

Master Thesis

A media analysis of Wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe

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SUMMARY

Research on media frames in times of disaster, political conflict or war always seems to focus on the actual event. These studies focus on the frames that occur after an important political event, crisis, war etc. and use the articles or media broadcast right after the event(Entman 2003; Entman 2004; Alozie 2005; Tierney et al. 2006; Kolmer and Semetko 2009).

There has not been much scholarly attention for what happens to the frames of issues that are not part of these important events but still could be influenced by them, nor has there been much scholarly attention to the appearance of myths and metaphors in political disasters. The main focus of these studies is on natural disasters instead. With this study I want to follow the framing of an issue over a longer period of time in order to compare the frames before and after political unrest and focus on the possible spill over effect from the political situation into the frames of a non political subject. Besides this I will also look for the possible occurrence of myths in these frames. This study focuses thus, on the effect a political unrest or disaster has on the media frames of non-political issues in different countries, a case study of the framing of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe in the (inter)national media.

The objective of the media analysis is to analyse how issues on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe are framed, which frames are dominating the wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe discourse, how these frames change over time and if there is a difference between countries (UK, USA and Zimbabwe) as well as creating a better understanding of how we can understand these changes. A particular focus will be on finding out if the deteriorating political situation in Zimbabwe affects the framing of other issue frames in Zimbabwe, in this case wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. This leads to the main research question of this thesis: **is there a “spill over” effect from frames on the political situation into the frames of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe after the political situation in Zimbabwe changes and if so how can we understand this?**

Zimbabwe has been the subject of political conflict the last 10 years, the country nowadays seems to be mainly known for its extreme reforms, economic malaise and elections. Hyperinflation, fast track land reform and elections fraud, have been the main focus of articles appearing in the different media over the last years. The American ambassador even has declared Zimbabwe a disaster area on several occasions after the year 2000(USAID 2012). Also wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe has suffered due to the political situation in the country, at least this seems to be one of the current frames that can be found in the media. For example in the following quote from WWF: “Recently, Zimbabwe’s deteriorating economy and land disputes have stimulated poaching for bushmeat, and rhinos are being caught in wire snares”(WWF, 2003) However, research results give reason to believe that this is not always the case. In some cases the size of Zimbabwean wildlife population has grown or remained stable over the years (Gandiwa, in prep). This is where the particular focus for media frames on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe as the main subject of this case study originated from.

As a main theoretical concept in this study framing was chosen. Framing is used in studies of the media and mass communication as a tool of analysis in order to find how issues are constructed, discourses constructed and meaning developed (Gamson and Modigliani 1987; Scheufele 1999; Reese 2007). Other concepts that play a role in this research are: myths and metaphors (Tierney et al. 2006), discourse coalitions (Hajer 1993) and frame parity (Entman 2004). All these concepts were chosen in order to generate a better insight of the meaning behind this frames. The study will also compare these frames between countries in order to analyse the differences between them.

As a method for this research, an interpretative qualitative case study was chosen. Framing was chosen as the concept in this research as well as a method to analyse the newspaper articles for this research. Entman’s frame analysis approach, focussing on the four functions of a frame (problem, cause, remedy and moral judgement) (Entman 2004) was selected to analyse the data. For this study, articles in seven newspapers in three countries were analysed, six international and one in Zimbabwe over a period of twenty one years. The combination of countries and papers was chosen in order to be able to

follow the frames not only over time but also across countries. The study focussed on newspapers in Zimbabwe, the UK and the USA. The UK and USA were chosen because of their political/historical link to Zimbabwe. Data selection for the international papers was done using the database LexusNexus and for the Zimbabwe newspaper the archives at the National park Headquarters in Zimbabwe were used.

Three issues surfaced in the international papers and were chosen as the main focus of this study. These issues are the ivory ban, rhinos and CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Program For Indigenous Resources). In each issue different frames surfaced throughout the nineties and four main frames were identified, ivory ban: opposing the ban, rhino's: rhino near extinct/rhino poaching frame. In CAMPFIRE two frames surfaced, in the international paper: sustainable utilization of wildlife and in Zimbabwe: CAMPFIRE example frame. These frames were supported by "sub frames" or arguments that supported these main frames in the newspaper articles.

Besides the frames different discourse coalitions were identified in the issues, these were similar in two of the issues ivory ban and CAMPFIRE. The most prominent two discourse coalitions that surfaced were the "utilizers vs. protectionist", discourse coalitions or Zimbabwe and its partners vs. Kenya and its partners. Not all members of these discourse coalitions remained in the same discourse all years and some switched over time. Frame parity, does not show in all articles throughout the nineties and even less frame parity showed in the articles after 2000.

After the year 2000 three main things changed. First of all, the frames in the international papers changed. The different frames that appeared throughout the nineties in the three issues (ivory ban, rhino and CAMPFIRE) are replaced by one main blame frame: "the political unrest and land reform" blame frame. The political situation started to play a central role in the articles on wildlife conservation in the international newspapers. Second of all, the number of articles on the issues decreased. A final and third change was the difference between the frames in the international papers and the Zimbabwe paper. Throughout the nineties, the frames in the Zimbabwe paper were similar to the frames in the international papers with an exception for the CAMPFIRE issue. After 2000 these same frames continued to surface in the Zimbabwe paper. The change of frames in the international papers did not surface in the Zimbabwe paper.

The research question is thus positively answered: yes, there is a spill over effect. In the articles that were published throughout the nineties, the political situation did not play a role. This changed after 2000 when the political situation started to play a central role in the articles on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe and started to form the main frame in the articles in the international papers. Possible myths were also identified, especially one myth or metaphor seemed to appear in the overall frame "the political unrest and land reform" blame frame. One of the main myths or metaphors described in the literature is looting, this also seems to have appeared in the frames in this research, not the "traditional" way of looting, but the bush equivalent: poaching. In this case poaching for bush meat, ivory or rhino horns. A second myth or metaphor that seems to show is, social disorganization, Both of these possible myths or metaphors are discussed in many of the articles used in the research after 2000 and can be linked to both the land reform policy that was started to be implemented after 2000 and the political instability in Zimbabwe.

In the discussion I suggest three reasons for the occurred changes in the media frames. First of all, that it could be caused by the changing political relations between the three countries. Second of all by the changing position of Zimbabwe in the world of nature conservation, its no longer seen as an example of good wildlife conservation practices and third of all, the possible occurrence of myths.

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Abbreviations

CAMPFIRE: Communal Areas Management Program For Indigenous Resources

CITES: Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species

SADCC: Southern African Development Countries Conference

IUCN: International Union for Conservation and Nature

SAIMCS: Southern African Marketing and Control System

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

WWF: World Wildlife Fund

ZMMT: Zimbabwe mass media trust

ZIANA: Zimbabwe's Zimbabwe Inter Africa News Agency

ZIS: Zimbabwe Information Agency

Zimcord: Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development

PREFACE

The aim of this research is to try and create a better understanding of how certain frames appear in the media and to see if and if so how frames change over time in times of unrest. Besides this it will focus on the different types of frames that appear over time and if, and is so how, myths, metaphors, us vs. them and blame frames appear in media frames in times of political unrest. For this research newspaper articles were used that focus on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe and in specific the articles focusing on the game population and human effect on game population in Zimbabwe. This thesis will be part of the Phd study of Edson Gandiwa, whose study is focused on “the human effects on tropical savanna multispecies wildlife communities of the southeast lowveld, Zimbabwe.” His preliminary results gave reason to believe that the frames presented in the international media regarding this issue are far more negative than his research is starting to indicate. This was the initial reason why Edson and his supervisors decided it would be interesting to do more research on the different media frames and discourses surrounding wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe and this is how I became involved in the research. Together with Edson I identified which frames are presented in the international and national media of Zimbabwe and if any of them appear to be more dominant than others. After this we looked for different types of frames that can be found in these frames. This research is done by conducting a media analysis of newspaper articles in three different countries.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays we have access to a wide variety of news sources which provide us with news from all over the world. We learn from most events from others such as the media and not from direct experience. Media is because of this an important source of information for most people, that describes and interpret the events of public life (Callaghan and Schnell 2005). The media is supposed to function as a gatekeeper, attempting to present objective accounts of issues and events (Alozie 2010). Because the media is often our only source about issues of events, the way it chooses to frame an issue influences how we think about or perceive certain issues. It has been argued that objectivity is difficult because for example: training, upbringing, cultural orientation tend to influence how people report and analyse events (Severin and Tankard 2001). This indicates that research in communication argues that the media is powerful and also that it will be difficult or even impossible for the media to be objective. However, this does not mean that the media is a passive provider of information provided to by political actors and other sources nor is it a stage for the different frames of actors. The media is an active player in the continuous representation of issues (Callaghan and Schnell 2005). This all indicates that media is, like everything else in life, not free of outside powers and values and is influenced by outside powers.

The importance of the role of media in times of war, political conflict, crisis and disaster events has been the subject of many different studies (Garner 1996; Entman 2003; Entman 2004; Alozie 2005; Tierney et al. 2006; Kolmer and Semetko 2009; Lewis and Reese 2009). Misrepresentation of events and bias of the media can have major influence on the public perception of an issue and even influence (inter) national assistance and aid (Garner 1996; Entman 2004; Tierney et al. 2006; Kolmer and Semetko 2009). Disaster myths are an example of this, in times of disaster myths and metaphors are known to occur in the media frames and influence the frames presented in the media. Even though empirical evidence in research on disasters have shown that certain ideas about disaster are false, messages in the media and even official discourse continues to promote these ideas (Tierney et al. 2006; Binu, Mawson et al. 2008).

What these studies show is that the power of media is substantial. A better understanding of the different frames that appear in the media and especially negative frames such as disaster myths and metaphors, is thus important because these frames, can have a profound effect on the public perception, aid, international relations and public responses (Tierney et al. 2006). An example in this is how the “looting” frame that appeared in the aftermath of Hurricane Catherina affected the way the (local) government handled the assistance in the area (Tierney et al. 2006). This frame turned out to be a myth but did result in the government treating the area as a war zone, bringing in the army to “restore order” rather than focusing on saving victims (Tierney et al. 2006). Also the position of a country in a conflict can influence the framing of an issue, which can result in biased reporting (Entman 2004; Kolmer and Semetko 2009). The strong impact of media and the impact and influence the frames can have on situations as well as people indicates again the importance for research concerning this topic.

Research on media frames in times of disaster, political conflict or war always seems to focus on the actual event, which of course is understandable since this is the time when the media pays attention to the subject and gives opportunity for interesting analysis. These studies focus on the frames that occur after an important political event, crisis, war etc. and use the articles or media broadcast right after the event (Entman 2003; Entman 2004; Alozie 2005; Tierney et al. 2006; Kolmer and Semetko 2009). Although focussing on different events they have one thing in common and that is that the media plays an important role in the framing of issue.

There has not been much scholarly attention for what happens to the frames of issues that are not part of these important events but still could be influenced by them, nor has there been much scholarly attention on the appearance of myths and metaphors in political disasters, the main focus of these studies is on natural disasters instead. With this study I want to follow the framing of an issue over a

longer period of time in order to compare the frames before and after political unrest and focus on the possible spill over effect from the political situation in frames of a non political subject. Besides this I will also look for the possible occurrence of myths in these frames. This study focuses thus, on the effect a political unrest or disaster has on the media frames of non-political issues, a case study of the framing of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe in the media.

Zimbabwe has been the subject of political conflict over the last 10 years and this triggered my interest in it as a country for this case study. The country seems nowadays to be mainly known for its extreme reforms, economic malaise and elections. Hyperinflation, fast track land reform and elections fraud, these subjects have been the main focus of articles appearing in the different media over the last years. The American ambassador has even declared Zimbabwe a disaster area on several occasions after the year 2000 (USAID 2012). Also wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe has suffered because of the political situation in the country, at least this seems to be one of the current frames that can be found in the media. For example in the following quote from WWF: “Recently, Zimbabwe’s deteriorating economy and land disputes have stimulated poaching for bushmeat, and rhinos are being caught in wire snares”(WWF, 2003) However, research results give reason to believe that this is not always the case. In some cases the size of Zimbabwean wildlife population has grown or remained stable over the years (Gandiwa, in prep). This is also in line with recent aerial surveys and studies in the Gonarezhou National Park in southern Zimbabwe (Dunham, Van Der Westhuizen et al. 2010; Zisadza, Gandiwa et al. 2010) and Hwange National Park in western Zimbabwe (Valeix, Fritz et al. 2008; Chamaillé-Jammes, Valeix et al. 2009) which also show that some wild animal populations mostly large herbivores are increasing or remained stable over the years. This is where the particular focus for media frames on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe as the main subject of this case study originated from.

The objective of the media analysis is to analyse how issues on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe are framed, which frames are dominating the wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe discourse and how these frames change over time. If the frames change it will try to create a better understanding of how we can understand these changes. A particular focus will be on finding out if the deteriorating political situation in Zimbabwe affects the framing of other issue frames in Zimbabwe, in this case wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. This leads to the main research question of this thesis: **is there a “spill over” effect from frames on the political situation into the frames of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe after the political situation in Zimbabwe changes and if so how can we understand this?**

2. COUNTRY PROFILE



Zimbabwe is a landlocked country with a land surface area measuring 390,757 km (CIA World Factbook 2012). It is bounded by Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa and Botswana. The country has a population of more than 12,600,000 (CIA World Factbook 2012). Zimbabwe's vegetation is predominant savanna, there is a generous tree growth because of wet summers ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). It's only true forest however, are the evergreen forest and the savanna woodland ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Common tree species are the *Brachystegia* which are dominant in the Middleveld and Highveld, the *Mohobohobo* (a medium-size tree with large spadelike leaves) and the thorn tree ("Zimbabwe."

Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). In the valleys of the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, the mopane, the stout-trunked baobab and the knobby thorn tree are common ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012).

Hwange National Park is Zimbabwe's largest National park is more than 5000 square miles and holds some of the densest remaining wildlife concentrations in Africa ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). In total Zimbabwe has 11 National parks of which four are Unesco Natural world heritage sites (Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife authority 2012). The most internationally famous amongst them is Victoria Falls National park. Victoria Falls is listed by some as one of the seven natural wonders of the world (Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife authority 2012).

Zimbabwe is home to a very extended number of animals that can be found in their national parks, game reserves and other conservation areas. At species level, the country supports an estimated 4,440 vascular plant species, 214 of which are endemic, 672 bird species, 450 of which breed in Zimbabwe, though none are strictly endemic, 196 mammal species, 156 reptile species, 57 species of amphibians and 132 fish species (Ministry of Environment & Natural Resources, Zimbabwe 2010) . For example all of the "big five" can be found in Zimbabwe (elephant, rhino, buffalo, lion, leopard). Also other types of carnivores can be found. Commonly found are the cheetah and two types of jackals and less common are the serval, civet and brown hyena. Other animals are giraffes, zebras, hippopotamuses and crocodiles. The last two live in the larger rivers. A great variety of antelopes roaming in Zimbabwe. Commonly found are the impala, steenbok and greater and lesser kudu. Less common: the eland, sable and roan antelope. Besides this, different types of snakes and monkey's can be found as well as abundant birdlife famous of which are the African fish eagle (also the national bird of Zimbabwe), and the bateleur eagle. Zimbabwe has been part of the creation of the transfrontier park, Great Limpopo which links Zimbabwe's Gonarezhou National Park with South Africa's Kruger National Park and Mozambique's Limpopo National Park making it one of the biggest conservation areas in the world. This allows a wide range of movement for migratory animal populations.

In 1923 the UK annexed what at that time was called Southern Rhodesia (BBC 2012, CIA World Factbook). In 1965 the government declared independence however, this was not recognized by the UK, which demanded complete voting rights for the black African majority in the country(BBC 2012). In 1978 an agreement was reached with internal black leaders and the country adopted the name Zimbabwe ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). On 15 December 1979 the Lancaster house agreement was signed, which gave Zimbabwe independence (Lancaster house agreement 1979). After this agreement was signed Britain briefly retook control of Southern Rhodesia as a colony, as agreed in the agreement until a new round of elections was held in February 1980 (Lancaster house agreement 1979). After these elections the country were to be handed over to the new government, Robert G. Mugabe became the first prime minister as Zimbabwe achieved an internationally recognized independence on April 18, 1980("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012).

Zimbabwe may be divided into six different regions of agricultural potential ranging from intensive farming (growing of corn tobacco and livestock) to semi extensive farming ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Only a small part of the country is unsuitable for either agriculture or forestry ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Land has been a major issue in Zimbabwe since and before independence in 1980. Before independence most of the country's best farmland was in the hands of white settlers or absentee landlords a consequence of this is that the nationalist struggle focused mainly upon the issue of land ownership ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). A major concern for the Zimbabwe government after independence was to carry through land reform in the rural areas and launch large-scale settlement of black families on former white farms ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Redistribution of land was also major issue during the meetings that took place before the signing of the Lancaster house agreement according to Wikipedia they almost failed to reach an accord due to disagreement on land reform (Wikipedia "Lancaster house agreement" 2012). After independence during the Zimbabwe Conference on Reconstruction and Development (Zimcord) in 1981, Thirty-one nations and twenty-six international agencies pledged about \$1.45 billion in economic aid to be disbursed over a three-year period beginning, July of 1981 (Dougherty 1981) . The United States government, through the Agency for International Development, pledged \$225 million (US department of state 2012). However, the USA discontinued in 1986 bilateral aid to Zimbabwe as a result of a "continuing pattern of uncivil and undiplomatic statements and actions by the Government of Zimbabwe in the United Nations and elsewhere" (US department of state 2012). Full programming was restored in 1988 (US department of state 2012). Also the UK pledged funds during ZIMCORD as this was outlined in the Lancaster house agreement. However in 1997 the Tony Blair government reneged on the agreements obligation to financially assist Zimbabwe's land reform, at least according to Zimbabwe (US department of state diplomacy in action("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012; Embassy of Zimbabwe 2012; US department of state 2012) . According to Stan Mudenge, Zimbabwe's Foreign Affairs Minister, this led the Zimbabwean Government to resort to a policy of compulsorily land acquiring (Chigora 2009)

The above is also confirmed by the Zimbabwe embassy website who blames the slow progress in land resettling on the international community: "The main reasons for this failure to achieve the stated objectives with respect to land distribution was there restrictive legal framework for land distribution and unfulfilled promises by the international community". The US\$2 billion promised for land acquisition/resettlement by the UK and US governments at Lancaster House Peace Conference did not materialise"(Embassy of Zimbabwe 2012). It states that American money pledge was stopped by president Reagan and the British under Tony Blair in 1996 (Embassy of Zimbabwe 2012) . This UK was blamed by the Zimbabwe government for the land crisis in 2000 "they no longer recognized colonial commitments to Zimbabwe The repudiation of pledges by Britain is the direct cause of the land crisis of the year 2000" (Embassy of Zimbabwe 2012). The Zimbabwe government amended its laws so as to allow faster resettlement without British money (Embassy of Zimbabwe 2012).

The USA department of state describes the relationship between the countries as strained since the land invasions of white-owned farms began in 2000 (US department of state 2012): "The government has demonized Britain in the press, blaming the country for Zimbabwe's problems, and claiming that Britain reneged on promises made at Lancaster House to provide money for land reform" (US department of state 2012). The UK started, with the rest of the EU sanctions against Zimbabwe in 2002 (Bank of England news release 2002) and in 2010 it seems that still sanctions are being imposed although it removed some individuals and entities from the sanction list (HM Treasury financial sanctions notification 2012)

As for the USA's relation with Zimbabwe, they have also changed after 2000: "Since 2000, the United States has taken a leading role in condemning the Zimbabwean Government's increasing assault on human rights and the rule of law, and has joined much of the world community in calling for the Government of Zimbabwe to embrace a peaceful democratic revolution"(US department of state 2012). The United states has also been imposing targeted measures after the elections in 2002, 2003, 2005, and 2008 of which one was the a suspension of non-humanitarian government-to-government assistance (US department of state 2012).

A law was passed in 2002 that allowed President Mugabe to pursue an aggressive program that forced more than half of the country's white farmers to give up their property and rendering tens of thousands of black farmworkers homeless and unemployed ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). These properties were often claimed by politically connected individuals with little or no farming experience rather than by the landless peasant farmers or war veterans who were supposed to benefit from the redistribution program ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Because of this many experienced farmers had to leave which contributed to a significant decline in agricultural productivity; this, as well as drought, led to severe food shortages ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012).

Media freedom was curtailed by restrictive laws, and several newspapers were shut down by the government ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Controversial elections, criticized by observers, in 2002 and 2005 led to suspension of Zimbabwe from the commonwealth countries in 2002 after which they withdrew in 2003 ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). It should be noted that although the international community considered the 2005 elections controversial the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which were they only foreign observers officially accredited by the Zimbabwean government to observe proceeding, determined that the election met the will of the people. ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). After the 2005 parliamentary election "Operation Murambatsvina," was launched a cleanup campaign that destroyed thousands of homes and stores in shantytowns on the outskirts of Harare and other urban centres ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). This resulted in the displacement of more than half a million people, and critics of the government claimed that this was a penalizing measure aimed at the supporters of the opposition, who were mainly located in the shantytowns ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Political problems continued throughout the zeroes as well as economic troubles. Sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe and loans and economic aid from many donors, were limited or completely withdrawn for various reasons, but mostly in protest of the government's land-seizure program and because the country had fallen behind on repayments of previous loans (US department of state 2012). Inflation was rampant: early 2008, the official estimate had risen to more than 100,000 percent; by the end of the summer, it had surpassed 10 million percent ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). These economic problems also resulted in an extremely high rate of unemployment, estimated at some four-fifths of the population and among the highest in the world ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Also the 2008 elections were deemed controversial, by some, but they did lead to a power sharing government and September 15, 2008, Mugabe, Mutambara, and Tsvangirai signed a comprehensive power-sharing agreement—referred to as the Global Political Agreement ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). In 2009, the US Dollar was introduced in Zimbabwe to replace the ZW dollar ending hyper inflation.

What can be concluded is that there are different opinions are of the roots are of all the problems in Zimbabwe. Some, seemingly mostly supporters of the Zimbabwe government, blamed what they deemed to be unfair economic sanctions, the failure of the British government to honor the terms of the 1979 Lancaster House agreement regarding the transfer of land to black ownership, and a Western plot to overthrow Mugabe from power (US department of state diplomacy in action; Embassy of Zimbabwe 2012; Chigora and DEWA "Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012.). Others, especially critics of the government, blamed the land-seizure program and the economic mismanagement under the Mugabe administration, both agree that corruption also played a role ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). What also can be concluded is that the political situation in Zimbabwe has caused major problems. USAID have described the situation in Zimbabwe as a disaster on several occasions over the last 10 year (USAID, 2012). Other sources have described the situation in Zimbabwe as a humanitarian crisis (Oxfam 2012) Regardless of the reasons for the economic troubles, many Zimbabweans were adversely affected, lacking basic commodities and suffering from food insecurity, fuel shortages, record-high rates of unemployment, and hyperinflation ("Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012).

3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 FRAMING

Framing is used in studies of the media and mass communication as a tool of analysis in order to find how issues are constructed, discourse constructed and meanings developed (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Scheufele 1999; Reese 2007). It has become an attractive tool in media research and it is used in a number of fields under which communication and political science (Reese 2007).

Framing has to do with making sense, interpreting and giving meaning to what happens in the on-going world (Aarts and van Woerkum 2006). It refers to the way events and issues are organized and made sense of and given meaning to (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Reese 2007). The main point of interest in this study is both the construction of issues and development of the meaning of these issues making framing the relevant concept and analytical tool for this research.

Nowadays we are bombarded with suggestions of how events should be understood and these suggestions may differ considerably, these suggestions can be called frames (Berinsky and Kinder 2006) The idea of framing first surfaced in Goffman's work in 1974, he defines frames as "the principles of organization which govern (social) events" (Goffman 1974). According to Entman's definition framing means: "to frame is to select some aspect of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman 1993, page 53.) Gamson describes frames in a similar way which in my opinion captures and clarifies the meaning of framing "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding trip of events, weaving a connection amongst them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (Gamson and Modigliani 1989, page 143). What all of the above agree is that the essential idea of framing is thus related to the fundamental process of meaning construction in which certain aspects of an issue, event, idea et. are highlighted and others are left out (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Entman 1993; Scheufele 1999; Aarts and van Woerkum 2006; Reese 2007; Zhou 2008). The way an issue is framed determines, to a certain extent, the meaning that people give to it, for example it can shape public perceptions of political issues or institutions (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Besides this, people's information processing and interpretation are also influenced by pre-existing meaning structures or schema's (Scheufele 1999). How we frame issues is thus not solely determined by the news but is a combination of our own meaning structures and the way issues are framed.

Research shows a division between two concepts of framing the first one is called "media frames" or "frames in discourse" and the second one is called "individual frames" or "cognitive frames" (Scheufele 1999; de Vreese, Peter et al. 2001; Berinsky and Kinder 2006). The first one is embedded in discourse and the second as internal structures of the mind (Scheufele 1999; Berinsky and Kinder 2006). Individual frames are also called "audience frames" research on these frames focuses on how specific media frames influences readers or viewers perceptions (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000; de Vreese, Peter et al. 2001). A media frame is explained by them as; "a particular way in which journalist compose a news story in order to optimize audience accessibility" (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). Entman also refers to these two types of frames but states that a media frame consist of two levels: "as mentally stored principles and as frames describing attributes of the news itself" (Entman 1991). This distinction between the approaches on research of framing is also made by Aarts and van Woerkum: a cognitive and an interactional view on framing. According to their study the cognitive approach focuses on how frames are stored and represented in memory (Aarts and van Woerkum 2006). DeWulf et al. Describe this as: "The cognitive approach to framing focused on how people interpret, process or represent issues, relationships and interactions in conflict setting" (DeWulf, Gray et al. 2009). Interactional framing focuses on the enactment of frames in ongoing interaction (Aarts and van Woerkum 2006). Although the majority of the literature points to a clear distinction between the two there has also been research focussed on combining the two and pointing out the

importance of doing so (Aarts and van Woerkum 2006; van Bommel and Aarts 2008). Others also argue that the two are interlinked: “We posit that attempts by elites to define issues in a particular way - the dissemination of frames in communication- shape how individuals process and store relevant information and understand politics- the creation of frames in cognition” (Berinsky and Kinder 2006) . This case study will mostly focus on media frames and look at how these media frames develop over time. However, even though the main research will not focus on cognitive frames I also believe that the two are interlinked and that cognitive frames play a role in this study and the frames that appear in the media. News articles are written by journalist who use different sources to write their stories. Their own cognitive frames will thus influence what and how they write their articles. Because of this it is important to understand both types of frames.

