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Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

Department of Communication

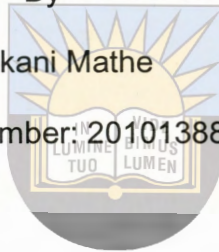
Project Title:

**A content analysis of readers' comments on political and economic news
articles: A study of Zimbabwe online media.**

By

Limukani Mathe

Student Number: 201013888



Dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the Master of Social Science
University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence
Communication

SUPERVISED BY

PROFESSOR M. CALDWELL

University of Fort Hare, Alice

January, 2015

DECLARATION

I, Limukani Mathe, declare that this dissertation is my original work and that every source used has been acknowledged or quoted correctly. I also confirm that no part of this dissertation has been submitted for a degree at any Higher Institution of Learning.

Signature



Date

08/09/2015



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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late grandmother, Anes Tshuma, who raised me up with unfailing love and to my special mother, Lydia Mathe, who inspired me to become a hard worker and a patient man. I also dedicate this dissertation to my beloved country, Zimbabwe.



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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIPPA: Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act

BSA: Broadcasting Services Act

CIO: Central Intelligence Organisation

CNG: Community Newspaper Group

MAZ: Media Alliance of Zimbabwe

MDC: Movement for Democratic Change

MISA: Media Institute of Southern Africa

POSA: Public Order and Security Act

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SAPES: Southern African Political and Economic Series

UGC: User Generated Content

ZANU-PF: Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front

ZBC: Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation

ZIMPAPERS: Zimbabwe Newspapers Limited

ZMMT: Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust

ZRP: Zimbabwe Republic Police.



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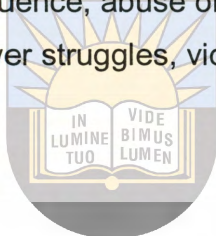


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ABSTRACT

A qualitative content analysis was used to study readers' comments on political and economic news articles of Zimbabwe online media. The study focused on readers' comments published on *NewZimbabwe.com*, *Herald.co.zw*, *Nehandaradio.com* and *Zimeye.com*. Discourse theory, framing theory and network analysis were applied to extend and inform the analysis of the online discursive community.

A purposive sampling technique was used to extract 400 comments in a time frame of sixteen weeks. Nvivo 10 was utilised to code these readers' comments into their political and economic categories. The research findings reflect that readers are more interactive and participative on online public forums, and their political and economic discourse echo political affiliations with either ZANU-PF or MDC. Readers have different perspectives on political and economic matters such as, the economic meltdown, diaspora, and western influence, abuse of power by those in high places, land reform programme, political power struggles, violence and corruption in Zimbabwe.



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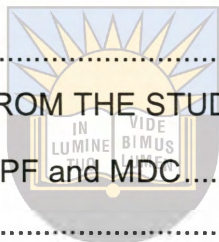
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CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Readers' forums are nowadays a ubiquitous feature of online journalism, where readers comment on news reports and even discuss on social media (Siapera & Veglis, 2012:112). A community of readers forms to participate as in a public forum where they post their comments in response to news reports and other readers' comments. These comments offer researchers an opportunity to sample the public opinion of at least those who have online access to these news sites. This technological privilege means their views do not necessarily represent an aggregate political sentiment of the wider population to which they belong, but do at least reflect those found among a mainly middle class population with the means to participate online through their cell phones, personal computers and other digital devices.

Online newspapers have advanced a culture of public interaction in the media, which beforehand was limited to letters to the editor and radio phone-in programmes (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2001:303-304). The letters to the editor section on newspapers acted as means of interaction between the readers and the editor. The section has been historically perceived as "among the few outlets available to the public for voicing opinion, for promoting a debating society and a public forum for democratic" transitions (Kapoor & Botan, 1992:5; Hynds, 1991: 124). The current studies on letters to the editors do not show much how this section constitutes a public forum (Wahl-Jorgesen, 2001:304). The editors were only able to select and publish few letters from the readers due to the space limited on newspapers.

The rise of Web 2.0 technologies such as wikis, blogs and social networking sites, facilitate media users' interaction and their engagement in public discussions (O'Reilly, 2005). Networking technologies also reduced barriers to communication and news production (Whoolley, Limperos & Oliver, 2010; Kim & Lowrey, 2014). Readers, who could possibly not find their place in the letters to the editors have been transformed from an ostensibly passive audience of news consumers to a core of active media users. Media users could also actively

involve themselves in public issues and use the media to gratify their own needs (Luo, 2013:34). These users are seen as citizens who are active on internet (Shulman, 2005; Hindman, 2009). However, others argue that few citizens get mobilised by the internet (Bimber, 2000; Scheufele & Nisbet, 2002). Not all citizens access social networking sites but only those with technological privileges.

This conception of readers presumed as citizens with access to online public forums where they share personal views may be depicted as a public sphere (Habermas, 1989). A public sphere refers to “the access of information by all citizens, who are guaranteed by freedom of expression, freedom of association and freedom of assembly and the right to publish their own opinions without repression” (Habermas, 1989:73). Therefore the readers’ forum of interaction resembles a public arena in which all available on the forum participate and access information. In other words, readers engage in political participation or discussion with other citizens “holding potentially diverse viewpoints from across the country or world” (Scheufele & Nisbet, 2002: 16).

Therefore, there have been some interrogation to identify kinds of publics found on these networking sites. These include *Facebook* political groups, those who share political videos on *Youtube* and re-tweet articles of political interest (Marichal, 2013). Morozov (2011:179) describes these Facebook political groups as prompted by *slacktivism* referring to “the ease with which individuals can create and join communities of interest”. However, these online political communities are criticised for existing without an impact on real political outcomes or changes (Christensen, 2011). In Zimbabwe, particularly, faceless online personalities emerged known as *Baba Jukwa* posting allegations of scandals and corruption against politicians and state officials (Harding: 2013).

Online blogging has also been practiced by both journalists and civic individuals or groups (Domingo & Heinonen, 2008:3). Most of the weblogs are personal and some are shared by the institutional media. Personal weblogs share the current events mostly with the author’s feeling and experiences hence publishing outside professional journalism (Matheson, 2004). Domingo and

Heinonen (2008:7) identify four types of blogs such as “the audience blog, the journalistic blog, the media blog and the citizen blog”.

Audience blogs are produced by the audience on platforms provided by the media, (namely readers’ comments on news articles), journalistic blogs are weblogs maintained by journalists outside their companies, citizen blogs are produced by public outside media companies and media blogs are weblogs part of the media content produced by professional staff journalists (Domingo & Heinonen, 2008: 7).

Moreover, these blogs and wikis reflect discursive communities that have “linguistic issues concerning the use of language in society, ways people argue, state facts and how they define themselves in relation to other people” (Myers, 2010:4). The linguistic issues reflected in these discursive communities are distinctive due to social members’ different backgrounds and locations. These online blogs and wikis can also be considered as metaphorically “electronic town meetings, which enable users to engage in political discussions and deliberations” (Scheufele & Nisbet, 2002:16). These defined as having an “electronic town meeting” are differentiated due to their Web 2.0 technologies immediate access and use. This means technologies are determinate.

The fact that the readers’ forums are accessible to anyone linked to Web 2.0 technologies and with access to news online makes it possible to become a public forum. It also means that “the media and communications landscape has changed ways” in which people can access information that “make it possible for envisioning more engaged citizen participation” (Banda, 2010:8). Citizen participation in internet spaces is seen as having promoted public discussions in the sense that equal participation is granted, with freedom of expression (Banda, 2010). This way, citizens are able to express themselves. Their political participation on internet public forums makes them feel good than to effect political changes (Shulman, 2005; Hindman, 2009). What remains is their freedom to participate politically online.

Political or social participation online by kinds of groups and individuals or audiences has been categorised in different journalistic activities. Nip (2006: 212-216) distinguishes this participation into “citizen journalism, interactive journalism,

public journalism and participatory journalism. "This is close in form to different types of blogs identified by Domingo and Heinonen (2008). The difference is Nip (2006) explains online participation in terms of journalism. Interactive journalism includes users' generated content in response to news articles by professional journalists (Greer & Mensing, 2003; Rosenberry, 2005; Ye & Li, 2004). These "free themselves from linearity set by the professional journalists" (Nip, 2006: 216). This refers to readers' or audience blogs on institutional news forum.

Public journalism "aims to engage the people as citizens both in the news-making process and the use of the news" (Nip, 2006:216). In participatory journalism is recently seen as "giving news users the chance to express their views" and professional journalists use the news produced by the users or readers (Nip, 2006:218; Kim & Lowrey, 2014). Participatory and citizen journalism are sometimes used synonymously, citizen journalism is seen "as an individual, group without involvement from paid professional journalists" (Nip, 2006:218). This means activities online can be differentiated among participants, who produce news and those who respond without their comments being edited by the professional journalists like letters to the editor.

Research methods are needed to study these discursive communities online. The news readers online comment on new articles and produce content necessary for analysis. This means a research approach suitable for the study is content analysis. Content analysis is one method used to analyse a corpus of readers' comments or texts (Krippendorff, 2004:41) writes that "content analysis can handle the unstructured matter as data". Readers' comments are texts or expressions meant to be seen, read, interpreted and noted for their meanings hence content analysis is used to analyse these comments (Krippendorff, 2004: xiii). This involves coding of readers' comments since "coding is one among several procedural components of content analysis" (Krippendorff, 2004:125).

Since content analysis consists of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. This study adopts a qualitative content analysis as the main research methodology. Qualitative content analysis is taken as "an approach of empirical methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of

communication without rash quantification” (Mayring, 2005:5). This research approach interprets readers’ comments within their context of communication. Readers’ comments have to be coded into categories. This means communication theoretical concepts are needed to explore these themes or meanings from texts or readers’ comments. The study hence uses discourse (Foucault, 1991), framing theoretical concepts (Goffman, 1974) to inform and extend the study.

In addition, to study readers’ scope of interaction and socialisation requires also a further research method that quantitatively analyse the participants’ degree of participation. For this reason, the study extends into a network analysis of readers’ interactivity in such a discursive community. Network analysis is a mixed method research technique which involves the study of participants’ interactivity and relationships (Hansen, Shneiderman and Smith, 2011:3-5). It is therefore, used as a triangulation technique that will approach the study from a different angle such as analysing the scope of readers’ online interaction.



1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The problem with the media in Zimbabwe is that newspapers largely cover events that have to do with prominent people while ordinary citizens’ voices usually go unheard (Moyo, 2004:12). This results in a highly partisan press that reflects the opinions, and serves the interests, of political elites (Moyo, 2004:12). The ruling elites monopolise the media to promote their own political interests and agendas (Moyo, 2012:12). Freedom of expression is severely curtailed, and it becomes disputed to what extent these newspapers can constitute a public sphere. This means that popular voices on political and economic issues in Zimbabwe find a limited place in commercial (and party) newspapers. A qualitative content analysis of readers’ comments on political and economic news articles online may address (or redress) these limitations by reflecting the political and economic opinions of the news readers who find a limited place in commercial or partisan newspapers.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study is guided by research questions such as;

- a. What are the political and economic issues brought out by the readers online?
- b. How do readers online constitute a discursive community that broadens the scope of journalism practice in Zimbabwe?
- c. Does the public commentary reflect connections or interactions among social members?

1.4 AIM OF THE STUDY

This study aims to analyse the political and economic perspectives of readers online and their participation in the Zimbabwean public sphere.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of this study are:

- a. To conduct a content analysis of responses to online news articles which have a general political and economic import on the public interest in Zimbabwe.
- b. To analyse these online communities through the use of discourse and framing theory.
- c. To evaluate readers' connectivity on public comment forums through network analysis and to give an indication of how readers socialise.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

The boost of online media and its facilities for public commenting has provided ordinary Zimbabweans a public arena for interaction. Therefore content analysis of readers' political and economic comments on Zimbabwean news reports contributes to the field of journalism by reflecting the public sentiments of these ordinary citizens. This study intends to enhance a better understanding of political and economic issues evolving in Zimbabwe. It hopes to presents an understanding of the terminology employed in the Zimbabwean online community, ways readers argue, state facts and how they limit themselves due to their different perspectives, backgrounds and contexts. In other words, the study



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deduces meaning of the terms employed by the online discursive community from the political or economic context of Zimbabwe.

The research findings may not necessarily interpret the political thought of a broader population, but do at least ponder over those set up among a primarily middle class population with access to online newspapers, and the fact that the online participants have an interest to remain online and comment on news articles, gives the researcher an impression that the readers engage in public discourse, deliberately. Therefore, this study brings to light what these readers gather to discuss.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter covers the published works of the various scholars that focus on readers' comments. It also informs on the current, and contemporary Zimbabwean media sphere and discusses relevant theories for the study, namely discourse and framing theory.



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Chapter 3: Research design and Methodology

This chapter focuses on the research methodology employed for the study. Content analysis is defined and explained with regard to Krippendorff (2004). This chapter also presents the concepts of a qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000). The use of *Nvivo 10* in the study as a research tool is also depicted with the process of coding and categorisation of readers' comments. Network analysis and its useful research tools such as *NodeXL* is designated.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

This chapter introduces a qualitative content analysis of readers' comments on political and economic news articles. The concepts of discourse and framing theory are used to analyse these comments. Readers' comments are presented and analysed accordingly although not all readers' comments were quoted.

The chapter also presents a network analysis of online readers. A network analysis facilitated by a Microsoft Excel worksheet called *NodeXL* was used to present the findings of readers and their pattern of interaction online. The

NodeXL graph metrics was used calculate the “degrees” of interaction. The discursive community was also analysed in order to find out how they promote the scope of journalism in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendation

This chapter summarises the political and economic themes found in chapter four and a network analysis of readers online discussed in chapter five. The chapter covers the main conclusion, recommendations and limitations of the study. The recommendations or problems faced concerning the study are given and further research is suggested.

1.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the aim of the study, research questions, objectives and a methodology adopted for the study. The study also gives a background of the phenomenon under study and outlines a research problem associated with commercial or partisan media. The significance of the study explains the purpose for the study and its contribution to the body of knowledge. The literature review and theoretical framework are introduced in the following chapter.

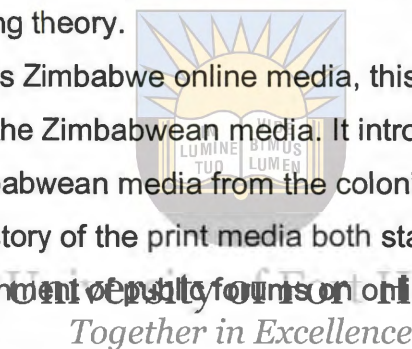
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers literature review of the various studies that focus on content analysis. Researchers have been using content analysis to study “user generated content and its democratising potential common online in the form of blogs, wikis, podcasts, pictures and social networks” (Miloni, Vadratsikas & Papa, 2012:1; Yildirim, Gal-Or & Geylani, 2010: 1).

Mostly theories related to these studies have been discourse, framing, and textual analysis, just to mention a few. Theoretical frameworks of this study include only discourse and framing theory.

Since the focus of this study is Zimbabwe online media, this chapter begins by giving a background study of the Zimbabwean media. It introduces the complexities involved in the Zimbabwean media from the colonial era to the present state. This covers the history of the print media both state-owned and privately-owned until the establishment of public forums on online newspapers where readers interact.



2.1.1 The Zimbabwean media sphere

Free independent press was restricted in the colonial Rhodesian era. During the years 1965 to 1980 several media restrictive laws were enacted by the government of Ian Smith (Chavunduka, 2002). These media laws include the Official Secrets Act (OSA) which restricted journalists on reporting “classified information” and the Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) gave the state authority to arrest journalists who would go against the media laws (Chavunduka, 2002).

Since the achievement of independence in 1980, the media in Zimbabwe has been dominated by the state-owned media (Rønning & Kupe, 2000:14). The government led by Robert Mugabe did not uphold media reforms proposed throughout the colonial years. The only change was the removal of the Powers, Privileges and Immunities of Parliament Act which restricted the media to report parliamentary debates (Chavunduka, 2002).

In January 1981, the government bought shares in the Argus Newspaper Group of South Africa and formed the company known as Zimpapers and Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT). The ZMMT was formed due to the widespread criticism of the national media (Tim & Jim, 1999). The “role of Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust was to act as a buffer between the government and the press.” (Sikosana, 2010:7). It was intended to advocate for a free press, non-partisan and mass-oriented of which the dominance of the Ministry of Information made the policy ineffective (Myung-Jin & James, 2000).

The government of Zimbabwe has a press structure dominated by Zimbabwe Newspapers Limited (Zimpapers). Zimpapers are state-owned newspapers, namely the *Herald*, the *Chronicle* and their *Sunday editions* (the *Sunday Mail* and the *Sunday News*) and *Manica Post* (Sikosana, 2011:7).

Zimbabwe’s daily newspaper market had, since independence, been dominated by the two state-controlled papers, *The Herald*, published in the capital Harare, and its sister paper, *The Chronicle*, published in the second largest city, Bulawayo (Moyo, 2005:111).

The Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust also controls the Community Newspaper Group (CNG) which owns *Indosakusa/ILangapublishing* for Matebeleland North and South Provinces, *Masvingo Star* publishing for Masvingo Province and *The Times of Midlands* distributed in Midlands Province.

Shortly in 1988-1989 while the government controlled media was dominating while independent media campaigned against a one-party state style of governance (World Press Freedom, 2000). In 1988, *Chronicle* newspaper editors, Nyarota and Maruziva exposed top government officials who were involved in corruption, the incident was called *Willowgate scandal*. Six government officials resigned due to their scandals exposed by the media (World Press Freedom, 2000).

