to “target criminals” around the 93-year-old president. It now seems likely that the ruthless rule of the world’s oldest leader will be definitively over within days.
The takeover by the armed forces appears to have resolved a bitter battle to succeed Mugabe that had pitted his wife Grace against the former vice-president, Emmerson Mnangagwa.

Mnangagwa was reported to have returned to Zimbabwe on Tuesday evening from South Africa, where he fled last week after being stripped of his office by Mugabe in an apparent attempt to clear Grace Mugabe’s path to power.

Reports that Grace Mugabe had fled to Namibia on Wednesday appeared false, with several sources saying she was detained with her husband in their residence in Harare.

The future of the first lady is a key element in the ongoing discussions between Mugabe and the military. Singapore and Malaysia, where the Mugabe’s own property, are potential destinations if she is allowed to travel into exile.

Young women walk past an armoured personnel carrier in Harare. Photograph: Jekesai Njikizana/AFP/Getty Images

Forty-eight hours of drama and confusion had begun on Monday when the army chief – flanked by other senior officers – warned he was prepared to “step in” to end turmoil in the ruling Zanu-PF party.
By Wednesday, it was “game over” for Mugabe, as Piers Pigou, a South Africa-based analyst for the International Crisis Group put it. “It’s just a question of how soft the landing is .... But the [army] still need him to provide a veneer of legitimacy and constitutionalism. If he doesn’t want to play ball that is a bit of a problem.”

The 93-year-old has ruled over Zimbabwe like a medieval monarch, favouring loyal followers with gifts of land, office and money, but pursuing those seen as traitors with a cruelty only marginally moderated by a residual respect for legal process.

A former guerrilla leader, Mugabe was ready to sacrifice his country’s economy to maintain his grip on power, turning to increasingly tired revolutionary rhetoric, corruption and coercion to stave off any threats. Few other than the close associates who benefited directly from Mugabe’s rule will mourn his passing from power.

One high-profile opposition leader said there was “a lot of talking going on”, with the army “reaching out to different factions to discuss the formation of a transitional government.

Negotiations had been ongoing for several months with “certain people within the army”, a second senior opposition official said.

The official said Mugabe would resign this week and be replaced by Mnangagwa, with opposition leaders taking posts as vice-president and prime minister. There was no independent confirmation of his claim.

The fragmented opposition has not publicly condemned the military move. Nelson Chamisa, the deputy head of the opposition MDC party, called for “peace, constitutionalism, democratisation, the rule of law and the sanctity of human life”.

The MDC’s leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, arrived in Harare from Johannesburg on Wednesday night. He has been tipped as a potential prime minister in a new political set-up.

Tendai Biti, an opposition leader, called for a “roadmap back to legitimacy”.

Profile (Not subject to analysis)

Who is Emmerson Mnangagwa?

South Africa appeared to be backing the takeover and sent ministers to Harare to help with negotiations to form a new government and decide the terms of Mugabe’s resignation.
The South African president Jacob Zuma said in a statement that he had spoken to Mugabe, who told him he was “confined” but “fine”. Zuma called for calm and a transition in line with the Zimbabwean constitution.

Boris Johnson, the UK’s foreign secretary, told parliament that the UK wanted to see “proper, free and fair elections” in the former British colony. Presidential polls are due to be held next year but may well now be brought forward.

“Nobody wants simply to see the transition from one unelected tyrant to a next. No one wants to see that,” Johnson said.

The African Union called for the “constitutional order to be restored immediately and ... all stakeholders to show responsibility and restraint”.

A coalition of churches issued a statement explaining that “the current crisis is an opportunity for the birth of a new nation” and calling for the formation of a transitional government of national unity as soon as possible.

The Zimbabwean military have insisted – despite appearances – that a coup had not taken place.

A military spokesman, Maj Gen SB Moyo, pledged that “as soon as [the armed forces] are done the situation will come to normalcy” during an announcement of the military intervention on state television early on Wednesday.

There has been no sign of any resistance to the takeover or to the arrest of a series of senior officials associated with Grace Mugabe and her G40 faction. The youth wing of the ruling Zanu-PF, which had made defiant statements directed at the military earlier in the week, appeared to condone the military action.

Late on Wednesday, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation interrupted its programming to broadcast a statement by the party’s youth leader, Kudzai Chipanga, who apologised for “denigrating” military chiefs.

Chipanga, who on Tuesday said he and his followers would be “prepared to die” for Mugabe, had been a strong supporter of the president and his wife.