Research has shown that even subtle differences in the way an issue is framed can have a decisive influence on public opinion and a profound influence on the audience (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000; Callaghan and Schnell 2005). Experiments that tested media effects came to the conclusion that the US news media shaped public opinion of who is responsible for solving key problems such as poverty (Valkenburg, Semetko et al. 1999). The impact of framing also shows in an experiment by Price et al. They let university students randomly read different media frames (human interest, conflict and personal consequence) about the same topics, afterwards they each wrote down their thoughts and feelings (Price et al 1997.) the different media frames affected both topical focus and had evaluative implications (Price et al. 1997). On a larger scale and a more real example of the effect of media frames is shown by Tierney et al. who show how media frames can influence the way a disaster is addressed (Tierney et al. 2006). What these examples show is that the power of media frames is substantial but besides this, I believe they also show that the cognitive frames affect media frames which show again that they are interrelated. The theory and examples show the importance of understanding the role and meaning of cognitive framing. Because of the influence of cognitive frames on media frames one can expect that different frames occur in different countries. Framing research also gives reason to believe that there could be an “overspill” from the frames on the deteriorating political situation in the framing of non political issues in this case wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe which will be the main focus of this study.

In framing research today a distinction is also made between different types of frames, these are: issue specific frames, thematic and episodic frames and generic frames (Callaghan and Schnell 2005). In this research the focus will be on issue frames. According to Callaghan and Schnell “research on issue frames examines the impact alternative descriptions of a policy issue have on political attitudes and preferences” (Callaghan and Schnell 2005 page 4). Also Dewulf, Gray et al. discuss different type of frames. With issue frames meaning is given to agenda items, events or problems in the relevant domain or context (Dewulf, Gray et al. 2009). This research will focus on the issue frames of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe.

Valkenburg and Semetko assume that because reporters have to tell a story within a limited time or space they use certain frames to simplify events and because of this they (and others) identify four types of frames have been identified: conflict frame, human interest frame, responsibility frame and economic consequence frame (Valkenburg, Semetko et al. 1999) . Entman suggest an more open approach for frame analysis, which I believe is more suitable for this research. In order to identify the frames in the articles and analyse the data in this case study, the four functions as described by Entman were used. According to Entman four functions can be found in fully grown frames. The first function is that it defines the problem, secondly it diagnoses, identifying the forces that create the problem, thirdly, it offers solutions and justifies treatment for it and finally, it makes moral judgment, evaluating the cause and its effects (Entman 1993). In short thus, problem, cause, remedy and moral judgment. This study will use Entman’s approach to operationalize framing. Entman’s approach will enable me to identify the different types of issue frames that surface in the articles and unravel meaning.

Framing as a methodology is criticized by some, Carrege and Roefs argue that: “ a number of trends in recent framing research have neglected the relationship between media frames and broader issues of political and social power” (Carrege and Roefs 2004 page 214). They call this “a product of

conceptual problems in the definition of frames, the inattention to frame sponsorship, the failure to examine frames within wider political and social context, and the reduction to framing to a form of media effects" (Carregee and Roefs 2004 page 214). They argue that frames are often reduced to "story topics" and that this ignores conflicting frames may appear on the same issue (Carragee and Roefs 2004). It is however, still seen as one of the most useful and powerful mechanisms for the examining of mass media text and successfully used by many, because of this I believe that even though it has it's short comings it is the appropriate concept and analytical tool for this research

This study will focus on media frames and in specific issue frames on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. These frames will be analysed and identified using Entman's framing analysing approach, the four functions of a frame

3.1.1 FRAME PARITY

Each frame has a counter frame, on most issues highly vocal and well organized promoters appear on both sides of the debate (Callaghan and Schnell 2005). This is also addressed by Gamson and Modigliani, they speak of a "symbolic arena" in which every policy is contested (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). "Advocates of one or another persuasion attempt to give their own meaning to the issue and to the events that may affect the outcome" (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) . Thus theory shows that each frame must have a counter frame and some even assume that each side must have highly vocal promoters. The weapons of each side are metaphors, catch phrases and other condensing symbols that frame the issue in an particular fashion (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). Entman discusses this also, as well as the ideal situation in the media. He calls it frame parity, frame parity is the condition that most free press prefers (Entman 2004). This refers to the desired objectivity of the media reached by looking at all sides of a story or in Entman's words: "to reach frame parity, the news must offer a counter frame that puts together a complete alternative narrative, a tale of problem, cause remedy and moral judgment possessing as much magnitude and resonance as the administration's"(Entman 2004 page 48). For this study I'm also interested to what extend frame parity is realized in the articles. For this I will be using Entman's theory of frame parity.

3.1.2 US. VS. THEM AND DISCOURSE COALITIONS

For a variety of reasons frame parity is often not reached and a certain groups theme or issue may not be taken over in its totality or could even be placed in a unfavourable context (Terkildsen, Schnell et al. 1998). Different authors describe these two or more groups that form around and issue. For example when forming stereo types people often refer to themselves as the in-group and they see the other as the out-group, us versus them (Pearce and Littljohn 1997). If a group of people have different stories or deal with matters in a different way we are bound to form an opinion about the other group or the side of an issue that this group represents. How we deal with these differences depend on each person or group of persons and "the stories" that we have. If we hold on to stories and protect them against risk and change the we and them frame is likely to appear (Pearce and Littljohn 1997). In this research I will be looking if us vs. them frames seem to surface in the article in order to get an idea of the different people, organizations, countries play a role in the frames that come forward in the issues.

When looking at the "us vs. them" frame the focus in this research will be to linking them to discourse coalitions, if they present themselves. A discourse coalitions according to Hager is "the ensemble of a set of story lines, the actors, that utter these story lines and the practices that conform to these story line all organised around a discourse" (Hager 1993 page 47). There is reason to believe that these discourse coalitions occur because framing literature shows that each issue is frame or theme comes with a counter frame (Callaghan and Schnell 2005). Hager also addresses this in the theory on discourse coalitions: These discourse coalitions occur because differences and competition causes actors to group together in coalitions to enhance certain discourses and constrain others(Hager 1993). Besides focusing on the actors in each discourse coalition I'm also interested to see, if the same actors stay in the same discourse over time or if they switch discourse coalitions. This can be expected since

we are also willing to challenge stories and in this case boundaries will change and allies and enemies will change (van Bommel and Aarts 2008).

The concept of discourse coalitions in this research is used to explain and be able to understand better the different groups and relations that play a role in wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe.

3.1.3 MYTHS AND METAPHORS

Myths and metaphors in this case study, refer to the fixed ideas people often seem to have about what happens in a disaster area. These ideas are often negative and can influence and form the frames in the media. Myths and metaphors are known to appear in frames in times of disaster and can have a great influence of how certain situations are treated. A widespread belief exist for example looting and anti social behavior are common and widespread in times of disasters (Quarantelli 1994). An example of this is how the “looting” frame, discussed in the introduction occurred in the aftermath of Hurricane Katharine (Tierney et al. 2006). This media frame, even though a myth, was accepted as the truth by many influential policy maker and resulted in the US government starting to treat the crisis in a completely different matter shifting the focus on creating order rather than giving aid (Tierney et al. 2006). There are ten widely acknowledged myths about disaster areas that often prove to be inaccurate (Binu, Mawson et al. 2008). Classical empirical work in the field of disaster studies have over time challenged these widely held myths concerning public panic, post disaster lawlessness, disaster shock and negative mental health outcomes (Tierney 2007) and proven them often to be inaccurate. The opposite often seems to be true in times of disaster, Tierney emphasizes that: “early research stressed positive behavior and outcomes that characterize disaster settings such as enhanced community morale, declines in crime and other antisocial behavior, reduction in status difference, suspension of pre-disaster conflicts in the interest of community safety, the development of therapeutic communities and organizational adaptation and innovation.” (Tierney 2007 page 3)

The following ten myths on disasters were compiled in a report by the WHO (De Ville Goyet cited in Binu, Mawson et al. 2008):

- Foreign medical volunteers with any kind of clinical background are needed
- Any kind of international assistance is needed immediately
- Epidemics and plagues are inevitable after every disaster
- Disaster bring out the worst in people
- The affected population is too shocked and helpless to take responsibility for its own survival
- Disasters are random killers
- Locating disaster victims in temporary settlements is the best solution to the housing problem
- Food aid is always required for the victims of natural disasters
- Clothing is almost never needed
- Things return to normal within a few weeks

As discussed in the introduction, the media itself also has a lot of power and the way they present frames in their media outlets can influence for example the way governments and/or institutions give aid or decide to handle certain emergency situations (Tierney et al. 2006). Besides this, it could also influence the public perception. A negative frame will influence the way people perceive certain issues, since the media is often the only source of information on most issues (Callaghan and Schnell 2005). Because of the negative impact these myths can have I'm interested to find out if, and if so, what kind of myths and metaphors occur in the issue frames in this particular case study.

3.1.4 SUB RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the following part the sub research questions will be listed that were derived from the analytical framework

- What issue frames appear in the media?
- Do the frames differ per country?
- Are their similarities and difference visible in the frames between the countries?
- Can different groups or discourse coalitions be identified in the frames?
- Does frame parity appear in the articles ?
- Do any, and if so, what myths and metaphors appear in the frames on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe?

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 QUALITATIVE MEDIA ANALYSIS AND CASE STUDY

A qualitative method approach was chosen for this research. This study focuses on which frames appear in the media and how these frames develop and change over time making this the appropriate method. The study focuses on the meaning of frames and by doing so follows the interpretivist tradition. A qualitative and interpretative approach allows for ambiguity and also historical contingency, the implicit messages in the story and emphasizes how meaning is signified (Reese 2007). This research uses a qualitative media analysis to examine coverage and analysis of articles focussed on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. According to Reese: "Qualitative turn of much framing analysis helps resist the reductionist urge to sort media text and discourse into containers and count their size of frequency" (Reese 2007 page 2). The interpretative approach gives the chance to answer questions like what, how, or why rather than how many or how much (Green and Thorogood 2009) which gives the chance to focus on the meaning of the frames. Meaning and emphasis are thus the key categories in most qualitative studies (Altheide 1996).

A case study was chosen as the research design. It is important to bear in mind that case studies in the interpretivist tradition are different to those in the positivist tradition. In interpretative research a case is often used as a synonym for "site or "setting", the semi bounded location which is considered to have potential for illustrating the focus of the researches interested" (Haverland 2012). This type of meaning- centred case study is rooted in single-site studies (Yanow 2008). They call for a human centred analysis driven by the desire to learn more about the multiple social realities that characterize both the setting and its actors (Haverland 2012). Entman's analysis method using the four functions of frames allow for this and is thus selected as the main method to analyse the articles and find the frames. According to Hammersley, a case study should not be defined as a research design type because it does not have any specific theoretical or methodological characteristics (Green and Thorogood 2009). However other authors do not agree with this and argue that because of the lack of understanding between different research methods and methodologies problems can occur on conferences and other places where researchers meet (Haverland and Yanog).

4.2 SELECTION OF THE COUNTRIES AND NEWSPAPERS

Because of the different actors and stakeholders involved in wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe discourse coalitions are expected to surface (Hajer 1993). Besides this, theoretical research on media frames also gives reason to believe that different media frames can be expected to occur in different countries. This can be concluded from the research that show that there are two types of frames cognitive and media frames and examples of how different media frames and cognitive frames lead to different interpretations (Price et al. 1997 van Bommel and Aarts 2008,Entman 2004). In order to analyse how these relations are framed from different perspectives, three countries were selected for this research. Zimbabwe, in order to analyse the frames published by the media in Zimbabwe on wildlife conservation practices in Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom because of its historical relation and the United States of America because of its involvement with Zimbabwe's wildlife conservation practices and other close political links. Initially South Africa and Canada were also selected but because research showed that adding these countries did not reveal any new frames they were left out before the final analysis.

The initial idea was to choose three newspapers from each country, each newspaper with a different political orientation in order to analyse whether the frames would differ per newspaper as well as country or not. The pre-selection of the newspapers started by making an overview of the newspapers in the selected countries that focussed on international news. After this, papers were selected with different political orientations and on who published articles on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. Unfortunately it was not possible to select three newspapers from Zimbabwe because only two

published articles throughout the chosen research period of twenty years (1990-2010). The second paper, Financial Gazette turned out to produce frames on completely different topics than the other seven papers and was dropped after the initial analysis.

4.3 TIME SPAN

The research period for newspaper analysis, initially chosen was twenty years (1990-2010). The aim of the study is to see whether frames change and develop and in specific if there is a spill over effect from the political unrest in Zimbabwe influences the frames. In order to do so it was necessary to follow the media frames for a period before and after the initial unrest started around 2000 in Zimbabwe. President Mugabe has been in power since independence in 1980 but especially the last 10 years Zimbabwe underwent major political changes. Especially the fast track land resettlement program implemented by the Zimbabwean government in 2000 that has led to human rights violations (Human Rights Watch 2002) has gotten major international media coverage. More recently the hyperinflation that started in 2007 (Hanke S. H. 2008) of the Zimbabwean dollar became world news. The initial research was twenty years but after initial data analysis it became clear that the ivory ban came into act in 1989, when the elephant was transferred from appendix II to appendix I. this proved to be a very important date for wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe and because of this the time span was extended to cover twenty one years.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The data collecting was done by collecting media clippings in hard copy as well as on line. The research focuses thus on primary document sources. The main source for the international papers was the database LexisNexus. The articles from the Zimbabwe paper were collected in the library of the headquarters of wildlife parks, Zimbabwe, were they have collected all the newspaper clippings that concern wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. News articles discussing the subject of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe were selected from seven newspapers over a period of twenty one years in three different countries. Only written media (newspapers) were used as a main source because the time span that the study covers made it impossible to include digital media.

The first step of the data collecting was done by starting a search in the LexisNexus database using three general keywords Zimbabwe AND Wildlife AND Conservation. This was successful and gave 1751 hits. A comparison was made between the initial chosen newspapers, the selection of newspapers that surfaced during the search and the number of articles on Zimbabwe and wildlife conservation that were published in these newspapers. After this the final newspapers were selected. The original selected newspaper from the UK were selected for the research: The Independent, The Guardian and The Times. For the USA one unexpected newspaper was added because the search indicated that it had published the third largest number of articles on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. This resulted in the selection of the New York Times, Washington Post and last added The Miami Herald. After this 547 articles remained.

After this initial search the collected articles of the international papers were read globally in order to select only the articles that really focused on Zimbabwe and wildlife conservation or otherwise seemed interesting for the research as background information and to shift out the doubles. A second analysis and selection focused on the issues this study would focus on. This resulted in a selecting of three issues that were represented most clearly in the international papers and were thought to be most interesting for this study: the ivory ban, rhinos and CAMPFIRE.

After this a few more searches were done using more specific key word combinations focussing on the three issues.

Other search terms used:

- Zimbabwe AND wildlife AND conservation AND elephant*
- Zimbabwe AND wildlife AND conservation AND ivory
- ivory ban AND elephants
- Zimbabwe AND wildlife AND conservation AND rhino*
- Zimbabwe AND wildlife AND conservation AND CAMPFIRE
- Zimbabwe AND rhino*
- Zimbabwe AND elephant*
- Zimbabwe AND CAMPFIRE
- Zimbabwe AND ivory

Searching with different search terms gave a few more results for some of the papers, but, it did not reveal any new frames that were overlooked during the search done. In the New York Times and the Washington Post it showed more articles of which some of them were useful for the study, in the sense that useful quotes were derived from them. Especially in the rhino issue the second search gave more results.

The second step of the data collection was focussed on collecting the articles in Zimbabwe. The initial search approach for the Zimbabwe paper was different because the articles were not digitally organised except for the articles published in 2010. In the library of the headquarters of National Parks Zimbabwe an archive is kept dating back as far as the nineteen seventies with a collection of newspaper clippings of all the articles published in Zimbabwean papers concerning wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. The three issues that form the focus of this study were chosen before the selection of the Zimbabwe articles started and this made it possible to select the articles from the library. Because the files were categorized per subject it was relatively easy to find the right ones. The files focussing on the issues used in the research were selected first. After this three more selections followed. First the newspapers were selected, initially the Herald Harare and the Financial Gazette were chosen because they were the only papers that have been publishing continuously for the past 21 years. Second, only the articles were selected from these newspapers. Finally, a selection was done to ensure that the articles selected were useful for the research and focussing on the right issues. After this the selected articles were copied and further analysed together with the articles from the international newspapers. During this analysis the Financial Gazette was excluded from the study because the focus of the articles differed too much from the other papers as well as the frames making it impossible to compare. In total more than 650 articles were used for this study.

Qualitative analysis calls for a sequential and multiple reading of the text (Alozie 2010). After the initial collection of the articles all the articles were read again to gain general understanding of the issues. After this the articles were read for a third time and this time analysed using Entman's "four functions of a frame" (Entman 2004) in order to identify the different types of frames that appeared in the same articles. After the frames were selected and retrieved from the articles the results were further analysed to find the differences and similarities between the frames occurring in the newspapers and countries and to find the different types of framed that occurred over time. The frames were then compared between the countries

The articles were also analysed for frame parity. This was done in the rhino issue and CAMPFIRE by analysing if the articles showed any frame parity or not. . For the ivory ban issue a different approach was used since it seemed that there were more than two categories. In this issue five categories were chosen: In favour of the ban (no frame parity), Opposing the ban (no frame parity), Neutral (frame parity), Neutral leaning towards opposing the ban (some frame parity), Neutral leaning towards in favour of the ban(some frame parity), Neutral but against Zimbabwe (some frame parity)

Besides the content of the frames the number of articles per newspaper and issue were identified and also analysed and both can be found in the figures in the research chapters. Finally the writers of the articles were compared to see who wrote for which newspaper and to look for differences between the papers.

5. MEDIA LANDSCAPE

The initial research led to the selection of three major UK newspapers; the Guardian, The Independent and The Times. The Guardian was founded in 1821, with the intention to promote the liberal interest (The Guardian 2011; Guardian updated 28 October, 2011). From the start, independence has been one of the most important principles of the founders. To ensure this J.R Scott, the owner of the newspaper decided in 1936 to bring under the shares of the company in a trust, called the Scott trust, ensuring its future independence (The Guardian 2011). In the sixties the newspaper went to a difficult time and one of its saving measures was to include content of the Washington Post (The Guardian, 2011). The Times was founded in 1785 by John Walter and is one of Great Britain's oldest papers ("The Times." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Its reputation suffered a lot in the beginning of the 20th century until it was bought by Sir William Haley, at that time the director of BBC. In 1981 Rupert Murdoch's company, The News Corporation acquired the newspaper and still owns it today ("The Times." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). The Independent was founded in 1986, with the aim to be a politically independent newspaper ("the Independent" Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). This makes it by far the "youngest" paper of the three. It was founded by three former staff member of the Daily Telegraph, who believed that there was a demand for an independent newspaper without political bias, it found a large audience almost immediately ("the Independent" Encyclopædia Britannica 2012).

The political orientation of the three newspapers seem to differ. The Guardian, describes the paper as left winged, The Independent as middle and Times as right winged (The Guardian 2011). The Independent described as a middle paper fits with the description found in the encyclopaedia Britannica, where it is described as a paper without political bias ("the Independent" Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). The Times, being right winged is confirmed on the website worldpress.org describing the newspaper as conservative (worldpress.org 2012). The same website also describes the Guardian as left winged or liberal (worldpress.org 2012)

The circulation figures for the three newspapers show that The Times with a circulation of 417.197 has the highest number of circulation, followed by The Guardian with 203.541 and The Independent with 133.499 (ABC 2011).

A reader profile shows that the majority of the readers of all three newspaper have a relatively high income and are often high educated people. According to the National readership survey Jan '10 – Dec '10 the majority of the readers of the three newspaper belong to the ABC1 group. The Financial Times lexicon gives as a definition for this term ABC1: "the ABC1 group refers to the top three social and economic groups in society" (Financial Times 2011). This is a term used especially in marketing surveys to determine what type of person buys a certain product (Financial Times 2011). A stands for upper class, B middle class and C1 for lower middle class (businessballs.com 2011). The majority of the readers of the three newspapers belong to the ABC1 group , 89 % of The Guardian readers, 84% of The Independent and 87 % of The Times readers (News and Journalism Research Group 2010). The percentage of male and female readers are more or less the same in all three newspapers.

Also for the media analysis of the USA media three different newspapers were used : The New York Times, The Washington Times and The Miami Herald. The New York Times was founded in 1851 by Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones (Nytco.com 2012). Until 1884 it had the reputation as a republican newspapers, in 1884 it endorsed, Grover Cleveland, a democrat as president and by doing so seemingly changing its political orientation (Nytco.com 2012). It seems that from this time onwards The New York Times was mostly seen as a democratic paper. From 1980 onwards the New York Times started to be published as a national edition (Nytco.com 2012). Before this time it was only published in New York. The Washington Post was founded in 1877 by independent-minded Democrat Stilson Hutchins, as an organ for the democratic party("The Washington Post." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). In 1889, the paper was sold and became known as extremely conservative. Ned McLean's management brought the paper from disrepute to bankruptcy, and in 1933 the financier

Eugene Meyer purchased the paper ("The Washington Post." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012) . Meyer began to rebuild the Post's character, emphasizing a sound and independent editorial stance and thorough, accurate, and well-written reporting (encyclopedia Britannica The Washington Post 2011). In the 1950s it acquired its conservative rival, the Washington Times-Herald and shut it down ("The Washington Post." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). This seems to indicate that it remained conservative over the years. Nothing on the newspapers website or encyclopaedia Britannica indicates that this has changed. The final paper used for the research is The Miami Herald. This is the only paper of the three that is not published nationwide. It is published, as the name reveals, only in Miami. The Herald was founded in 1910 and known as the reporters paper, because of the freedom of expression it gave to its writers ("The Miami Herald"Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). John S. Knight acquired the Herald in 1937 in the process of building what would become one of the largest American newspaper chains, Knight Ridder ("The Miami Herald"Encyclopædia Britannica 2012).

Two of the three newspapers are amongst the biggest newspapers in the world in terms of circulation. The New York Times is the third largest newspaper in the USA, after the USA today and Wall street journal and the Washington Post sixth (Newspaper24.com 2012). The Miami Herald cannot be found in this list, The Miami Herald is a much smaller newspaper which also shows in the circulation numbers. When comparing the circulation numbers of the three newspapers from Monday to Friday you see that The New York Times with 1,202,854 has the highest circulation number followed by the Washington Post 507,465 and Miami Herald 127,037 (Audit bureau of circulation 2012).

the political orientation of the papers differs. The New York Times is still a newspaper read mostly by democrats or at least a higher percentage of democrats that give the paper top credibility than republicans (People press 2011) and also the other sources called it a democratic paper. The Washington Post is more conservative, as indicated in the previous part, than the New York Times but no statistics can be found to support this. Unfortunately no information on the political orientation of the Miami Herald can be found.

The median income for readers of both the New York Times and the Washington Post is around the 100.000 dollars suggesting that their target audience are high educated people and also belong to the earlier mentioned ABC1 group (nytmarketing.com 2012; Washington Digital add center 2012). The average household income of the Miami Herald is much lower around \$ 50.000,-(Miami Herald 2011) suggesting that their readers belonging to a different income group.

For the analysis of the Zimbabwe newspaper articles one newspaper was followed: the Herald Harare. The newspaper is owned by Zimbabwe Newspapers and is the oldest newspaper publisher and printer in the country (Herald Harare 2012) . According to the company website its readers are between 22 and 60 and their target group is mass market (Herald Harare 2012). No further specification is made on their target groups. There is no mentioning on the website of the company being government owned but further research shows that it was bought via a trust called the Zimbabwe media trust. Also the website worldpress.org lists the newspaper as government owned (Worldpress.org 2012). The setting up of the trust was done because the government stated at the time it did not want to be seen controlling the media (Nyahanzvi 2012). For this reason the Zimbabwe mass media trust (ZMMT) was founded and the newspapers shares bought with a \$ 20 million grant from Nigeria, giving the trust control over Zimbabwe newspaper ltd. (Nyahanzvi 2012). Also the domestic news agency, Zimbabwe Inter African News Agency (Ziana), came under ZMMT (Nyahanzvi 2012). It was not until 1999 that the first independent newspaper started to be published by a group of foreign investors (Nyahanzvi 2012). Because of this the Herald Harare was the only newspaper in Zimbabwe that could be used for this study. There has been scepticism about ZMMT and its goal to keep an independent newspaper (Nyahanzvi 2012). Now 20 years later it seems that the government is using the newspaper as well as other media increasingly as a propaganda tool for the ruling party (Nyahanzvi 2012).

A media analyses of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is criticised for its press freedom, the Press freedom index list Zimbabwe on the 123rd place , in comparison the USA is placed 20th and UK 19th) (press-freedom-index 2010). The fact that the Herald is a government paper and is being accused of one sided reporting and propaganda is important to bear in mind. However, the Herald Harare is the biggest and oldest newspaper in Zimbabwe and the frames it produces are thus interesting for this research.

Table 1: Characteristics of the selected newspapers in this study summarized

Newspaper	United Kingdom			United States of America			Zimbabwe
	The Guardian	The Independent	The Times	The New York Times	The Washington Times	The Miami Herald	
Founded (year)	1821	1986	1785	1851	1877	1910	1891
Owner	J.R. Scott (Scott Trust)	Private individuals	John Walter (initial) Rupert Murdoch's company (since 1981)	Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones	Stilson Hutchins. bought by Eugene Meyer	John S. Knight	Zimbabwe Newspapers (51% government shares)
Political orientation	Left winged	Middle winged	Right winged	Democratic paper	Extremely conservative	Unknown	Government oriented
Circulation	203,541	133,499	417,197	1,202,854	507,465	127,037	87,000

Source: (The Guardian 2011; Guardian updated 28 October, 2011; The Guardian 2011 "The Times." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012;"the Independent" Encyclopædia Britannica; 2012worldpress.org 2012;ABC 2011; Nytco.com 2012; "The Washington Post." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012; "The Miami Herald"Encyclopædia Britannica 2012; Audit bureau of circulation 2012; nytmarketing.com 2012; Washington Digital add center 2012; Miami Herald 2011 ; Herald Harare 2012;Worldpress.org 2012; Chari, 2011)

6. IVORY BAN

“Battle of the charismatic Megafauna”

(The Washington Post, March 10 1992)

During the 1989 convention of CITES in Lausanne the African elephant was transferred from appendix II to appendix I. This effectively meant the banning of all international trade in ivory and other elephant products (CITES 2011). This was the start of a debate that is still going today and also the start of two discourse coalitions dominating that debate: those in favor of the ban and those against the ban. Zimbabwe has played a central role in this debate and articles on the ivory ban with Zimbabwe's role have been occurring in the newspapers ever since making it an interesting subject to include in this media analysis.

In this chapter the frames that surfaced in the articles on the ivory ban and Zimbabwe's role in this will be discussed and analyzed per country (UK, USA, Zimbabwe). Each section will systematically discuss the same parts per country. First it will start with a summary of the number of articles published throughout the years, the journalist that wrote the articles and the role Zimbabwe played in this. The second part will discuss the different issue frames that appeared in the articles and if they change, how the frames change. The third part will discuss the occurrence of discourse coalitions, us vs. them frames and blame frames. Finally in the fourth part frame parity will be discussed. At the end of each chapter a comparison will be made between the three countries. A final chapter will be dedicated to a comparison between the issues.