In 1990s, the independent media such as the *Financial Gazette*, *Daily News* and *The Standard and The Mirror* competed with the dominant state media. However some of the independent newspapers loyally published along with the state controlled media. These independent newspapers such as the *Mirror* and

Gazette never had a great impact compared with the *Daily News* because they used to publish stories already published by the *Herald* and their readership was very low (Hattingh, 2011:26). The media further exposed scandals on government officials who were involved in misuse of funds set by the government for national projects. In late 1990s, the independent media, along with non-governmental organisations and opposition parties successfully effected government policy change from a one-party state to a multi-party governance (Chavunduka, 2002).

This implies that the state-owned media have been under the control of the government led by Mugabe, and the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and these media are seen as a tool for propaganda (Moyo, 2004:12). The government has been known to restrict freedom of expression where it threatens national security. Hence, the Ministry of Information and Publicity regulates media content (Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2011). The government enacted media laws such as the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA), the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) in 2001 and 2002, in a bid to place the media more firmly under the control of the government” (Mugari, 2008:10). These media laws aim to protect the state from criticism by giving journalists limited freedom of expression.

Since the passing of the AIPPA in 2002, several private media outlets were banned by the government including *The Daily News* in 2003, *The Patriot* and *The Mail* (Chavunduka, 2002). *The Patriot* and *The Mail* newspapers were other alternative voices in the industry although *The Mail* did not last for a longer period of time due to the effect of media polices (Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2011:170). This led to the set-up of international based newspapers by exiled Zimbabweans. With the advent of internet, exiled journalists formed online based news sites (Freedom House, 2009). The *Daily News* was later re-introduced in 2010 and its sister paper, the *Daily news on Sunday* (Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2011:170). The *Daily News* is recommended as an objective source of news and an unbiased publisher (Media Development Fund, 2014).

Recently the effects or conditions caused by media laws prompted opposition political parties, especially the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), to call for media reforms in parliament. Therefore, since the adoption of the new constitution, the government has not lifted yet the media laws, with regards to media reforms (Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2014). The journalism community suffers a setback due to these media policies which restrict freedom of expression and publication of critical news either pro-government or anti-government (Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2014).

2.1.2 Independent media

Currently there are few existing private owned newspapers in Zimbabwe, these are *Financial Gazette*, owned by the Financial Gazette Private Ltd, The Independent and the *Standard* newspapers, owned by the Zimid Publishers, *The Mirror*, owned by Southern African Political and Economic Series (SAPES) and the *Daily News* founded in 1999 now owned by the Associated Newspaper Group (Sikosana, 2011; Machipisa, 1999).

“With the re-launch of the Daily News in 2010, Zimbabweans had daily access to an alternative, objective source of news for the first time since 2003. The state-owned Herald had enjoyed a monopoly” (Media Development Fund, 2014).

The rise of Web 2.0 technologies promoted the access to news online by many Zimbabweans who felt denied the objective information and turned to internet for information (Manganga, 2012). Considering the fact that restrictive media laws still existed against freedom of expression, international based online newspapers arose. These international based online newspapers boomed online forming a “guerilla form of journalism” and what the Ministry of Information and Publicity called “terrorist media organisations” (Mugari, 2008:10). They were specifically described “guerilla form of journalism”, “terrorist media organisations” because international based online newspapers could report critical news, either pro-government or anti-government since were not bound by Zimbabwean laws and were seen as mouthpieces of opposition politics (Hattingh, 2011:27).

2.1.3 The online Zimbabwe news websites

There are almost thirty-three online Zimbabwean news resources (The Africa South of the Sahara, 2012). Amongst them, there is *Newzimbabwe.com*, *Herald.co.zw*, and *Nehandaradio.com*. *Newzimbabwe.com* and *Nehandaradio.com* only found online while *Herald.co.zw* is also run online publishing news articles selected from the State newspaper run by the Zimbabwe Newspapers (The Africa South of the Sahara, 2012). The *Herald.co.zw* is a state media that is well known for supporting government policies (Manganga, 2012).

NewZimbabwe.com is a website based in Wales, United Kingdom, commonly known among Zimbabweans for promoting analyses of news stories that cover the taboo discourses, news stories forbidden by the state and has a platform for readers' interactions (Willems & Mano, 2006; Mpofu, 2013). The *NewZimbabwe.com* "recreates, in a sense, an *agora* where people gather and discuss issues of common concern and it is famous among Zimbabweans in the homeland and diaspora for being the first serious website to cover Zimbabwean news" (Mpofu, 2013).

Nehandaradio based in the United Kingdom publishes current Zimbabwe news, commentary, business, courts, the diaspora, religion, sports, entertainment, and videos. It also has website based internet radio station. Zimbabwean diaspora radio stations broadcast via the internet, which allows for "lower operational costs and fewer legislative hurdles" (Kuhlmann, 2010:17). The *Zimeye.com* also based in United Kingdom disseminates current Zimbabwean news and reports daily online. These online news websites have a space or public commentary where readers comment on news articles.

Table 1: Newspapers and news sites (The Africa South of the Sahara, 2012)

Newspapers/ News sites	Online	Based	Owner
AllAfrica.com	http://AllAfrica.com/zimbabwe	Dakar	Africa News
Bulawayo24News	http://bulawayo24.com	(2010)	(Independent) Byo24News
ChangeZimbabwe	http://www.changezimbabwe.com	UK	Independent
Chronicle	http://www.zimpapers.co.zw	Bulawayo (1894)	State-owned Zimpapers
Daily News	http://www.dailynews.co.zw	Harare (1999)	(Independent) Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe's Group Editorial Charter
Financial Gazette	http://www.financialgazette.co.zw/	Harare and Bulawayo (1969)	Modus Publications
Guardian	http://www.guardian.co.uk	London	Independent
Herald,	http://www.herald.co.zw	Harare (1891)	State media Zimpapers
lafrica	http://lafrica.com/news/specialrep		

	ort/zimbabwe	Newsland	UUNET
The Mirror	http://www.masvingomirror.com/	Masvingo	(Independent) Southern African Political and Economic Series
Manica Post	http://www.manicapost.com/index.aspx	Mutare	(State media)Zimpapers
Nehanda Radio	http://nehandaradio.com/	UK	(Independent) Run by Lance Guma
NewZimbabwe.com	http://www.newzimbabwe.com	UK	(Independent)Start ed by MduduziMathuthu
Newsday	http://www.newsday.co.zw	Harare (2010)	(Independent) Alpha Media Holdings
Patriot	http://www.thepatriot.co.zw/	Harare	Independent
Standard	http://www.thestandard.co.zw/	Harare	(Independent)Alpha Media Holdings
Sunday Mail	http://www.herald.co.zw	Harare	State-owned Zimpapers
Zimdaily.com	http://www.zimdaily.com	UK, US. Canada	(Independent)
ZimEye.com	http://www.zimeye.com	UK	(Independent)

ZimNews.com	http://www.zwnews.com	London	<i>(Independent)</i> Zimbabwe Democracy Trust
ZimbabweDaily.com	http://www.thezimbabwedaily.com/	UK	<i>(Independent)</i> Zimbabwe Mail
Zimbabwe Independent	http://www.theindependent.co.zw	Harare	<i>(Independent)</i> Alpha Media Holdings (AMH)
Zimbabwe Mail	http://www.thezimbabwemail.com	London	<i>(Independent)</i> The Zimbabwe News and Media
Zimbabwe Post	http://www.zimbabwepost.com/	Sharjah	World News Network
Zimbabwe Situation.com	http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/	Australia	<i>(Independent)</i>
Zimbabwean	http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk	UK	<i>(Independent)</i> Wilf and Trish Mbanga

Table 1 shows the available Zimbabwean newspapers and news sites online. The table also shows the name of the newspaper, website address and the owner.

2.2 ONLINE PUBLIC COMMENTARY

Public commentary acts as a “public sphere” where readers share their different opinions concerning the issues published by the media. A public sphere is a platform where “access is guaranteed to all citizens with the guarantee of

freedom of assembly, and association and freedom to express and publish their opinion about matters of interest” (Habermas, 1989:73-74). Personal, interactive and informal discourse is also promoted on these online commentary forums by citizens who informally gather to discuss the issues of the day that the modern mass media publishes (Hauser, 1999; Strandberg & Berg, 2013:133). This stimulates public discourse and acts as a strategic platform for readers’ interaction. Discourse concerns the ways that “language works in our engagements with the world and our interactions with each other, so creating and shaping the social, political and cultural formations of our societies” (Hyland & Paltridge, 2001:1). Public discourse is a collective action of participation in discussions on public forums and citizens have a right to participate with freedom of speech and expression (Calhoun, 1992; Sellers, 2004; Chan, Rafik-Galea & Yap, 2014). These citizens form a discursive community that emerges deliberately to discuss political, economic and social problems. The nature of the discursive communities renders every member of the community a chance to contribute his or her own subjective or objective opinions that deliberately criticise the governments (Mummery & Rodan, 2013).

The modern mass media through the Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) has “ushered in a new era of new media, signaling unbounded possibilities for citizen journalism” (Banda, 2010:9). These citizens influence journalists who study their discourse, hence generate a discursive community which influences journalists to learn about their perceptions (Chung, 2008:660). This implies audience activity such as citizen journalism. Citizen journalism is seen “as an individual, group without involvement from paid, trained professionals” (Nip, 2006:218). These citizens are individuals not in collaboration with the mainstream journalism. They exploit the available communication channels to inform one another (Domingo *et al.*, 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Rosen, 2008). This implies that citizen journalists “gather, process, research, report, analyse and publish news and information, most often utilising a variety of technologies made possible by the internet.” (Ross & Cormier,

2010:66). This has opposed the norm of gatekeeping in journalism that censors news content (Lewis *et al.*, 2010).

Readers' interactivity on news sites promotes an immediacy of news consumption and journalists could learn about their audience's perceptions immediately (Chung, 2008:660). This trend of interactivity "now is changing to a participatory journalism because it captures the idea of collaborative and collective action not merely exchange of ideas" (Thilaka & Natarajan, 2012:117). Participatory journalism and citizen journalism are close in form. Participatory journalism involves the news users who are given the chance to share their perspectives and professional journalists make use of the news produced by the audience (Nip, 2006:218; Kim & Lowrey, 2014). In other contexts the audience act as news agents, they set the agenda, and discuss issues as agenda setters and by determining the agenda setting, they produce news themselves (Domingo *et al.*, 2008:335).

These online discussions have aroused scholarly debate and empirical research studies (Strandberg & Berg, 2013). Scholars note that online discussions are significant platforms for citizen deliberations (Banda, 2010; Ross & Cormier, 2010; Lewis *et al.*, 2010). Although empirical studies dispute the online discussion as void of true deliberation, the discussion forums remain significant as public spheres (Strandberg & Berg, 2013). The public deliberation refers to readers' involvement into public discussions necessarily for problem solving (Manosevitch & Walker, 2009:2). These public spheres influence gatekeepers or journalists who study the discussions, "track readers' behaviour", and incline to select news stories that suit "readers' content preferences" (Shoemaker, 1996:80; Vu, 2014:2). Online comments have been so useful to news reporters (Santana, 2011). The commenters have challenged reporters to re-examine the news worthiness of a topic and have also provoked them to think of new and different stories to tell while pressurising them to adopt a creative way of telling stories (Santana, 2011). Readers play different roles such as to criticise misleading headlines (Karlsson, 2010). Karlsson (2010) analyses the readers' comments posted on four Swedish newspapers about the swine flu news reports.

The study discovers that readers' comments are so effective in the dominant media and influence the writing of news (Karlsson, 2010).

This means readers' discussion forum has been influential on journalists or the media as gatekeepers. Gatekeeping occurs when journalists select "what to write and what to include and what to leave out" (Shoemaker, 1991:79).

Traditional media as gatekeepers select or decide on whether or not "to allow a particular news report, to pass through the 'gates' of a news medium into the news channels" (McQuail, 2010:309). Gatekeeping is further described as "writing, editing, positioning, scheduling, repeating and messaging information to become news" (Shoemaker *et al.*, 2008:73). This means that journalists cannot write everything and publish all the received stories, meaning "some selection of news items is necessary" (Shoemaker, 1991:80). The news stories are selected to fit into the space available in the newspaper.

The media gatekeepers have been non-transparent and over-determined on the selection of stories for publication, which were not questioned by the public (Goode, 2009). Journalists were "aloof from their audiences in the context of traditional media" (MacGregor, 2007; Vu, 2014:3). In learning from their audiences, the media organisations used to depend on letters to the editor and radio phone-in programmes (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2001: 303-304). This had limited influence on news producers and editors for them to "adjust their daily editorial decision making" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996:105).

2.3 READERS' COMMENTS

Recent studies have been focusing on analysing readers' comments featuring on online news articles (Abdul-Mageed, 2008; Singer, 2009; Manosevitch & Walker, 2009; Diakopoulos & Naaman, 2011; Milioni, Vadratsikas & Papa, 2012; Ajiboye, 2013; Henrich & Holmes, 2013). These studies explore the role of discursive spaces, user engagement on public platforms and their perspectives.

Singer (2009) employs a content analysis of user's comments on three Scottish newspapers. Singer's aim was to understand the political discourse and to identify online political communities, and their characteristics. The findings

show that discursive spaces enable users from remotely located places to come together and debate issues of common interest, while at the same time serve as channels for social interaction and community building (Singer, 2009).

Ajiboye (2013) examines the discursive strategies in online news feedback platforms and how they influence readers' ideological perspectives. The data comprises of 201 readers' comments derived from online news media reports on two socio-political crises in Nigeria. Readers as social actors form a discursive community that plays a role in building social attitudes and public opinions (Ajiboye, 2013). They share common knowledge derived from a social context as they inform one another (Ajiboye, 2013). Their discourse is determined by the socio-political events and circumstances. Readers as social actors make use of ideological strategies such as polarisation, generalisation and hyperbole as they interact (Ajiboye, 2013).

Milioni, Vadratsikas and Papa (2012) apply a content analysis to readers' comments in Greek online mass media. User engagement in raising new issues and arguments is very low (Milioni, Vadratsikas & Papa, 2012). Readers discuss issues of common interest that have been released in the news articles.

Manosevitch and Walker (2009) use content analysis to analyse the readers' comments posted within the opinion pages of two major regional American newspapers. They note that the involvement of readers into public discourse shows the desire for public interaction. The readers spend quiet some hours debating and responding to one another. They involve themselves into political discourse. Manosevitch and Walker (2009:2) point out that the readers' comments are "analytic and supportive of social order". The comments are essential for public deliberation; can be taken into consideration to solve political or social problems. Readers' comments give information that is factual and rational (Manosevitch & Walker, 2009:21). Readers also address each other, raise questions and share additional sources of information. Some "commenters were engaged in the discussion at more than one point in its lifecycle" (Manosevitch & Walker, 2009:21). Some commenters stay online and comment in real time.

Commenters respond to each other by direct reference to username or by responding to questions posed, clarifying positions or following up with information (Manosevitch & Walker, 2009:21)

The usernames are identical online and common among commenters.

Diakopoulos and Naaman (2011) study primarily the readers' comments on SacBee.com news articles. They discover that news sites are increasingly changing to become platforms for communities to discuss and address common issues left by news articles. The discourse of readers' comments reflects tensions and different perspectives within online communities. Journalists and readers view the quality of online comments as sometimes offensive (Diakopoulos & Naaman, 2011). The discourse also reflects a nature of topicality. Argumentative comments further arouse counter responses or insults (Diakopoulos & Naaman, 2011).

Abdul-Mageed (2008) investigates readers' comments on *Al Jazeera* news site where readers' comment on the site regularly across stories. The new articles focus on themes mostly related to military and political, and foreign relations, and covered events related to the Arab world (Abdul-Mageed, 2008). Readers respond to other readers' comments online (Henrich & Holmes, 2013: 1). Readers' comments are "a rich source of qualitative data that reflect public opinion and provide insight into how decisions are made and beliefs formed" (Henrich & Holmes, 2013:1). Readers may also correct what they believe to be misinformation in other comments, argue as they support ideas, share websites links with relevant information and provide factual information (Schuth, Marx & de Rijke, 2007). Their attitude is shown through clicking on either like or dislike on the comment. However these comments "cannot be taken as representative of the views of the general population" but instead the high number of comments available reflect the opinion of a large segment of the population (Henrich & Holmes, 2013:2).

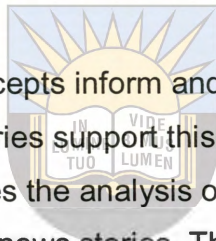
Strandberg and Berg (2013) examine whether readers' comments in a Finnish newspaper website represent democratic discourse. They use content analysis as method to analyse 300 reader comments in a timeframe of three

weeks. The findings of their research indicate that some readers' comments reflect a democratic and non-democratic conversation.

Mcmillen (2013:iii) explores the "deliberative properties of social interaction in online comment thread." The sample of the study was collected from three different online news sites the *hill.com*, *nation.com*, and the *nationalreview.com*. The research findings state that online comments reflect "evidence of informal conversational style" (Mcmillen, 2013:iii). The study discovered three common themes of social interaction which are "tolerance for hostility, encouraging quality debate and a value of information exchanges" (Mcmillen, 2013:iii).