But Grace Mugabe is deeply unpopular and has few allies internally or, crucially, regionally.

In contrast, Mnangagwa, a former spy chief, has strong support among many in Zimbabwe’s armed forces, and it is unclear who might oppose him in coming days.
Profile (Not subject to analysis)

Who is Grace Mugabe and why is she controversial?

Evan Mawarire, a pastor and one of Zimbabwe’s best-known activists, called on Zimbabweans to “remain calm and hopeful, alert but prayerful”. Mawarire, who has been jailed and prosecuted since launching the #thisflag movement last year, which led to huge protests, said developments were “the culmination of the work that citizens have been doing”.

Robert Mugabe addresses Zanu-PF members gathered to show support for his wife, Grace, on 8 November. Photograph: Jekesai Njikizana/AFP/Getty Images

Mugabe’s sacking of Mnangagwa came as a shock to many observers. Nicknamed “the crocodile” from his time fighting in the country’s liberation wars, he had been considered the most likely candidate to succeed Mugabe if the president decided to step down or died in office.

But the increasingly infirm president’s gamble exposed deep factional divides within the ranks of Zanu-PF as well as the political weakness of his wife and her faction.

“It was a spectacular miscalculation,” said Pigou.
Mugabe has systematically dismissed veterans of the liberation struggle from party posts in recent years, leaving the top echelons stacked with officials who did not fight in the independence war. This exacerbated a long-running battle between an old political elite forged in the 1970s and 1980s, and a new generation that coalesced around Grace Mugabe.

War veterans broke ranks with the president in 2016 and have vowed to form a broad front with the opposition to challenge his rule.

Chris Mutsvangwa, the head of the war veterans’ group, issued a statement from Johannesburg on Wednesday praising the military for carrying out “a bloodless correction of gross abuse of power” that would return Zimbabwe to “genuine democracy”.

Many of the first lady’s supporters believed that Mugabe would name his wife as his successor at the Zanu-PF annual conference in December.

Grace Mugabe’s reputation has been tarnished by a series of violent outbursts, including an alleged assault against a model she had found with her sons in a luxury apartment in Johannesburg in September. Granted diplomatic immunity after the incident, she was allowed to leave South Africa despite a police inquiry, and denies any wrongdoing.

Reports of extravagant purchases, including property in South Africa and a Rolls-Royce, have also angered many Zimbabweans.

The crisis comes at a time when Zimbabwe faces severe economic problems. The country is struggling to pay for imports due to a shortage of dollars, which has also caused acute cash shortages.

State employees, including some soldiers and policemen, have gone for months without payment of their salaries, deepening discontent with the government.
Annexe 3

Mugabe resignation ushers in new era for Zimbabwe

Jubilation in streets and parliament tinged with uncertainty about future following decades of authoritarian rule

Celebrations erupt in Zimbabwean parliament as Mugabe resigns – video

Robert Mugabe has resigned as president of Zimbabwe with immediate effect after 37 years in power, ushering in a new era for a country as uncertain as it is hopeful.

The man who ruled with an autocrat’s grip for so many years finally caved to popular and political pressure hours after parliament launched proceedings to impeach him.

He had refused to leave office during an eight-day crisis that began when the military took over last week. Clinging to the formal vestiges of power, he was unable or unwilling to recognise that after so many years of political mastery, he had lost control of both his party and the country.
Mugabe, who outwitted and outlasted so many opponents during his career, had appeared determined to fight on, turning a televised address to the nation on Sunday, when he was expected to announce his own retirement, into a defiant description of future plans.

So when the parliament speaker, Jacob Mudenda, announced that Mugabe had submitted his resignation in a letter, there was wild jubilation in parliament, replicated within minutes by large crowds on the streets of Harare and in other major cities.

“I’m excited for myself, my baby, the whole nation,” said Mildred Tadiwa, who was out with her five-month old daughter. “My daughter will grow up in a better Zimbabwe.”

Zimbabweans raced up and down the wide boulevards of the capital as the sun set, honking car horns, waving flags, singing, dancing and cheering.

“We are elated! It's time for new blood. I’m 36 and I’ve been waiting for this all my life, I’ve only known one leader,” said William Makombore, who works in finance. He was waving a flag he had kept in his car since the weekend’s protests. “It’s is going to be an all-nighter.”