6.1 UNITED KINGDOM

6.1.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE AND WILDLIFE PLAYED IN IT

Over the years a steady number of articles, on the ivory ban debate and the role Zimbabwe played in it, have been published in the UK Newspapers. However, this does not automatically mean that all these articles provide insight on how the UK newspapers frames and have framed wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. How and how often Zimbabwe was the main subject differs per newspaper and year. Hardly any articles have been published with Zimbabwe as the main subject and in the majority of the articles Zimbabwe is only mentioned as being part or leader of the group of countries opposing the ivory ban and thus did not play a major role in the articles. The fact that Zimbabwe seemed to be inextricably linked to the ivory ban is interesting in itself but this does not automatically mean that these articles provided in depth frames on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. Because Zimbabwe only played a minor role in the majority of articles only a limited number of frames were found on this issue.

The reporting per year by the different newspapers differed quite a lot as can be seen in Figure 1. The Times, for example, published quite a few articles on the ivory ban in 1989 in which Zimbabwe plays a main and active role but after 1989, hardly published any articles on this subject for 7 years. The Guardian and the Independent, did not publish many articles on the ivory ban with Zimbabwe as its main subject throughout the years but did continuously publish articles on the ivory ban over the years.

As can be seen in Figure 1 the majority of the articles were published in 1989, the year in which the ivory ban of the start of the ivory ban, resulting in the highest peak. After that the peaks seem to differ per newspaper which makes it difficult to link to certain events. A few peaks can be linked to events in the ivory ban debate. For example the peak in 2000, can be linked to the CITES meeting in Nairobi. The articles published in this year mostly focus on this meeting. Also the peak of the Independent in 2008, can be linked to a CITES meeting, this time in Geneva, Switzerland, an ivory sale was approved during this meeting.

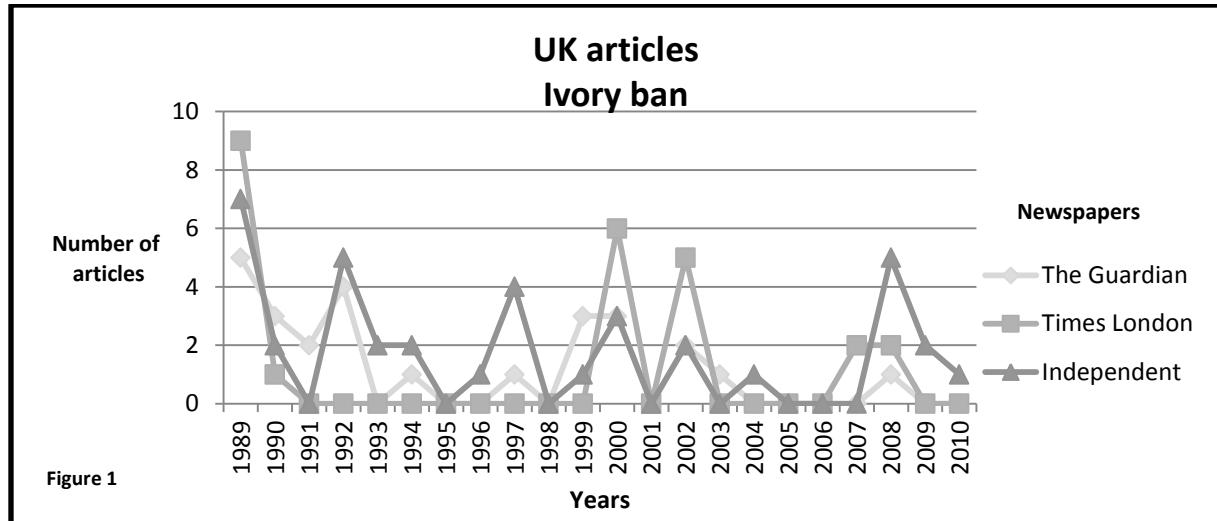


Figure 1: Articles on ivory ban featuring Zimbabwe published in three United Kingdom newspapers between 1989 and 2010

The UK newspapers articles were written by many different reporters, some of whom published more than one article. A few journalists stood out, for example Paul Brown, who published several articles over a long period of time, between 1989 and 2004. Also Jane Perlez published several articles in the beginning of the nineties. Other journalists that published several articles were: in the beginning of the nineties, Iain Guest and during the middle and end of the nineties, Andrew Meldrum, both writing for the Guardian. In The Times and Independent several journalists wrote more than one article but mostly only over one or two years. One journalist that stood out in these two newspapers is, Michael McCarthy, he wrote several articles for The Times in 1989 and at the end of the nineties and after 2000 published several articles in the Independent.

Zimbabwe often only played a small role in the UK articles on the ivory ban and because of this not all the articles provided interesting frames for this research. The number of articles dedicated to the subject decline after 2000. The articles were written by a large number of journalists over time.

6.1.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

What, became clear in the articles was the position of Zimbabwe in the debate. An example of how Zimbabwe was framed in the majority articles is as follows: “*Southern African states, such as Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa, have already declared their opposition to a ban, as their stocks of elephants are rising, allowing profitable culling for ivory, meat and leather*” (The Independent London, October 10 1989, N. Cater) and in the Guardian in 1989: “*Zimbabwe, which has a large elephant stock, and South Africa, with well-managed reserves, are against a ban. These countries have an escape clause in the convention known as a reservation*” (The Guardian, October 9 1989, P. Brown).

These quotes clearly framed Zimbabwe’s position in the ivory ban debate and this position remained similar throughout the years. In 1997 and 1999 the reporting on the ivory ban changed because of the decision made during the CITES meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, to place the elephant on appendix II for a number of countries and allowed three countries a one-time ivory sale to Japan. “*Over the next three months Namibia will be allowed to sell 12.8 tonnes, Zimbabwe 20 tonnes and Botswana 25 tonnes of tusks that have been stockpiled following a 1989 ban on all ivory exports. The three countries have lobbied heavily for approval to export, arguing that their herds are now so large that they are damaging the environment*” (The Guardian, March 19 1999, Guardian correspondent, page 14). These three countries remained, throughout the years, fiercely opposed to the ivory ban, which

clearly framed Zimbabwe's position in the discourse and shows the main frame in this issue throughout the nineties: the "opposing the ivory ban" frame.

Because of the small role Zimbabwe played in the UK newspaper articles not many issue frames occurred in the articles on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. However, two frames that re-occurred throughout the years did stand out. Both of these frames are opposing the ivory ban sub-frames, The first one is the "too many elephants" sub frame: "*Zimbabwe argues that its populations of elephants are doing so well they must be culled... They would like to be able to trade the windfall ivory crop*" (The Independent, February 13 1992, R. North). The second frame is "the loss of income/income will be used for conservation and people" sub frame: "*The \$ 1.18 million raised yesterday will go into elephant conservation projects or those aimed at improving conditions for the extremely impoverished communities around the edges of elephants ranges...*" (The Times, London, October 29 2008, J. Clayton).

How Zimbabwe's position was framed in the UK media changed at the turn of the century. This is also when the political situation in Zimbabwe started to change and when the controversial "land reform policy" started to be implemented (Human Rights Watch 2002). In the ivory ban debate the change of Zimbabwe's position in the debate is shown during the CITES meeting in 2002, in Santiago, Chili when Zimbabwe was among the countries not allowed to participate in one-time ivory sales "...but the Parties rejected Zimbabwe's proposal by 60 in favour, 45 against and ten abstentions" (TRAFFIC 2003).

This change did not show in the majority of the articles, because as mentioned earlier, Zimbabwe was not the main subject of the articles. However, in some articles this change can be seen. In these articles a "political unrest and land reform" blame frame started to surface. For example in The Times in one article in 2000. This article is clearly in favor of a one-time ivory sale but opposes to Zimbabwe being one of the countries allowed to sell the ivory "*profits would be spent on rural development and habitat preservation. At first glance it makes sense - except perhaps in the case of Zimbabwe, where a Government that abets blatantly unlawful land-grabbing cannot be trusted to ensure effective safeguards. But apart from that, why should African countries not benefit financially from their natural fauna?*" (London Times, April 11 2000, Times correspondent). In the Guardian, this change also showed but not till 2008. Around this time hyperinflation in Zimbabwe was at its peak (Hanke 2008). At the CITES meeting in 2008 in Geneva, Switzerland, Zimbabwe got approval to participate in the one-time ivory sale however, concern about this was raised: "*The sale has also raised concern about fundraising for Robert Mugabe's regime, which holds about four tones.*" (The Guardian, July 2008, J. Adetunji). "*Given the nature of the regime in Zimbabwe, which has trampled democracy, human rights and the rule of law, we have real concerns about how the regime will use the money they gain from the sale of their ivory. The UK hopes that potential customers will share our concerns, and the UK will urge both to defer any purchase of Zimbabwean ivory until such time as (there is) a legitimate, democratically elected government.*" (Susan Lieberman, WWF International's species program director in The Guardian, July 2008, J. Adetunji).

The main focus of the articles in the UK on this subject were on the ivory ban and the activities around it; the CITES meetings and ivory sales. Because of the small role Zimbabwe played in the majority of the UK articles not many frames stood out. What is framed clearly is Zimbabwe's position in the articles which is the main frame throughout the nineties: "the opposing the ban" frame. Besides this, two frames did stand out both "opposing the ban" sub frames, first of all the "too many elephants" sub frame and second of all the "loss of income/income will be used for conservation and people" sub frame. After 2000 the frames changed but this showed only in a few articles. In these frames criticism is expressed towards the Zimbabwean government and their ability to handle a proper ivory sale, the political situation in Zimbabwe starts to play a role in the frames resulting in a "political unrest and land reform" blame frame. The next part will focus on other types of frames that surfaced in the articles.

6.1.3 DISCOURSE COALITION, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

What was interesting in the ongoing debate surrounding the ivory ban were the different groups that surfaced. Two distinct groups surfaced that were leading and forming the ivory ban discourse and continued to play a dominant role in it throughout the years. These groups can be seen as two different discourse coalitions surrounding the same subject, ivory ban. These two discourse coalitions are often framed in an us. vs them frame in the articles.

Zimbabwe was often mentioned as the leader of the group opposing the ivory ban. The reason for this could be because Zimbabwe is one of the main countries that believes in the “sustainable utilization” of wildlife. Their philosophy is focused on the core belief that wildlife should be given economic value in order to preserve it. Other members of this discourse coalition are Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. Together with Zimbabwe they were seen as one group or members of a discourse coalition, as is shown in the quotes in the previous part. A second discourse coalition also became visible in the frames found in the newspaper articles on the ivory ban; this coalition was led by Kenya. Kenya’s philosophy is almost opposite to Zimbabwe. You could call this “the protectionist” approach, purely focused on the protection of wildlife. *“About 2,000 elephants are killed every week in Africa, and several governments, led by Tanzania and Kenya, have proposed a complete ban on ivory trade. That is opposed by Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Botswana, who want to establish a centre where legally culled ivory could be auctioned”* (The Guardian, October 10, 1989, I. Guest). In 2008 the third ivory sale was approved to the same group of countries opposing the ivory ban: *“Over the next month, four southern African nations – Namibia, Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe – will sell more than 100 tons of tusks...”* (The independent London, October 29 2008, J. Taylor). Kenya was still in favor of the ban in 2009: *“There has been a “unprecedented” surge in elephant poaching in one of Kenya’s principal parks since a large scale ivory sale last year, which gave a renewed boost to the international ivory trade”* (The independent London, February 25 2009, M. Mcarthy).

These two discourse coalitions can be linked to two different ways of wildlife conservation policies as discussed above; those people or group of people who believe in protection of wildlife “the protectionist” as a way of conservation and those who believe in the utilization of wildlife “the utilizers”. This resulted in a us. vs. them frame in the articles the: “utilizers vs. protectionist” frame. In an article in the London Times in 1989: *“On the face of it, this is a head-on collision between those who believe that only drastic measures can save the elephant from extinction in the face of a voracious ivory trade, and those who argue that an all-out ban on killing would in reality put some subsistence economies at even greater risk. Members of the latter group also contest hotly the extent to which the species is beleaguered”* (Times London, October 2 1989, J. Raath and A. Franks). Each had different members, the “protectionist”, had as a main member: Kenya and some African governments as well as most Western governments. The other discourse coalition the “utilizers” of wildlife had as main members: Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana and (although less distinct) South Africa and different countries were joining and leaving over the years.

Conservation groups were also divided between the two discourses and can be seen as the two separate discourse coalitions under the same discourses for example: *“Conservation groups have entered the dispute, with the International Union for the Conservation of Nature apparently more sympathetic to Zimbabwe’s proposal, while the Worldwide Fund for Nature is strongly in favour of a ban”* (The Guardian, 10 Oct 1989, I. Guest).

Not all members stayed in the same discourse coalitions throughout the years. The groups that swapped sides in the debate that were most distinct are; Tanzania and World Wildlife Fund (WWF) both strongly in favor of the ivory ban in 1989 and part of the “protectionist” discourse coalition, as the quotes above show, whereas in 2007 and 2010 they seemed to have joined the other discourse coalition the “utilizers”. Tanzania did a complete flip from joining Kenya in opposing the ban in 1989 till presenting proposals in favor of ivory sale at the 2010 CITES meeting. *“Environmental campaigners called on Britain to take a clear lead in opposing the proposals by Tanzania and Zambia to sell their ivory stocks, which will be voted on at the next meeting of the Convention on International*

Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) in Qatar in March" (The independent, 25 Jan 2010, M. McCarthy, pg. 4). But also the WWF seems to have "swapped sides" from being "strongly in favor of the ban to more sympathetic towards to the leaders of the opposing the ban discourse: "Susan Lieberman, WWF International's species programme director, said illegal trade was of more concern than a one-off sale: "The sight of ivory openly and illegally on sale in many African cities is likely to be a far more powerful encouragement to those contemplating poaching and smuggling than a strictly controlled one-off sale.""(Guardian, July 16 2007, J.Adetunji, page 15).

In conclusion, no blame frames were found in the articles. What did surface is an us. vs. them frame: the "utilizers vs. protectionist" frame. This showed that two discourses with separate discourse coalition developed surrounding the ivory ban. The "utilizers" coalition with the Southern African countries under whom Zimbabwe and the "protectionist" discourse coalition with Kenya and different members. What was most interesting about these two dominant discourses is that they remained more or less stable throughout the years, using the same arguments and consisting of the same core group, the leaders of the discourse. However, some of the members did swap discourse coalitions over the years. The position of the UK newspapers in these discourse coalitions did not become clear in these articles.

6.1.4 FRAME PARITY

Frame parity means that in an ideal situation each article would offer both sides (or more) sides of each story. In the case of the ivory ban this would mean equally framing both sides of the ivory ban debate in favor and opposing the ban. The articles in the UK newspapers, on average did show some frame parity but often seemed to be favoring one side over the other. This means that they did show a counter argument but that often played a far smaller and less important role in the articles. As can be seen in Figure 2, two categories seemed to be dominating the papers. Neutral, meaning that counter frames were produced about both sides of the story, both opposing and in favor of the ban. An example of this: "*The arguments for and against banning the ivory trade should be judged by one criterion only. That is: which policy is most likely to save the African elephant from extinction*" (Times London, October 12 1989, ...). The second category, neutral but leaning towards opposing the ban showed especially in 1989. This category means that a counter frame was produced but that the article seemed to be leaning towards a preference. An example of this is the following quote that produces mainly frames opposing the ban but also produces a counter frame: "*On the face of it, this is a head-on collision between those who believe that only drastic measures can save the elephant from extinction in the face of a voracious ivory trade, and those who argue that an all-out ban on killing would in reality put some subsistence economies at even greater risk*" (Times London, October 2 1989, J. Raath and A. Franks). Further frames in the same article are solely focused on opposing the ban for example: "*Quite apart from the practicalities, an all-out ivory ban is anathema to Zimbabwe because it runs counter to the philosophy at the heart of the country's approach to conserving wildlife*" (Times London, October 2 1989, J. Raath and A. Franks).

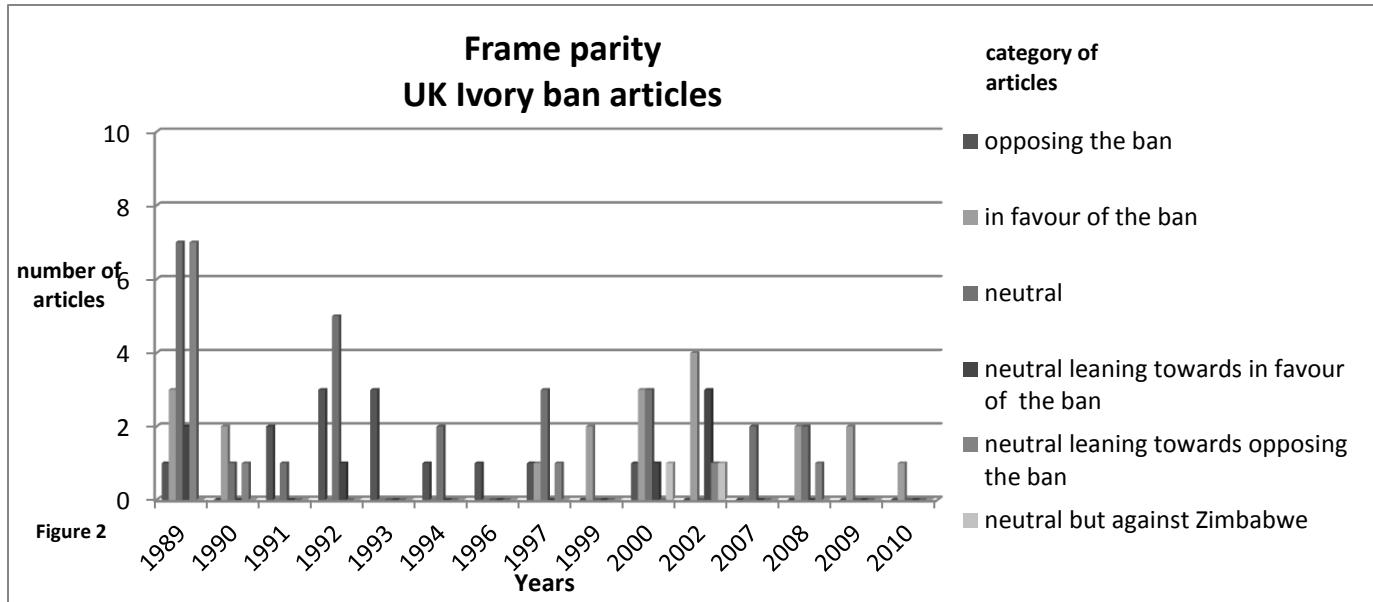


Figure 2: Frame parity among articles published in United Kingdom newspapers

The articles in the UK did show some frame parity but also often showed a preference for one over the other and less frame parity shows after 2000.

6.2 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

6.2.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

Articles on the ivory ban and the role Zimbabwe played in it, have been published in the USA newspapers throughout the years. In the majority of the articles, Zimbabwe played a main or active role, meaning that in these articles different frames surfaced on the position of Zimbabwe in the ivory ban debate. This can especially be seen in the articles published at the beginning of the debate in 1989 and in the beginning of the nineties. In these years, the articles in USA newspapers provided a good insight on the newspapers and other stakeholders stand towards the ivory ban. Zimbabwe's position is framed strongly, as is the position of some stakeholders in the three newspapers that were analyzed for this research.

What is interesting is the “loss of interest” of the newspapers on the subject at the turn of the century. At the beginning of the debate, 1989 till 2000, the newspapers published a number of articles on the ivory ban but this changed at the turn of the century. After this time hardly any articles were published as can be seen in Figure 3. The ivory ban debate seemed to have disappeared from the news when the political situation in Zimbabwe is starting to decrease.

Besides this, Figure 3 also shows some peaks which can be linked to major events in the ivory ban debate. The first peak in 1989 can be linked to the start of the ivory ban debate. The peak in 1997, can be linked to the placement of the elephant on appendix II after the CITES meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe in that years.

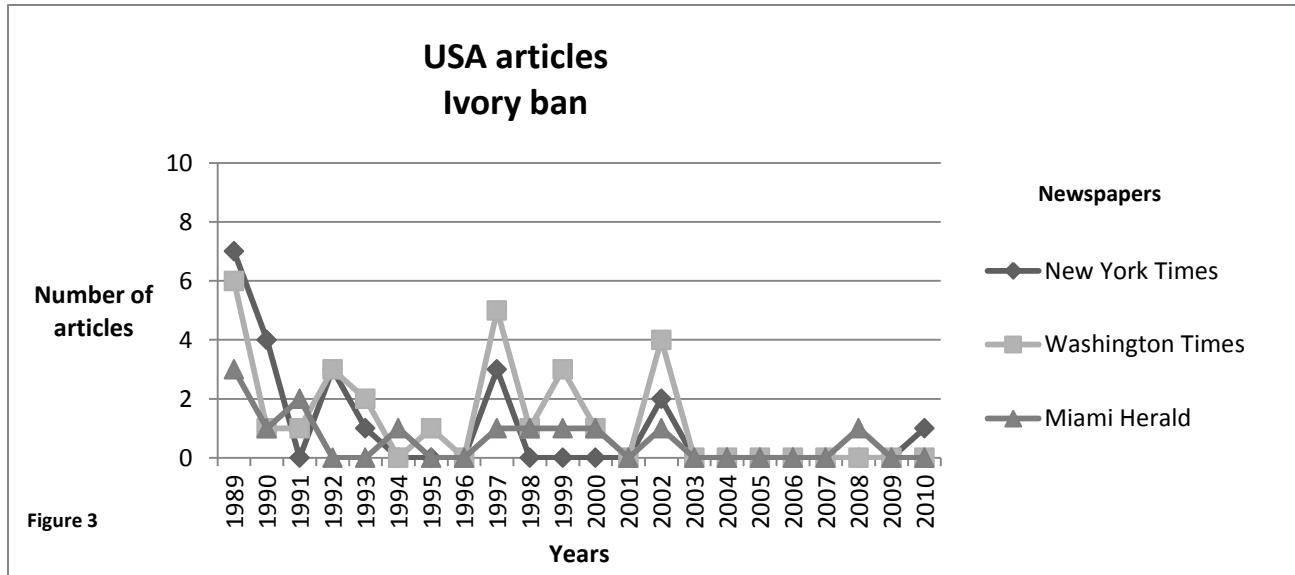


Figure 3: Articles on ivory ban featuring Zimbabwe published in three United States of America newspapers between 1989 and 2010

Two things stood out in the articles in the Washington Post and New York Times. One is that in the beginning of the nineties the majority of the articles in the New York Times were written by the same journalist, Jane Perlez. Especially in 1989 and 1990, in those years 90 % of the articles published in the newspapers are written by her. The second one is that in the Washington Times a number of editorials are dedicated to the ivory ban in the beginning of the nineties, which is not the case in the other papers.

The ivory ban and especially the role Zimbabwe plays in the debate seemed to be playing an important role in the articles in the USA newspapers at the beginning of the nineties. This changed after the turn of the century when the subject more or less disappeared from the newspapers. What is also interesting is the number of editorial and the fact that a large number of articles are written by the same author, J. Perlez.

6.2.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

The main frame on Zimbabwe in this issue, the ivory ban, in the USA newspapers is the “opposing the ban” frame, linked to this are three sub frames that repeatedly re-occurred in the newspapers. Firstly, “the loss of income/ income will be used for conservation and people” sub frame: “*Zimbabwean officials accuse wealthy westerners for trying to deprive the poorest Africans of their prime resource of financing schools, health care and other facilities*” (The Miami Herald, October 5, 1989, R. Tyson Knight-Ridder News Service). Secondly, “the ivory ban will lead to increased poaching” sub frame “*the demand will not disappear*” (The Miami Herald, October 24, 1989, Herald Staff) and “*Zimbabwe conservationists will also argue that a ban on elephant trade will lead to more poaching, cause the price of illegal ivory to skyrocket, and would mean certain extinction of elephants*” (The Miami Herald, October 5, 1989, R. Tyson Knight-Ridder News Service). In the New York Times: “*The Zimbabweans are convinced that an international ban will be counterproductive*” (The New York Times, August 9, 1989, J. Perlez), and thirdly, the “too many elephants” sub frame, for example: “*the country is bursting at its environmental seams at a time when much of the world is expressing alarm that the African elephant is on its way to extinction*” (The Miami Herald, October 5, 1989, R. Tyson Knight-Ridder News Service).

The articles in the USA newspapers showed a turning point from mainly positive framing, throughout the nineties, to mostly negative framing Zimbabwe’s wildlife conservation policy after 2000. This

change seemed to be related to the political situation in Zimbabwe after 2000 and resulted in a “political unrest and land reform” blame frame. However, this change only became visible in the newspapers in two articles. One frame was found in a Washington Post article in 2002, after South Africa, Botswana and Namibia got permission to trade in ivory: *“The UN rejected request from Zimbabwe and Zambia to sell ivory under similar arrangements. Delegates said they were concerned that the two countries could not properly monitor ivory sales because of corruption and political instability”* (Washington Post, November 13 2002). Another frame was published in that same year in New York Times, this article focused CAMPFIRE and the ivory ban doubting the ability of the Zimbabwean government to execute CAMPFIRE and thus handle a lift of the ivory ban: *“But even such innovative economic thinking has its limits. Both neoclassical and institution conservation models share an underlining assumption: that the government respects the rule of law and the goal of conservation. In Zimbabwe however, that assumption has become shaky. Robert Mugabe’s increasingly authoritarian rule is destroying the nations wildlife program”* (The New York Times, May 18 2000, V. Postel). The Miami Herald did not produce any more articles on the ivory ban after 2000 as can be seen in Figure 3.

The main issue frame “opposing the ivory ban” was supported by three issue sub frames standing out in the articles in the USA newspapers. These were the: loss of income/income will be used for conservation and people” sub frame, the “ivory ban will lead to increased poaching” sub frame and “too many elephants” sub frame. A change in the frames occurred in the articles after 2000. This change seemed to be linked to the change of the political situation. This change only showed in a small number of articles in which a “political unrest and land reform” blame frame dominated the frames on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. The small number of articles is caused by the fact that the issue seems to more or less disappear from the USA newspapers after 2000.

6.2.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

Besides the three sub frames mentioned in the previous part also one event surfaced quite distinctly in the USA newspaper articles. This event is the burning of the ivory, which was done by the Kenyan president Moi in 1989 to make a stand against the ivory trade. The below quotes were found in articles published in the Washington Times and New York times. These articles framed the event as a PR stunt: *“On July 18 president Daniel Arap Moi set fire to \$ 3 million worth of elephant tusks. This dramatic gesture, orchestrated by a Washington Public-Relations firm, was designed to demonstrate Kenya’s dedication to saving the African Elephants”* (The Washington Post, October 1, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition, R. Simmons, U. Kreuter, page D3). Even more direct was the New York Times on the subject: *“wildlife officials in Zimbabwe and South Africa, where elephants herds are better protected and the proceeds from sales go back into conservation, describe the bonfire as a publicity stunt”* (The New York Times, July 19, 1989, J. Perlez).

These quotes criticized Kenya’s wildlife conservation policies and in specific the burning of the ivory and blamed Kenya for their lack of ability to stop poaching. In comparison to these quotes the stand of Kenyan wildlife experts was only mentioned in one of the articles: *“Kenyan Wildlife experts blame poachers and the ivory trade”* (The Washington Post, October 1, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition, PAGE D3; R. Simmons, U. Kreuter).