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Framing and discourse theoretical concepts inform and extend a qualitative content analysis for this study. These theories support this study in the sense that the qualitative content analysis involves the analysis of readers' discourse determined by their frames in thought and news stories. The news stories also contribute to readers' frames in thought made manifest in their discourse.



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2.4.1 Framing theory

Framing theory is an extension of agenda-setting theory which assumes that the media does not tell us what to think but what we can think about (Lane, 2001). Frames refer to systems of pre-conceived ideas used by an individual to interpret messages. The "frames are mostly cultural in origin and nearly every word of one's language evokes a frame" (Baran & Davis, 2009:35). This means that our cultural background and experiences can influence the way we interpret messages.

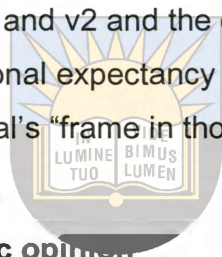
Goffman (1974) is assumed to have founded the framing theory as he further developed the framing concept. Goffman (1974) assumes that the framing pieces guide the behaviour of individuals in the interpretation of messages. It is also seen as a "conceptual structure for organising one's outlook in terms of providing the categories to become reality" (Hamzah *et al.*, 2014:47). Framing approach analyses the perspective of choosing issues that ultimately determine what facts are taken and highlighted (Chang, Tan & Awang, 2009).

The main characteristic of framing theory is that “an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations” (Chong & Druckman, 2007:104). Framing theory studies a person’s particular perspective of an issue, pattern of thinking, behaviour and attitude towards a certain issue. Framing theory also assumes that the media influence readers’ interpretation of reality and their frames in thought. “Framing theory suggests how something is shown to influence individual choices in decision making and frames affect audience perceptions of news” (Hamzah *et al.*, 2014:47). For example, when news media “call attention to some matters while ignoring others, television news as well as the other news media influences the standards by which governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for public office are judged” (McCombs, 2002:12). This means the theory seeks to find out the individual’s perspective that determines his or her interpretation of news.

An individual’s “frame in thought” constitutes an attitude towards reality. Framing theory assumes an individual has “opinions of his own and cannot have self-respect without opinions that define and identify him” (Chong & Druckman, 2007:103). These opinions define an individual’s attitude and belief. For instance, “if an individual perceives that free speech dominates all other considerations in deciding whether a hate group has the right to rally, that individual’s frame in thought is free speech”(Chong & Druckman, 2007:105).

The framing theory consists of a conventional expectancy value model of an individual’s attitude. The “conventional expectancy model is an idealised conception of an attitude as a summary of a definable set of beliefs that an individual holds about a subject” (Chong & Druckman, 2007:105). An individual is assumed to be having different perspectives and beliefs about a phenomenon. Chong and Druckman (2007:105) explain that the conventional expectancy model looks at an approach (attitude) toward an entity as the subjective sum of a sequence of “evaluative beliefs about that object.” For example, the model aligns attitude as contributing to the evaluation of the object on dimension (attribute) and salience or prominence related with that dimension (attribute). The formula

defines itself as “Attitude= $v_i \cdot w_i$ where v_i is the evaluation of the object on attribute i , and w_i is the salience weight ($w_i=1$) associated with that attribute” (Chong and Druckman 2007:105). This model shows that an individual’s decision making is determined by a set of attitudes towards the issue. For instance one’s attitude towards a re-run of elections consists of negative and positive evaluations (v_i – set of evaluations). One may believe that a re-run of elections will constitute a free and fair election process ($i=1$) and one may believe a re-run will cost the government an extensive amount ($i=2$). This means that v_1 is positive and v_2 is negative. Therefore an individual’s attitude towards decision making depends on the relative degree v_1 and v_2 and the doubts involved in the relative weights w_1 and w_2 . This conventional expectancy model of an individual’s attitude shows that an individual’s “frame in thought” constitutes to an individual’s reaction to a situation.



2.4.2 The framing of news and public opinion

Public opinion is seen as an aggregate of the views, attitudes, and beliefs held by an individual about a particular topic (Davison, 2014). It is also seen as “a process of interaction and mutual influence rather than a state of broad agreement” (Davison, 2014:1).

While it is impossible to recover all truth to every newsworthy issue or event, understanding the framing of news, the attributes used to describe that issue, and the tone in which they are disseminated allow the public to form their own opinions and make their own decisions (Brunken, 2006:1).

Brunken (2006) examines the frames, issue attributes and the tone used in crisis news such as natural disaster, government response to natural disaster such as the Hurricane Katrina from four American newspapers. The research findings suggest that “media’s use of attribute agenda-setting was evident throughout coverage, primarily emphasising the issues, relief and rescue, economic, negative timeliness, and rebuilding and repairing” (Brunken, 2006:v). The media’s tone of government response to the Hurricane Katrina was “moderately neutral with federal tone covered more positively, and local tone covered more negatively” (Brunken, 2006:v).

2.5 DISCOURSE THEORY

Discourse theory involves qualitative and interpretive theoretical framework that focus on the social construction and exchange of meaning through texts, records of spoken words, gestures, and symbols (Christie, 2012). Formal and empirical approaches view discourse in terms of language. Their accent of discourse is limited to language use, the structures and knowing to produce and recognise utterances. Hyland and Paltridge (2001:1) note that to study discourse from a linguistic perspective means to study “language in action, looking at texts in relation to the social contexts in which they are used”. This means drawing out the meaning from texts in relation to the political, social and economic context they are used.

Michel Foucault thinks of discourse or discourses in terms of “bodies of knowledge” (McHoul & Grace, 2002:26). Knowledge refers to “all kinds of contents that make up a human consciousness” “kinds of meanings people use to interpret and shape their environment” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001:2). Discourse is closely looked as being the concept of discipline and “moved away from something to do with language, language as a linguistic system or grammar.” The concept of seeing discourse in terms of discipline or bodies of knowledge refers to the areas of scholarly disciplines such as science, medicine sociology and so on and disciplinary institutions like prisons and hospitals among others (McHoul & Grace, 2002:26).

Foucault’s discourse perception links in specific historical relations between disciplines such as bodies of knowledge and disciplinary practice (McHoul & Grace, 2002). This explains the structures in which the society operates in terms of social order and power. Foucault’s emphasis “moves discourse away from being simply a technical accomplishment of linguistic or interactional on the part of pre-existing sovereign subjects, and redirects it towards the issues of what can be said and what can be thought.” (McHoul & Grace, 2002:25). The bodies of knowledge and disciplinary practices control or guide us into what we can utter and also what we can think of.

2.5.1 Discourse determines statements

Discourse is taken as generally a domain of all statements. According to Foucault the word discourse is treated “as a domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualised group of statements, as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements and as a boundary around a statement” (McHoul & Grace, 2002:36). In other words Foucault does not view statements as units of discourse rather he sees statements as functional across unities. Statements “bring about effects rather than merely represent states of affairs” (McHoul & Grace, 2002:37). Statements entail knowledge, bring out what we can know and hinder us from what we can know.

Discourse determines statements (McHoul & Grace, 2002). A statement is a function that operates vertically in relation to these various units, and which enables one to say of a series of signs whether or not they are present in it. It is “not itself a unit, but a function that cuts across a domain of structures and possible unities, and which reveals them, with concrete contents, in time and space (Foucault, 1972:86-87).

Statements can be understood in relation to their historical conditions and rules which govern them (McHoul & Grace, 2002:38). The rules which govern the functioning of statements are derived from historical variable bodies of knowledge. In other words to analyse or describe discursive rules, we must look to specific “historical conditions, to the piecemeal, the local and the contingent” (McHoul & Grace, 2002:38). To understand statements, it is necessary to dig up rules that govern their function which are determined by historical local conditions in the context of their use. Statements “are best approached, not individually, but in terms of the organisations or archives of which they form a part” (McHoul & Grace, 2002:39). Therefore whatever can be said is not stationary or fixed but varies with time.

Foucault also uses the term “power” to indicate that power comes through established forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and “truth”. Michel Foucault’s understandings of power,

leads away from the analysis of actors who use power as an instrument of coercion, and even away from the judicious structures in which those actors operate, toward the idea that “power is

everywhere”, diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and regimes of truth (Foucault, 1991).

This shows that each and every society has what it takes as truth and knowledge. The understanding of “truth” is constituted in the accepted forms of knowledge.

Foucault (1991) says that each society has its own classification of truth, and its general politics of truth, this refers to the forms of discourse which the society accepts and makes function as true. This refers to the systems of the world which make one distinguish true and false statements, the techniques and procedures given value in the search of truth and the authority given to those who detect what is true. The “general politics” and “regimes of truth” are reinforced by the scientific discourse through the education system, the media, political and economic ideologies (Rabinow, 1991). In other words the media, political and economic ideologies produces discourse specified as bodies of knowledge. Foucault (1998:100-1) writes that “discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart.” The concept of power is made manifest in discourses, in regimes of truth.

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Several studies focus on the content analysis of readers’ comments found on new sites public forums. The discourse on these public forums is depicted in different ways with regard to the background or social context of the population being studied. Some scholars have mentioned that discursive spaces perform a bridging function, as users from remotely located spaces can come together and debate issues of common interest, while at the same time serve as channels for social interaction and community building (Singer, 2009; Abdul-Mageed, 2008; Manosevitch & Walker, 2009; Diakopoulos & Naaman, 2011; Milioni, Vadratsikas & Papa, 2012). The readers also play different roles such as their criticism on journalistic misleading headlines and their criticism is effective in the dominant media, and influence the writing of news (Karlsson, 2010).

Readers' comments are also analytic and supportive of social order (Manosevitch & Walker, 2009: 2). The readers display subjective opinions. These valuable subjective judgements have an impact on shaping public opinion and general social attitudes (Ajiboye, 2013). Readers as social actors form a discursive community that plays a role in building social attitudes and public opinion. They share common knowledge derived from a social context as they inform one another (Ajiboye, 2013). The online discourse does reflect a nature of topicality, meaning the readers or the media set the agenda.

Argumentative comments reflect a voice of reason which further arouses counter responses or insults (Diakopoulos & Naaman, 2011). Readers may also correct what they believe to be misinformation in other comments, argue as they support ideas, share websites links with relevant information and provide factual information (Schuth, Marx & de Rijke, 2007). Their comments are also "a rich source of qualitative data that reflect public opinion and provide insight into how decisions are made and beliefs formed" (Henrich & Holmes, 2013:1).

Some readers' comments reflect a democratic conversation while on the other the non-democratic online communities are reflected through the reflection of a non-democratic comment. Online comments also reflect "evidence of informal conversational style" (Mcmillen, 2013:iii). Three common themes of social interaction are found such as "tolerance for hostility, encouraging quality debate and a value of information exchanges" (Mcmillen, 2013:iii).

On the other hand, theories that have been oftenly used to study the discursive communities online vary from discourse theory, framing theory, amongst others. Framing as a communication theory assumes that the media influences our perspectives of reality and construe our frames in thought. Framing theory suggests how something is constructed to influence individual choices in decision making and frames affect audience perceptions of news (Hamzah *et al.*, 2014: 47). It shows that framing theory seeks to find out the individual's perspective that determines his or her interpretation of news.

The discourse theory involves qualitative and interpretive methodologies that focus on the social construction and exchange of meaning through texts, records

of spoken words, gestures, and symbols (Christie, 2012). Michel Foucault's discourse perception links in specific historical relations between disciplines such as bodies of knowledge and disciplinary practice (McHoul & Grace, 2002). Foucault's emphasis "moves discourse away from being simply a technical accomplishment of linguistic or interactional on the part of pre-existing sovereign subjects, and redirects it towards the issues of what can be said and what can be thought." The bodies of knowledge and disciplinary practices control or guide us into what we can utter and also what we can think of. This concept of discourse is used by relating readers' comments to their historical context and determines their statements.



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CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Readers' comments in Zimbabwe online media often glimpse issues that concern people living in that country. The study aims to explore readers' political and economic perspectives through a qualitative content analysis of their comments posted online. The qualitative content analysis is extended by a mixed method, network analysis, which explores readers' interaction and participation online. This chapter covers research methodology, the population, data collection and sampling technique used for the study.

The population for this study is the readers online. The term "population" does not only refer to people, but can also be defined as any group or aggregate of individuals, groups, organisations, social artifacts/objects, or social interactions" (Du Plooy, 2001:100). In this study, the population consists of participants online who are assumed to be Zimbabwean, though it is possible that others also participate for whatever reasons. University of Fort Hare

The data collection was based on a purposive extraction of the readers' comments from the public commentary forums found on four online news publications such as *Newzimbabwe.com*, *Herald.co.zw*, *Nehandaradio.com* and *Zimeye.com*. The selected websites were chosen on the basis of their popularity among Zimbabwe internet users and provide readers an opportunity to comment on news stories. Purposive or judgmental sampling was used to reach a sample of 400 comments extracted from a population of 212 commenters. This involved the collection of readers' comments attached to stories on political or economic matters. The time frame for data collection extended from 1 March 2014 to 30 June 2014. The readers' comments, however were extracted a month after this period as participation often continues to occur for an unspecified period after publication.

Every single comment was extracted as a unity of analysis. This was determined by the number of comments found on each and every news story selected. For example, the user generated content on *Newzimbabwe.com* is

often larger than the rest found on online news websites; *Herald.co.zw* has also a larger audience than *Nehandaradio.com* and *Zimeye.com*.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study uses both a qualitative and quantitative research design.

Qualitative research is explained in many ways, for example it is seen as an interpretive research, but the “common focus is that it interprets and constructs the qualitative aspects” of reality (Du Plooy, 2001:29). Qualitative research is a research approach also focuses on analysing an individual’s subjective definitions of the phenomenon (Du Plooy, 2001). Firestone, (1987:17) notes that, a qualitative research is “rooted in a phenomenological paradigm which holds that reality is socially constructed through individual or collective definitions of the situation”. Qualitative research as any research that does not follow statistical procedures or any means of quantification (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:17). This study employs a qualitative research approach by adopting qualitative content analysis in order to interpret readers’ comments.

This study employs a qualitative content analysis which was informed and extended by discourse theory (Hyland & Paltridge, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2001), framing theory (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The study, however, takes advantage of the basics of quantitative content analysis by coding readers’ comments into categories. Qualitative content analysis “preserves the advantages of quantitative content analysis as developed within communication science and to transfer and further develop them to qualitative-interpretative steps of analysis” (Mayring, 2000:2).

The study uses quantitative research approach by using a mixed research method, network analysis. Quantitative research involves the numbering, experimenting and other correlational designs in order to reduce bias and error. This study takes a turn into a quantitative research technique by applying a network analysis on analysing the readers’ interactions online. The network analysis involves the graph metrics which studies the scope of interaction in the online discursive community of readers (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011).

3.3 RESEARCH METHODS

The study uses qualitative content analysis to study a corpus of readers' comments online, extended by the use of network analysis. Content analysis is one method of analysing a representative corpus of comments found in news forums. Content analysis is research method that includes assumptions, rules, techniques or strategies used in the analysis of text (Krippendorff, 2004). Content analysis involves both qualitative approach and quantitative approach. However, this study employs a qualitative content analysis approach while preserving the basic principles of content analysis such as the *units of analysis, step models, working with categories and validity and reliability* (Mayring, 2000).

Network analysis evaluates the scope of online readers' interactions and interconnections. Network analysis is defined as a research technique used to analyse a network of relationships (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011).

3.3.1 Qualitative Content analysis

Content Analysis is one of the most important used research methods in the field of social sciences. Krippendorff (2004:xiii) notes that, "the content analyst views data as representation not of physical events but of texts, images, and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and noted on for their meanings, and must therefore to be analysed with such uses in mind." It is different from other research techniques such as interviews in the sense that "content analysis usually yields unobtrusive measures in which neither the sender nor the receiver of the message is aware that it is being analysed" (Weber, 1990:10).

Qualitative content analysis on texts was used; this involves the coding of data, the interpretation and classification of readers' comments into their thematic categories. Qualitative content analysis in this study is taken as an "approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification" (Mayring, 2000:5). The application of qualitative

content analysis also involves the coding of raw data into abstractly possible categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Elo & Kyngas, 2008). The raw data for this study are the available readers' comments extracted online.

Qualitative content analysis looks on objects such as the discourses, video tapes, and documents. However, in this study the themes are derived from the contextual meaning are taken as primary content while the context information, the news headlines and the readers' comments as latent content.

This study employs the writings of Mayring (2000) and Finfgeld-Connect (2014) on the procedures of qualitative content analysis. The procedures of qualitative content analysis are built upon the foundation of quantitative content analysis. "The explicit use of qualitative text analysis made possible by preserving the "advantages" of quantitative content analysis" (Mayring, 2000:6-7).

The first procedure is based on "fitting of material into a model of communication" (Marrying, 2000). This means that comments extracted online were purposively selected in order to fulfill the objectives of the study and infer their contextual meaning through a study of a news article. This procedure involves the induction of framing theory in evaluating the commenter's frame in thought and individual entitled opinions. The second procedure involved the "rules of analysis", the comments were analysed step by step using the rules of quantitative content analysis and reducing the material into content analytical units. This process took considerable time of finding themes portrayed out in the readers' comments. The third step is based on categorisation. Categorisation means putting material in categories that seeks to answer research questions (Mayring, 2000). Categories were properly revised in the process of analysis. Allocation of material into categories was accurate; every comment was allocated correctly with the aid of *NVivo 10*. These fours procedures of quantitative content analysis enriched the exploitation of qualitative content analysis for this study.