There were no immediate details from generals, allies or party officials about what would happen to Mugabe and his family after his resignation. Always a ruthless operator, Mugabe is certain to have negotiated hard over the conditions for his relinquishing of power.

The letter allowed him to leave office with some remaining dignity, but it also allowed the group behind his downfall to present it as a constitutional transfer of power, rather than a change of government effected at gunpoint.
Zimbabweans celebrate Robert Mugabe's resignation – video

The military generals moved against Mugabe due to factional struggles within the ruling Zanu-PF party, and with the support of his presumed successor Emmerson Mnangagwa, a party stalwart and liberation war veteran known as “the Crocodile”.

Mnangagwa’s firing as vice-president at the start of the month triggered the takeover and the subsequent unravelling of Mugabe’s control. The party that had bent to Mugabe’s every will for so many years was quick to turn on the 93-year-old, first evicting him from his position as party chief and then leading the impeachment drive.

Q&A (Not subject to analysis)

What might happen next for Robert Mugabe?

However, what began as a palace coup developed into a popular revolt. Mugabe’s downfall unleashed extraordinary hopes as hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans poured on to the streets at the weekend to call on him to leave.

Crowds also turned up to cheer MPs when they began impeachment proceedings on Tuesday afternoon, and began singing, dancing and chanting in Africa Unity square. Though many Zimbabweans respect Mugabe’s role as a guerrilla hero of the liberation struggle, fewer and fewer were willing to defend his recent record.
Emmerson Mnangagwa stands behind Robert Mugabe in a 2014 swearing-in ceremony. Photograph: Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi/AP

He has ruled as an autocrat, prepared to sacrifice the economic wellbeing of 16 million people in order to remain in power. Industry and farming have collapsed throughout the country, while inflation has spiralled and only 10% of young Zimbabweans can find jobs at home.

By the end, Mugabe had few options left as he controlled the country through a mixture of coercion and bribery papered over with the rhetoric of revolutionary movements. Support in some branches of the security establishment had evaporated and he increasingly alienated some of his former allies by openly supporting the political ambitions of his wife, Grace.

Even Zimbabweans reluctant to criticise the man who led the country to freedom from the British bridled at the prospect of a Mugabe dynasty. Much of the anger evident in recent demonstrations focused on Grace – and the faction that had formed around her.
Mugabe’s fall will reverberate across a continent where hundreds of millions of people still suffer the excesses of authoritarian rulers, are denied justice by corrupt or incompetent officials, and struggle to hold even elected governments to account.

The deal Mugabe has struck to leave power might tempt other rulers to leave before they are pushed, if he is able to protect his family and some of the assets he is thought to have accumulated while in power.

Profile (Not subject to analysis)
Who is Emmerson Mnangagwa?

Coups have been extremely rare in southern Africa. Zimbabwe’s new rulers will aim to protect a reputation for civilian rule and so avoid sanctions and diplomatic penalties usually triggered by forced transition.

The generals insisted from the moment they put Mugabe under house arrest that they were acting in his interests and in service of the state. Zimbabweans have largely praised the military for acting in the national interest.

Mnangagwa, 75, the war veteran, Zanu-PF stalwart and former spy chief, is expected to be sworn in to replace Mugabe as president later this week. However, he is not the obvious face of change.

He was Mugabe’s right-hand man for years, falling out of favour only as Grace’s political influence increased. Mnangagwa is dogged by many of the accusations of corruption and human rights abuses that tarnished Mugabe’s own record.

Members of the ruling Zanu-PF have anointed Mnangagwa president in waiting, although his succession will not be automatic because he is no longer vice-president.
Mnangagwa was conciliatory in his only public comment since the coup, a statement issued hours before Mugabe announced his resignation.

“My desire is to join all Zimbabweans in a new era,” he wrote. “In that new Zimbabwe it is important for everyone to join hands so that we rebuild this nation to its full glory, this is not a job for Zanu-PF alone but for all the people of Zimbabwe.”

The fragmented opposition movement will be hoping for a commitment from any new ruler that they will be included in any transition government, and that national elections due to be held by next August will go ahead as planned.

Zimbabweans know that the change was driven as much by competition for power within Zanu-PF as by popular anger at a dictatorial and corrupt regime. For one evening, however, they wanted to focus on celebrating the change they had almost given up hoping would come, the end of a rule which has defined generations.

“I’m 35 and I have children. I was born under Mugabe, and they were born under him,” said Munyaradzi Chisango, an engineer. “This is going to put Zimbabwe back on the map.”