Besides the one line referring to the “protectionist” arguments above the rest of the arguments are focused on framing Zimbabwe’s wildlife conservation policies and the “utilizers” frames that accompany this. The majority of articles on this subject produced frames on how this policy improves lives, creates incomes and how the number of elephants has been growing over time for example: *“in Zimbabwe by contrast, the ivory trade, is seen as an important tool for saving elephants”* (The Washington Post, October 1, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition, PAGE D3; R. Simmons, U. Kreuter). But also on how a ban of a commodity has failed in the past and will in the future. *“regardless of the motives, a government ban on a valued commodity never wholly eliminates demand”* (The

Washington Post, October 1, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition, PAGE D3; R. Simmons, U. Kreuter). Finally it showed a comparison stating even more clearly the authors preference: *“In the decade during which Kenya’s elephant population was dwindling, Zimbabwe’s grew from 30.000 to 43.000”* (The Washington Post, October 1, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition, PAGE D3; R. Simmons, U. Kreuter). This showed an us. vs. them frame, the “utilizers vs. protectionist” frame and the two discourse coalitions that can be derived from this frame in which one side, “the utilizers” was framed stronger and more often. The two main subjects or leaders of these discourse coalitions were Zimbabwe and Kenya. What these quotes showed is that, at least in the beginning of the nineties, the majority of the USA newspapers and/or their sources and journalist seemed to be followers of the discourse coalition of the “utilizers”. The majority of the articles showed a strong preference for one side of the debate, the side of the “utilizers”, blaming the “protectionist” for lack of protection and corruption. *“Kenya has a history of corruption and ivory poaching 100 miles long” Mr. Mavros said. “why would Zimbabwe have to pay for that”* (The New York Times, August 9, 1989, J. Perlez).

In conclusion one distinct blame frame surfaced: A Kenya blame frame blaming Kenya for not being able to stop poaching. However, the most important and dominant in the articles is the us vs. them frame and the two discourse coalitions that can be derived from this. The. “utilizers vs. protectionist” frame. This showed two discourse coalitions with: Zimbabwe and South Africa on the one side and Kenya on the other. In the nineties, most of the frames were supporting the “utilizers” arguments and are even critical of the “protectionist” actions. This seems to indicate that the journalists or newspapers were, at least throughout in the nineties, are followers of the “utilizers” discourse coalition.

6.2.4 FRAME PARITY

The articles in the USA newspapers in the beginning of the nineties did not show much frame parity as can be seen in Figure 4. Especially the articles written by Perlez in the New York Times in the beginning of the nineties and the editorials written in the Washington Post do not show much frame parity. The next quote was found in one of the articles written by Perlez. *“For Zimbabwe, the ban on ivory and the United States law forbidding the importing of elephant trophies is a setback to wildlife conservation programs that experts say could be a model for Africa. Unlike many countries in eastern Africa and some in the southern region, where elephants have nearly been killed off by poachers, Zimbabwe has flourishing elephant herds”* (New York Times, November 14 1989, J. Perlez, page 7). But also editorial pieces written in the Washington Times produced very strong opposing the ban frames. For example in the following quote which does not only criticize the ban in itself *“the point is hard to miss. A ban on hunting and trading creates a scarcity of pachyderm products. Prices rise correspondingly. Poaching elephants become more profitable. Elephants herds decline”* (The Washington Post October 20 1989, Editorial Page. F2) but also criticizes the governments stand towards the ivory ban *“Looks like Zimbabwe’s Marxist know more about capitalism (or at least effective environmentalism) than the Bush administration”* (Washington Post, October 20 1989, Editorial). After 1996 this changed, the articles decreased and the articles that are published seemed to have become more neutral and started to show more frame parity, by framing arguments from both sides of the debate.

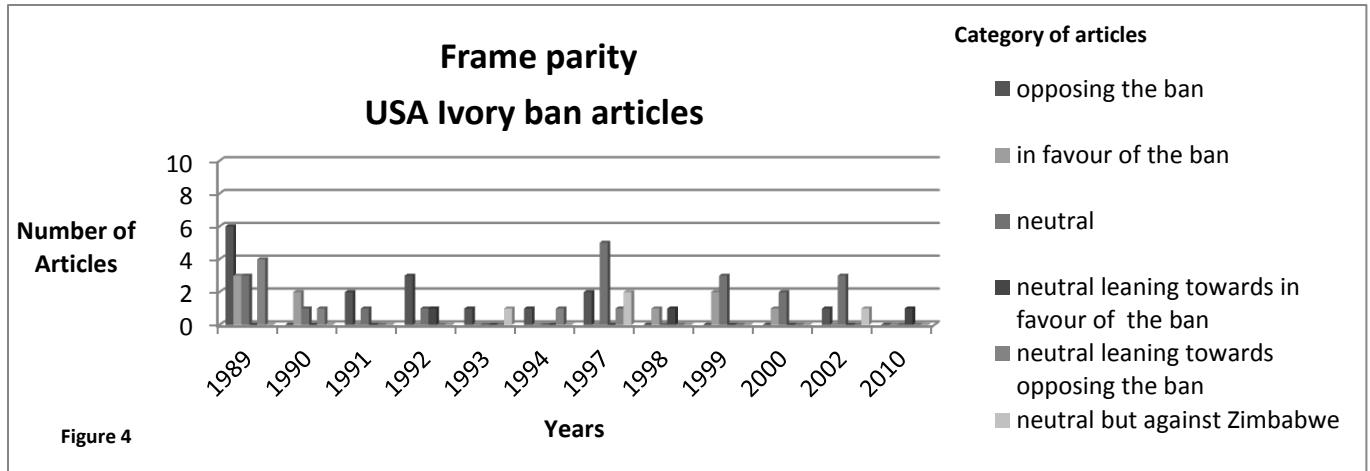


Figure 4: Frame parity among articles published in United States of America newspapers

In conclusion, articles in the USA newspapers in the beginning of the nineties show little frame parity but this changes towards the end of the nineties, first of all the number of articles decrease but the articles that were published, started to show more frame parity and even turn against Zimbabwe.

6.3 ZIMBABWE

6.3.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

The ivory ban played an important role in the Zimbabwean newspaper the Herald Harare, especially in the beginning of the nineties and 1989. In all these articles Zimbabwe and its wildlife conservation policies played the main role.

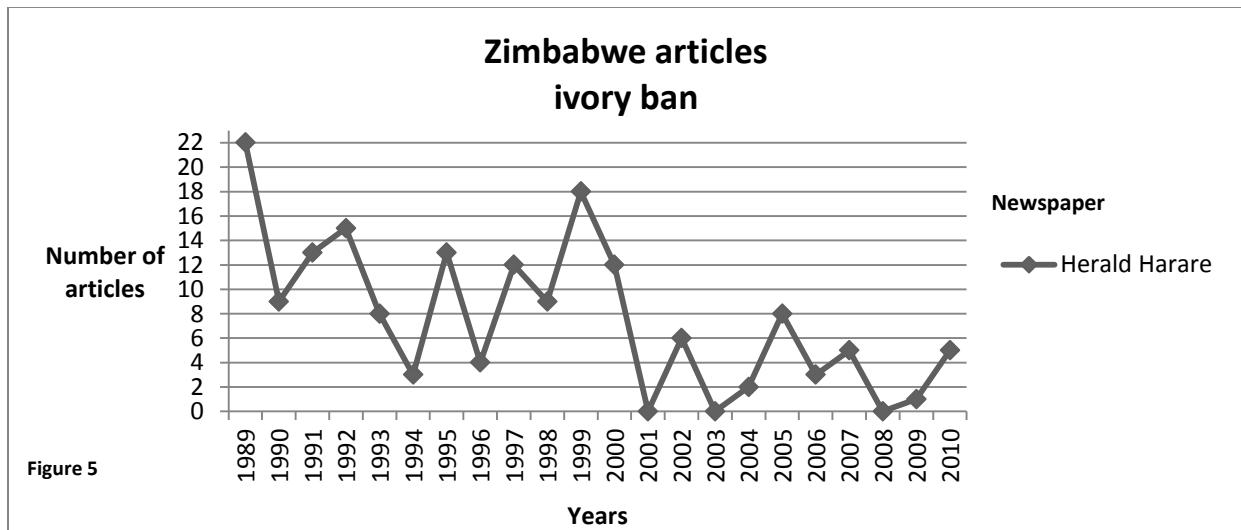


Figure 5: Articles on ivory ban featuring Zimbabwe published in the Herald Harare between 1989 and 2010

The Zimbabwe paper, more or less, continued to report consistently on the ivory ban throughout the years. But there were also some years, as can be seen in the Figure 5, that the paper did not publish any articles. In 2001 and 2008 for example, there was no reporting on the ivory ban. What is interesting, is that the years in which no articles were published are also the years in which the political turmoil in Zimbabwe reached its peak: land reform in 2001 and hyperinflation in 2008.

Besides the absence of articles also the peaks in the figure could also be linked, but to events in the ivory ban debate. In 1989 the peak was caused by the placement of the African elephant on appendix I banning all trading. Other high peaks that can be seen in Figure 5 are in 1999 and also, but less high in 1997. These two can also be linked to interesting events in the ivory ban debate. In 1997, the African elephant was placed back on appendix II for some countries including Zimbabwe (CITES 1997). The peak in 1999 can be linked to the ivory sales in that year, the result of the move from the elephant to appendix II.

The majority of the articles were written by Herald reporters. Some of them are mentioned by name but the majority is just mentioned as “Herald reporters”. In the beginning of the nineties some articles came from news agencies like Reuters but over the years this changed and the vast majority was written by these Herald reporters.

In conclusion: in the Zimbabwe articles it seems that the peaks in the articles can be linked to important events in the ivory ban and the absence of articles to important political events..

6.3.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

Important events in the ivory ban caused, besides a peak in articles, also a change in frames. For example the peak in 1997 when the elephant was put back on appendix II. In the years before the elephant was put on appendix II, the conclusion of the frames were always focused on lifting the ban. After 1997 the conclusion of the frames changed and instead focused on keeping the elephant on appendix II rather than lift the ban. This change did not affect the content of the frames only the desired outcome of it.

In 1999, the ivory sale itself was a massive event, framed in the Zimbabwean media, causing the peak of articles published in the paper in that year. What changed in the frames itself in 1999 was that in this year instead of issue frames the frames changed to event frames. In these frames the importance of income for conservation is emphasized: “*Zimbabwe will auction its experimental 20-tonnes quota of raw ivory to Japan next month, earning the country millions of dollars needed to finance research, protection and conservation of wildlife*” (Herald Harare, March 2 1999, Herald Reporter, page 1).

Besides these two separate events, causing changes in the frames over a short period of time, there were a large number of sub frames that surfaced throughout the years supporting the “opposing the ban” frame that appeared in the Zimbabwean media. Three of them appeared most dominant throughout the years. The first one is the; “the loss of income/income will be used for conservation and people” sub frame. For example in 1989: “*legal ivory trade provided a legitimate source of income for producer countries*” (Cde, Victoria Chitepo) (Herald Harare, 19 June 1989, Herald Reporter, page 1) and “*Zimbabwe will never ban trade in ivory since elephants have to be culled and people in rural areas would lose millions of dollars a year in income*” (Herald Harare, September 23 1989, Herald reporter page 1). The same frame also surfaced in 2002: “*elephants are an integral part of the livelihood and culture of local communities who should benefit directly from utilization of this natural resource, Brigadier, Emparcus Kanhangwa*” (Herald Harare, 29 October 2002, Herald Reporter) and in 2007: “*Zimbabwe has a right to benefit from its sound elephant management through trading in ivory*” Mr. Paul Garnier UN counselor to the permanent mission of Switzerland (Herald Harare, June 8 2007, Tsitsi Matopo and Costa Mano). The second one: “*ivory ban will lead to increase poaching*” sub frame. In a 1989 article in the Herald the following quote was found: “*With a ban, he said (Zimbabwean Senator) Ivory would still be traded with the price rising, which would increase the greed of poachers*” (Herald Harare, 19 July 1989, page 5) and in an article in 2007: “*the experience we have is that once you ban something there is an illicit market for the raw material because you will not have destroyed the need for that material to make an end product*” (Dr. Mtsambiwa director for the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority) (Herald Harare, 11 July 2007, Herald Reporter). Finally the third one: “*too many elephants*” sub frame. For example in 1989: “*We feel that the greatest threat to our elephants survival lies in the excess of number*” (Cde, Victoria Chitepo) (Herald Harare, 19 June 1989, Herald Reporter, page 1) and in 2007: “*Zimbabwe’s elephant population is now*

believed to exceed 120.000..... this far exceeds the two countries carrying capacity posing a danger to the environment" (Herald Harare, June 8 2007, Tsitsi Matopo and Costa Mano).

The articles continued to produce the same frames over the years. The change in the political situation of Zimbabwe did not play a role in the articles focused on ivory ban. Occasionally it was mentioned in the articles but not in a negative way, nor did it affect the framing of the ivory ban. Even though, the frames remained stable over the years. The content of the frames sometimes did change a bit, for example because of the placement of the elephant on appendix II in 1999 but, the frames in itself stayed the same.

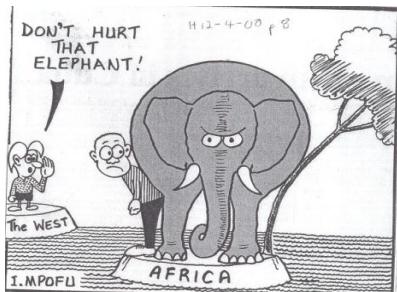
Even though the frames in the articles in the Zimbabwe paper did not change, the political situation did surface in some of the articles. For example in 2002, in this year a second ivory sale was approved by CITES (TRAFFIC 2003) however, Zimbabwe was not allowed to trade because of political reasons. The articles in the paper in 2002 framed this issue in the following way after the SADC (Southern African Development Countries) decided not to present their proposal together. Normally the countries would have presented the proposal together but chose not to because, according to the article, many Western countries did not agree with the land reform policies in Zimbabwe: "*Namibia and South Africa could have felt that they stood a better chance on their own than as a block. This was because the European Union and other Western countries were against Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme*" (Herald Harare, November 3 2002, Wisdom Mszungairi, page 1). After the decision was made no further articles were published in the Herald Harare.

Other interesting frames that could be linked to the ivory ban are the frames focused on the "illegal ivory trade" frame. These articles framed the illegal ivory trade and gave very detailed reports of incidents related to this frame. Besides the detailed report also the fact that they were always portrayed as incidents rather than a structural problem is interesting. The set-up of the articles was more or less the same: a few people were involved in illegal trading/poaching, they got caught and prosecuted. What these articles had in common is that they gave very detailed information of the offenders but never mentioned a structural problem. The following quote is a typical example of such a frame: "*Two Bulawayo men and a women who tried to sell two large pieces of elephant tusks with a value of ZW\$ 500 were yesterday sentenced to a total of 17 years in prison*" (Herald Harare, July 12 1991 Herald correspondent, page 5). There is a second type of frame, this one occurred when it framed the involvement of a syndicate or seemingly more structural problem. The majority of these articles, both structural as none structural, are build up the same way and they all framed the issue in the same way the: "illegal ivory trade leads to arrest" frame. For example: "*Two Chinese Nationals believed to be a part of an illegal ivory syndicate appeared at The Harare Magistrates court yesterday... The tusks where recovered when police searched their house... It is alleged, the police found a pistol and a rifle in Yulin's bedroom... The recovered ivory is worth ZW\$ 353.600.000*" (Herald Harare, Herald Reporter, July 8 2005 page 3).

In the articles in the Herald Harare there were two periods in which the conclusion or type of frames changed. This happened in 1997 when the elephant was placed on appendix II and in 1999 when the issue frames changed for a short period to event frames, framing the first ivory sale. Besides this change three sub frames occurred most prominently over the period of twenty one years. Three sub frames surfaced that support the "opposing the ban" frame. These are the "the loss of income/right to exploit a resource" sub frame, the "ivory ban will lead to increase of poaching" sub frame and the "too many elephants" sub frame. The frames remained stable over the years and the same frames can be found at the end of 2000 as in 1989. Occasionally the political situation in Zimbabwe was mentioned in relation to this subject but this did not affect the framing. Besides these frames another interesting frame that was found was the "illegal trade in ivory" frame and the supporting "illegal ivory trade leads to arrest" sub frame. This frame also surfaced in the articles throughout the years.

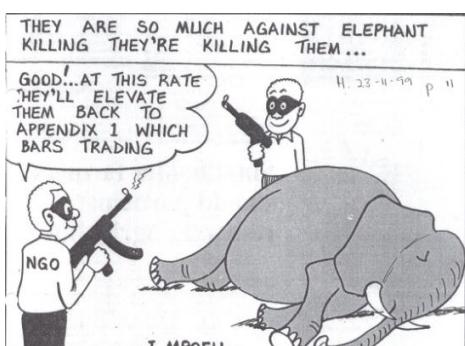
6.3.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

Many blame frames and us vs. them frames were found in the articles in the Herald Harare. These blame frames and us vs. them frames occurred mostly in the articles in the beginning of the nineties and re-occurred around 2000 after the elephant was placed on appendix II and the “protectionist” wanted to move it back to appendix I. The majority of these blame frames were focused on Kenya and how they failed in their wildlife conservation policies and comparing them to their own successful policies. For example, the following quote: “*while countries, such as Kenya, were clearly losing the battle for conservation of the elephant due to inadequate investment in ant-poaching operations, the four Sadc states have increasing animal population*” (Mr. Stephen Kasere, CAMPIRE Director) (Herald Harare, March 20 2000, Herald Reporter page 7). Often these are quotes by ministers and other government officials as shown in the previous and next quote: “*somebody is taking away something that belongs to us. Kenya failed to manage its elephants, Tanzania failed and now it is we who are being punished*” (Cde Ephraim Chafesuka, chairman of the Guruve district council) (Herald Harare, October 3 1989, Arnold Raphael, page 1). These blame frames showed an us. vs. them blame frame: the “utilizers vs. protectionist” frame and with this frame two discourse coalitions surfaced with Zimbabwe in the “utilizers” discourse coalition and Kenya and Tanzania in the “protectionist” discourse coalition. In the articles after 2000, other members of the “utilizing” discourse coalition, Namibia, Botswana and South Africa, are also starting to be mentioned whereas before this time it was framed as if Zimbabwe was the sole member of this discourse coalition.



Picture 1, Source: Herald Harare, April 12 2000, I. Mpofu page 8

frames seem to be illustrated in Picture 1.



Picture 2, Source: Herald Harare, November 23 1999, I Mpofu, page 11

Picture 2 is linked to a particular blame frame that occurred in 1999 and can be seen as a sub frame to the “West vs. Zimbabwe” frame. The Zimbabwe government suspected/accused Non Governmental Organizations for paying poachers to discredit Zimbabwe and have the elephant placed back on Appendix I.

This led to the “discrediting Zimbabwe” blame frame : “*the Department of National Parks and Wildlife is still trying to ascertain the accuracy of information suggesting that a number of poachers in the Zambezi valley are being sponsored by named Non-Governmental Organizations and countries that want to discredit Zimbabwe*” (Herald, Harare, November 22 1999, Herald reporter). Which can also be seen in Picture 2.

Another interesting blame frame was the “Zambian and foreign poachers” blame frame. In the Herald Harare it seemed that mainly Zambians and other foreigners were being blamed for involvement in the illegal ivory trade activities in Zimbabwe. For example in the following quote: “*Mr. Tatham (National Parks Chief Warden) was convinced that all the poachers were coming in from across the Zambezi*” (Herald Harare, Agricultural reporter, May 6 1995 page 1).

In the articles in the Herald Harare several blame frame and us. vs. them frames occurred. The most prominent were the blame frames, focused on Kenya and blaming them for poor wildlife management. These blame frames showed the “utilizers vs. protectionist” frame and this showed two discourse coalitions surfacing; the “utilizers” discourse coalition: with Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana and the “protectionist” discourse coalition with Kenya and Tanzania. Besides this other more other specific us vs. them and blame frames surfaced. For example the “west vs. Zimbabwe” frame and the “Zambian and foreign poachers” blame frame.

6.3.4 FRAME PARITY

What clearly showed in the articles, was the lack of frame parity in the reporting. This can also be seen in Figure 6, the vast majority of the articles are opposing the ban and a few neutral. The other categories did not play a role in the Herald Harare. The articles with the most frame parity were published in 1989 and over the years the articles show less and less frame parity. The articles focused solely on the “Zimbabwe side of the story” or the “utilizers” discourse coalition. There were no frames produced supporting the “protectionist” discourse coalition. Articles with the most frame parity were those from Reuters news agency.

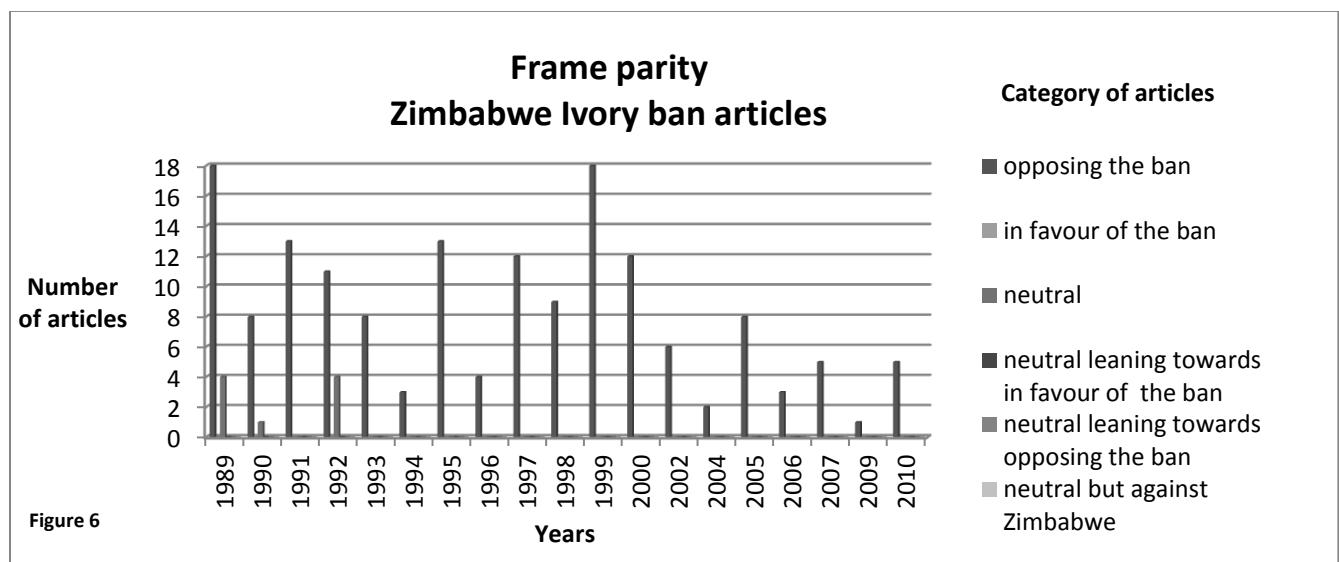


Figure 6: Frame parity among articles published in the Herald Harare, Zimbabwe newspaper

This lack of frame parity also showed in the quotes used by the newspaper for example: “*if you remove the elephant (from international trade), you kill us*” Dr. Willi Nduku, Director of National Parks and Wildlife Management” (Herald Harare, 11 October 1989). Especially the articles on the front pages and written by Herald correspondents were filled with these “emotional” quotes. News agencies like Reuters or Zimbabwe’s Ziana are more “neutral” but as mentioned above by far the majority of articles are written by “Herald reporters” and do not show any or hardly any frame parity. Mostly quoted and emotionally quoted in the beginning of the nineties is the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism; Ms Victoria Chitepo: “*For years, the rural peoples of Zimbabwe have carried the burden of the large elephant populations in the country. Recently, many rural communities have adopted wildlife management as one of their methods of income generation*” (Herald Harare, September 23, 1989, Herald reporter, page 1).

6.4 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE THREE COUNTRIES

6.4.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

In all three countries the ivory ban seemed to have played ,a relatively, important role. The role that Zimbabwe played in the ivory ban debate became clearer in the articles in the USA and Zimbabwe than it did in the UK articles. This was because in the US and Zimbabwe papers Zimbabwe's position was framed more clearly. In the UK newspapers Zimbabwe often did not play an active role in the frames but was only mentioned. The Zimbabwe paper provided the clearest frames on Zimbabwe's position because in these articles Zimbabwe always played a central role throughout the years. In Figures 1,3 and 5 a few peaks can be seen in all three countries; 1989, the start of the ivory ban and 1997/1999, when the first ivory sale was allowed again.

Although in all the papers the majority of the articles were published in the nineties there was a difference between the countries. As can be seen in Figure 3, in the USA newspapers the subject more or less disappeared from the newspapers. After 2003 there were hardly any articles in the USA papers published on the ivory. Figure 1 shows that in the UK Zimbabwe's role in the ivory ban became to play a smaller role but it did continue to produce a small number of articles and frames on Zimbabwe's position. Figure 5 shows that in Zimbabwe itself also the majority of the articles were published in the nineties but it also did continue to publish articles after 2000.

In the UK and USA newspapers, the vast majority of the articles were written by different authors and most of the authors, that published more than once, published articles over a period of a few years. Some authors stood out because they published for more than one newspapers. For example, Michael McCarthy published in the beginning of the nineties for The Times and at the end of the nineties for the Guardian. Another author that stood out, because she published articles in newspapers in different countries, is Jane Perlez. She published the majority of the articles in the New York Times in the nineties but also some articles in the Guardian in the beginning of the nineties. What makes this even more interesting is that the articles that are written in the UK are a lot more neutral than the articles written in the New York Times who show very little frame parity and mainly show "opposing the ban" frames. In Zimbabwe over the years the vast majority of articles were written by "Herald reporters".

6.4.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

Similar sub frames surfaced in the articles in the different newspapers, when framing Zimbabwe and its position in the ivory ban. These sub frames supported the "opposing the ban" main frame. In all three countries two frames surfaced. First of all, the "too many elephants" sub frame, referring to the argument that some countries in Southern Africa including Zimbabwe have too many elephants. Second of all, the "loss of income/income will be used for conservation an people" sub frame, referring to the loss of income for conservation and local people because of the ivory ban. In Zimbabwe one other sub frame surfaced that is linked to the previous frame. This is the "the right to exploit local resources" sub frame, referring to the right for local people in Zimbabwe to benefit and exploit local resources such as ivory. In the USA and Zimbabwe newspapers one other sub frame surfaced regularly, the "increase of poaching" frame. Referring to the argument that the ivory ban will increase ivory prices which will lead to the increase of poaching.

One other main frame occurred in the Zimbabwe newspapers that did not surface in the international articles. This is the "illegal trade in ivory" frame and the sub-frames that occurred with this frame. This frame played an important role in the Zimbabwe newspapers but did not surface in the international papers at least not in this form. In the international media this issue is addressed completely differently. It is generally seen under poaching and seen as a more structural problem in especially, Eastern African countries like Kenya and not specifically to Zimbabwe.