3.3.2 Inductive category development

The procedures of an inductive category development were used to analyse and understand the readers' comments before coding. With the adoption of

inductive analysis; qualitative researchers begin the study with “few preconceptions about a topic” (Finfgeld-Connect, 2014:342). The inductive analysis begins with studying the raw data, readers’ comments, before making inferences.

Therefore, the inductive category development is an approach meant to develop the “aspects of interpretation, the categories, as near as possible to the material, to formulate them in terms of the material” (Mayring, 2000:10). The inductive category development is meant to “formulate a criterion of definition” built upon theoretical assumptions and research questions which drives to the textual material selected for the study. Employing the inductive category development model helps in evaluating the readers’ comments and formulating categories for data analysis. Verification and revision of categories assisted in reduction of sub-categories into main categories determined by their reliability.

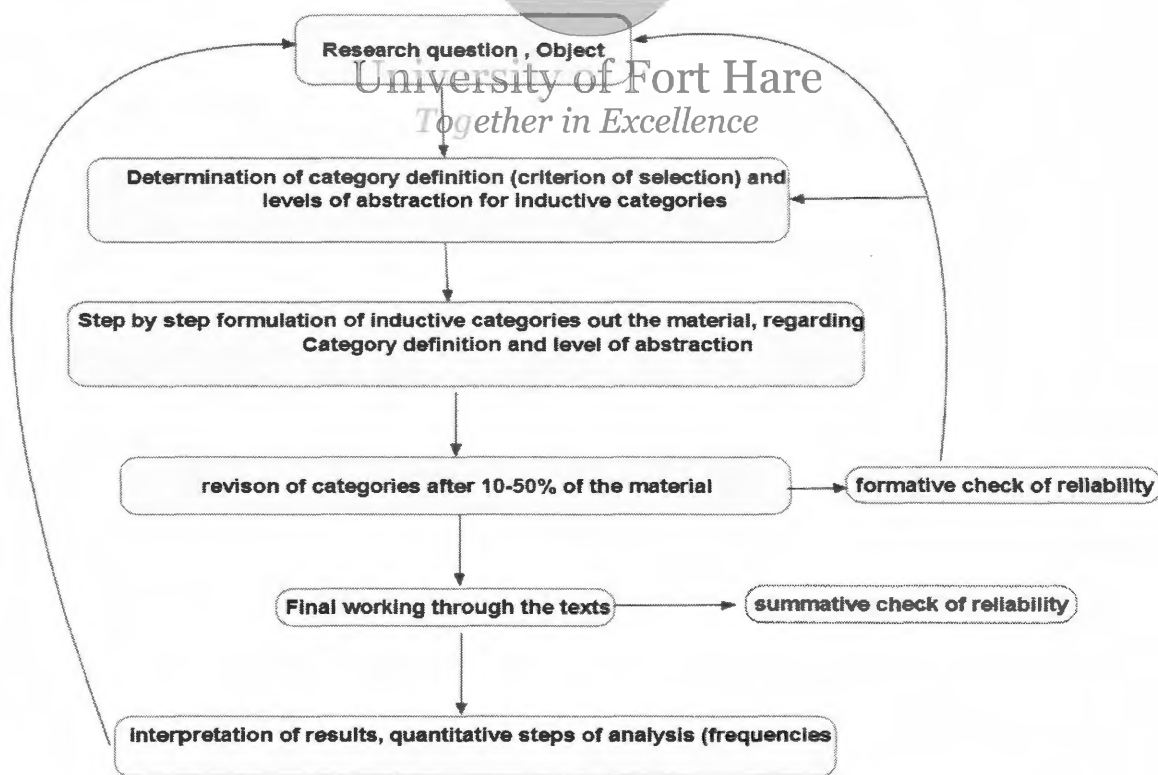


Figure 1: Step model of inductive category development (Mayring, 2000:11)

The diagram above shows the six steps of the inductive category development. The category definition was carefully determined by the themes extracted from the readers' comments. The researcher defined categories while guided by a research question in mind. It took a long process due to the large number of comments worked on. At 10 to 50 percent of the material coded and categorised, the researcher revised and evaluated the process in check of reliability. This eventually resulted into the interpretation of data. *Nvivo 10* facilitated this process of coding and categorising.

The researcher used *NVivo 10* as a research tool to code the collected data into political and economic categories. *NVivo 10* is a research tool oftenly used for coding, evaluation and interpretation of data. It has the capacity to evaluate what it aims to evaluate (Krishnaswamy, Sivakumar & Mathirajan, 2009: 265). Therefore, comments from 212 sources were loaded into the software. A step by step coding of data was implemented through the categorisation of comments into specified *nodes*.



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3.3.3 Network analysis

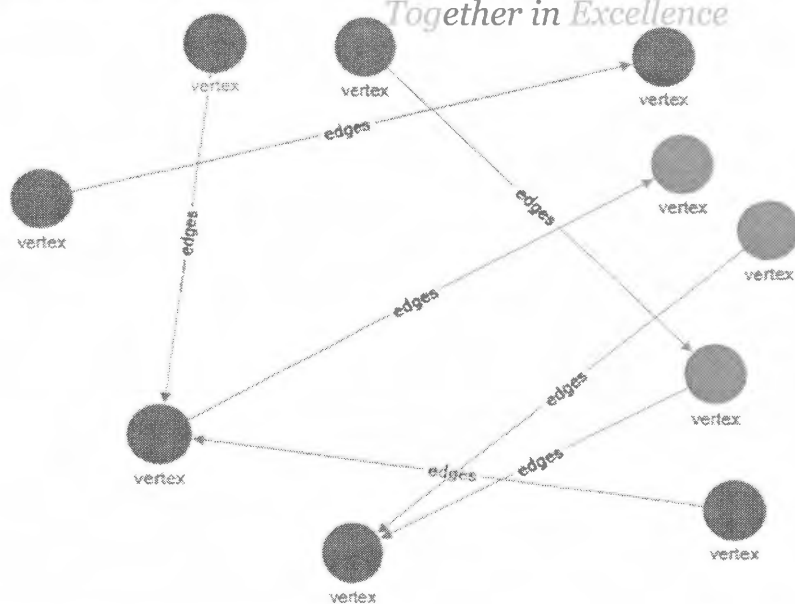
The network analysis research method was further used in the analysis of readers' online interaction. Network analysis is a mixed method research technique. It involves "the application of a broader field of network science to the study of human relationships and connections" (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011:3-5). It also studies the pattern of social patterns or communication patterns in a wide range of "physical social phenomena" (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011:3-5). People interact at different levels and a wider pattern of connections can be drawn out using *NodeXL*. In this study, the number of influential readers was measured and reduced to numbers. The participants or readers were seen as *vertices*, connections among readers were analysed as *edges* and the total number of replies to a commenter are evaluated as a *degree of centrality*.

This study used the network analysis which can visualise "complex sets of relationships of the online community and calculate precise measures of the size, shape and density of the network as a whole and the positions of each element with it", (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011:32). The visible graph metrics

(NodeXL) which calculate the inter-connections and measuring the density of the network presents links and available images. The network analysis gives us a broader view of the online community varying from this commenter to another.

3.3.3.1 NodeXL

This study uses *NodeXL*, as representative of connections or relations between entities which are readers online. *NodeXL* is a template for Microsoft Excel (2007) and (2010), which makes network analysis easy and intuitive (Aldhous, 2012). It has a menu ribbon with a worksheet called *edges* and *vertices*. The *vertices* represent the readers displayed in their pseudo names, meaning the identity used on the online commentary and the edges represent the number of replies made on a comment. The pseudo names of the participants are presented as they are online commentary. The study identifies the replies made to a commenter as the number of replies which determines the social interaction of that individual. Replies made from one commenter to the other were seen as directed communication (Aldhous, 2012).



Created with NodeXL (<http://nodexl.codeplex.com>)

Figure 2: Edges and vertices

This diagram shows the vertices, (vertex when singular) and edges with arrows that stand for directed communication. A vertex represents a participant while the edges stands for the number of direct replies an individual received. A *NodeXL* graph of readers' participation interaction online was clearly drawn out.

3.3.3.2 Graph metrics

Graph metrics are used to calculate the *degree of vertex* or *degree centrality*, *betweenness centrality*, *closeness centrality*, *eigenvector centrality* and *clustering coefficient* (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011). This study employs these metrics to analyse the readers' interactions online. A *degree or degree centrality* refers to a count of edges that are connected to a vertex (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011:72). In this study, it was used as the count of replies made to a participant.

Hansen, Shneiderman and Smith (2011:72) define *betweenness centrality* as "a measure of how often a given vertex lies on the shortest path between two other vertices". *Betweenness centrality* determines the level of influence a person has in the society. In this study, it was used to analyse the influence that a reader has in the discursive forum depending on the number of interactions.

Closeness centrality takes a different perspective from the network vertices capturing the average distance between a vertex and other vertex in the network", (Hansen Shneiderman & Smith, 2011:72). In other words *closeness centrality* looks on how close each participant is to the other participants in the network. The approach is use in this study to analyse the closeness centrality of readers in the network comment forum found online.

The *eigenvector approach* is interpreted as an endeavour to find the most central participators (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005:8). The central participators may be taken as the most influential figures, those who are always available and active online. Hansen, Shneiderman and Smith (2011) note that, *clustering coefficient* looks on how connected are the community members. This study uses the *clustering coefficient* to analyse the level of connection and interaction that readers have online.

3.4 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Reliability and validity are the most important criteria for evaluating qualitative and quantitative research methods. Content analysis as a research design has its own strengths and weaknesses; however it is a triangulation research design because it embodies both a qualitative and quantitative research designs. This study makes use of qualitative content analysis extended by network analysis, which is both a qualitative and quantitative research method. The combination of these two research methods means the research design was triangulation.

Reliability refers to the consistency of the measurement (Morse *et al.*, 2002). Using content analysis, reliability depends on how the data was collected and on the procedures in which data analysis was conducted (Krippendorff, 2004). Reliable data are “data that remain constant throughout variations in the measuring process” (Krippendorff, 2004:211). The research data was collected independently and purposively without any alterations. A corpus of comments was collected against any distortions or biases, meaning to say that every comment on political and economic news articles was extracted unevenly. Content analysts must be convinced that the data have been collected under “conceivable precautions” against possible biases or distortions (Krippendorff, 2004:211). A news article with more user generated content (readers’ comments) was prioritised. The readers’ comments were considered reliable on the terms perceived as promoting a political or economic debate that issues out themes for the study. The readers’ expressions online were taken as reliable data since the readers may comment without the awareness that they will be analysed.

The researcher uses the inductive category development procedures as a guideline for a qualitative content analysis research. Weber (1990:17) notes that “Inconsistencies in coding constitute unreliability”. After a step by step formulation of inductive categories out of a corpus of readers’ comments with the aid of *Nvivo10*, a revision on the categories formulated was done in order to verify their reliability which resulted into renaming of some few categories (Mayring, 2000). In content analysis, the reading of textual data as well as of the

research results should be replicable (Krippendorff, 2004:212). The procedures used in an inductive category development are replicable.

The process of data coding was done repeatedly by more than one coder, hence producing the same results of inductive categories. This process of reliability is called *reproducibility*. Reproducibility, sometimes called *intercoder reliability*, refers to “the extent to which content classification produces the same results when the same text is coded by *more than one* coder” (Weber, 1990:17). However, content analysis as a research method does not depend more on reproducibility but more importantly on stability because reproducibility involves more than one coder while stability would require the consistency of research findings done by one coder (Weber, 1990).

In content analysis the validity is determined by “the classification scheme or variables derived from it and the validity of the interpretation relating content variables to their causes or consequences” (Weber, 1990:18). A category should correspond to an abstract concept that it represents. “Validity concerns the truth”, which means it looks on the factuality of the results obtained from the research (Krippendorff, 2004:212). Validity tests the soundness, effectiveness of the measuring instrument. Which means validity is concerned with the outside world of the research, that is, the research findings on the same phenomenon done by other researchers. “Validity provides assurances that the claims emerging from the research are borne out in fact” (Krippendorff, 2004:212).

To assure valid results, this research coded textual matter (readers’ comments), studied and extracted from the current Zimbabwe news articles. The readers commented in response to current news articles and to one another as they brought into light new issues. This assisted the researcher to collect data which was contemporary and with contextual meaning.

The researcher also coded data from different four news websites so as to avoid a bias of research findings by not leaving any contribution from the different opinioned readers. This shows that the validity procedure employed in this study is a triangulation by using a multiple of investigators or observers, multiple of sources of data and methods (Duckworth, 2001). Viewing data from different

angles was done to accommodate any emerging theme which needed to be categorised so as to gain as much valid inferences. Since content analysts must avoid occurrences where all observers agree on the same phenomena that make them to be objectively wrong (Krippendorff, 2004:213). This study objectivity did not guarantee validity, also subjective arguments of readers by considering a single comment as a unity of analysis.

The use of *NVivo 10* in facilitating the categorisation of data helps the researcher to avoid mistakes in coding, hence ensuring a reliable and valid data coding procedure. However the computer data coding, was supported by inductive category development procedures in coding meant to make the research procedure replicable. Computers just arrange high volumes of data without making sense of it (Krippendorff, 2004:214). Therefore, the researcher gives meaning to the data of every comment coded. This takes time coding, finding meanings and themes to the whole data.

In addition, the testing and retesting procedures employed in this study were determined by re-reading, re-categorising after the coding of 10 to 50 percent of data. The revision of categories and formations of sub-categories helps the researcher to come up with valid variables. After sometime of checking and revision, the research yields into stable results. Stability is defined as “the extent to which a measuring or coding procedure yields the same results on repeated trials” (Krippendorff, 2004:215). The unchanging results under the testing and retesting conditions make it possible for the analysis of the data.

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher was abiding by ethical rules and regulations that govern the conduct of research at the University of Fort Hare. The study did not require ethical clearance because it neither dealt with people nor animals but readers' comments published online. The readers were perceived as having used pseudo names and remain anonymous. Their comments were not seen as confidential because they are accessible at any time online.

3.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

A qualitative research design was mainly used in this study by employing qualitative content analysis extended by both quantitative and qualitative network analysis. The use of content analysis, was informed and extended by discourse theory (Hyland & Paltridge, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2001), framing theory (Chong & Druckman, 2007; McQuail, 2010) and network analysis (Myers, 2010). The study used qualitative content analysis as a research technique for data analysis. The study also employed network analysis as both qualitative and quantitative research design for further exploration of readers' interactions online using *NVivo 10* and *NodeXL*. The study adopted a triangulation strategy by using content analysis to study a corpus of readers' comments online, extended by the use of network analysis. Content analysis is one method of analysing a representative corpus of comments found in news forums. Content analysis as a research method involves the assumptions, rules, techniques and strategies used in the analysis of text (Krippendorff, 2004). Content analysis involves both qualitative approach and quantitative approach. However this study employed a qualitative content analysis approach while preserving the basic principles of content analysis such as the *units of analysis*, *step models*, *working with categories* and *validity and reliability* (Mayring, 2000).

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers a network analysis of online readers' interaction. The network analysis facilitated by a Microsoft Excel worksheet called *NodeXL* was used to present the findings of participants and their pattern of interaction online. It measures the scope of interaction and the influence of every individual in the discursive community. The *NodeXL* graph metrics was used calculate the "degrees" of interaction.

The chapter also presents a qualitative content analysis of readers' comments on political and economic news articles published on *NewZimbabwe.com*, *Herald.co.zw*, *Nehandaradio.com* and *Zimeye.com*. A corpus of 400 readers' comments were coded and categorised into 17 political and economic themes and their sub-themes using *NVivo 10*. The coding process was done inductively, whereas comments were studied within their contextual use with regard to the research questions.

The contextual meaning of words was drawn from the readers' comments as units of analysis. Every comment analysed and coded has specific words or synonyms that are highlighted or underlined in reference to specific inference. Some of the terms used by readers imply political or economic issues

This chapter begins with looking into the political discourse, drawing the political meaning from texts. It also covers the economic discourse that includes several economic factors presented by readers online. The political and economic issues are interwoven.

4.2 THE DISCURSIVE COMMUNITY

The discursive community is interactive and forms to argue or debate on political and economic issues. The most participative reader has the highest degree centrality while the lowest has the lowest degree centrality although the readers' participation continues to occur for an unspecified period after publication.

Communities of users of online blogs and wikis have particular social identities (Myers, 2010). This supports the findings that the discursive community online consists of common and new social identities commenting across the news stories. The researcher found out that there are popular online participants or social actors, who are always available from one comment forum to the other and those who seldom comment. *NewZimbabwe.com* involves a broad scope of readers, followed by *Herald.co.zw*, *Nehandaradio.com* and lastly *Zimeye.com*. Readers comment unevenly across stories. Some of the readers arouse many responses and some do not. Comments that arouse counteract and negative or positive responses are mostly controversial in the sense that they may be informative or ridiculous.

The readers online show some understanding of the current news and Zimbabwean history as they can refer back to history in their writing. Some of their comments have common and popular names of political leaders used in current media. The words like *DisGrace* in reference to the first lady. Other names used in the Zimbabwean public sphere are such as *Matibili* or *Gushungo* in reference to Mugabe and *Chematama* in reference to Tsvangirai

Some of the readers reflect an emotional behaviour, abusive and sarcastic. The readers online also reflect a wavering mood determined by the tone used in the news story. Although they contribute sound and educative information their reasoning tends to be unstable and sarcastic. Sarcastic responses and insults are more exchanged when one commenter arouses or insults the intelligence of the other. Controversial MDC and ZANU-PF scorn each other and hardly show any cordial discussion. This may reflect a Zimbabwean political sphere with an undemocratic mood, unfriendly political stance and sometimes violent.