A change of frames in the media after 2000 became visible in both the UK and USA papers but only in a small number of articles. In both countries only a few articles showed this change in framing of the position of Zimbabwe in the ivory ban debate. As mentioned before Zimbabwe and its position in the debate became framed less and less after 2000 and even disappeared from USA papers. What is interesting is that one blame frame replaced all other frames the “political unrest and land reform” blame frame, blaming land reform and politics for all problems with wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. In these frames a reference has been made to the increasingly unstable political situation in Zimbabwe. In the Zimbabwe paper this change did not occur, the articles before and after 2000 more or less framed the ivory ban debate in the same way and the same frames continued to surface. The political situation is mentioned but the frames did not change.

6.4.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

In all three countries the us. vs. them frame: “utilizers vs. protectionist” surfaced. This showed the occurrence of two discourse coalitions in the articles. A difference between the countries is that in the UK articles the position of the newspapers did not become clear in the articles and no real blame frames occurred. This was different in the USA and Zimbabwe newspapers. Especially in the beginning of the nineties many blame frames were produced of which the vast majority blame frames surfaced with a strong preference for the “utilizers” discourse coalition in which Zimbabwe played a prominent and often even leading role. The frames showed a preference for Zimbabwe’s wildlife policy over Kenya’s and produced blame frames towards Kenya’s policy in the nineties. After 2000, Zimbabwe’s position did not change in the discourse coalitions, what did change is how it is perceived and framed by the international media. Zimbabwe was longer seen or framed as an example in the international newspapers. The discourse coalitions were no longer visible in the international papers because the articles no longer focused on this.

The main difference between the papers is that in the Zimbabwe papers the frames did not change and Zimbabwe continued to be framed as one of the leaders and an example in the discourse coalition of the “utilizers”. Another difference is that Zimbabwe also showed other blame frames that did not surface in the international newspapers.

6.4.4 FRAME PARITY

From the articles in the three countries the articles in the UK media produced the most frame parity followed by the USA newspapers and then Zimbabwe were the articles showed the least frame parity as can be seen in Figures 2,4 and 6. In Zimbabwe almost all the articles solely produced opposing the ban frames. In the USA papers in the nineties the majority of the articles were opposing the ban but more frame parity is showing than in the articles in the Zimbabwe papers. The UK articles showed the most frame parity with the majority of the articles showing at least some frame parity.

7. RHINOS

“On the Edge”

(Independent, August 21 1993)

The Rhinoceros has been threatened with extinction for more than 30 years. In 1975 the rhino was placed on appendix I by CITES (IUCN 2000), effectively banning all trade in rhino products. Unfortunately this protection measure did not have the impact that was hoped at the time and it has not stopped poaching of the rhino's. Poaching is the main reason for the near extinction of the rhino. The main goal for poaching is the rhinos horn, the traditional markets for rhino horn are some parts of Asia and Yemen, in Asia it is used in traditional medicine in some parts in Asia (Milliken, Emslie et al. 2009). As of 2011, more than 25 years since placement on appendix I, the rhino is still threatened with extinction but it is also still living in the wild in some parts of Africa and Asia. Zimbabwe has played an important role in the protection and the preservation of the rhino. It has been one of countries that has dedicated itself to the protection and preservation of the rhino. Protecting and preserving the rhino has played an important role in their conservation activities. Zimbabwe's role in the protection of the rhino and the international interest in the rhinos fate makes it an interesting and relevant issue for this media analysis.

7.1 UNITED KINGDOM

7.1.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

The number of articles on rhinos and Zimbabwe published in UK newspapers is relatively low as can be seen in Figure 7. In the years, that articles were published on the situation of the rhino in Zimbabwe only a limited number of articles were published. However, even though the number is low, the articles did produce interesting frames, with the majority of the articles having Zimbabwe as a main or active subject. The small peaks in articles in 1992 and 1993 that can be seen in the Figure 7 can possibly be linked to the dehorning of rhinos that started around this time and was a “hot” issue at the time. The articles have been written by a variety of authors and none of the journalist stood out.

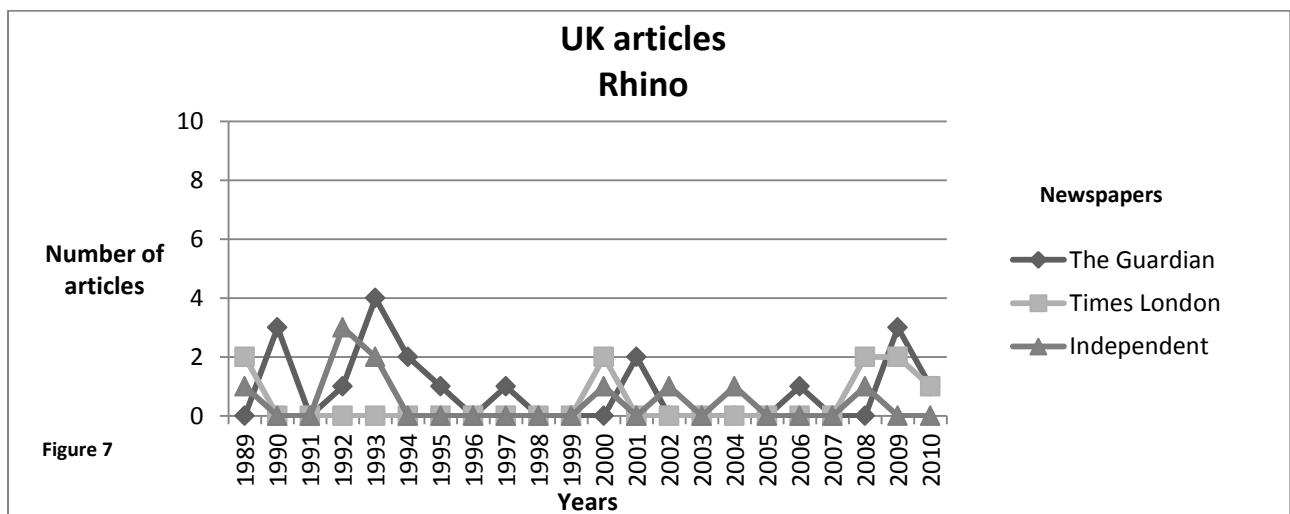


Figure 7: Articles on rhino's featuring Zimbabwe published in three United Kingdom newspapers between 1989 and 2010

7.1.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

All the articles in all three of the newspaper agreed on two things. First of all, that the rhino is near extinct: “*the rhinoceros is one of the world’s most endangered species, with only 9000 left in the whole of Africa....*” (The Independent London, March 12 1992, T. McCarthy). Second of all, that this is being caused by poaching: “*at the heart of the debate (how to save the rhino and elephant from extinction) lies the problem of poachers*” (The Guardian, September 4 1990,). This led to the “rhino near extinct/rhino poaching” frame. This main frame is supported by a number of “protection” frames which are listed as sub frames. A “war” sub frame appeared: “*we called a “council of war” and two weeks ago we managed to stop four poachers....*” (The Guardian, London, January 29 1993) and with this “war” sub frame a “shoot to kill” sub frame also started to surface. This was meant as a protection measure for the rhinos and was framed prominently as such. Zimbabwe has been trying different methods to protect the rhino’s over the years from poaching. Shoot to kill means that it is justified for the rangers to shoot and kill poachers on site when they catch them.

Besides the shoot to kill protection measure several others surfaced. A second protection measure for the rhino is the “the dehorning of the rhino” sub frame. This protection measure started to surface as a frame around 1992. “*Zimbabwe’s game warden’s start a huge campaign today to dehorn up to 300 black rhino’s in a desperate bid to save them from the guns of the poachers*” (The Independent London, June 1 1992, M. Cole). A third on is the “Intensive Protection Zones” sub frame which are framed as effective but costly: “*guarding rhino’s in Intensive Protection Zones has been effective in South Africa and Zimbabwe but is expensive, an estimated pounds 2,400 a square mile*” (The Guardian, London, June 12 1997, A. Meldrum).

The cost of protecting the rhino seemed to be a continues struggle for Zimbabwe and has led to another measure by the Zimbabwean and South African government, that is considered controversial by some. This sub frame surfaced in several articles in the beginning of the nineties and is called the; “trade in rhino horn” sub frame. This measure is a proposal by Zimbabwe and South Africa presented at the CITES convention, that would have allowed them to trade in rhino horn from live animals. As a reason was given that more income was deemed necessary to protect the rhino and is thus also framed as a protection measure. “*Zimbabwe, may restart the outlawed trade in the horn of the black rhino, Africa’s most threatened large animal, Mr. Rowan Martin, the assistant director of the that countries wildlife services, said yesterday*” (The Times London, October 13, 1989, M. McCarthy). However, it was rejected at the 1992 CITES Meeting and heavenly criticized by many conservation groups: “*the prospect was immediately condemned by the World Wild Funds for Nature as ‘catastrophic’*” (The Times London, October 13, 1989, M. McCarthy).

The frames mentioned in the previous part surfaced in the articles throughout the nineties but this changed in the few articles published after 2000. Around that time the framing of Zimbabwe and its role in rhino protection and stopping poaching changed. All the articles after 2000 had one main frame in common, that dominated the articles: the “political unrest and land reform” blame frame. After 2000 the articles that were published on Zimbabwe and rhino’s were all negative and the frames are focused on blaming the political unrest and in specific land reform for the increasing number of poached rhinos. In the Guardian for example, the following quote, refers to the implications of the implementation of the land reform policy in Zimbabwe: “*game reserves have reported a surge in poaching with 17 rhino’s lost in Kwekwe park alone*” (The Guardian, London, April 24 2006, R. Carroll, page 25) and the following, making a reference is made to the economic situation in Zimbabwe in 2010: “*Conservation efforts in Zimbabwe have suffered major setbacks in recent years as the countries economy has into meltdown*” (The Guardian, London, May 14 2010, D. Smith). Also in the Independent this was framed, for example in the following quote from an article in 2000. The article focuses on a game farm that is taken over by ‘war veterans’ as a reaction to Mugabe’s land reform: “*We do not know how the black rhino are doing because they are concentrated in an area where the war veterans have set up their base camp...*” (The Independent, London, August 12 2000, A. Duval Smith); “*....the police refused to provide reinforcements because they said the poaching was a political matter*” (The Independent, London, August 12 2000, A. Duval Smith). This was at the

beginning of the political unrest in Zimbabwe, in 2004 the following frame appeared in the Independent: “*Under pressure from rampant poaching and human settlement on game reserves seized by Robert Mugabe’s regime the animal (rhino) is vanishing from the grassland it’s ones prospered*” (The Independent, London, July 5 2004). Also in The Times articles the same blame frame surfaced: “*In the past two years criminal syndicates have begun targeting the rhinoceros. Experts believe that between 50 and 100 black rhino’s have been shot in Zimbabwe this year, twice as many as many as last year*” (The Times, London, December 18, 2008, M. Fletcher). “*Zimbabwe’s hunter, poverty and collapsing law and order make it a particularly soft target for the syndicates to recruit poachers and guides for paltry fees*” (The Times, London, December 18, 2008, M. Fletcher) “*The victims of Zimbabwe’s implosion are not just people they include some of the rarest animals. The difference is that the human race will outlast Robert Mugabe*” (The Times, London, December 18, 2008, M. Fletcher).

In the beginning of the nineties the articles showed two main interrelated frames to frame the rhino situation in Zimbabwe. First of all, the cause of near extinction frame, which is poaching. Second of all, protection frames to stop this poaching and near extinction. This resulted in the “rhino near extinct/rhino poaching” frame. A “war” sub frame also started to surface which results in the first protection frame: the “shoot to kill” sub frame. Other protection frames are: “the dehorning of rhino” sub frame, the “Intensive Protection Zones” sub frame and the “trade in rhino” sub frame. Some of these measures are considered controversial and are occasionally criticized. For example, in the Guardian the shoot to kill strategy and in the Independent the attempt to trade in rhino horn. However, even though these measures are at times considered controversial and criticized, the Zimbabwean government or Zimbabweans themselves were not and the frames were not linked to the political situation in Zimbabwe. After 2000 the frames completely changed. The articles no longer focused on protection measures but instead blame Zimbabwe for increased rhino poaching. From an example role in the nineties to a cause of poaching after 2000 were the main frame in the articles was the “political unrest and land reform” blame frame and replaced all other frames.

7.1.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

Together with the solution frames also some blame frames also surfaced in the articles. In the beginning of the nineties the blame frames that occurred were mostly focused on the poaching of the rhino’s. One blame frame that occurred was the “Zambian” blame frame: “*the poachers mostly Zambians with high-powered rifles have shot dead a number of Zimbabwean wildlife rangers when caught in the act*” (The Guardian, London, January 29 1993). Zambians are often blamed for poaching and not the Zimbabweans. There is one exception, which is a frame that appeared in an article in the Guardian. This article framed the arrest of a Zimbabwean MP for involvement in illegal rhino horn trade. “*Zimbabwe has long blamed Zambian poachers, backed by international rings, for the decline of its rhino population. But the conviction of Benjamin Moyo a member of President’s Robert Mugabe’s ruling Zanu-PF party highlights evidence of high level involvement in the illegal trade in rhino horn*” (The Guardian London, February 19 1993, A. Meldrum page 11). This is the first and only frame in the UK newspapers that blamed a government official for the poaching of rhino’s.

Besides these blame frame only one other blame frame surfaced in the articles. This is focused on whether Zimbabwe should be allowed to trade in rhino horn. According to Mr. Martin the rhino has to earn its way: “*... Mr. Martin turned to the black rhino which he said was an animal of no value whatsoever, except perhaps for tourism, with a huge conservation cost*” (The Times London, October 13, 1989, M. McCarthy). After that a blame frame was produced blaming the Western world for lack of financial assistance: “*Zimbabwe was bearing the expense of preserving it, he said ‘and there are no Western nations around helping*” (The Times London, October 13, 1989, M. McCarthy).

In the majority of these articles in the beginning of the nineties no clear discourse coalitions surfaced. There were not two or more specific groups that were framing different ways of how to protect the rhino. In the nineties besides the frames above, whether agreeing with Zimbabwe’s tactics or not,

Zimbabwe wildlife policy was not framed negatively in the nineties nor did any blame frames occur. Only in the “trading of rhino horn” sub frame, a us vs. them frame showed, the west vs. Zimbabwe and SA, indicating two discourse coalitions. Those two countries wanted to be allowed to trade in rhino horn but the rest of the CITES countries disagreed and their proposal was thus rejected. After 2000 the us vs. them frames disappeared and the frames only focused on the “political unrest and land reform blame” Zimbabwe became more isolated and was blamed for not protecting the rhino proper, they were no longer seen as an example and important player in the protection of the rhino.

The blame frame that occurred most often in the articles is the “Zambian poachers” frame. The discourse coalitions that show in these articles are Zimbabwe and SA vs. the West, they disappear after 2000.

7.1.4 FRAME PARITY

The articles on rhino’s in Zimbabwe did show some frame parity but limited as can be seen in Figure 8.

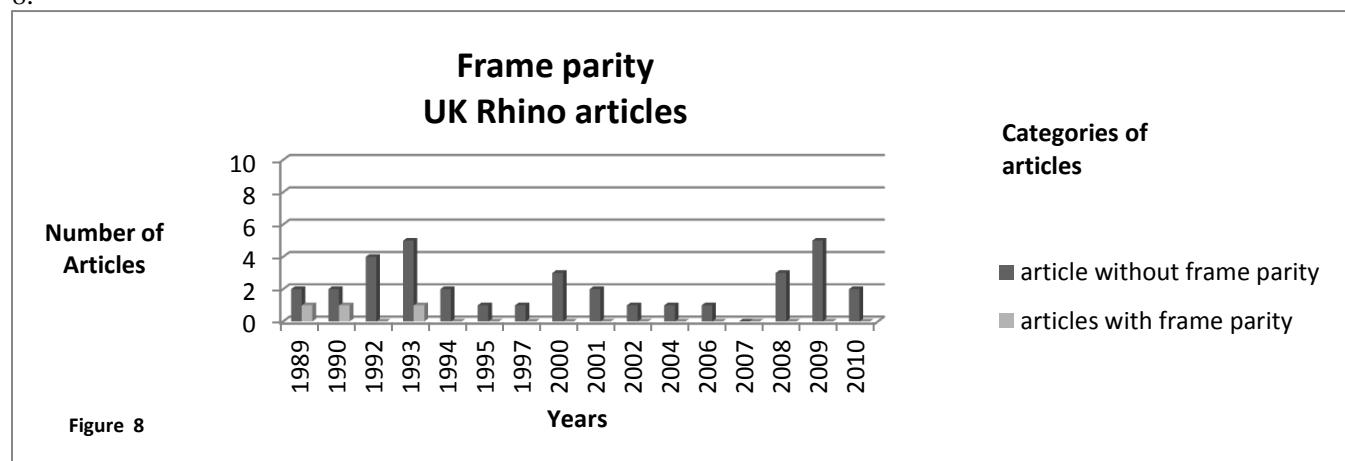


Figure 8: Frame parity among articles published in United Kingdom newspapers

In the beginning of the nineties the articles were mostly focused on how to stop poaching and how to protect the rhino. Some of these measures were quite controversial for example the “shoot to kill” policy and dehorning policy. Although the majority of the articles only framed this as a solution two articles framed reservations against these measures.

The first one in the article in The Times criticized the shoot to kill policy. Even though the majority of the frames did not judge this method some criticized it and produced counter frames: *“But what nobody can justify is the present Zimbabwe’s government’s shoot to kill strategy against poachers: some 57 poachers were killed”* (The Guardian, September 4 1990,). The second time is the dehorning of the rhino’s which is framed as mutilation. In the Guardian: *“The dehorning goes well. This is 1993 an we are forced to mutilate our wild animals in a desperate effort to outwit poachers”* (Guardian, London, June 25 1993, G. Carew). Only one protection measure showed complete frame parity, this was the “trading in rhino horn” frame, this frame is criticized on the one hand but on the other hand a counter frame is produced framing Zimbabwe’s reasons for wanting this trade.

After 2000 the articles no longer show frame parity and are only producing negative frames on Zimbabwe without producing any counter frames.

7.2 USA

7.2.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

The rhino issue played a small role in the articles in the USA. Only during the beginning of the nineties a number of articles are framing the issue as can be seen in Figure 9. In the articles in the nineties Zimbabwe often plays a central role providing interesting frames. After 2000 the frames more or less disappeared from the newspapers except for two small articles in which Zimbabwe played a minor role and these articles did not produce useful frames. The Miami Herald only produced one article which makes it un-useful in this chapter. The focus will therefore be on the Washington Post and New York Times. The articles were written by a variety of authors. The only author that stood out is Jane Perlez who has written several articles in the nineties.

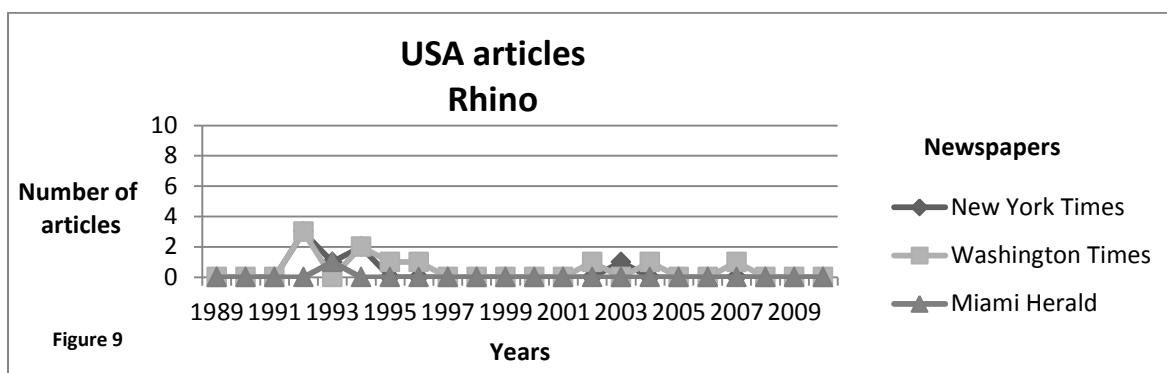


Figure 9: Articles on rhino's featuring Zimbabwe published in three United States of America newspapers between 1989 and 2010

7.2.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

In the articles in the beginning of the nineties rhino poaching has been framed as the main problem for the near extinction of the rhino and this led to the “rhino near extinct/rhino poaching main frame. As a solution for this and as a protection measure for the rhino, two sub frames surfaced in the Washington Post: a “war” sub frame which led to the protection “shoot to kill” sub frame: *“In some regions such as the Zambezi valley dividing Zimbabwe and Zambia, it involves a shoot-to-kill war between poachers and game officials”* (The Washington Post, February 9, 1992, S. Taylor). In the New York Times: *“.. the gun was not for the rhino, but for the poachers, who will kill the beast just for the pathetic stump remaining on her face – and would kill a park scout like Mr. Sibanda for being in the way”* (The New York Times, 1994 October 11, B. Keller). What is interesting in the quote above is that the frame was “humanized” by naming the park scout by name, this was an exception in the articles.

A second protecting frame for the rhino was the “dehorning” sub frame *“In Zimbabwe, wildlife authorities, initially skeptical of the process, have started a limited dehorning program of their own”* (The Washington Post, February 9, 1992, S. Taylor). In the New York Times: *“....cutting of the rhinos horn will make the animal useless to poachers”* (The New York Times, April 12 1992). And a third the “trade in rhino horn” sub frame. This framed the idea to develop a legal market for rhino horn and by doing so, receive funds for conservation: *“Zimbabwe also asked for permission to sell the horns. Mr. Martin said this would provide Zimbabwe with funds to pay for its wildlife protection programs, and develop a legal market in rhino horns that might pull illegal traders out of business”* (The Washington Post, March 11, 1992). This proposal was not accepted during the CITES meeting in 1992 *“... failed to agree on any new program to save one the earth’s most rapidly disappearing species, the rhinoceros”* (The Washington Post, March 11, 1992).

No real changes showed in the articles after 2000 because there were hardly any articles published after this time. The articles that were published did not provide full frames on the issue. There is one exception, an article in the Washington Post in which land reform is linked to the increase of poaching of rhinos in Zimbabwe resulting in a “political unrest and land reform” blame frame. “*Six months of violent land invasions in Zimbabwe have opened the door to a wave of poaching that has endangered rare animals in a nation that until recently has been acclaimed as one of Africa's most scrupulous defenders of wildlife*” (Washington Post, September 92000, R. Herbert, PA1). “*The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) warned last month that the escalation in poaching is putting rare black rhinos at risk. Only about 2,600 black rhinos remain in the world, of which an estimated 450 live in Zimbabwe*” (Washington Post, September 92000, R. Herbert, PA1).

In the articles published in the USA newspapers the cause of the near extinction of the rhino was framed: poaching, this resulted in the “rhino near extinct/rhino poaching” frame. This frame is supported by protection sub frames, which are different protection measured focused on saving the rhino. A “war” sub frame started to appear leading to the first protection frame, the “shoot to kill” sub frame. Other protection frames are “dehorning of rhino's” sub frame and “trade in rhino horn” sub frame. One other protection frame that was mentioned in the USA articles was the the “breeding of the rhino's” sub frame. Because of the lack of articles after 2000 a change in the frames did not become visible except for the one article in the Washington Post in 2000.

7.2.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

In the USA articles on the rhino's two blame frames surfaced. One blamed Zimbabwe's government for not protecting it's rhino's: “*in the war for the future of the black rhinoceros.... Zimbabwe has been an embarrassing rout*” (The New York Times, October 11 1994, B. Keller). *In Zimbabwe's case, the critics say, it is not the ban that has failed, but the government, which has been unwilling to the one thing that does seem to save the rhinos: spend money*” (The New York Times, October 11 1994, B. Keller).

Another one with a completely different subject was the “Zambian poachers” blame frame, blaming Zambian poachers for the majority of rhino poaching: “*In 1987, the government started allowing national parks official to shoot to kill any poachers they found the government says most are Zambian*” (The New York Times, July 12 1994, Reuters). In this case the Zambian poachers seemed to be the ones blamed for the near extinction of the rhino in Zimbabwe.

Besides the lack of investment to save the rhino frame, Zimbabwe's government is not blamed for not protecting the rhino or involvement in the rhino poaching except for one scandal in which an MP got involved in rhino poaching: “*a member of parliament in Zimbabwe was sentenced to five years of hard labor today after being convicted of illegal possession of two rhino horns..*” (The New York Times, 1993 February 14, Reuters).

The “Zambian poachers” and the “Zimbabwe is not protecting its rhino's” frame were the only blame frames that surfaced in the articles. No discourse coalitions showed in the articles.

7.2.4 FRAME PARITY

Some of the articles produced some frame parity as can be seen in Figure 10. These articles discussed the negative effects of dehorning and produced counter frames, framing the lack of efficiency. “*They claim it is inhumane, and they point out that sometimes poachers still kill dehorned rhino's...*” (The Washington Post, April 2 1995, R. Slusser). This was also mentioned in the New York Times “*But poachers armed with AK-47 assault rifles are shooting even dehorned animals*” (The New York Times, 1992 July 7, J. Perlez). Also the possible legalizing of rhino horn was discussed from Zimbabwe's perspective. “*Zimbabwe also asked for permission to sell the horns. Mr. Martin said this would provide Zimbabwe with funds to pay for its wildlife protection programs, and develop a legal*

market in rhino horns that might pull illegal traders out of business” (The Washington Post, March 11, 1992). Only in the “shoot to kill” sub frame showed no frame parity nor did the few articles published after 2000.

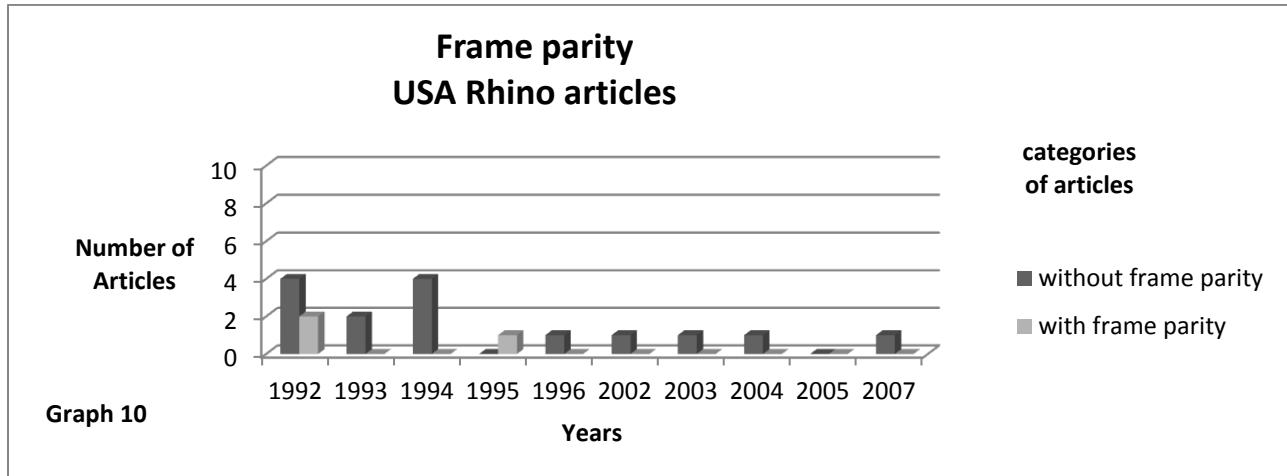


Figure 10: Frame parity among articles published in United States of America newspapers

7.3 ZIMBABWE

7.3.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

The largest number of articles on and about rhinos were published, in the Herald Harare, in the nineties. The highest peak was in 1992 as can be seen in the Figure 11. After this peak a steep decline can be seen in the number of articles published, till the issue more or less disappeared in 1997. After that, it seemed that the issue lost importance for a full decade before it resurfaced again in 2007, immediately with a considerable number of articles. The peak in 1992 can be linked to the start of the dehorning of the rhino in that year and also in 2007 the majority of the articles seem to be focused on the dehorning of the rhino.