Differences in ideas and opinions shows how the discourse online reflects a political sphere or platform where people have a multiple of perspectives. Intolerance to other political ideas resembles a non-democratic state and tolerance to new ideas represents a democratic state. This means there are two types of political forces, the old conservative and the new democratic movement.

that the political and economic themes found in a comment determines the quality of that comment as a unity of analysis. The other readers were more interactive because they would remain online for some minutes and contribute as they respond to every upcoming feedback. For instance *AFROboy* would comment more than five times within a short period of time. Some of the readers' comments reflected democratic conversation while others were intolerant to difference of opinion. For instance, *Rude Chikala* and *Jukwa's* comments epitomise non-democratic conversations that aroused counteracting responses. Readers sometimes could post a link to other websites or Youtube.com in reference to any relevant information. For example, a political song *Jojo* (by a Zimbabwean musician, Thomas Mapfumo) which talks about politics as a game of death, posted in reference to the detained Sunday Mail editor accused of terrorism (Exploitation; <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 06/24/2014.



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4.3 GRAPH METRICS

Vertex	Degree	In-Degree	Out-Degree	Betweenness Centrality	Closeness Centrality	Eigenvector Centrality	Clustering Coefficient
Rukudzo	1	0	1	0.000	0.006	0.027	0.000
Pepertua	1	0	1	0.000	0.006	0.027	0.000
AFROboy	12	5	7	535.000	0.007	0.101	0.022
Dumela	2	1	1	0.000	0.006	0.027	0.000
Zimsaviou	1	1	0	0.000	0.006	0.027	0.000
diblo	2	1	1	0.000	0.007	0.051	0.500
RudeChikala	7	6	1	941.000	0.009	0.092	0.048
Chilly	2	0	2	82.000	0.005	0.016	0.000
Michael	1	1	0	0.000	0.004	0.004	0.000
Whichfool	1	0	1	0.000	0.006	0.027	0.000
Rednewbi	2	1	1	0.000	0.006	0.027	0.000
GreenBom	1	1	0	0.000	0.006	0.027	0.000
Maputi	3	3	0	160.000	0.007	0.055	0.167

Muzukuru	1	0	1	0.000	0.333	0.000	0.000
Mimi	2	2	0	2.000	0.500	0.000	0.000
Makwavar	1	0	1	0.000	0.333	0.000	0.000
Chokwadi	1	0	1	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000
Tiger	1	1	0	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000
Manuel	5	2	3	372.000	0.007	0.039	0.100
Joe Rug	4	3	1	484.000	0.008	0.047	0.250
Wilbert	5	0	5	450.000	0.007	0.029	0.050
bassman0	6	2	4	1108.000	0.009	0.066	0.033
Owen History	4	4	0	202.000	0.008	0.043	0.167
	1	0	1	0.000	0.006	0.011	0.000
Suomi Lihle Icebo	4	2	2	240.000	0.006	0.010	0.000
	1	1	0	0.000	0.005	0.003	0.000
Guest	1	0	1	0.000	0.005	0.003	0.000
Zhiii	1	1	0	0.000	0.005	0.003	0.000
Nyikayara	1	0	1	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000
Sammy	1	1	0	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000
FuturePre	2	2	0	4.000	0.006	0.012	0.000
Jukwa	4	3	1	275.000	0.007	0.024	0.000
collin	1	0	1	0.000	0.005	0.006	0.000
Craig M Kaa pstaad	2	0	2	82.000	0.006	0.007	0.000
	1	0	1	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000
Roving	1	1	0	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000
Terminato	1	1	0	0.000	0.005	0.002	0.000
tovariš-	1	1	0	0.000	0.005	0.008	0.000
Tazomam	1	1	0	0.000	0.005	0.008	0.000
Ndabeni	2	1	1	4.000	0.250	0.000	0.000
truth0001	2	2	0	4.000	0.250	0.000	0.000

Truther	1	0	1	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.000
Pamucha	1	0	1	0.000	0.167	0.000	0.000
lethal	4	2	2	116.000	0.007	0.018	0.000
Gorongoz a	3	2	1	238.000	0.006	0.012	0.000
Moosa	1	0	1	0.000	0.005	0.003	0.000
Messenge	2	0	2	82.000	0.005	0.003	0.000
Mpostori	1	1	0	0.000	0.004	0.001	0.000
Ruwa	5	2	3	26.000	0.143	0.000	0.050
ZimAsset	2	2	0	0.000	0.091	0.000	0.500
Paparay	2	0	2	10.000	0.100	0.000	0.000
Mart	2	1	1	0.000	0.091	0.000	0.500
Mhunhu	1	0	1	0.000	0.083	0.000	0.000
Gabarino	1	1	0	0.000	0.083	0.000	0.000
Polo	1	1	0	0.000	0.005	0.005	0.000
Terry	4	2	2	178.000	0.007	0.024	0.000
Apostle	1	0	1	0.000	0.006	0.006	0.000
Joemuda	3	2	1	2.000	0.500	0.000	0.000
Whyisvm	2	1	1	0.000	0.333	0.000	0.000
Madzimai	1	0	1	0.000	0.333	0.000	0.000
Ian Smith	2	1	1	82.000	0.006	0.026	0.000
Drudge	1	0	1	0.000	0.005	0.007	0.000
Vengesai	1	0	1	0.000	0.006	0.024	0.000
Afrikkan	1	0	1	0.000	0.006	0.024	0.000
Rafique	1	1	0	0.000	0.067	0.000	0.000
DisGrace	2	0	2	37.000	0.007	0.020	0.000

Table 2: Graph Metrics showing the centrality of interaction (created using NodeXL)

The Graph metrics above reflect the scope of interaction and inter-networks within a discursive community. Participants online interact to the extent that they address each other and are familiar with each others' identities, and manner of

socialisation. Especially the likes of *Rafique702*, *Jukwa*, *Diblo Dibala*, *Rude Chikala*, *AFROboy*, *Whichfool* and *Joe Rug* many more seem to have a greater interaction. These relations can be studied by looking on the graph metrics such as the degree centrality, (in-degree and out degree), betweenness centrality, closeness centrality, eigenvector centrality and clustering coefficient.

A degree refers to a total number of in-degree and out-degree (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011). The in-degree measures the number of replies (connections) represented with edges pointing inward at a reader (vertex). The number of replies a participant receives, determine the effectiveness of the message sent or the reader's regular interaction. Its either the message arouses more reason or abusive responses. Readers with a highest in-degree interact more than others. The out-degree also shows the activeness of the reader in the discursive community. The out-degree implies the reaching out, responding to other contributions. For example, *AFROboy* has the highest degree. This reflects that the reader being the participant is a regular commenter.

Betweenness centrality is a measure of how often a reader or participant interacts with other members in the discursive community (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011). Betweenness centrality also shows the level of influence a participant has in the discursive community. The graph shows that *Bassman01* has the highest betweenness centrality marked 1108.000 more of his comments are sarcastic, abusive and anti ZANU-PF, followed by *Rude Chikala*, who is pro-ZANU-PF with 941.000 betweenness centrality and *AFROboy* with 535.000. The highest betweenness centrality also implies that the participant responds immediately or frequently to other feedbacks and may reflect that the participant is always online.

Closeness centrality takes a "different perspective from the network vertices capturing the average distance between a vertex and other vertex in the network", (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011:32). The discussion forum shows the participants' posts in real time. This implies that time taken to receive a feedback from online respondents determines the closeness centrality of those respondents. Readers may keep connected and discussing online when logged

in. Participants seem to be having an average closeness centrality varying from 1.000 to 0.004.

Eigenvector centrality introduces the assertion that communicating to some other participants might be better than communicating to others, which means some connections are valuable and some are not. The eigenvector approach is an “effort to find the most central actors in terms of the structure of the network” (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005:8). These central actors or readers online are more active than others. Other readers comment in reply to other readers but not all. The participants shown in Table 2, are most central and active members in the discursive online community. The graph shrinks from the more active to the less.

Clustering coefficient focuses on evaluating the interaction of participants online in terms of their connectivity. It looks on how connected are one’s friends (Hansen, Shneiderman & Smith, 2011:33). The online based community reflects character and personal connectivity. The graph shows 0.000 for other readers’ eigenvector centrality. However for others readers the eigenvector centrality ranges from 0.500 to 0.022. This may represent that the messages of a reader with a highest eigenvector centrality are more friendly or abusive. For instance, *Diblo dibala* has the highest eigenvector centrality.

4.4 THE ONLINE DISCOURSE

Readers’ comments reflect political activeness rather than just a mere political discussion. Their political discourse encompasses economic issues which mean that the political and economic aspects are interrelated.

The diagram below depicts the political and economic issues discussed online. It shows the *nodes* in the center of the diagram that indicate the main themes of the discourse and sub-themes connected. The colours have been used to make a clear demarcation within the nodes

a multiple of perspectives on political issues, namely corruption, dictatorship and abuse of power by political leaders. Table 3 presents few readers' comments on ZANU-PF political leadership and their comments reflect the individualistic political differences.

Table 3: Readers' differences in opinion about ZANU-PF

Pro-ZANU-PF	Anti-ZANU-PF
<p>"They did a lot of work which includes (1) freeing Zimbabwe from Smith's Rhodesia (2) taking our land from the whites (3) rescuing the country which was going to be given to the whites by their puppet Richard Morgan Tsvangirai" (Nhimbro: retrieved from http://www.herald.co.zw. Accessed on 29/05/2014).</p>	<p>"Death sentence in ZANU to ask for leadership change, that is why no one will dare" (AFROboy; http://www.newzimbabwe.com. Accessed on 03/03/2014). <i>"... Zanu was the reason why you left Zimbabwe"</i> (dibala http://nenandaradio.com. Accessed on 24/06/2014).</p>
<p><i>"Zanu supporters are more educated and productive than MDC puppets"</i> (Sham, http://www.newzimbabwe.com. Accessed on 24/05/2014).</p>	<p><i>"The only chimurenga is us Zimbabweans against you zanoid dogs. "You will have to fight to the death. Because we will"</i> (bassman01; http://www.newzimbabwe.com. Accessed on 07/06/2014)</p>
<p>"The <i>"big difference, we don't want Mugabe to go"</i> (rednewbie http://www.newzimbabwe.com.</p>	

The discursive community also reveals intra-ZANU-PF conflicts or divisions. Few political leaders are highly mentioned as more influential than others within the party, for instance, those against corruption.

Anti-ZANU-PF readers largely show their allegiance with MDC. 65% of the studied readers online are pro-MDC. A population of 13 readers applaud MDC for its democratic struggle in Zimbabwe, 3 readers discredit it for its contribution to the economic meltdown by embracing Western sanctions.

Figure 4 above shows the link that exists between MDC and the Western governments. This means that readers' political discourse reflects a positive relation between MDC and Western governments particularly Britain and America. However the relationship has made MDC unpopular among few readers. This is seen by their use of words such as "puppets" and "Western origin propaganda";

It really must suck that no one buys your Western origin propaganda. The majority has woken up to the near disaster of an MDC puppet government. (Sham: <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 24/05/2014).

Clutches of puppets (Rukudzo; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

Western countries want change of leadership just like the majority in the MDC..." (AFROboy, <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 03/03/2014).

The political discourse also denotes political names given to the political leaders for their political role. *Chematama* and *Save* referring to Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC-T President).

Famba Save famba musacheuka muridzo (Which fool. <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 03/03/201).

It is a song in Shona which refers to a democratic struggle against ZANU-PF. Readers criticise the personality and political leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai that pertains his long stay in power after losing to Mugabe in 2002 and 2008 and 2013 elections. A total number of 18 readers show their disappointment in the MDC leadership

Intra-conflicts also exist in MDC and are reflected by readers' comments. These conflicts include the MDC divisions such as the breakaway of major political leaders, Welshman Ncube and Tendai Biti.

4.5.1 Contextual meaning of texts

The readers' online discourse consists of texts such as, *power*, *violence*, *propaganda* and *the Chimurenga*. *Chimurenga* is a shona word that stands for

the revolutionary struggle (Gunne and Thompson, 2010). *Chimurenga* is highlighted within two readers' comments.

Funerals of Zim Patriots are an opportunity to reminisce about Chimurenga Successes, and pledges to the departed comrade to continue to wage the Chimurenga until ALL enemies of state are rubbished. (Jukwa; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 07/06/2014).

The only chimurenga is us Zimbabweans against you zanoid dogs. (bassman01; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 07/06/2014).

These two comments depict a political struggle characterized by the liberation struggle which involves political and economic programmes such as the land reform. The *Chimurenga* is also associated with the gains of the liberation struggle such as the ownership of land.

The fact that the black majority with 8-10 million hectares of prime farmland in their hands ... ownership and control over their natural resources, which they did not have 35 years ago, puts them in a far better position to solve whatever problems that they have today (Djoser; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 24/05/2014).

The concept of violence is also depicted in metaphorically in many instances by words such as ruthless, dragged, fight, rise and blow.

Fact still stands these ruthless policemen can be trashed, if all Zimbabweans can unite Mugabe can be dragged from his mansion (Ian Smith <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 01/06/2014).

Prepare to blow vuvuzela Zimbabweans as nature is about to solve the equation (Babydoc; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

You will have to fight to the death. Because we will (bassman01; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 07/06/2014).

What's gonna happen is a new crop of politicians would rise and Zimbabwe will never be same again, (Springs <http://www.zimeye.com/mugabe>. Accessed on 06/07/2014).

The terminology used by readers to infer a state of unrest, also reflect a violent mood and enmity with the governing party.

Moreover, abuse of power is reflected in the form of dictatorship or political intolerance by political leaders. Phrases like “one man” and “one party” explicitly display an undemocratic nature and political intolerance by ZANU-PF.

“Some of us grew up knowing one man and one party... majority of us has not met their president in the last 30 years...” (Guest; <http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 24/05/2014).

Anti-ZANU-PF sources maintain that the intimidation and intolerance of political affiliations had been the characteristics of the government.

RGM persecuted Kombayi and tormented Tekere because of differences in opinion (Nyongolo: <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 16/06/2014)

Matibili wants puppets that see no evil, hear no evil against his corrupt government. (Informel <http://www.zimeye.com>. Accessed on 06/07/2014).

(*Matibili is a nickname given to Mugabe by his opponents*). These statements reflect the intolerance of political difference which extends to the act of election rigging.

The security services such as the Zimbabwe Republic Police, ZRP. Central Intelligence Organisation, CIO and the Army forces are depicted in the online political discourse as forces that protect the government against the civil society.

They act as forms of power and are identified with ZANU-PF.

more ZANU retard police ZRP (Sansole <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 01/06/2014).

In fact the army is in control behind the scenes and it's a question of time when they come out in the open (King; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 07/06/2014).

They are a symbol of national security that safeguard the interests of ZANU-PF and its government (Gunners, <http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

The readers' comments also reflect the use of propaganda by the government through the manipulation of the media. *The Herald* newspaper is seen as pro-ZANU-PF and *Nehandaradio.com* is portrayed as pro-MDC. Readers comment on the standard of journalism displayed by these publications.

We know herald turning the other way on news like this concerning top govt officials" (Gudu; <http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

The Herald should have made this a FRONT Page Story, but as you know they put it on page TWO so that OUR Commissioner General is not embarrassed like Morgan was. What a paper. If it was not for business, I would not buy it. (Zuruvi; <http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

didnt lie like the Nehanda online publication always does" (Gudu; <http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

It's clear the Nikuv Matibili does not like sensible professionalism in media" (Informer <http://www.zimeye.com>. Accessed on 06/07/2014).

Standards of journalism are going down the political drain (Norris; <http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 24/05/2014).

Readers' comments indicate a bias in news reporting by journalists. *Herald* and *Nehandaradio.com* are specifically identified as partisan newspapers. Media censorship is also reflected in the readers' political discourse.

4.6 THE ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

The online readers also discuss the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe reflected by factors such as unemployment, corruption (theft), use of foreign currency, electricity shortages, high inflation, water shortages, road potholes, poor medical facilities and a large number of Zimbabweans leaving the country into diaspora.

(a) Unemployment

There are no jobs and civil servants don't know exactly when they will be paid (Yizo, <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 16/06/2014).

Unemployment is rife and you want to take away more jobs....? (Chitova <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 06/10/2014).

There's nothing more dangerous than unemployed youth" (Mkhanyisi <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 06/10/2014)

"...industries are closing big time..." (Chokwadi; <http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 24/05/2014).

(b) Corruption (theft, murder)

27 readers or sources give evidence on the issue of corruption, reflected in their comments



The ZANOIDS who kill, maim, loot and rape (Mhunhu; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

If they are allowed to bribe the police then they are also allowed to rule the roads (Tafunuka; <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 10/06/2014).

How can a country be led by such an old man who because of age is being abused by greedy and corrupt seniors in Zanu? (truth0001; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 07/06/2014).

In the same respect, if a country is run by thieves and thugs masquerading to be government (inini1545; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 01/06/2014).

Mdc do not steal povo assets (Supermondo; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 03/03/2014).

I suppose a car accident will be arranged (BoBo; <http://www.zimeye.com>. Accessed on 06/07/2014).