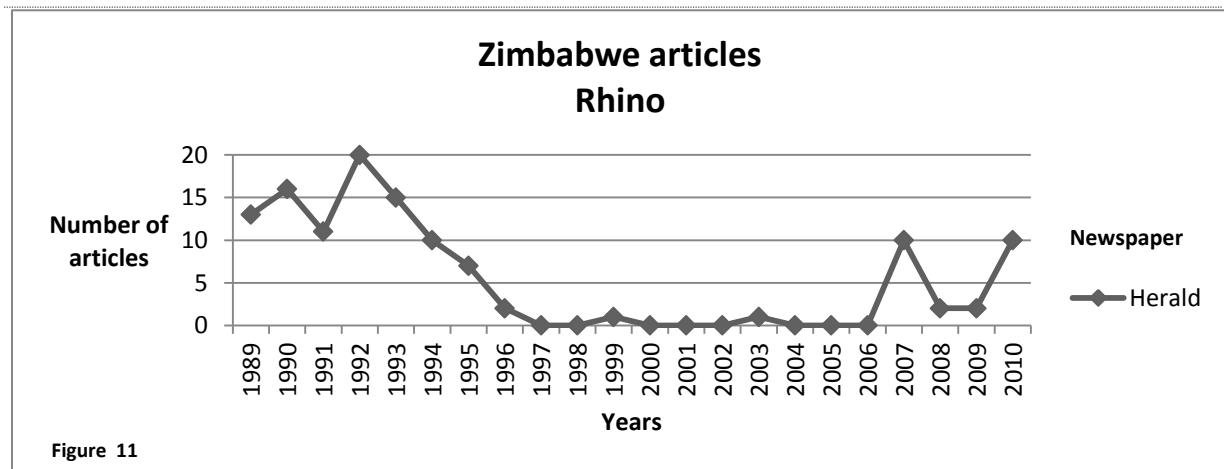


Figure 11: Articles on rhino's featuring Zimbabwe published in The Herald Harare, Zimbabwe between 1989 and 2010

The majority of the articles were written by Herald Reporters. In the beginning of the nineties quite a large number of articles came from ZIANA (Zimbabwe Inter Africa News Agency). Zimbabwe's

government owned official news agency. However, over the years this changed and by the end of 2000 most of the articles were written by Herald reporters.

7.3.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

The vast majority of the articles on rhino's focused on the fact that the rhino is near extinct and to giving reasons for this resulting in the "rhino near extinct/rhino poaching" frame. As far back as 1984 there were concerns that the rhino numbers were falling too far: ".... By 1984 only Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe held populations exceeding 1,000 animals" (Herald Harare, April 18 1989, Herald reporter, page 9). In 1989 the near extinction frames, focused on the future of the rhino in the wild: "*Mercilessly hunted by the poachers for its horn, will the rhino only be found in the zoo in a few years?*" (Herald Harare, April 18 1989, Herald reporter, page 9). The same frame also showed in 1994 in Picture 3. "*Coming soon to a museum near you*" (Herald Harare, January 19 1994, I. Mpofu)



Picture 3, Source: Herald Harare, January 19 1994, I. Mpofu "

as if to say: this is the only way you will be able see the rhino in the near future. These are all "rhino near extinction/rhino poaching" frames and this frame dominated the articles. This frame was supported by several protection sub frames. Of these there are a few frames that re-occurred frequently and seemed to play a dominant role in the articles on rhino's and will be discussed in this chapter.

Poaching is given as the main reason for the near extinction of the rhino. This led to the controversial "Save the Rhino" campaign in 1985, which also seemed to be the beginning of the "shoot to kill" policy and sub frame which surfaced repeatedly over the years: "*more than 400 rhinos have been slaughtered and 40 poachers shot dead since the beginning of the Save the Rhino campaign in 1985*" (Herald Harare (supplement), 18 April 1989, page 9). By 1989 a "war" sub frame seemed to have developed between poachers and park rangers to support the "shoot to kill" sub frame: "*large gangs of heavenly armed poachers were entering Zimbabwe but her ministry (Victora, Chitpepo, Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism) had army and police support, when it needed to fight them.....despite the number of rhino killings, her ministry was "on top of the situation" in the war against poachers*" (Herald Harare, August 10, 1989, Ziana, page 1). And also: "*as poachers step up their attack on Zimbabwe's dwindling rhino populations, more men and more resources are being thrown into the fight to save the threatened animals*" (Herald Harare, April 18 1989, Herald reporter, page 9). In 1990 this "war" sub frame also surfaced several times in the media: "*cooperation by locals has been slow but was picking up as people became aware of their role in the war against poachers*" (Herald Harare, February 7 1990, Ziana, page 3). In addition, the response by parliament after a ranger was killed gives further support for both the "war" and the "shoot to kill" sub frame: "*this resulted in demands in parliament that rangers be indemnified for shooting and killing poachers*" (Herald Harare, April 18 1989, Herald reporter, page 9). This last sentence indicates what made the "save the rhino" campaign quite controversial. Not that the government was dealing with poachers, but how the government decided to deal with poachers, the so called "shoot to kill" approach. This became one of the most used protection sub frames for rhino poaching, mentioned in the articles over the years. The "war" and "shoot to kill" sub frame continued to surface especially in the beginning of the nineties. For example: "*there are only two ways of dealing with reactionaries that is to kill or detain*" in the same article: "*life for the rhino and death for the poacher*" (Herald Harare, February 2 1990, Herald correspondent, page 5). Besides the re-occurring sub frame, what was also interesting, is that in the articles is that a lot of detail is used "*the poachers were then tracked down for 2,5 days after which a firefight resulting in the death of the three poachers*" (Herald Harare, 31 July 1992, Herald reporter, page 1). The Zimbabwe authorities continued to use this "shoot to kill" protection sub frame till at least last year with the following article: "*He who lives by the Sword*": *Rangers from the Parks and Wildlife*

Management Authority have shot and killed one of Zimbabwe's most wanted rhinoceros poachers who had been on the run for close to 20 years” (Herald Harare, June 18 2010, Herald reporter).

Besides the controversial anti-poaching solution also other protection sub frames surfaced for protecting the rhino. Some of them were also considered controversial. In 1992 the Zimbabwean government started dehorning rhino's with the aim to make them worthless for poachers, resulting in the “dehorning sub frame “.... authorities



hope that by dehorning the rhino poachers will leave them alone by lack of commercial value”(Herald Harare, June 1 1992, Herald reporter-Ziana-Reuter, page 1). Picture 4 shows also the dehorning sub frame. This frame continued to surface for several years in the nineties and then resurfaced in 2007 together with the “save the rhino” campaign: “*Zimbabwe has intensified dehorning all the rhino's under the “save the rhino campaign” in a bid to curb rampant poaching of one of the world's most endangered species*” (Herald Harare, December 24 2007, Herald Reporter).

Picture 4, Source: Herald Harare, June 2 1992, Mazere, page 7



Another protection frame for the rhino's was the IPZ (Intensive Protection Zones) sub frame. This frame surfaced first in 1993 “*the government will soon set up Intensive Protection Zones within the national parks under the rhino conservation programme to save the remaining population of the rhino, an endangered species which is being lost to poachers*” (Herald, Harare, August 23, 1993, Ziana, page 5). Picture 5 also frames these Intensive Protection Zones. This frame continued to surface for several years in the nineties, disappeared and then also resurfaced in 2007: “*the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority last year identified four intensive protection zones meant to help improve monitoring of the black rhino around the country*”(Herald Harare, May 5 2007, Herald Reporter, page 1).

Picture 5, Source: Herald Harare, July 27 1994, I Mpofu

Another controversial and less direct protection measure was the “trade in rhino horn” sub frame. This framed the idea that by selling the rhino's horn, income for conservation and less demand for illegal horn could be achieved. For example: “*if it was done in a properly coordinated way you could drop enough horn on to the international market to depress the price and know out the poachers, while the proceeds would go towards conservation*”(Herald Harare,30 April 1991, Arnold Raphael, page 5). This frame only surfaced in the beginning of the nineties and not at the end of 2000.

One other main frame that played an important role in the Zimbabwe articles is the “illegal possession of rhino horn and trade” frame. With this frame a sub frame appeared with the main focus on the punishment the “5 year prison or big fine ”sub frame: “*Member of Parliament Benjamin Mojo and six others were yesterday convicted of unlawful possession of rhino horns, weighing 2 kg and with a street value of ZW\$ 20.000 and are now being haunted with minimum five year jail terms unless the court finds special circumstances*”. This frame surfaced throughout the years in several articles and seemed to be an important frame in the Herald Harare articles. The 5 year sentence was the result of a special act in Zimbabwe “the Parks and Wildlife Act”. For example in the following example were a central intelligence officer was arrested: “*Two men including a central intelligence officer, who tried to sell rhino horns worth ZW\$ 30.000 to a police informer, will each spend an effective five years in jail for breaching the Parks and Wildlife Act*”(Herald Harare, 20 juli 1994, Court reporter page 3).

The main frame is focused on the problem of the near extinction of the rhino and the cause poaching, resulting in the “rhino near extinct/rhino poaching” frame. This frame was supported by several protection frames which are called sub frames. A “war” sub frame against poachers developed with the “shoot to kill” sub frame as the most dominant protection measures. Several other protection frames surfaced over the years, the “dehorning” sub frame, the “IPZ” sub frame and “trade in rhino horn” sub frame. The articles in the Herald Harare did not show change in relation to the changed political situation in Zimbabwe. The same frames on poaching and solutions for protecting the rhino continued to surface in Zimbabwe throughout the years. The rhino issue disappeared from the Herald Harare for quite a long period. However, when it resurfaced in 2007 the frames hadn’t changed. Many protection sub frames disappear over the years and others are added but some continued to surface. The “war” sub frame continued to surface as well as the “shoot to kill”, “dehorning”, and “IPZ” sub frames. A second main frame that surfaced in the Zimbabwe articles is the “illegal possession of rhino horn and trade” frame, supported by the “5 year prison or big fin sub frame.

7.3.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

Many of the blame frames that surfaced in the rhino poaching articles are focused on poachers. Foreign poachers, and especially Zambians, were often seen as the main problem. The ‘Zambian poacher’ blame frame surfaced throughout the nineties. For example in the following quote: “*Cde Ngwarai could not say of what nationality the gang members were “but the spoor came from Zambia...*” (Herald Harare, September 19 1990, page 1) and “*Mr. Tatham (Chief Warden Operations) told the Herald that there had been 69 known incursions by poachers from Zambia since September last year.....*” (Herald Harare, May 18 1992, Y. Chikowore, page 1).



Throughout the nineties the “Zambian poachers” blame frames continued to surface in the Herald Harare. When the issue resurfaced in 2007 this blame frame seems to have changed. The poaching blame frame in itself continued but no longer “Zambian poachers” blame frames are produced. Instead a frame blaming foreigners for poaching in Zimbabwe started to surface. None of the blame frames, blame the government of Zimbabwe for involvement in trade in rhino horn except for one. This scandal in 1993 involved a local MP involved in the illegal trade in rhino horn. This was framed as a big scandal in the Zimbabwe newspapers and very detailed articles and frames were produced in the papers. Picture 6 also seems to show an “end of the career frame” that is linked to this scandal.

Picture 6, Source: Herald Harare, 16 February, 1993, I Mpofu, page 7

A new blame frame/us vs. them frame surfaced in 2010 after CITES reported an increase in poaching in Zimbabwe the “blaming the international media” frame: (Herald Harare, February 10 2010, Herald Reporter page 2): “*Police Commissioner-General Augustine Chihuri said CITES should realize that Zimbabwe has two faces: that of what is happening on the ground and that what is peddled by hostile foreign media*” (Herald Harare, February 10 2010, Herald Reporter page 2). Nine days later this issue appeared again: “*the International community should reward Zimbabwe for its good wildlife conservation practices....*” (Herald Harare, February 19 2010, Herald Reporter page 4) and “*Minister Nhema said some countries and organizations had, however, used every opportunity to castigate Zimbabwe and yet government had done well to conserve animal and plant life*” (Herald Harare, February 19 2010, Herald Reporter page 4). Besides the blame frame towards the western world there also surfaced an us vs. them frame, in this case “Zimbabwe vs. the rest”(int. media, governments, organizations) frame. This however, did not develop to full discourse coalitions in the articles. The frames blamed international media, government and organizations for publishing articles with negative reports on Zimbabwe. This blame frame can only be found in the articles produced in 2010. These are the first and only articles where the political situation in Zimbabwe shines through in the articles or at least the negative effect it has on the image of Zimbabwe.

In Zimbabwe, foreigners seem to be most often blamed for the rhino poaching and in specific Zambians. This frame changed when the rhino issue surface at the end of 2000 and the focus has changed instead to foreign poachers in general. In 2010 one interesting blame frame occurred blaming other governments for producing negative stories about Zimbabwe this is the first frame were the political situation in Zimbabwe is indirectly addressed.

7.3.4 FRAME PARITY

The articles on the rhino hardly seemed to have produced any frame parity. All the articles are solely focused on Zimbabwe's perception of the issue and no other sides appeared or surfaced. The "shoot to kill" sub frame for example is never questioned in the media and also for the "dehorning" sub frame not counter frames were produce even though the effect of this protection measure remained questionable. For example: in the following quote it is discussed that there are still rhino's killed after dehorning: *"These present incursions show that either the poachers heard the message and are trying to beat us at the dehorning exercise or just that they did not get the message and still think the rhino has commercial value"* Mr. Tatham said" (Chief Warden in the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management) (Herald Harare, 24 October 1992, Ziana, page 3). However, the effectiveness of dehorning itself is not questioned. Unawareness amongst poachers is blamed instead. Another example: *"unaware that all black rhino's in Matuzviadonha area, northern border of Zambia and Zimbabwe have been dehorned, Zambian poachers continue to come into the country to kill the endangered spies...."* (Herald Harare, 22 June 1992, Herald Reporter page 1).

The only frame that showed some frame parity in the article was in the "trade in rhino horns" sub frame: *"the resumption of legal rhino horn trading would make it almost impossible to control the trade in poached horn, especially in Asia"* (Herald Harare, 30 April, 1991, page 5).

The articles focused on the rhino horn did not produce any frame parity except for the articles that produce dframes on the "trade in rhino horns" sub frames as can be seen in Figure 12.

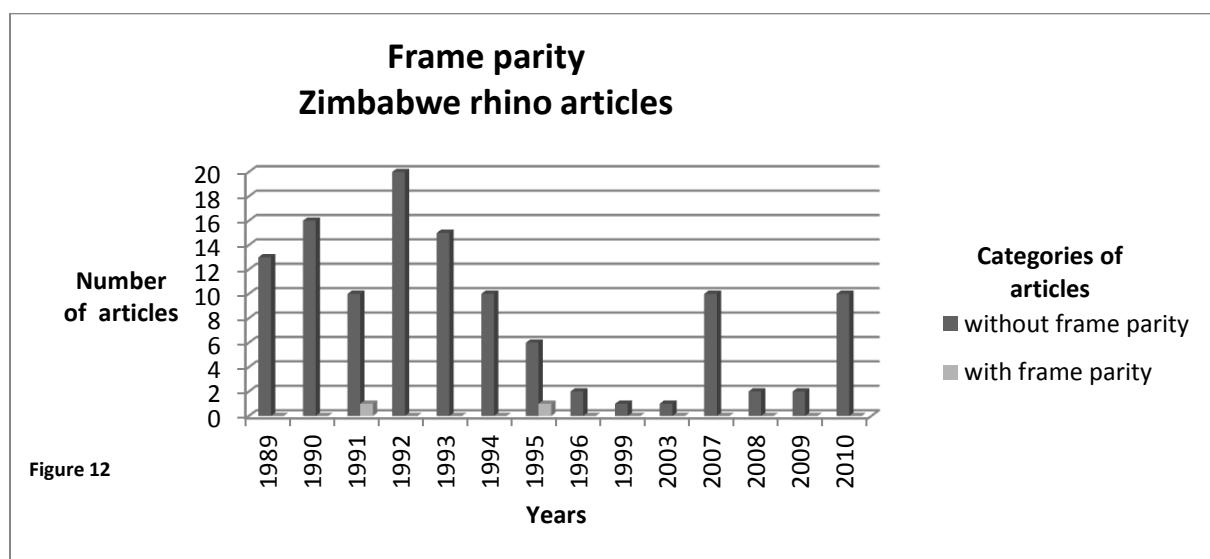


Figure 12: Frame parity among articles published in the Herald Harare, Zimbabwe

7.4 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE THREE COUNTRIES

7.4.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

The rhino issue did not play in all countries an equal role but the majority of the articles that were published did provide interesting frames on Zimbabwe and its wildlife policy. In all three countries the majority of articles on the rhino issues were published in the beginning of the nineties. Half way through the nineties the amount of published articles fell in all three countries. The UK newspapers were the most consistent in its publications of articles on the rhino issue. In the USA Newspapers hardly any articles have been published after 2000. In Zimbabwe, from 1997 to 2006 there were hardly any articles published till in 2007 the issue suddenly reappeared again in the newspaper.

In the UK the articles were written by different journalist, not one of them stood out. In the USA newspapers the only journalist that stood out was J. Perlez who wrote several articles. In the Herald Harare the majority of the articles are written by Herald reporters.

7.4.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

All three countries and papers agreed on the same main problem and frames, the near extinction of the rhino and the same cause for this, poaching, this led to the “rhino near extinct/rhino poaching” frame. There are different solutions or protections sub frames, framed in the countries but three dominant sub frames surfaced in all three countries. In all three countries a “war” sub frame surfaced in the articles. This “war” sub frame was accompanied by the “shoot to kill” sub frame given as a protection measure to stop the poaching of the rhino. This is a rather extreme measure which, can be assumed, in most cases would not be approved as a solution. This justification of this “shoot to kill” sub frame could be caused by the “war” sub frame. By framing the fight as a war other solutions are justified and measures can be taken that in times of “peace” would never be allowed. Two other solution frames mentioned in all three countries were the “dehorning” sub frame and the “trade in rhino horn” sub frame. Both of them were also considered controversial.

One difference between the UK and USA compared to the Zimbabwe papers is that in the Zimbabwe papers it seemed that the situation is more or less under control. Whereas in the international newspapers a constant reference was made to the severity of the situation. Another difference between the UK and USA and Zimbabwe frames was that the frames in the Zimbabwe and USA newspapers seemed to “personalize” the story more than the UK newspapers. Meaning by this that names were mentioned of people involved in protecting of the rhino, in the UK articles this did not occur.

Amongst the other protection frames the “dehorning of the rhino” sub frame was the most dominant. This sub frame surfaced in all three papers and played an important role as rhino protection in the beginning of the nineties. This sub frame disappeared after a few years in all three countries from the articles. In 2007 the same sub frame surfaces again, but this time only in the Zimbabwe paper. Another protection sub frame that became visible both in the UK and Zimbabwe was the “Intensive Protection Zones” sub frame this also surfaced in the beginning of the nineties and in Zimbabwe re-surfaced in 2007.

One other sub frame surfaced in all three countries was the “trade in rhino horn” sub frame. This was framed as a protection by the Zimbabwe government and heavily criticized in the UK and USA papers and even the Zimbabwe papers produced counter frames against this frame. Some of the other frames were also criticized. In the UK newspapers the “shoot to kill” policy was criticized and in both the UK and USA papers the negative effects of dehorning were framed.

Besides the “trade in rhino horn” sub frame no negative frames surfaced on Zimbabwe’s policy in the nineties. After 2000 the framing changed and more negative frames started to occur in the papers. This change in frames most clearly showed in the UK newspapers. The political situation started to play a

central role and especially land reform is blamed for the increased poaching and lack of protection of the rhino in Zimbabwe resulting in a “political unrest and land reform” blame frame. In the Herald Harare this change in frame did not occur nor did it in the USA papers except in one article in the Washington Post in 2000 that warns for increased poaching in Zimbabwe, threatening the rhino linking it to the political situation in Zimbabwe.

In the Zimbabwe articles one other frame occurred which played an important role in the Herald Harare articles but not in the international papers. This is the “5 year sentence or big fine” sub frame that supports the “illegal possession of rhino horn and trade” frame. Articles with this framed were focused on individual cases involved in illegal rhino horn trade and the consequences of this.

7.4.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

In all three papers a “Zambian poachers” blame surfaced. Blaming the Zambian poachers for the near extinction of the rhino. Also another blame frame surfaced, framing the arrest of a Zimbabwean MP involved illegal rhino trade.

In the Zimbabwean paper one other blame frame occurred in 2010 “blaming the international media” frame blaming the international media, governments and organizations for bringing negative reports about Zimbabwe in the media. This resulted in a us vs. them frame but did not develop to a full discourse coalition. No full discourse coalitions could be identified in any of the other articles.

7.4.4 FRAME PARITY

The UK and USA newspapers did produce some frame parity as can be seen in Figures 8 and 10. They produced counter frames for the “dehorning of the rhino” sub frame and the “shoot to kill” sub frames. The Herald Harare did not produce any frame parity except for in two articles on the rhino horn trade as can be seen in graph 12.

8.CAMPFIRE

“conservationist in for the kill”

(Times London October 2 1989, J. Raath and A. Franks)

Zimbabwe wildlife policy plays an important role in the world of conservation especially in the nineties. In 1989, the CAMPFIRE was officially launched with a grant from USAID (United States Agency for International Development) (Campfire 2009). The bilateral organization USAID has been a supporter and funder of CAMPFIRE since the beginning and this remained for most part of the nineties.

Zimbabwe's wildlife policy is formed around the idea of sustainable utilization of wildlife. CAMPFIRE is the project through which this policy is being implemented since the beginning of the nineties. The idea behind CAMPFIRE is to let local people benefit from their natural resources or as their own mission statement puts it: *“To enable rural communities in Zimbabwe to effectively manage their natural resources”* (Campfire 2009). The CAMPFIRE program tries to change the negative perception local people have for wildlife and try to make them see animals as a source of income rather than a nuisance. This is where sustainable utilization of wildlife starts to play a role and what now appears to be the basis of Zimbabwe's wildlife policy. The core of this belief is: that in order to conserve wildlife one has to make it sustainable and economically viable to conserve it. This is what CAMPFIRE tries to achieve by involving local communities and let them benefit from wildlife. This wildlife policy has been controversial for several reasons two of them being that a large portion of its income is derived from hunting permits and the selling of ivory. Both because of this and because of its positive results it has played an important role in the international media. Interesting to note is that the other issue discussed, the ivory ban, is the opposite of utilization of wildlife and because of this strongly opposed by Zimbabwe and other followers of “conservation through utilization” discourse coalition or the “utilizers” .

8.1 UNITED KINGDOM

8.1.1. THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

Articles on Zimbabwe's wildlife policy played a consistent role over the period of 20 years in two of the three newspapers. Only the London Times produced very little articles and frames on Zimbabwe's wildlife policy as can be seen in Figure 13. Because of this no quotes of The Times will be used in this chapter. The Independent on the other hand continued to report quite consistently on Zimbabwe's wildlife policy also after 2000. The Guardian did produce some interesting frames on the subject in the first half of the decade but this stops after 2004. Even though the issue was playing an important role there were not many articles solely dedicated to Zimbabwe wildlife policy. In the majority of the cases the frames are part of articles focused on other issues that can be linked to this issue, such as rhinos and the ivory ban. Because of this not all articles provided useful frames on the subject or show frames that have already been discussed in the previous parts.

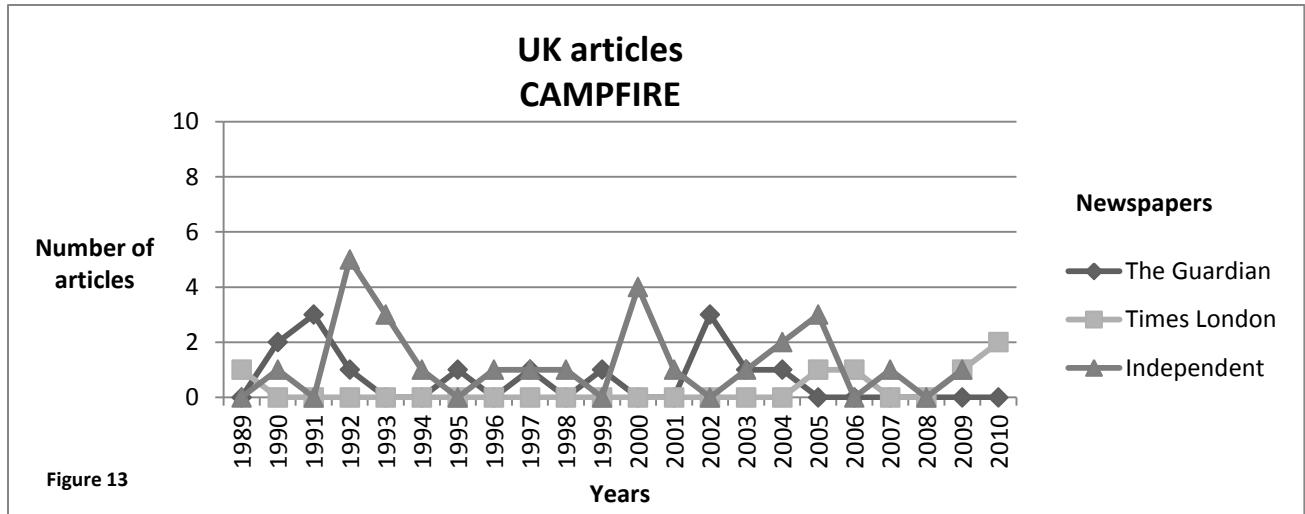


Figure 13: Articles on CAMPFIRE featuring Zimbabwe published in three United Kingdom newspapers between 1989 and 2010

Articles in the three newspapers have been written by different journalists. The only journalist whose name stood out was Jane Perlez who wrote several articles in the beginning of the nineties for the Guardian.