Death sentence in ZANU to ask for leadership change, that is why no one will dare. Did a candle kill Mujuru? (AFROboy; <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 03/03/2014).

(c) Use of foreign currency

There is no Zimbabwean currency the economy is in pieces you can't put together...now can a broad minded person tell me Mugabe is better (Yizo; <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 16/06/2014).

(d) Water shortages and poor medical facilities

This country has been moved backwards since 1980 and that is the reason the President seeks medical attention outside the country and I also presume he brings his water from there for daily use (Moosa, <http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed 24/05/2014).

The poor and ordinary have an average lifespan of 37..." (Nehanda; <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 01/06/2014).

(e) Diaspora

A population of 15 readers raised the issue of diaspora.

Not to mention that we are all over the world far from our families because of the economic meltdown caused by Mugabe. (Ronald; <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 16/06/2014).

ZANU was the reason why you left Zimbabwe (dibala; <http://nehandaradio.com> Accessed on 24/06/2014)

(f) Road potholes and accidents

Close to 2,000 people die in accidents annually, with most incidents linked to human error. According to the UN 2,900 civilians were killed in Afghanistan in 2013. Spot the difference competition!" (Monkeynuts; <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 10/06/2014).

How can you attribute all accidents to human error when you have one of the narrowest roads in Africa (JAYA; <http://nehandaradio.com>. Accessed on 10/06/2014).

The segments of the sub-themes reflected in coded comments represent economic challenges discussed by readers online. More especially the issue of corruption has more comments and references than other economic or political factors. A total number of 27 readers discuss corruption in terms of theft and murder as being the acts of political leaders. The diaspora concept is also

common among the readers. This is shown by 15 readers who demonstrate their disappointment in the current political situation.

4.7 OTHER INFERENCES FROM READERS' COMMENTS

Political and economic discourse also denotes readers' perspectives on political change and economic stability. Readers' perspectives convey hope for leadership change as in due time. Time is reflected in several comments as a force that brings change.

A prince must move with time and understand the need of his subject otherwise he will lose control of his estate. (Guest;

<http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 24/05/2014).

Mortal souls will forever be vulnerable to the same winds that prevail on human beings as temporary creatures on this earth. (United;

<http://www.newzimbabwe.com>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

"Its time to retire commissioner..."

(Juju; <http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

The flesh is weak and the spirit is not willing, retire please" (Mimi;

<http://www.herald.co.zw>. Accessed on 29/05/2014).

These comments selected represent a number of comments that raise the issue of time and decay. Death is the most common word used to mean the concept of nature as the ultimate force that renders every powerful politician common.

4.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The discursive community online reflects a Zimbabwean political community that engage in debate over the issues presented by the media. The political and economic ideas found online may partly represent the ideal Zimbabwean's political and economic discourse. Even though the participants do not use their real names but their identities reflect a Zimbabwean Shona or Ndebele community. Their local language used is mostly Shona and less Ndebele. There are central readers, who are more active and others readers who are less active. The community is broad to the extent that new members are often evident on the

site. This is because the internet is a form of public sphere in which one can participate freely. Readers interact and sometimes exchange insults due to disappointments and differences in opinion.

Some of the readers' comments are democratic and some are non-democratic. This resembles a Zimbabwean political situation in which ZANU-PF and MDC are antagonistic. The political affiliations and ideological differences remain eminent online and freedom of speech enhances the discourse.

The qualitative content analysis presents the political and economic discourses found online such as, the power struggles, corruption, media censorship, aspects of change, concept of death, violence, dictatorship against democracy and the economic meltdown. The researcher was indebted to study a historical context of every political or economic aspect found in readers' comment. This involves understanding of the historical, contextual meaning of a comment in order to infer the use of terms and **statements**. This means, political or economic issues discussed required one to draw out the meaning from the context of the message.

The researcher also studies the flow of readers' conversation before analysing the forms of thought that readers have. Some of the comments required one to understand the conversation before coding.

NVivo 10 helped the researcher to code a corpus of readers' comments as well as coding them into political and economic categories. The readers' online discourse covers contemporary political and economic issue.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives out a summary on the political and economic themes and a network analysis of participants or readers online discussed in chapter 4. It covers the main conclusion, recommendations and limitations of this research. The recommendations or problems faced concerning the study are given and the field for a further research is suggested. Therefore this section involves the discussion of the research findings, a summary on major themes from the study, main conclusion of the study, recommendations of the study and suggestions for further research.

5.2 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The study uncovers the key political and economic issues discussed by readers online. The media sets the agenda for discussion on political and economic issues. Readers discuss further on what the media publishes and generate more news. This means that the political and economic issues brought out by readers online are determined by what is published by the media. Therefore the presentation of political and economic news stories by the media influences the readers' interpretation of news.

On the other hand, some of the readers display a better understanding than other as they are apt enough to inform.

ZANU-PF or MDC political affiliations determined the readers' attitudes, behavioural response, interpretation of news and the discourse. The readers were found to be pro-ZANU-PF, anti-ZANU-PF, pro-MDC and anti-MDC. The discourse online embodies political and economic issues such as corruption, economic meltdown, political struggles, western influence, dictatorship, diaspora and the concept of revolutionary change.

5.2.1 Scope of Interaction

Readers were found to be interacting unevenly across stories. Readers who interact more than others are defined as central actors in Figure 3. Their comments reflect independent personalities. Some of the readers' comments

reflect a non-democratic state while some reflect a democratic state. This means there are two kinds of groups the democratic and the non-democratic.

Also readers demonstrate an emotional behaviour shown by the exchange of insults and disappointments. Their comments convey a high degree of freedom of expression. They exploit ambiguous names to degrade unpopular politicians.

5.3 SUMMARY OF MAJOR THEMES FROM THE STUDY

There are several themes discussed in chapter 4. These are summarised in order to recap their significant aspects.

5.3.1 Political affiliation with ZANU-PF and MDC

Readers online are politically affiliated with either ZANU-PF or MDC. Their criticism on these two political parties determines their political affiliation. ZANU-PF and its leadership were perceived as promoting the livelihood of blacks although its land reform and indigenisation of foreign firm's programmes affected the country's gross domestic product, resulted into water shortages, electricity shortages, introduction of foreign currency, and dilapidation of roads and highest levels of corruption.

In addition, ZANU-PF and MDC are portrayed as political antagonists. ZANU-PF is seen as a violent party which can do anything in order to keep itself in power. MDC is portrayed as a political party formed to remove ZANU-PF from power. Many readers hope to see a change in the political situation in Zimbabwe and their perspectives are anti-ZANU-PF. The desire for political change is shown by the readers' negative perspectives against the government led by Mugabe.

However, there have been political differences in MDC which resulted in divisions against Tsvangirai. The MDC leadership is criticised for being the puppets of the Western governments.

The issue of leadership change is not only emanating from ZANU-PF but also from MDC-T. In ZANU-PF, the struggle for leadership change is reflected by internal political factions, although there is no direct confrontation against Mugabe. In MDC, Tsvangirai faced confrontation which resulted into political

splits. In other words, both MDC and ZANU-PF leadership reveal a concept of dictatorship which in MDC caused splits and also caused ZANU-PF unpopular in Zimbabwe.

5.3.2 Economic Crisis

The economic meltdown in Zimbabwe caused many people to leave the country for diaspora. Many readers indicate that they are in diaspora. They are speaking from a distance, and sound disappointed by the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe. The economic situation is worsened by the crisis such as unemployment and the highest levels of inflation which led to the adoption of foreign currency. The economic crisis also worsens to the closing down of foreign companies, electricity load shedding, unclean water and poor medical facilities and political leaders are criticised for seeking medical attention outside the country.

Readers blame the political domination by ZANU-PF as the main factor behind the economic meltdown. The factors that caused the economic meltdown dates back to the ESAP programme in 1991, the involvement of Zimbabwe military in the DRC war in 1998, the war veteran compensation in 1997, the implementation of the land reform in 2000 and to the present day indigenisation of foreign companies. Pro-ZANU-PF commenters blame the rise of MDC and its call for sanctions against the Mugabe regime. This involves the relations between MDC and the Western governments.

5.3.3 Corruption

The government and political leaders are criticised for abusing power and engaging in corrupt activities. Readers are suspicious of a government that kills, runs elections that are not free and fair and violently intimidates its citizens in order to keep itself in power. Cases like theft and murder are identical of a ZANU-PF government that has remained in power for more than 34 years. Readers online argue that ZANU-PF political elites are corrupt as they loot national assets to enrich themselves. The majority of Zimbabwean is portrayed as languishing in poverty while political elites earn a better living from exploiting natural resources.

5.3.4 The Struggle and the Revolution

Participants affiliated with ZANU-PF celebrate the achievements of the struggle such as the gains of political freedom and the gains of national resources. On the other hand anti-ZANU-PF readers call for political leadership change. The struggle for political change is seen as a revolution that will remove ZANU-PF from power and lead to a new Zimbabwe.

5.3.5 Structures of Power

Readers argue that the national security service chiefs abuse power and authority by controlling ZRP as they send them to crush any demonstration against the injustices of the ruling party. ZANU-PF controls the police and the army and uses them to their own advantage.

The military junta is portrayed as being so powerful to the extent of controlling the President. Readers argue that Mugabe has become old and should retire, however the military junta and other ZANU-PF seniors cannot allow him because of their own selfish reasons. Some of the readers perceive Mugabe as a victim of the military junta. The CIO is a secret police organisation seen as responsible for assassinations and a master mind behind the mysterious deaths of controversial political activists.

5.3.6 Western Influence

The Western governments such as United States of America and United Kingdom are perceived as having interests in the Zimbabwean politics. United States of America imposed economic sanctions on Zimbabwe in 2001 and this is perceived as having contributed to the economic meltdown. Readers argue that the West has interests in Zimbabwe and thereby support MDC in order to unseat ZANU-PF. However, others debate that the external community plays a crucial role in seeing that democracy and freedom is established in Zimbabwe.

5.3.7 National development and Change

Readers online eagerly wait for a political change in the Zimbabwean political sphere. Factors like death, sickness, age and retirement are recited several times. The discursive community online highly show eagerness and willingness

to witness political change. Some call for the resignation of the President, the General Commissioner of the Police and many more old political leaders. Political leadership change is expected both in MDC and ZANU-PF. Some of the readers call for the removal of Tsvangirai an MDC-T president and some call for the removal of Mugabe and ZANU-PF from power.

Readers online reflect a common desire for national development. They desire an end of political corruption, violence and of a non-democratic state. They congratulate ZANU-PF for implementing black empowerment policies but desert it for orchestrating corruption, despotism and violence. Readers show a need for new patriotic politicians, a need for modern leadership that will restore Zimbabwe to its glorious days. Most online readers seem to have lost hope in MDC and wait upon the divine to usher them into a new Zimbabwe.

5.3.8 Media Censorship

The aspect of media control by the government is also brought out, however the readers online have access to alternative media public spheres. *Herald.co.zw* and *Nehandaradio.com* are criticised for disseminating propaganda especially the state owned *Herald* online publication. This supports the idea that the independent online publications act as alternative public spheres to the state controlled media (Mugari 2008: 10). The readers online reflect a democratic state of freedom of expression. They show independent or unapologetic expressions about the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe. This means that the readers online constitute a discursive community that broadens the scope of journalism in Zimbabwe, in the sense that their comments also influence the writing of news.

5.4 MAIN CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

A content analysis can be employed to extract themes or to study readers' comments on political and economic news articles. It is one method of analysing a representative corpus of comments. Krippendorff (2004) says that content analysis can be used to analyse of text. Qualitative content analysis can be used to interpret meaning from readers' comments and discourse or framing theories

could be used to analyse further the comments in order to draw out the contextual meaning. Network analysis could also extend the study by analysing the scope of readers' interaction online.

Nvivo 10 is a research instrument that could be used to code data and may be used to formulate themes. *Nvivo 10* was used to code reader's comments. The inductive category development was implemented in the process of coding texts into its categories. Michel Foucault's discourse theory could be used to analyse textual meaning from its contextual use. Analysing a comment using discourse as a concept can take a researcher back to the historical context of the phenomenon under discussion. The researcher could also use framing theory to interpret the readers' perspectives of a news story. This actually occurs because of the role played by the media in influencing readers' analysis of political or economic news.

Several political and economic themes were could be extracted from the readers' comments. The researcher found out that readers are enthusiastic to comment on political or economic matters that affect their daily lives. Political and economic themes extracted ranges from, the economic meltdown, political affiliation to ZANU-PF or MDC, media propaganda, corruption, and western influence, dictatorship, national development, traffic issues, diaspora, just to mention a few.

The discourse online is sometimes determined by what the media publishes about the events in the dominant political parties in Zimbabwe. Readers' perspectives on political and economic issues are both unstable and stable but vary from this story to the other. Also the fact that readers are not totally detached from politics, this clouds their judgment. Hence ZANU-PF is portrayed as a power hungry party that has ruled Zimbabwe for 34 years. Although it is praised for black liberation and black empowerment policies, its grip and tolerance of non-democratic campaigns remains resented. On the other hand MDC is applauded for its resistance against ZANU-PF's gigantic dominion as well as battling for democratic processes. It is however ridiculed for its failures and its leader scorned for MDC disintegration.

The other research findings like the economic crisis stress that political problems have affected the economy in such a way that business and investment is no longer conducive. Citizens left the country in search for jobs and financial opportunities. It remains a challenge, even for the media to detach itself from political influence. The state owned online publication is criticised for releasing subjective, bias news in favour of the state. *Nehandaradio.com* was also accused for its pro MDC publications.

Readers reflect that the national security service chiefs abuse power or authority in the way they control ZRP. The ZRP exists to cripple every political demonstration against the injustices of the ruling party. Political leaders are seen as the very people who perpetuate corruption and accumulate wealth while the majority remains poor. Online participants are aware of a despotic government that kills, runs disputed elections in order to keep themselves in control.

The discursive community could discuss more political and economic issue depending on a news story published. The themes discussed above provide a political and economic scope of what the readers online discuss. More could have been revealed if more time could be spent on news follow-up and observation. The researcher made use of a limited timeframe for the study.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE STUDY

The research findings of this study support the studies of Domingo (2010), Henrich and Holmes (2013), Schuth *et al* (2007), who found out that the audience, acts as news agents, they generate news for themselves. Content analysis is applicable and remains a relevant methodology that can be used to analyse readers' comments. The value of the text analysed determines the value of the research findings. Content analysis only brings out the themes or issues from the data analysed which means its valuable use is determined by what is analysed.

5.5.1 Freedom of expression online and methodology

The use of a content analysis extended by a discourse theory and framing theory could analyse popular or ordinary people's opinions online. These readers

constitute a public sphere where public opinion can be extracted through the use of a qualitative content analysis. The popular opinions online may not represent the opinions of a large segment in Zimbabwe but they do partly reflect opinions of those found in the middle class. However some of the readers' opinions online are also partisan. Readers are affiliated with either MDC or ZANU-PF and their opinions reflect a bias to each of these two political parties. The progressive thing is that some of the readers' comments reflect subjectivity hence this gives a researcher a quality time of extracting subjective opinions.

5.5.2 A comment as a Unity of Analysis

The researcher's main concern was the political and economic themes embodied in a comment. A comment reflected an individual's opinion and embodied political or economic themes that the study sought to find. Only content analysis could be able to extract those themes or meanings through the use of theories such as discourse and framing. Discourse theory could help in understanding the historical context and the contemporary context in which the message is born. A comment reflects a statement in which, when studied revealed political and economic issues for the study. The framing theory could be used to analyse a comment as a reader's perspective influenced by the media. The researcher found out that readers have a multiple of perspectives; however some of their perspectives are unstable and can change due to the influence of the media. A news story published has direct or indirect influence on the readers' reasoning or frames of thought.

5.5.3 A discursive community and Network analysis

Network analysis was used to find out how readers constitute a discursive community that broadens the scope of journalism practice in Zimbabwe. Network analysis could be used to analyse the scope of readers' interaction and how readers support, criticise, ridicule each other' opinions and polish out their differences. In each and every community there are central actors or opinion leaders. These were taken as the most influential and people who highly generated controversial arguments.

The discursive community is an abstract community that may partly represent a physical community in Zimbabwe. It acts as a public sphere where a community member can voice out and be heard without restrictions or censorship. The community discussed political and economic issues without hesitation or fear. However the online public sphere may or may not reflect a physical Zimbabwean public sphere but forms an alternative public sphere.

5.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study faced challenges on the issue of data collection and selection for a news headline. The researcher waited for almost one week to two as in collecting readers' comments attached to a new story. The number of comments collected differed from this news article to the other due to size of the content found. The issues generated by readers online may not be recommended as original news but has a representation of what may be happening in Zimbabwe.

The main challenge of the study is that the population is largely based in diaspora. The participants are anonymous in the sense that they use pseudo names though this might be both an advantage and a loophole for the study. Anonymity is an advantage in the sense that it gives them a room to express themselves and a loophole in the fact that the source might not be reliable for the researcher. The online commentary forum does not show the location for the commenter. However their comments show that a large segment of the population is based in diaspora.

To avoid limitation on the issue of anonymity and to make the results more reliable, the researcher suggests a further research based on interviews with the participants or commenters, in order to get their own interpretations about their posts. However such a research could not be possible on more than 200 commenters scattered in diaspora and in Zimbabwe. The other limitation is based on the issue of *diasporian* discourse, the information may be void of what is really happening back in Zimbabwe since commenters wait on the media to feed them on what is happening back home. A future research is needed to study the comments of those readers found in the Zimbabwean terrain but seems to be

not easy since the commentary platform does not reflect the commenters' locations. Thirdly a conversational analysis is suggested as a future research as to analyse how readers influence each other and how conversations are generated. Future research is also needed to find out why readers engage in public deliberation online and how do they set the agenda for themselves.