8.1.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

The main frame in this issue was the “sustainable use of wildlife” frames. This frame is supported by several sub frames. Two re-occurring sub frames, that can be linked to Zimbabwe’s wildlife policy surfaced. These are “the human/elephant conflict” sub frame and the “income for rural communities” sub frame. These two frames were often combined to illustrate how the combination of these two frames resulted in local people becoming involved in protecting rather than poaching wildlife in Zimbabwe: *“As a result, villagers eventually saw herds of elephants as a source of lawful profit, rather than as destructive beasts that wrecked crops and merited destruction. They thus came to have a vested interest in conservation”* (The Independent London March 3 1992, Editorial, page 20). These frames continued to surface at the end of the nineties: *“Most rural Africans see Wildlife as a nuisance, and worse”* (The Independent London, May 10 1998, G. Lean); *“Zimbabwe is helping to pioneer this. It gives communities the legal right to manage the wildlife in their areas, as long as they show that they can do it. The communities then work out their own ways of profiting from it, in consultation with the wildlife department.... As the communities benefit from the wildlife, they take care to conserve it: poaching has fallen dramatically”* (The Independent London, May 10 1998, G. Lean). In the Guardian similar frames were found: *“people here have put up with the elephant because of it’s financial benefit asserts Martin”* (Dr. Rowan Martin) (The Guardian, January 20 1990, J. Perlez).

Even though the philosophy behind CAMPFIRE is framed in the UK media, the name CAMPFIRE did not surface often in the nineties. The majority of the articles had another main subject and Zimbabwe’s wildlife policy only played a small role in the article. The two frames mentioned above, are also used as a sub frames for the opposing the ivory ban issue. In only two articles in the Nineties CAMPFIRE is mentioned by its name and also as an argument opposing the ivory ban. Both of them were found in The Guardian: *“CAMPFIRE places an economic value on wildlife such as elephant, buffalo and crocodile,“ says Taparendava Meveneke, it’s Chief Executive “the programme matches conservation management with the quest to alleviate poverty”* (The Guardian, April 26 1995, A. Meldrum, page 20).

No negative frames specifically focused on CAMPFIRE showed in the articles in the nineties. The Philosophy of CAMPFIRE is framed more frequently than the actual program. In the majority of the

articles that discussed Zimbabwe's wildlife policy the emphasizes was put on the importance of the economic value put on animals and the importance that local people should benefit from their natural resources.

After 2000 the frames started to change and Zimbabwe was no longer seen as an example for this type of wildlife conservation. The “political unrest and land reform” blame frame started to surface and dominating the articles. Sub frames supporting this frame also started to surface in the media focused on the poaching of animals in Zimbabwe, especially in the first half of 2000. In the Independent it started with a “corruption” sub frame: “*ENDEMIC CORRUPTION in Zimbabwe's state sector is threatening the country's ability to protect its greatest natural resource: wildlife*” (The Independent London, January 14 2000, K. Macgregor, page 16). Besides corruption also the land reform policy implemented is blamed for this change. “*As Zimbabwe's political crisis reverberates deep in the magical wilderness of Save Valley Conservancy, the world's biggest private game reserve, thousands of rare animals - including the black rhinoceros and the African wild dog, as well as zebras, giraffes and leopards - are the latest victims of a land war which has become a free-for-all among impoverished people struggling to survive*” (The Independent, London, August 12 2000, A. Duval Smith, page 3). “*There has been a widespread slaughter of wildlife in Zimbabwe since farm invasions began in 2000*” (The Independent London, April 25 2005, M. Cadman). Also in the Guardian the same changes in the framing can be seen and similar frames found at the beginning of 2000. The following quote refers to the consequences of the inclusion of wildlife reserves in the “fast track” land resettlement. In this case at Gonarezhou Wildlife Reserve: “*It was disastrous for the park: wild animals were slaughtered, bush and trees burnt for cultivation of crops and building of houses, and wildlife habitat destroyed. Nor was it particularly beneficial for the people: the soil where they settled was poor, rainfall was minimal and the mixing of cattle and wildlife exposed both to diseases such as foot and mouth*” (The Guardian, April 3 2002, L. McGregor).

Throughout the nineties the frames about Zimbabwe's wildlife policy were mostly positive. Highlighting the benefits of the CAMPFIRE program even if counter frames were produced. After 2000 the frames changed and Zimbabwe was no longer seen as an example for this type of wildlife conservation. The “political unrest and land reform” blame frames started to surface and dominated the articles supported by sub frames. This frame blamed land reform and political unrest for the problems that Zimbabwe was having with the conservation of their natural resources and wildlife. The biggest problems mentioned are poaching and invasion of game reserves. Often a reference or comparison was made to the excellent conservation reputation Zimbabwe had before the land reform policy was implemented, as if to emphasize the drastic change the country has undergone since 2000.

8.1.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

In the UK articles a few us vs. them frames and blame frames surfaced in the nineties. In one article a distinction is made between Zimbabwe and Kenya's wildlife policy, in the Guardian. In this frame an us vs. them frame “utilizers” vs. “protectionist” frame and blame frame surfaced: “*Yet at the same time Zimbabwe's elephant population grew from 4,000 to 61,000, thanks to the 'Campfire' programme under which locals benefit directly from the meat, hides, and ivory. This contrasts with the colonial model of Kenyan parks, which excludes local farmers, giving them no incentive to protect elephants*” (The Guardian, April 12 1991, I Guest). This blame frame clearly seemed to favor the “utilizers”, Zimbabwean, policy over the “protectionist”, Kenya. However not all the articles produced frames in favor of Zimbabwe's policy and also “Kenya's side” was framed. “*I accept that it is not necessarily possible to compare like with like. Kenya's tourism industry is larger and more complex than Zimbabwe's. But in an increasingly conservation-minded world there is a strong moral argument about shooting this diminishing species "for pleasure". And, of course, we have a fundamental disagreement over the effects of marketing ivory and ivory products*” (The Independent, London, 30 June 1990, R. Leakey). Interesting to note with the quote above is that it was written by Richard Leakey, who was the Director of Kenya's Wildlife Department in the nineties and one of the strongest supporters of the ivory ban.

The vast majority of the articles in the UK papers was focused on the ivory ban which is, only one, although essential, difference in the wildlife policy of these two countries. The emphasizes was in the majority of the frames, understandably because of this, on the different roles that Kenya and Zimbabwe played in the ivory debate rather than on the differences between the wildlife policies. However, some articles did produce frames that show the differences like the ones above. The wildlife policy of Kenya is focused on stopping the ivory trade and the banning of hunting which is against their wildlife policy and both of these play a central role in Zimbabwe's wildlife policy. This shows that fundamental differences between both parties with regard to their wildlife conservation policies. The examples above show that there were two discourse coalitions with the leading countries Kenya and Zimbabwe, the "utilizers" vs. "protectionist". However, these discourse coalitions did not surface in the majority of the article.

8.1.4 FRAME PARITY

That Zimbabwe's wildlife conservation policy is not the only way to protect wildlife did become clear in the articles. As mentioned before many articles that included frames on Zimbabwe's wildlife policy did not have this as their main subject, often it was the the ivory ban or rhinos. Especially in the articles in the nineties the UK newspapers articles did show frame parity as can be seen in Figure 14. Us. vs them frames, framing from both discourse coalitions leaders (Zimbabwe vs. Kenya) surfaced in the articles and in frames both sides of the debate were discussed. For example in the following quote from Richard Leakey, Director of Kenya's Wildlife Service at the time: "*He (Richard Leakey) is scathing about Zimbabwe, where culling and licensed shooting by amateur hunters have already been introduced*" (The Independent, October 26 1992, K. Graves, page 14). After 2000 the frame parity disappeared and only negative blame frames started to occur. Blaming land reform and political unrest for the "downfall" of Zimbabwe's conservation policy for example in the following quote: "*Until recently Zimbabwe had an excellent record for wildlife conservation and some of the best game parks in the world. But with land redistribution, some of the best game parks have been settled or invaded by people with no experience of wildlife management at all. Game is being systematically wiped out by local people shooting and setting snares. It's lawlessness.*" Marianthy Noble, Zambia representative of the UK-based David Shepherd Wildlife Foundation) (The Guardian London, December 29 2003, M. Durham, page 3).

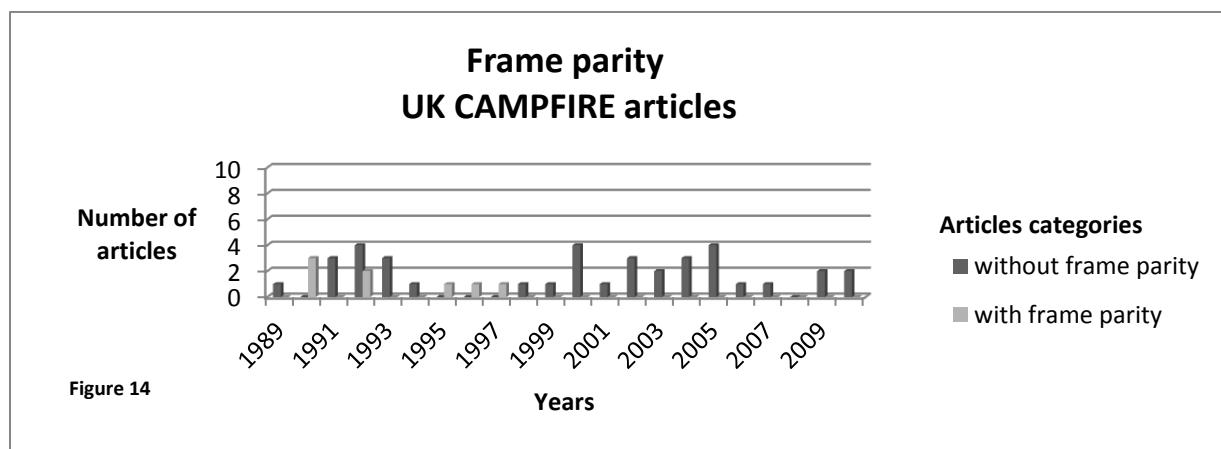


Figure 14: Frame parity among articles published in United Kingdom newspapers

8.2 USA

8.2.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

Zimbabwe's wildlife policy and subjects played quite a constant role in the USA media over the years. The number of articles producing frames was not large but the articles did occur in the majority of years in the nineties giving a good insight in how they developed over the years. All three newspapers reported on this issue and produced frames on it. After 2000 the amount of articles published decreased but did continue till halfway 2000. After this the issue disappeared completely from these USA newspapers as can be seen in Figure 15.

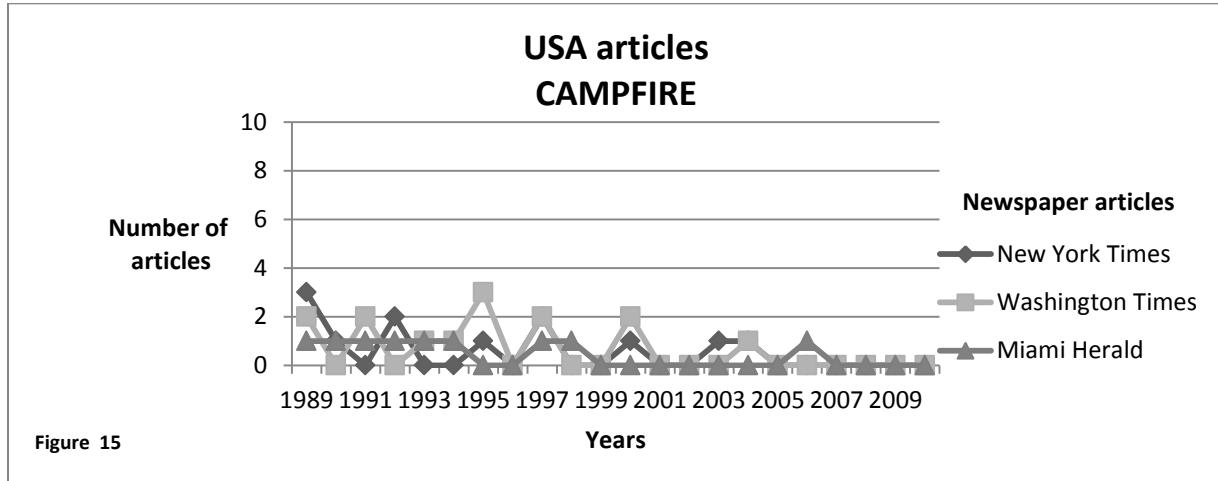


Figure 15: Articles on CAMPFIRE featuring Zimbabwe published in three United States of America newspapers between 1989 and 2010

Many of the articles did not solely focus on the wildlife policy, often they were part of articles on one of the other issues for example the ivory ban or rhino's. Wildlife policy did play an important role in the articles and interesting frames were produced, providing insight on the framing of wildlife policy in Zimbabwe.

Different authors and news agencies were responsible for the articles. Only in the New York Times the majority of the articles in the nineties were written by the same person, J. Perlez.

8.2.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

The main frame in the articles on CAMPFIRE was the “sustainable use of wildlife” frame. This frame was supported in the USA newspapers by the “human/elephant conflict” sub frame in which elephants were often framed as a nuisance. For example in this quote from an article in the Washington Post: *“Elephants are pretty neat. They're really big. They pick up stuff with their noses. They do fantastic tricks in the circus. Disney made a movie about one. Republicans love them. Elephants are not as neat, however, when they're running wild in the neighborhood and break dancing in your cornfield. They've never heard of the macarena, and scarecrows don't work.”* (The Washington Post, February 18 1997, Guy Gugliotta, Page A11). In the Miami Herald: *“The pachyderms are pests to the town of Kariba. They drink from the town's swimming pool, and they tromp through flower gardens, stripping the tops off trees. They seem to eat any vegetation in sight. And there's not much anybody can do about it. They have even killed a few people around here”* (The Miami Herald, December 15 1991, Baltimore sun, Page 6). *“There villagers have come to fear the rogue elephant that can trample and eat a year's corn crop in a night”* (The Miami Herald, July 13 1997, Herald Staff, Page 2L) and in the New York Times: *“Mr. Mandizwidza is far too scared of elephants, which kill at least one person a year in this district 100 miles north of Harare, to stay up all night banging a pot to drive them away”*

(The New York Times, April 12 1997, S. Daley, page 4). These quotes all seemed to show that elephants can be a nuisance for people. The last quote “humanized” the frame by naming the person that it was about.

Animals and in specific elephants seem to have caused a lot of trouble and problems for local people. Often linked to the “human/elephant conflict” sub frame was another frame, the “income for rural communities” sub frame. This frame was focused on the belief is that this will result in better protection of wildlife: “*Zimbabwe's policies are based on the belief that the best way to protect elephants is to ensure that people benefit from their use and thus have vested interest in their preservation*” (The Washington Post, July 18 1989, R. Simmons, U. Kreuter page 3D). In the Miami Herald: “*While many other African countries are losing their wildlife to poachers and changing environments, Zimbabwe has maintained a successful conservation program over three decades*” (The Miami Herald, December 15 1991, Baltimore sun, Page 6). In The New York Times: “*And allowing rural people to make money from elephants gives them a powerful incentive to protect the species from poachers*” (The New York Times, February 7 1993, R. Bonner, page 17). This frame continued to surface for several years, in the New York Times in 1997 for example: “*Most of the money, which flows from tourism and a handful of very expensive hunting licenses, has been used to build Muzarabani a clinic, a cattle feedlot and a treasured beer hall*” (The New York Times, April 12 1997, S. Daley, page 4).

These two frames, the “human/elephant conflict” sub frame and the “income for rural communities sub frame” were closely related to the “sustainable utilization of wildlife” frame. This frame played an important part in the frames on the wildlife policy in Zimbabwe and possibly the most important role. What is sustainable utilization of wildlife? The Washington Post framed it in the following way in 1989: “*The Zimbabwean approach, known as conservation through utilization, allows safari hunting and tourism on private, state and communal lands as well as the sale of ivory and hides*” (The Washington Post, July 18 1989, R. Simmons, U. Kreuter page 3D). In the New York Times: “*One obvious way to "utilize" wildlife, to make money from it, is through tourism. But more directly profitable forms of sustainable utilization include killing crocodiles, leopards and zebras for their skins; impala, elands and wildebeests for their meat, and lions and buffalos for hunting trophies*” (The New York Times, February 7 1993, R. Bonner, page 17).

The same “sustainable utilization of wildlife” frame that surfaced in 1989 still occurred in 1997 and here CAMPFIRE was mentioned, as the project through which the sustainable utilization of wildlife was being implemented: “*AID contributes its money to the Zimbabwe government's Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), which puts local people in charge of managing their own natural resources*” (The Washington Post, February 18 1997, Guy Gugliotta, Page A11). In the Miami Herald: “*Give villagers a new reason to value elephants. Build tourism around licensed trophy hunting, and earmark proceeds to villages to build schools and clinics, enhancing people's lives. World agencies agreed, and the U.S. Agency for International Development has spent \$5 million and pledged \$20 million more to CAMPFIRE,...*” (The Miami Herald, July 13 1997, Herald Staff, Page 2L)

The majority of the articles in the nineties were supporting Zimbabwe's wildlife policy and most frames were positive because of this. It showed clearly in the articles that USAID was a big financial supporter of CAMPFIRE throughout the nineties. Even though the vast majority of the articles in the USA papers were positive about Zimbabwe's wildlife policy and produced positive frames and articles not everybody agreed with this policy and a few more critical “opposing CAMPFIRE” frames also surfaced in the papers, although these are far in the minority. For example in The Washington Post: “*At this point, AID and the Humane Society pretty much agree on mechanics -- but not on outcomes. AID thinks it is demonstrating to Zimbabweans that a properly managed environment is a renewable and lucrative resource. The Humane Society thinks AID is simply giving Zimbabweans an excuse to kill elephants*” (The Washington Post, February 18 1997, Guy Gugliotta, Page A11). In the Miami Herald: “*To many Americans, however, trophy hunting is an anathema. To the Humane Society of the United States, it's a particular outrage, the more so because U.S. tax dollars support it*” (The Miami

Herald, July 13 1997, Herald Staff, Page 2L). Both papers only published one article each that produced a counter frame on this subject. The Humane Society seemed to be the most vocal in opposing CAMPFIRE and in specific of the support of USAID to CAMPFIRE and with this the use of USA tax dollars for CAMPFIRE.

Around 2000 the frames changed and Zimbabwe lost its example role it seemed to have in the beginning of the nineties. There were not many articles after 2000 and the clearest change showed in only or two articles in each paper. In these articles the “political unrest and land reform” blame frames started to occur. Blaming the land reform policy for the downfall of Zimbabwe’s conservation policy. *“Six months of violent land invasions in Zimbabwe have opened the door to a wave of poaching that has endangered rare animals in a nation that until recently has been acclaimed as one of Africa’s most scrupulous defenders of wildlife”* (Washington Post, May 27 2000, R. Herbert, PA1). In the Miami Herald: *“Illegal hunting by corrupt officials, military officers and their foreign guests increased in many rural areas after the chaotic, often-violent seizures of thousands of white-owned commercial farms began in 2000”* (Miami Herald, March 6 2006, AP, page 18). In The New York Times: *“Zimbabwe’s decision to confiscate most of that land from its white owners, and then to redistribute it to peasants and political supporters, has had an unexpected result: thousands of hungry families on land too poor to support crops have turned to poaching as their prime source of food and income. Private wildlife programs have been all but destroyed”* (The New York Times, October 25 2003, M. Wines).

USAID was a big supporter of CAMPFIRE in the beginning of the nineties. This can be one the reasons that the frames on Zimbabwe’s wildlife policy played an important role in the articles in the USA newspapers, especially in the nineties. The “sustainable utilization of wildlife” frame was the main frame in the articles in the papers on this issue and continued to surface throughout the nineties. To support this main frame: “the human/elephant conflict” sub frame occurred throughout the papers as well as “income for rural communities” sub frame. Interesting was also that some of the articles seemed to be humanizing the frames, meaning that in the articles a person or group of people that benefited from CAMPFIRE or suffered from animals were named in the articles. Besides the two articles that produced a critical frame on CAMPFIRE other frames in the nineties were predominantly positive and supportive of Zimbabwe’s wildlife policy. After 2000 Zimbabwe seemed to lose its example role and the issue disappeared more or less from the papers. The dominant frame after 2000 is the “political unrest and reform” blame frame, replacing all other frame

8.2.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

The frames on Zimbabwe’s wildlife policy were in the USA articles often linked to the ivory ban. This makes sense since ivory was an important source of income for conservation in Zimbabwe before the ivory ban was implemented. It also played an important role because, the ivory ban and the placement of the elephant on appendix I are the opposite of the utilization of wildlife policy that forms the core of Zimbabwe’s wildlife policy. In the articles in the beginning of the nineties blame frames surfaced, focused on the interference of the West in the conservation practices of Zimbabwe for example in the following quote: *“the ban ivory lobby may not have any idea how commercialism can promote conservation, but Zimbabwe does”* (The Washington Post October 20 1989, Editorial Page F2).

The frames that were published are mostly opposing the ivory ban, The USA newspapers and USAID seemed to have been big supporters of Zimbabwe’s wildlife policy and were thus opposing the ivory ban. This did cause some friction because the USA government voted in favor of the ivory ban: *“The contradictory American approach has led to wildlife efforts that seem to be at odds. Although Washington supports international efforts to ban the ivory trade, the United States Agency for International Development recently awarded Zimbabwe and two neighboring countries an \$18 million grant for wildlife management that encourages controlled elephant hunting”* (The New York Times, November 14 1989, J. Perlez, page 7).

What this does showed is that even though the USA government was a supporter of the ivory ban, this was not the ruling frame in the USA newspapers. By far, the majority of the frames that were produced were in favor of Zimbabwe's wildlife policy instead of being in favor of the ivory ban.

Also an us vs. them frames surfaced in these articles the “utilizers vs. protectionist” frame: *“Philosophically, the ensuing battle is an ideological conflict between two warring paradigms, between Conservation and preservation. The difference is that the preservationist want to “save” wildlife from use, whereas conservationist want to save wildlife for use”* (Washington Post, November 9 1994, I. C. Sugg), and *“While pure protection is morally and theoretically attractive, sustainable utilization has practical advantages that may not be obvious at first glance. Allowing people to make money off of threatened species can, if regulated properly, actually help save a species”* (The Washington Post, June 8 1997, W. Marston, Page C02) .

The majority of the articles showed frames in favor of the “utilization of wildlife” over the “protection of wildlife”. Not many frames that were produced frame the arguments and issue as presented by the “protectionist” group. The discourse coalitions that could be derived from the us. vs them frame are the “utilizers” and “protectionist” discourse coalitions. These groups are being led by Zimbabwe and Kenya. The USA newspapers and USAID in the nineties seemed to be members of the “utilizers” discourse coalition. However, some conflict arose in this because the USA government did vote in favor of the ivory ban which is one the main arguments of the protectionist group.

Throughout the nineties the majority articles produced frames that were very positive about Zimbabwe and its wildlife policy. Discourse coalitions showed and Zimbabwe was seen as one of its main actors. After 2000 this changed and blame frames started to surface. Blaming the political situation in Zimbabwe for the downfall of their wildlife policy. Zimbabwe was no longer seen as the leader of “utilization of wildlife” and all that they have been protected in the nineties seems to have been destroyed.

8.2.4 FRAME PARITY

The articles in the nineties did not produce much frame parity. As mentioned above the “protectionist” side of the story was not addressed in full frames in any of these articles and the vast majority focused on sustainable utilization of wildlife and the advantages that this had. Only two articles referred to problems within CAMPFIRE as can be seen in the following quotes and Figure 16: *“And the Humane Society also quotes unflattering passages from an independent study of CAMPFIRE contracted by AID in 1995: District councils have ignored program directives, failed to invest revenue in village projects and taught people nothing about wildlife management, the study said”* (The Washington Post, February 18 1997, Guy Gugliotta, Page A11), and in the Miami Herald: *“The society has asked Congress to cut off the money, alleging that Campfire is riddled with corruption, has done little to diversify Zimbabwe's economy....”* (The Miami Herald, July 13 1997, Herald Staff, Page 2L).

Besides these two articles in the nineties that produced a negative frame on CAMPFIRE, the vast majority hailed the concept and framed only the benefits of it. After 2000 this changed and the frames became very negative but still did not produce frame parity till the issue disappeared after 2005.

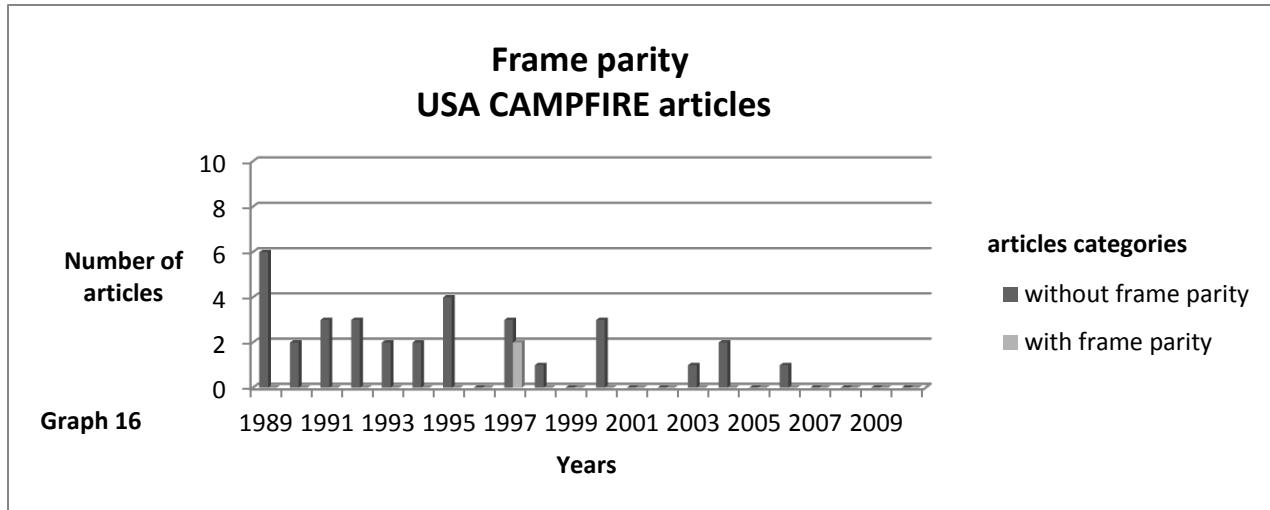


Figure 16: Frame parity among articles published in United states of America articles

8.3 ZIMBABWE

8.3.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

Especially in the nineties, The Herald Harare reported consistently and often on CAMPFIRE as can be seen in Figure 17. In 1998 and 1999 there was a peak in articles, this can be linked to the 10 year anniversary of CAMPFIRE that year. After 2000 less articles were published on the subject and some years no articles were published

The articles were mainly written by Herald Reporters or Zimbabwe's press agency's ZIANA and ZIS (Zimbabwe Information Services).