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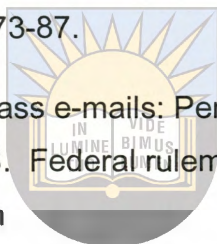
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APPENDICES: NVIVO 10 SAMPLES

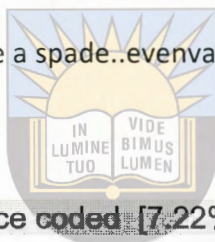
APPENDIX: 1. Economic Meltdown

Name: economic meltdown

<Internals\chokwadi> - § 1 reference coded [61.72% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 61.72% Coverage

Industries are closing big time..lets call a spade a spade..evenvumugabe has admitted failure..unengeunongowawatausatiwafunga



<Internals\daniel101> - § 1 reference coded [7.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.22% Coverage

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Mugabe is seen as the pinnacle of intelligence, yet he with all his degrees has seen a once prosperous state become a basket case, a donor's paradise

<Internals\Kabhaskoro> - § 1 reference coded [50.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 50.12% Coverage

cannot pay civil servants, no health service (nearest centre is in Singapore), no water, no electricity..... COME ON YOU DIMWIT, people like you make my blood boil! If we nw have 100% of our resources

<Internals\Margaret> - § 1 reference coded [62.20% Coverage]

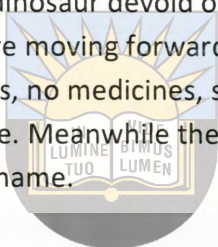
Reference 1 - 62.20% Coverage

Thanks Moosa that is the truth you have said. I don't understand why some of these weird people believe that Zimbabwe is not ruined. Zimbabwe has been destroyed and taken 400 years back. They don't care because they don't know any better

<Internals\\Moe> - § 1 reference coded [39.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 39.12% Coverage

What do you expect from a morally bankrupt dinosaur devoid of any meaningful ideas to move this country forward. Some nations are moving forward, we are moving back to the stone ages. No electricity, potholes, no jobs, no medicines, sh*t infested drinking water, etc. 34 years of development, Zanu style. Meanwhile the country is endowed with all sorts of resources. I hang my head in shame.



<Internals\\Ronald> - § 1 reference coded [35.96% Coverage]

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Reference 1 - 35.96% Coverage

Not to mention that we are all over the world far from our families because of the economic meltdown caused by Mugabe. You must definitely be out of your mind

<Internals\\YizoYizo> - § 1 reference coded [96.42% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 96.42% Coverage

CITIZENS HAVE RUN AWAY FROM THE COUNTRY FAMILIES ARE DISINTEGRATED, THERE IS NO ZIMBABWEAN CURRENCY THE ECONOMY IS IN PIECES YOU CAN'T PUT TOGETHER. THERE IS NO JOBS, INDUSTRY IS CLOSED, CIVIL SERVANTS DON'T KNOW EXACTLY WHEN THEY WILL BE PAID. NOW CAN A BROAD MINDED PERSON TELL ME MUGABE IS BETTER

<Internals\Zimbabwe United> - § 2 references coded [11.64% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.33% Coverage

True the country has economic difficulties.

Reference 2 - 9.31% Coverage

Moreso in an increasingly economic integrated and globalised world economy, the role of national currencies outside acknowledged major industrial countries is very limited.



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Appendix 2: Pro-ZANU-PF

Name: pro-ZANU-PF

<Internals\Djoser> - § 1 reference coded [2.67% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.67% Coverage

It's good to know that Zanu loves me

<Internals\Dombodema> - § 1 reference coded [9.65% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 9.65% Coverage



If ZANU-PFists are idiots, then MDCists are worse

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<Internals\Drudge Report> - § 1 reference coded [3.38% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.38% Coverage

ZANU chiwororo

<Internals\nhimbro> - § 2 references coded [83.76% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 47.96% Coverage

Don't forget the good work done by these old guys. You must respect them. They managed to stop Tsvangirai to rule after he had won elections in 2008. What a great man he is. Together with Mugabe, Chinamasa and Jonathan Moyo they are a very strong winning team. HonamupfanaJotham Chematama chakochavekufanestress.Chave broke

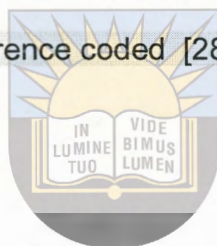
zvokutadzakutengauderwearchaiyoPamberinamudharandiyecheteanoroverebhoramuge
dheusadheereremufanaJotham.

Reference 2 - 35.81% Coverage

To be honest ladies and gentlemen these guys need a rest its not a joke they are now tired because they did a lot of work which include 1) freeing zimbabwe from Smith's Rhodesia 2) taking our land from the whites 3) rescuing the country which going to be given to the whites by their puppet Richard Morgan Tsvangirai who is also sick

<Internals\RudeChikala> - § 1 reference coded [28.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 28.80% Coverage



You should instead be worried by the fact that Chihuri was quickly replaced by the deputy commissioner.

This was in seconds. That should tell you something.

As long as ZanuPF is in power, it is the same story from top to bottom.

Everyone will be quickly replaced if & when required, including Mugabe.

<Internals\Terry Sham> - § 2 references coded [10.83% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.54% Coverage

Zanu is not perfect but rather deal with our own sons than with these regime change men on strings.

Reference 2 - 4.29% Coverage

Zanu supporters are more educated and productive than MDC puppets

Appendix 3: Pro-Tsvangirai

Name: pro-Tsvangirai

<Internals\Anthony> - § 1 reference coded [94.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 94.39% Coverage

All Biti seems to have done since breaking away from MDC T is go on a character assassination spree... He has done absolutely nothing to show why he is a better alternative, why, because he has no ideas. Just like the DA in South Africa. All they seem to do is oppose ANC policy but when asked to provide viable alternatives they are silent...apostle



<Internals\chiendambuya> - § 2 references coded [26.84% Coverage]

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Reference 1 - 6.49% Coverage

For starter MT lost his wife and during his marriage as far as we know he never cheated on her

Reference 2 - 20.36% Coverage

Okay MT has had a few affairs well document and most hugely exaggerated and publicized. All these relationships were legit and very consensual - the guy was a spinster and looking for a wife and now he has one ...the question should be is he still hunting down girls..in so far as we know it's NO

<Internals\daniel101> - § 2 references coded [42.24% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 37.13% Coverage

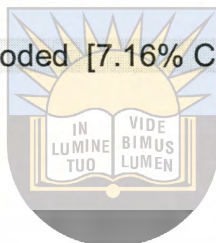
morgan is a wise leader even from his days at zctu where all labour degreed and not would listen to him,even the herald and czi would ask him about the current economic outlook,

Reference 2 - 5.11% Coverage

so we will support tsvangirai and water will indeed come from the rock,after all God has never changed

<Internals\\Guest> - § 1 reference coded [7.16% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.16% Coverage



Tsvangirayi has done good, ingamwanaanotadzira baba akagoregererwa---this is maturity on his part. Good.

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<Internals\\Makwavararama> - § 1 reference coded [83.08% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 83.08% Coverage

you are made mimi people congratulate whenever they want if they dont want they may chose not to. he has chosen the weeding and congratulate the newly wed not their parents because they did on wed on 01 March 2014.

<Internals\\Maputi> - § 1 reference coded [26.72% Coverage]

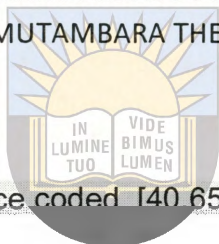
Reference 1 - 26.72% Coverage

Maybe America and Australia can start supporting a Mangoma party and we want to see where they will reach. Zimbabweans are not fools. They voted for Tsvangirai, they have been doing so.

<Internals\\MUSINDO> - § 1 reference coded [58.61% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 58.61% Coverage

SHALLOW POLITICS FROM THE DESPERATE AND POWER HUNGRY ZIM S PETTY PROFESSORSRUVENGO NA TSVANGIRAI.....ITS ALL ABOUT INSULTS AND DEEP HATERAGE OF MORGIZA.....GO ASK NCUBE...MUTAMBARA THEY WILL TELL YOU ABOUT HOW MIGHTY TSVANGIRAI IS.....



<Internals\\Nyongolo> - § 1 reference coded [40.65% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 40.65% Coverage

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Ma one, MT chose Biti , showing that MT is a visionary.After winning in 2008,MT humbled himself and agreed to rule along with the devil,showing that he puts the nation of Zimbabwe first before party politics unlike RGM who thinks ZIM should feed through ZANU pf.When Ncube left MDC,MT kept on inviting him back and in 2013 MT pleaded with all opposing parties to form a grand coalition,showing that he forgives and accept his short falls

<Internals\\Pepertua Chakezha> - § 1 reference coded [43.61% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 43.61% Coverage

Tsvangirai is not going anyway. Why Mugabe is not fucking off. Why him. I think this is Zanupf doing

<Internals\\Tanyaradzwa> - § 1 reference coded [45.76% Coverage]

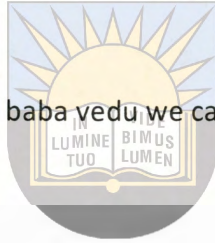
Reference 1 - 45.76% Coverage

I am glad Tsvangirai realised that churches are required in the transformation of our beautiful country Zimbabwe and is in agreement with the President's statement

<Internals\\Whichfool> - § 2 references coded [37.48% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 18.20% Coverage

Famba Save famba musacheuka muridzo muri baba vedu we can not change the comander in the battlefield?



Reference 2 - 19.28% Coverage
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Famba Save famba musacheuka muridzo muri baba vedu we can not change the comander in the battlefield???????

Appendix 4: Corruption

Name: corruption

<Internals\\David> - § 2 references coded [9.60% Coverage]

Reference 2 - 3.15% Coverage

all those ZANU crooks.

<Internals\\DzimaiMoto> - § 1 reference coded [33.57% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 33.57% Coverage



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Jonathan exposed obscene salaries and corruption

<Internals\\Informer> - § 2 references coded [61.42% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 22.26% Coverage

Matbili wants puppets who see no evil, hear no evil against his corrupt gvt

Reference 2 - 39.17% Coverage

Jonathan is being persecuted for allowing the publication of looting disguised as salaries, eg the Dube's 500 000/month salary!!\

<Internals\\MUSINDO> - § 2 references coded [20.50% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.62% Coverage

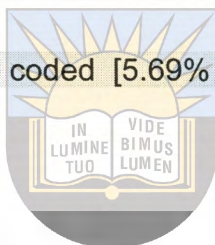
AND BE ZERO TOLERANCE ON CORRUPTION IN THE ROADS

Reference 2 - 15.88% Coverage

ESPECIALLY POLICE AND POLITICS ASIDE EVERY BODY MUST BE TREATED THE SAME AND MUST ABIDE BY ROAD RULES KWETE ZVEKUTI MITEMO ONLY WORK ON THE POOR AND NON ZANU PF PPLE

<Internals\paparay> - § 1 reference coded [5.69% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.69% Coverage



being paid to prop up a corrupt murder **University of Fort Hare**
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<Internals\Rafique702> - § 2 references coded [6.68% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.27% Coverage

as well as corruption and a lack of true patriotism from within.

Reference 2 - 5.40% Coverage

On the other hand our leaders are very corrupt and utterly selfish. They are also ideologically bankrupt. Mugabe has presided over a now derelict Zimbabwe, allowing the very corrupt to loot the country dry Scott-free. Mugabe does not believe in Zimbabwean industrial potential.

<Internals\Rururur> - § 1 reference coded [40.93% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 40.93% Coverage

muchiregavanhuvachingopananamazimarisanaCashbert. Noone paying attention and controlling,
kungorwirazvigarochete.IkokuZESAngakuongororwefuti.Vanhuvaidyamaridzeduiwavo

<Internals\\Sammy Moyo> - § 1 reference coded [20.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 20.53% Coverage

call amurderer and looter a liberator even after their relatives die in our broken hospitals while the fake liberator spends millions on travel to foreign medical



<Internals\\Tazomama ManjaneZANU PF> - § 3 references coded [60.59% Coverage]

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Reference 1 - 13.99% Coverage

Mugabe is very corrupt, he will do everything in his power to sweep these corrupt activities under the carpet

Reference 2 - 15.28% Coverage

Jonathan has done a fantastic job in exposing corruption and it is for this reason he is being persecuted by ZANU PF.

Reference 3 - 31.32% Coverage

We are well within our rights to take these matters of corruption to the constitutional court. Civil servants who have been involved in corrupmust be brought to book and we can achieve this is a none violent way by using the constitution court.

<Internals\\tovariš> - § 1 reference coded [5.74% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.74% Coverage

when he removed corrupt ZBC leadership etc

<Internals\\truth0001> - § 2 references coded [10.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.72% Coverage



in prof Moyo's attack on corruption and bad governance BUT with prof moyo MDC is likely to tap into those people and easily manage a massive revolution against MUgabe

Reference 2 - 4.92% Coverage

The reason why MDC is loosing appeal is because of prof MOYO, he has exposed corruption and so people now have some re-newed believe in zanu.

Appendix 5: Theft

Name: theft

<Internals\\babydoc> - § 1 reference coded [30.67% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 30.67% Coverage

anemariyekuba ne anehutanondiyaniko, ani

<Internals\\inini1545> - § 1 reference coded [34.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 34.60% Coverage



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In the same respect, if a country is run by thieves and thugs masquerading to be government

<Internals\\Super mondo> - § 1 reference coded [45.16% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 45.16% Coverage

mdc do not steal povo assets

Appendix 6: Land reform

Name: land reform

<Internals\Djoser> - § 2 references coded [42.55% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 21.94% Coverage

the fact that the black majority with 8-10 million hectares of prime farmland in their hands and growing ownership and control over their natural resources, which they did not have 35 years ago, puts them in a far better position to solve whatever problems that they have today, is the real story



Reference 2 - 20.61% Coverage

Why don't you tell the 240,000 black families who now have good farmland to feed their families and make a profit that they are worse off today than they were in 1980. Tell it especially to those families who help generate over \$600 million from tobacco farming alone in 2013.

<Internals\nhimbro> - § 1 reference coded [3.44% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.44% Coverage

taking our land from the whites

<Internals\Rafique702> - § 1 reference coded [5.62% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.62% Coverage

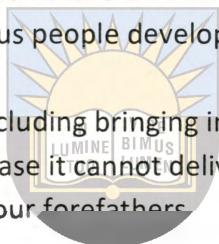
have a real reason not to disagree, the problems of Zimbabwe did not start because of the land reform. They started because of corruption, lack of Zimbabwean pride, ESAP, the DRC war , war vet pay outs . Some people say Mugabe is an African giant but to many of us he is a giant failure

<Internals\Zimbabwe United> - § 1 reference coded [23.23% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 23.23% Coverage

So is the solution to restore a status quo in which those who invaded the country in the 1890s own the resources and we the indigenous people develop skills in writing job seeking letters?

Or is the solution to put our house in order, including bringing into power a home grown political party to replace ZANU-PF if it be the case it cannot deliver, now that we have repossessed the resources forcibly taken from our forefathers



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Appendix 7: Accidents

Name: accidents

<Internals\\JAYA> - § 1 reference coded [78.05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 78.05% Coverage

Improve infrastructure, most of the accidents are due to technical errors contrary to what this incompetent rich moron is saying. How can you attribute all accidents to human error when you have one of the narrowest roads in



<Internals\\monkey nuts> - § 1 reference coded [93.95% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 93.95% Coverage

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"Close to 2,000 people die in accidents annually, with most incidents linked to human error". According to the UN 2,900 civilians were killed in Afghanistan in 2013. SPOT THE DIFFERENCE COMPETITION!

Appendix 8: Media censorship

Name: media censored

<Internals\gudu> - § 1 reference coded [57.10% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 57.10% Coverage

I had to double check if I was really heard online. We know heard to turn the other way on news like this concerning top govt officials. Maybe as I write someone from heard has been summoned



<Internals\Informer> - § 1 reference coded [24.04% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 24.04% Coverage

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Its clear the NikuvldiotMatbili does not like sensible professionalism in media

<Internals\Manuel Antonio Noriega> - § 1 reference coded [2.99% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.99% Coverage

Mududu Matututu, time to hide

<Internals\truth0001> - § 1 reference coded [1.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.39% Coverage

The march by journalist that ZRP banned

Appendix 9: Poor journalism

Name: poor journalism

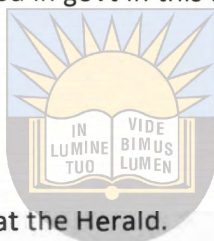
<Internals\\Chapu Norris> - § 2 references coded [85.20% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 58.30% Coverage

Standards of journalism are going down the politic drain.

Where is Mr Tsvangirai "begging" to be included *in govt in this article*

Reference 2 - 26.91% Coverage



Maybe its time Jonso conducted a skills audit at the Herald.

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<Internals\\Maputi> - § 1 reference coded [39.66% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 39.66% Coverage

Mr journalist you we were now following your paper but by showing that yu in zanu Pf's corner and using this to destroy MDC. This is utter disgust. Why lying and saying US and Australia yet not even one from those countries commented.

Wagutakutitiverengechipepachakomanje.

<Internals\\SamaitaT> - § 1 reference coded [77.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 77.36% Coverage

misleadinghealine, poor journalism!!!!!!

<Internals\\Zuruvi> - § 1 reference coded [96.95% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 96.95% Coverage

The Herald should have made this a FRONT Page Story, but as you know they put it on page TWO so that OUR Commissioner General is not embarrassed like Morgan was. What a paper. If it was not for business, I would not buy it. Put your editorial in order.



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Appendix 10: Road potholes

Name: road potholes

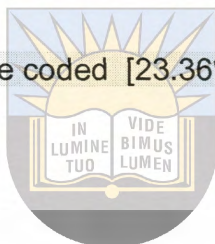
<Internals\Dombodema> - § 1 reference coded [4.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.53% Coverage

to repair city potholes

<Internals\Margaret> - § 1 reference coded [23.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 23.36% Coverage



They are just used to the sewage water, potholes, roads, no electricity etc. Normal life?

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<Internals\Moe> - § 1 reference coded [0.90% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.90% Coverage

potholes,

<Internals\Moosa QaweLaMaqawe> - § 1 reference coded [16.73% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 16.73% Coverage

It is unfortunate he cannot avoid the potholes but I bet if we still had enough money he would be fly by helicopter to any part of Harare let alone outside of the capital

<Internals\MUSINDO> - § 1 reference coded [6.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.35% Coverage

HEY GADZIRAI MA ROADS....AND IMPROVE THE PENALTIES FOR BAD DRIVING



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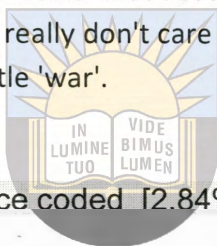
Appendix 11: Violence

Name: violence

<Internals\\Afrikkan> - § 1 reference coded [61.86% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 61.86% Coverage

I enjoy seeing the Zanu Ruffian Police getting a long overdue smack around the ear, but I have no sympathy for these evil quasi-religious 'sects' that abuse women and children. It is actually an interesting situation, because I really don't care which of these two groups of vicious thugs 'wins' this particular little 'war'.



<Internals\\AFROboy> - § 1 reference coded [2.84% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.84% Coverage

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Leadership in ZANU will be resolved without blood being spilled?.

<Internals\\bassman01> - § 2 references coded [25.09% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 11.62% Coverage

We are used to your violence zrp.we will all take to the streets then we will see who is in charge.

Reference 2 - 13.46% Coverage

The only chimurenga is us Zimbabweans against you zanoid dogs.
You will have to fight to the death.
Because we will

<Internals\\FreeZimbabwe> - § 1 reference coded [50.45% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 50.45% Coverage

You can hire misguided youths to revenge on the Mapositori but you will not win because we know you are just a tiny minority compared the majority Zimbabweans who want you out.

Professor Moyo is dead meat, run whilst you can.

<Internals\\gorongoza> - § 1 reference coded [42.71% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 42.71% Coverage



I never seen Christians who another human being almost to death like these vapositori. They took the law into their own hands

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<Internals\\Ian Smith> - § 1 reference coded [72.57% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 72.57% Coverage

Fact still stands these ruthless policemen can be trashed, if all Zimbabweans can unite Mugabe can be dragged from his mansion

<Internals\\joemuda> - § 1 reference coded [70.78% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 70.78% Coverage

the Police fc in the first leg who are known for their ruthlessness when they are coming from behind. stay tuned, revenge looming.....

<Internals\\lethal sansole> - § 1 reference coded [31.91% Coverage]

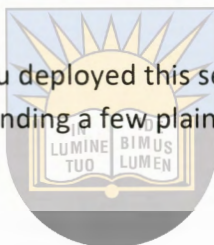
Reference 1 - 31.91% Coverage

Looking forward to round 2. More zanu retard police zrp up for a holy thrashing

<Internals\\Madzibaba> - § 1 reference coded [26.30% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 26.30% Coverage

The term riot (means chaos and anarchy) .You deployed this section with intent to beat up people within a congregation, instead of sending a few plain clothes officers to investigate reported claims .



<Internals\\madzimai> - § 1 reference coded [75.98% Coverage]

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Reference 1 - 75.98% Coverage

You can say that again, they certainly will not win this one, I do sympathise with them though, they are going to be in trouble big time

<Internals\\Manuel Antonio Noriega> - § 1 reference coded [10.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 10.22% Coverage

Any form of violence on the public can backfire, especially in a country that is sinking like ours.

<Internals\\Moosa QaweLaMaqawe> - § 1 reference coded [32.58% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 32.58% Coverage

Did you not see or heard of how the police beat up Madhuku, Tswangirayi and others that were going for a prayer meeting, have you never heard or seen police (black bhutsu) beating people instead of arresting them? If you are not conservative with the truth and answer these questions am sure your question to Manuel will be answered

<Internals\RudeChikala> - § 1 reference coded [17.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 17.02% Coverage



The 24 hour heroes will regret beating up ZRP officers because when they are all finally rounded up, they will be stripped naked & beaten up long & hard. They will cry like babies

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Appendix 12: ZANU PF- divisions

Name: ZANU-PF divisions

<Internals\AFROboy> - § 3 references coded [7.26% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.58% Coverage

Mujuru and Mnangagwa are good friends?, and if Mugabe dies

Reference 2 - 1.84% Coverage

CIVIL WAR within the heart of your party??



Reference 3 - 2.84% Coverage

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Who is going to take over after Mugabe?? Mnangagwa or Mujuru???

<Internals\diblo dibala> - § 1 reference coded [12.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 12.80% Coverage

Enjoy the Mujuru Mnangagwa drama. The worst is still to come. Panofa Matibilimuchamhanyasengoko

<Internals\Larry King> - § 1 reference coded [21.21% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 21.21% Coverage

He has created a lot of wedges in his party some of his key puppets are like Mujuru and his opponents are on the rise. He brought J Moyo into his government thinking this man will merely rubber stamp whatever Mugabe demands.

<Internals\\suomi> - § 2 references coded [85.65% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 54.57% Coverage

Mugabe is just balancing the power among factions making sure none among them overpowers the others and by so doing he remains in firm control of the state and Zanu PF.....there is little else beyond this. Its never about us citizens and it never was

Reference 2 - 31.09% Coverage



Don't read too much into it...its Mugabe at his usual best playing one faction against another the hall mark of his post 2008 survival tactics.

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<Internals\\truther> - § 1 reference coded [35.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 35.02% Coverage

Mujuru has gotten to the President. That is sad because I believe the devil incarnate is Mujuru who is definitely behaving like a dog that eats its children. Mr President don't listen to that woman. Look what she is doing to your most reliable base.

Appendix 13: ZRP

Name: ZRP

<Internals\\Afrikkan> - § 2 references coded [28.65% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 15.56% Coverage

I enjoy seeing the Zanu Ruffian Police getting a long overdue smack around the ear

Reference 2 - 13.09% Coverage



Are you PROUD of a 'Police' Force that behaves in that manner, Rude C

<Internals\\DisGrace Gono> - § 1 reference coded [20.80% Coverage]

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Reference 1 - 20.30% Coverage

Chisingaperichinoshura ZRP yaakurohwanemadzibaba.Pasirapanduka.

<Internals\\gorongoza> - § 1 reference coded [33.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 33.22% Coverage

...but have never seen a police force that goes out and seeks revenge on members of the public."

<Internals\\linini1545> - § 1 reference coded [33.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 33.46% Coverage

the police do not arrest them, therefore, the nation applauds the dire state of affairs

<Internals\\Madzibaba> - § 1 reference coded [36.85% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 36.85% Coverage

I have every right to defend my self when guardians of the law abuse power .What is more worrying is a high ranking police officer like you making conclusions without investigating the culprits who lit the keg powder leading to free for all .There is no winner here at the end of day



<Internals\\Mishecksibanda> - § 1 reference coded [97.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 97.54% Coverage

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So are these people(Zrp) are telling us that they are the only ones allowed to break the laws?. "Ruthlessly", for police commissioner to use that word it only translate the character of our police. This police force has no difference with the Boko Haram who deal ruthlessly with the citizens of their country. The law must be used to everyone.

<Internals\\Moosa QaweLaMaqawe> - § 1 reference coded [32.58% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 32.58% Coverage

Did you not see or heard of how the police beat up Madhuku, Tswangirayi and others that were going for a prayer meeting, have you never heard or seen police (black bhutsu) beating people instead of arresting them? If you are not conservative with the truth and aswer these questions am sure your question to Manuel will be answered

<Internals\\RudeChikala> - § 1 reference coded [17.02% Coverage]

xxx

Reference 1 - 17.02% Coverage

The 24 hour heroes will regret beating up ZRP officers because when they are all finally rounded up, they will be stripped naked & beaten up long & hard. They will cry like babies

<Internals\\Silver> - § 1 reference coded [71.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 71.60% Coverage

You have no idea of military or police etiquette do you?



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Appendix 14: Western Influence

Name: Western influence

<Internals\\AFROboy> - § 1 reference coded [7.47% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.47% Coverage

Western countries want change of leadership just like the majority in the MDC. Tsvangirai has now become a liability for the party and should have stepped down months ago.

<Internals\\Chilly Chatter> - § 1 reference coded [48.47% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 48.47% Coverage

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The short gay affair with the West has now come to an abrupt end, oh yes it had been written on the walls for a while now and I wonder who your next foreign backer would be...hmmm let me guess...maybe the RED CROSS...hahahahaha. ZivaikuzvimiriraseBlambhikwetekungoitasimbapamuromosepinjisi!

<Internals\\Dhiziripachinhoyi> - § 1 reference coded [25.32% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 25.32% Coverage

Zimbabweans must be protected from political vultures who use their foreign connections to cause havoc in the country

<Internals\\diblo dibala> - § 1 reference coded [13.59% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 13.59% Coverage

US & Aussie do not have time for this bull & cock story. You simply want to equate the chaos in Zanu to

<Internals\\Maputi> - § 1 reference coded [29.74% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 29.74% Coverage

There is political violence in America. There is political violence in Australia. Whats so special about individuals fighting. Perhaps its high time America and Australia should take their money to ZANU(PF).



<Internals\\Michael Adams> - § 1 reference coded [72.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 72.03% Coverage

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Currently there are a lot of problems in the USA, USA should sort its problems first.

<Internals\\nhimbro> - § 1 reference coded [7.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.63% Coverage

Tsvangirai who wanted to sell this country to the Britons and Americans

<Internals\\Rafique702> - § 4 references coded [17.42% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.17% Coverage

I believe that Zimbabwe's problems are two fold. Imperialism

Reference 2 - 1.80% Coverage

In general the Europeans, Jews, Arabs, Asians are looking after their own interests not ours

Reference 3 - 10.73% Coverage

The system of Aid is a corrupt one, a lot of westerners are duped into contributing money to support starving individuals however most of this money is gobbled up by greedy entities who manage it down to the man on the ground. The Bretton Woods Triumvirate is a criminal organisation established initially to rebuild the west however its new mandate is to establish and maintain the dominant financial position of the west. The likes of Peter Grossman, Paul Singer and their vulture capitalist friends have looted Africa dry without a conscience.



Reference 4 - 3.72% Coverage

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The ICC is not there to defend justice but to clamp down on opponents of the west. Europe and America built themselves from exploitation however they are now the “champions” of human rights.

Appendix 15: Change

Name: change

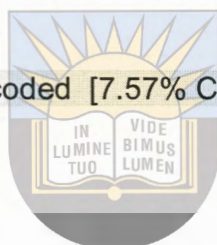
<Internals\\Disgrace> - § 1 reference coded [49.40% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 49.40% Coverage

Mudharaaendauyukanabotoxhaichabatsira

<Internals\\Guest> - § 1 reference coded [7.57% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.57% Coverage



A prince must move with time and understand the need of his subject otherwise he will lose control of his estate

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<Internals\\Muchato> - § 1 reference coded [13.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 13.54% Coverage

Same as a 90 year old with one eye. I doubt if he can still see without holding Grace's hand. Hammerkop De Kondo

<Internals\\Musimwa81> - § 1 reference coded [94.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 94.39% Coverage

Again I repeat,,,,,,,,,The human body is an incredible machine, but there comes a time when one has to "slowdown". Chihuri's body (and many others) is begging for one. He best listen.

<Internals\qondani> - § 1 reference coded [89.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 89.22% Coverage

the last journey will be parirenyatwa.....koonyikaukaitizamr president inogadzirwananii

<Internals\springs> - § 1 reference coded [37.93% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 37.93% Coverage

What else can you expect everything has got its life span, ZANU PF as will not exist forever neither will the MDC ever rule Zimbabwe



<Internals\Zimbabwe United University of Education> - § 1 reference coded [6.66% Coverage]

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Reference 1 - 6.66% Coverage

Mortal souls will forever be vulnerable to the same winds that prevail on human beings as temporary creatures on this earth

Appendix 16: Murder

Name: murder

<Internals\AFROboy> - § 1 reference coded [5.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.03% Coverage

Death sentence in ZANU to ask for leadership change, that is is why no one will dare "
Did a candle kill Mujuru???"



<Internals\HlafunanaMagade> - § 1 reference coded [29.47% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 29.47% Coverage

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Zanupf is like sweet poison that tastes sweet but will cut and cook your bowels to death.

<Internals\Manuel Antonio Noriega> - § 1 reference coded [2.48%

Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.48% Coverage

Let them kill each other

<Internals\Mhunhu> - § 1 reference coded [15.58% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 15.58% Coverage

Tell that to the ZANOIDS who kill maim, loot and rape that the end is closer than they think.

<Internals\\Nyongolo> - § 1 reference coded [8.32% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 8.32% Coverage

unlike RGM who persecuted Kombayi and tormented Tekere because of differences in opinion.

<Internals\\paparay> - § 1 reference coded [5.69% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.69% Coverage



being paid to prop up a corrupt murderous regime!

<Internals\\Sammy Moyo> University coded [20.53% Coverage]

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Reference 1 - 20.53% Coverage

call amurderer and looter a liberator even after their relatives die in our broken hospitals while the fake liberator spends millions on travel to foreign medical

<Internals\\Super mondo> - § 1 reference coded [22.58% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 22.58% Coverage

murder Ndebele

<Internals\\wilbert> - § 1 reference coded [3.75% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.75% Coverage

Let them kill each other? They will but kill a lot others too!



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Appendix 17: CIO

Name: CIO

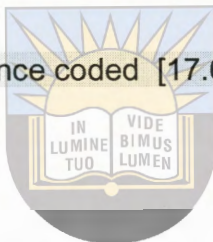
<Internals\AFROboy> - § 1 reference coded [1.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.53% Coverage

The CIO or ZANU PF are not to blame

<Internals\diblo dibala> - § 1 reference coded [17.68% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 17.68% Coverage



Usual CIO crap..US& Aussie do not have time for this bollocks. You simply want to equate the chaos in Zanu to MDC..Sataa together in Excellence

<Internals\gerro> - § 1 reference coded [8.08% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 8.08% Coverage

Am i also a cio fool?

<Internals\Moe> - § 1 reference coded [10.58% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 10.58% Coverage

How does it feel to be an implanted CIO trolling these message-boards pretending to be a happy Zimbo?

<Internals\paparay> - § 1 reference coded [7.18% Coverage]

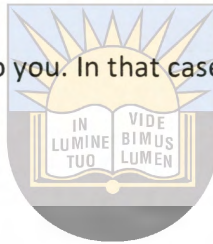
Reference 1 - 7.18% Coverage

CHIMBWASUNGATA chemunhu; mu CIO...you are NOT even ZPF iwewe!!.

<Internals\Terry Sham> - § 1 reference coded [6.47% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.47% Coverage

Everyone who isn't a myopic puppet is a CIO to you. In that case about 60% of Zimbabweans are CIOs



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Appendix 18: Diaspora

Name: diaspora

<Internals\\bassman01> - § 1 reference coded [18.87% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 18.87% Coverage

In the diaspora we buy alcohol on the way home from work. Maybe you need to sit and wait for generous friends at the beer garden.

Lighten up-ngozi is here to stay



<Internals\\JAMESMUGABE> - § 1 reference coded [68.18% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 68.18% Coverage

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does this tick even stay in Zim he is a asylum seeker

<Internals\\joemuda> - § 1 reference coded [5.78% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.78% Coverage

It's very easy to applaud their stupidity from the comfort of the diaspora where you are

<Internals\\Landilani> - § 1 reference coded [77.97% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 77.97% Coverage

Can he just move PERMANENTLY out of Zimbabwe and save travel costs of him and his entourage?

<Internals\Larry King> - § 1 reference coded [11.74% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 11.74% Coverage

A man who spends more of his time outside Zimbabwe and when he does come back he wants to be heard and to show he is useful

<Internals\Moe> - § 1 reference coded [11.28% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 11.28% Coverage

If it was so good why are we being eaten by crocodiles escaping to SA? Even Mozambique is looking good right now



<Internals\Moosa Qawela Madawa> - § 3 reference coded [28.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 11.61% Coverage

President seeks medical attention outside the country and I also presume he brings his water from there for daily use

Reference 2 - 16.73% Coverage

It is unfortunate he cannot avoid the potholes but I bet if we still had enough money he would be fly by helicopter to any part of Harare let alone outside of the capital

<Internals\Snorkeller> - § 1 reference coded [21.61% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 21.61% Coverage

KonhaiShefuzvingadinimugarekuSingapore