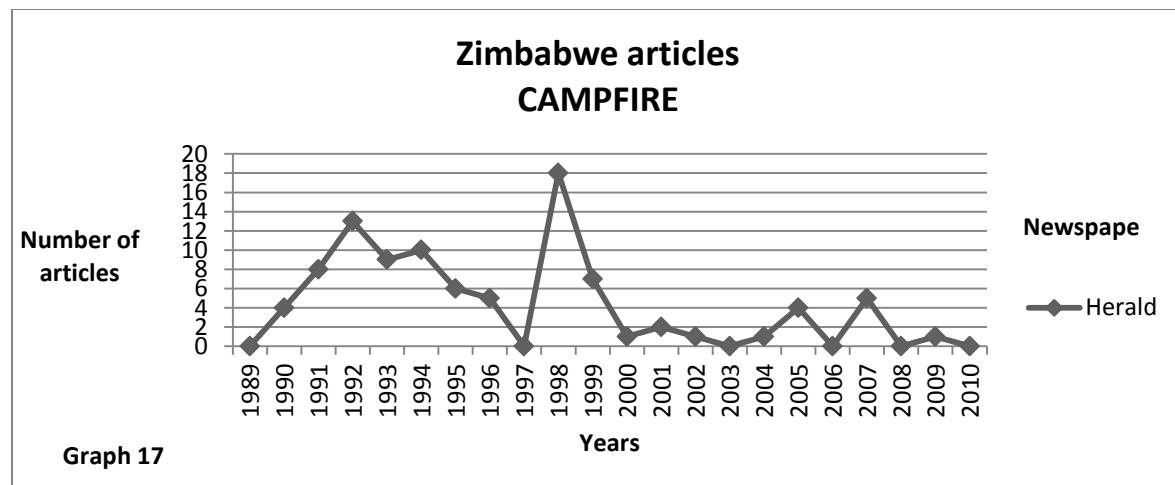


Figure 17: Articles on CAMPFIRE featuring Zimbabwe published in the Herald Harare between 1989 and 2010

8.3.2 FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

Especially the articles in the beginning of the nineties one frame stood out and played a main role in the majority of articles: “the benefit from CAMPFIRE” sub frame. A typical frame will look like this: “*A total of ZW\$ 194.000,- raised from wildlife management schemes in Kariba’s Nyaminyami district is being distributed to people of the area as a result of their successful participation in the CAMPFIRE project*” (Herald Harare, 14 March 1990, ZIANA, page 3). This frame is often followed by a destination for the money or other benefit for the local people that come from CAMPFIRE, in a “benefit for local people” sub frame: “*People in Chikwarakwara, Beitbridge will no longer have to travel over 150 km to the nearest grinding mill as they bought one worth € 34.000,- from proceeds of a CAMPFIRE Wildlife project*” (Herald Harare, October 10 1991, ZIANA page 4). Similar frames surfaced at the end of the nineties: “*....ZW\$ 1.5 million was realized from the Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) last year*” (Herald Harare, 21 April 1999, page 6). “*The council used some of the money to pay electricity arrears...*” (Herald Harare, 21 April 1999, page 6). These two frames together formed the “CAMPFIRE example” frames. After 2000 the articles decreased in amount but the content did not change much and majority of articles were still focused on the same “CAMPFIRE examples” frames as seen in the nineties as shown in the following example. “*BEITBRIDGE Rural District Council has distributed US \$ 28.000, part of the Community Areas Management Programme for Indigenous resources proceeds from natural resources management last year...*” (Herald Harare, 19 September 2009, Herald Reporter, page 2). The following example is using the Masoka community, a community in Zimbabwe, as an example of how they have benefitted from CAMPFIRE “*... took a leading role in wildlife management project having first hand expericend in natural resource utilization. This saw them build a clinic, a school two grinding mills...*” (Herald Harare, 9 November 2005, T. Matope, page 7).

These “CAMPFIRE example” frames were, in longer articles, often supported by the “people should benefit from their natural resources” sub frame: “*.. encouraging those in communal areas to manage their own wildlife resources, by ensuring they benefit from the proceeds of wildlife safaris in the area*” (Herald Harare, 14 March 1990, ZIANA, page 3). and “wildlife is a nuisance” sub frame: “*a project that the trust already had in mind was the erection of electric fences in the area where wildlife had proved to be a problem to the minimal farming activities within the area*” (Herald Harare, 3 December 1990, I.Masuku, page 3). Besides the frames mentioned above the articles also framed other ways the communities benefited from CAMPFIRE for example by providing them with the meat or income from culling done in the area or trainings given to people for CAMPFIRE.

The two frames that formed the “CAMPFIRE example” frame were the most prominent in the newspaper. Often supported by “people should benefit from natural resources” frame and “wildlife is a nuisance” frame. The articles that were published on CAMPFIRE in the Herald Harare were often very locally and small scale oriented. They are often personalized referring to and naming the community or group of people who benefited from the CAMPFIRE program. The vast majority of the articles published on CAMPFIRE were variations on the quotes mentioned above. They framed how people benefit from CAMPFIRE, where they spend their money on and why they should benefit. These articles remained more or less the same for 20 years. No mentioning was made of other conservation possibilities nor did it discuss the differences between Zimbabwe and other African countries. The only difference between the articles in the nineties and after that, was that less articles were published after 2000. However, the articles that were published did continue to show the same frames.

8.3.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

Blame frames also surfaced in the CAMPFIRE frames. These frames were mostly focused on the miss-allocation of funds derived from CAMPFIRE. This blame frame seemed to surface in two varieties: On the one hand, officials blamed the local people for not using the funds properly and on the other hand the communities blamed the officials for telling them what to do. This resulted in two

blame frames: one: the “communities are told how to use funds” blame frame: “*residents in the area were being ordered to build schools with CAMPFIRE funds instead of using the money to compensate people affected by animals*” (Herald Harare, August 1 1991, Herald Reporter page 9). And two: “the local people abuse the funds” blame frame”: “*They also argue that most of the money is not put to good use by villagers, and Dr Chombo said some of them only bought beer using the money, at the expense of development*” (Herald Harare, December 27 1994, Herald Reporter page, 5). This resulted in a us. vs. them frame. The local people vs. officials. From this two discourse coalitions could be derived, The local people and officials discourse coalitions. These discourse coalitions surfaced in several articles

The frames in the articles were very constant the frames did not change after 2000. The same blame frames surfaced throughout the years even though the number of articles decreased after 2000.

8.3.4 FRAME PARITY

The articles showed some frame parity but not in the majority of articles. Interestingly enough in two years the articles showed a lot of frame parity in 1995 and 1998 as can be seen in Figure 18.

Some of the blame frames on the miss-allocation of funds showed the other side and disadvantages of CAMPFIRE and thus produced a counter frame. For example in the following quote: “*... residents in the area were being ordered to build schools with CAMPFIRE funds instead of using the money to compensate people affected by wild animals*” (Herald Harare, 1 August 1991, Herald Reporter, page 9). This example showed problems with CAMPFIRE on local level and the same article produced a frame that the CAMPFIRE association will research the claims. This is a typical way of how problems are framed with CAMPFIRE, not with the association but on local level. Only one or two articles produced problems frames within the CAMPFIRE association for example the following: “*The Communal Areas Management programme for Indigenous Resources has come under fire from the Mashonaland West Provincial Governor, Cde Ignatius Chombo, who says the programme is not fully benefitting rural people in the areas*” (Herald Harare, 6 October 1994, Municipal Reporter, Page 19). In conclusion, the articles that did show frame parity all frame similar problems with CAMPFIRE.

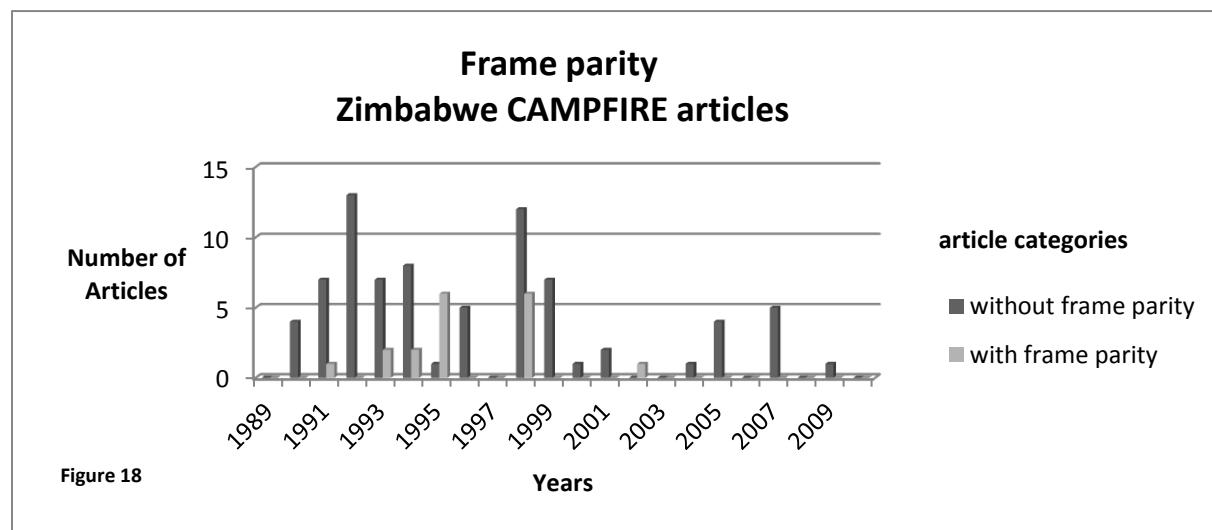


Figure 18: Frame parity among articles published in the Herald Harare, Zimbabwe

8.4 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE THREE COUNTRIES

8.4.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

In all three newspapers Zimbabwe's wildlife policy played a role but not in all three countries did it play an equally big role. In the UK newspapers it played the smallest role, the issue was never the main subject in the articles. In the USA newspapers the frames were also often part of articles on other subjects but more in-depth frames and also more lead articles were published on the issue. In Zimbabwe quite a large number of articles were published on the topic throughout the year and all these articles are solely focused on CAMPFIRE. In all three newspapers the majority of the articles are published in the nineties.

J. Perlez published articles in newspapers in two countries the New York Times, USA and the Guardian, UK, although a much larger number of articles is published in the New York Times. In the Zimbabwe paper the Herald reporters and articles of ZIANA was the major source for articles.

8.4.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

In both the UK and USA newspapers a similar main frame surfaced; the “sustainable use of wildlife” frame. This frame is linked to two sub frames framing Zimbabwe's wildlife policy. First of all the, “human elephant conflict” sub frame and second of all, the “income for rural communities” sub frame. Both of these frames were used as argument to show why Zimbabwe's wildlife policy is necessary and working. In the Zimbabwe paper similar frames were found the “people should benefit from their natural resources” sub frame and “wildlife is a nuisance” sub frame.

A difference between the papers is that in the UK newspapers CAMPFIRE, the main issue/frame, was not often framed by its name. References were made to the program but only in one or two article the word CAMPFIRE was actually used. This was different in the USA newspapers and Zimbabwe paper. In the USA newspapers, CAMPFIRE and “sustainable utilization of wildlife” frame was often used in the media by name. The two frames mentioned in the first paragraph were used as arguments to illustrate what sustainable utilization of wildlife was. CAMPFIRE, was framed as the way of implementing and realizing all of this. The articles and frames in the USA newspapers were also more detailed than in the UK newspapers. This could have been caused by the fact that USAID was one of CAMPFIRE's biggest sponsors.

In Zimbabwe the type of articles were very different in comparison to the international newspapers. The articles were very small scale and locally oriented and this caused many different frames to occur that did not surface in the international newspapers. For example the “benefit from CAMPFIRE” frame in which it is framed how participants of CAMPFIRE benefit from the program.

Another difference that showed between the countries is that in both the USA and Zimbabwe papers articles were found that “personalized” the issue by naming the person, group of persons or communities that benefited from CAMPFIRE or suffered from wildlife. In the UK the articles were more neutral and no reference was made to a specific group.

In the USA and UK newspapers the negative sides of CAMPFIRE were framed in the articles but not often. The amount of articles decreased in all three countries but a change in frames only became visible in the international newspapers. The frames in the articles in the Zimbabwe newspaper did not change throughout the years. In the international paper this was different, they did change and the “political unrest and land reform” blame frame started to dominate with sub-frames linked to this main frame. These were mainly blame frames, blaming the political situation and in specific land reform for the deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe.

8.4.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

The blame frames that occurred in the different countries differed per country. In the Zimbabwean paper the blame frames were focused on problems within CAMPFIRE. In the USA newspapers the blame frames that were published in the nineties were focused on the government being a supporter of the ivory ban which contradicted of course with the philosophy of CAMPFIRE and was because of this a quite interesting news topic . In the UK papers no real blame frames showed except for the blame frames that occurred in the frames after 2000,which were discussed in the previous part.

Us vs. them frames did show in the UK newspapers as well as the others. Different discourse coalitions surfaced in the Zimbabwe newspaper in comparison to the international papers. In the Zimbabwe paper the discourse coalition that showed was the local people vs. CAMPFIRE officials. In the UK and USA newspapers the discourse coalitions that showed were the “utilizers” vs. “protectionist” discourse coalitions with Zimbabwe and Kenya framed as a member of each.

8.4.4 FRAME PARITY

All three countries showed some frame parity although some more than others as can be seen in the figures 14,16 and 18. The Zimbabwe newspapers showed some frame parity framing the problems with CAMPFIRE. The UK newspapers the most frame parity showed, in the beginning of the nineties, when both discourse coalitions were framed quite clearly. In the USA newspapers the articles hardly showed any frame parity. The vast majority of the articles showed a clear preference for Zimbabwe's wildlife policy and hardly any other or critical frames were produced.

9. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE THREE CHAPTERS

9.1 THE ARTICLES AND THE ROLE ZIMBABWE PLAYED

During the analysis of the collected data it became clear that three issues, related to Zimbabwe's wildlife policy, surfaced in the articles in the three countries and played a role in the newspapers for the period of 21 years, the selected period for the study. These issues are the ivory ban, rhino and CAMPFIRE.

The publishing of the articles in the different countries showed a similar pattern. The majority of the articles were written in the nineties. Especially in the USA articles the number of articles published before and after 2000 showed a clear difference. The number of articles published after 2000 was a lot less and some of the issues even disappeared more or less from the newspaper articles altogether. Also in the UK newspapers and the Herald Harare the amount of articles decreased after 2000 but they did continue to publish more articles than in the USA newspapers.

There were also few smaller differences between the number of articles on the issues in the countries. For example different peaks in articles showed over the years. The articles on the ivory ban peaked around 1989, 1997 and 1999, see Figures 1, 3 and 5, this can be linked to important events taking place around the ivory ban in those years. In the articles on the rhinos a peak showed around 1992/1993, which can also be linked to important events around the protection of the rhinos see Figures 7, 9 and 11. In the Zimbabwean paper the rhino issue disappeared from the papers for a period of almost 10 years, between 1997 and 2005, see Figure 11. In the articles on CAMPFIRE the peaks differed per country and could not be linked to an event taking place as can be seen in Figures 13, 15 and 17.

The UK articles provided on all issues the least insight and frames because Zimbabwe often only played a role in the articles and is not the main subject. This was less the case in the USA articles were Zimbabwe played a more central role in the articles. In the Zimbabwe articles, Zimbabwe always played the central role.

One journalist stood out in the articles, that was Jane Perlez, more journalists besides her published articles on more than one issue but she is the only journalist that published articles on different issues and in different countries, in the UK Guardian and the New York Times. What is even more interesting is the type of articles she published. In the New York Times her articles were mostly very much in favor of Zimbabwe's wildlife policy and often did not show much frame parity. In the Guardian the articles are more neutral and even leaning towards Kenya. In the Zimbabwe paper, the majority of the articles were written by Herald reporters or came from one of Zimbabwe's press agencies.

9.2 ISSUE FRAMES AND CHANGE OF POSITION IN THE MEDIA

In the articles in the beginning of the nineties it became clear that each issue has its own frames and that many differences and similarities can be found between the frames in the three countries on each issue. Although some frames overlapped between countries none of the frames surfaced in more than two chapters in the nineties. Some of the frames in the CAMPFIRE issue and ivory ban did overlap to a certain degree. What can be concluded from the frames found in the research is that, throughout the nineties, Zimbabwe was, in the majority of the articles, seen as an example for the type of wildlife conservation they practiced and lobbied for. Even if the article or writer was not in favour of the policy itself, in general, Zimbabwe would be framed as a successful example of this type of wildlife conservation that focused on the utilization of wildlife or in other words giving economic value to wildlife.

However, more importantly for answering the research question of this research is that the study showed that the frames on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe, in the international media and in all three issues, changed roughly around the same time: around 2000, which is also when the political unrest started in Zimbabwe. Around this time the political situation in Zimbabwe started to play a central role in many of the articles. Together this resulted in an overall change of frames. After 2000, the majority of the frames disappeared from the articles in the international papers and one overall blame frame, supported by “sub” frames, started to dominate articles: the “political unrest and land reform” blame frame, blaming Zimbabwe’s political situation and in specific land reform for the deteriorating situation for the animals and wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. For example: for the increase of poaching on rhinos in Zimbabwe. This is a complete turnaround after the mostly positive frames that were published in the nineties in both the UK and USA newspapers.

Not all three issues showed the change in the frames equally clear. In the articles on the ivory ban in the UK and USA, the change only showed in one or two articles but not in the rest. In the USA the ivory ban issue, disappeared more or less from the newspapers after 2000. The change of frames in newspapers in both countries became more clear in the articles on the rhino and CAMPFIRE issue.

Even though the articles in the international media changed radically after 2000 the articles in the Zimbabwe paper the Herald Harare stay the same and the frames never changed, in none of the issues. The same frames that surfaced in the beginning of the nineties can be found at the end of 2000. It seems that in Zimbabwe the political situation did not infiltrate in the articles on wildlife conservation. This is not the case in the international papers were the two seem to be interrelated after 2000. A summary of the frames can be found in appendix 1

9.3 DISCOURSE COALITIONS, BLAME FRAMES AND US VS. THEM FRAMES

Different blame frames and us vs. them frames appeared in articles on each issue. These frames differed per issue and not many overlapped. Also the vast majority of the blame frames and us vs. them frames were linked to the specific issue and did not overlap.

One of the us vs. them frame did overlap, this frame showed two discourse coalitions that surfaced in two of the chapters in the international papers. In the chapter discussing the CAMPFIRE articles similar discourse coalitions surfaced as in the articles on the ivory ban. This was the “utilizers” vs. “the protectionist” frame which showed two discourse coalitions in which Zimbabwe was framed as a member of the “utilizers” and Kenya as a member of the “protectionist”. A difference between the chapters was that the other members of these coalitions became less clear in the CAMPFIRE chapter. The overlap of the us. vs. them frame and discourse coalitions can be explained by the overlap between the two issues. CAMPFIRE and the ivory ban issue are very strongly interlinked. Ivory trade is one of the main incomes for CAMPFIRE. In the Zimbabwe paper this us. vs. them frame only showed in the ivory ban chapter. The CAMPFIRE chapter showed completely different discourse coalitions. This is caused by the fact that the majority of the articles are, especially in this chapter, very localized. Meaning by this, that the articles focused on the situation in Zimbabwe and did not make a comparison to or between other countries. Zimbabwe’s articles in general were more locally oriented but this showed especially in the CAMPFIRE chapter. The discourse coalitions in the articles on the rhino issue became less clear and differed per country. In this chapter, no real discourse coalitions showed in the nineties but after 2000 you could possibly identify a West vs. Zimbabwe discourse coalitions. However, this became clearer in the Zimbabwe paper than the international papers

9.4 FRAME PARITY

The frame parity in the articles also gave some surprising results. In theory all articles in newspapers should show complete frame parity but this was often not the case and differed per country and period. The research showed that when the situation in Zimbabwe deteriorates the same seem to happen to the frame parity in the articles. This shows that even though preferred by the free press, many articles do

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not show frame parity. Of the three countries the UK newspapers showed in all three issues the most frame parity as can be seen when comparing Figures 2, 8 and 14 with Figures 4, 6, 10, 12, 16 and 18. The USA was next, as can be seen in Figures 4, 10 and 16 and the Zimbabwe articles showed the least frame parity. In comparing the issues, the most frame parity showed the articles on the ivory ban in the nineties. The rhino issue showed the least frame parity. The Zimbabwe paper showed the least frame parity over the period of twenty one years. After 2000, the articles on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe in the international lost most frame parity and the articles became very one sided.

10. CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to get a clearer understanding of how wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe is framed in the (inter) national papers. The research also aimed to show if, and if so how, these frames changed over time and if they changed, if there was a connection visible between the changes in the articles and the political situation in Zimbabwe. In this conclusion I will first summarize the answers on the sub questions followed by answer on the main research question

I conclude that wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe is most visible framed in three issues in the international media namely, the ivory (ban), rhino and CAMPFIRE. More issues concerning wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe are discussed in the papers but these three were the most dominant and constant over the research period of 21 years and gave the clearest idea of how wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe is framed. As mentioned before it seemed that in the nineties, whether people did or did not agree with their conservation philosophies, the majority of the articles did agree on one thing and that was: that Zimbabwe was successful in their conservation program. They were seen as one of the leading countries in all three controversial issues. First of all, they were (are) one of the strongest and most vocal opposition to the ivory ban (which seems to be a very newsworthy event especially in the beginning of the nineties). Second of all, they were often seen as the leaders when it came to rhino conservation and protection. And third of all, they started a controversial program of wildlife conservation that included local people and let them benefit from wildlife resources (CAMPFIRE). Similar frames occurred in the same issues in the different countries and some overlapped even between issues. A summary of these frames can be found in appendix 1. Besides the frames different discourse coalitions were identified in the issues, these were similar in two of the issues ivory ban and CAMPFIRE. The most prominent are two discourse coalitions the “utilizers vs. protectionist”. The members of these discourse coalitions became the clearest in the ivory ban issue. Frame parity does not occur in all articles and less frame parity showed in the articles after 2000. After 2000 the frames and Zimbabwe’s position changed, nowadays it seems that they are no longer seen as an example and perhaps, judging by the decreasing number of articles after 2000, this makes them less interesting for the articles on these issues. What seems to have become interesting instead is the Zimbabwe governments controversial reforms such as land reform. This showed in the frames in the international papers, in which politics started to play a central role. This is different in Zimbabwe were the Herald continued to publish the same type of frames for twenty one years.

I was also interested to see if myths and metaphors would becoming visible after the political situation in Zimbabwe started to look like a disaster area. As shown in previous parts, the research has shown that the international papers started to produce completely different frames after 2000. After 2000, the frames in the international newspapers became dominantly negative, whether correct or not. The main focus of the articles, after 2000, is on poaching, violence and violent land take over.

Perhaps you could say that the political situation in Zimbabwe started to look like disaster area around this time because of the political unrest in the country. Especially one myth or metaphor seem to be appear in the overall blame frame “the political unrest and land reform” blame frame supported by the sub-frames linked to this. One of the main myths or metaphors described in the literature is looting, this also seems to appear in the frames in this research, not the “traditional” way of looting, but the bush equivalent: poaching. In this case poaching for bush meat, ivory or rhino horns. Wildlife poaching is a much discussed problem in the articles after 2000 and played a role in the majority of the articles. A second myth or metaphor that seems to show is, social disorganization, for example; the squatters that settled (illegally) in the game reserves and national parks, and by doing so causing a lot of problems for the owners or management, causing a form of social disorganization. Both of these possible myths or metaphors are discussed in many of the articles used in the research after 2000 and can be linked to both the land reform policy that was started to be implemented after 2000 and the political instability in Zimbabwe. Whether they are indeed myths and metaphors cannot be confirmed with this research.

The main research question: is there a “spill over” effect from frames on the political situation into the frames of wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe after the political situation in Zimbabwe changes and if so how can we understand this?

This study shows that, yes, there is an “overspill” from the frames of the political situation in Zimbabwe into frames on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe after the political situation changes. Throughout the nineties politics did not play a visible role in the frames. This changed, when the political situation in is taking a turn for the worse in Zimbabwe. After 2000 it starts to affect and even play a key role in the frames in the articles and also framing parity was affected, it decreased. Although there continues to be small differences between the issues, the similarities are more interesting and striking. In the vast majority of the articles after 2000 Zimbabwe is no longer seen as an example or even leader in wildlife conservation. In conclusion the frames do change and one overall blame frame started to dominate the published articles after 2000, the “political unrest and land reform” blame frame. The political situation and land reform is blamed in these frames, most importantly, for poaching of endangered and threatened species. But also, also game reserves and national parks are, according to the articles, destroyed because of the changing political situation. You could say that Zimbabwe goes from leader to pariah in terms of wildlife conservation according to the frames in the international newspapers. What also became clear is that there were differences between the countries, in Zimbabwe the frames did not change at all and this over spill did thus not happen in the Zimbabwe papers

The way a certain issue or event is framed in the media often determines for a large part how we form our personal frames around that issue. If these media frames turn out to be all negative our own frames are also bound to become more negative. This is what also shows in this research, when the political situation took a turn for the worse so did the frames in the international media. It is therefore, in my opinion, important to realize that although we might want to believe that the media is objective this is, more often than not, not the case. And perhaps can it be? That is also what this research aims to show on a more societal level: the importance to be aware of the fact that media articles, like all other things in life, are not free from outside power. Journalist, like all of us, are influenced not only by their own frames but also by the frames of their sources, sponsors etc. The media is powerful, because it is often our only source of information, but the frames it produces are influenced by many outside factors and not always from different sides which can often result in a lack of frame parity. One could imagine that if a country is only framed negatively in the media like, in this research Zimbabwe and it's wildlife conservation policy after 2000, that this could influence possible donor's or other important organizations decisions to give much needed aid or assistance.

11. DISCUSSION

Two major changes happen after 2000, in the articles on Zimbabwe's wildlife conservation. The first change is, that the international media seems to lose interest in wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. The second change is, that as soon as the political situation escalates the frames change in the media. Before 2000 Zimbabwe's internal politics does not play a role in the articles on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. After 2000, Zimbabwe's politics becomes the main focus of the frames in the articles that are published on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. This led to the conclusion that yes, there is an "over-spill". In the next part I will discuss what perhaps could be reasons for this.

First of all the occurrence of myths could play a role in the changing frames. As discussed in the conclusion this study revealed frames which could possibly be identified as myths. Whether the frames on the situation in Zimbabwe that appeared in the media after 2000 are in fact myths and metaphors cannot be confirmed with this research. However, this could be an interesting topic for further research. The current disaster literature seems to focus solely on natural disasters (Goltz 1984; Wenger 1986; Fisher 1998; Barsky 2006 ; Stock 2007; Binu, Mawson et al. 2008). It is argued that this type of research is avoided because it could possibly result in very different outcomes (Fisher 1998). Fisher however also argues that it might be time to see to which extent the disaster literature is applicable to other types of disasters (Fisher 1998), perhaps political disaster could be a new focus.

Disaster literature on myths seems to agree on the fact that the myths do occur in the media in times of natural disaster and that this can influence on how a disaster is addressed and handled. (Goltz 1984; Wenger 1986; Stock 2007; Binu, Mawson et al. 2008). One myth that is playing a prominent role in the disaster literature is "looting" (Goltz 1984; Wenger 1986; Quarantelli 1994; Tierney et al. 2006; Barsky 2006). Natural disaster differ in many ways from the political "disaster" and also the response to it most likely differs. The most important difference in my opinion is that natural disasters are not manmade and often the government plays an important role in solving problems that appear afterwards although this is not always deemed the right approach nor successful (Stock 2007). In the case of political unrest this is not the case. This "disaster" is caused by man and the government often plays a central role in the cause of the disaster rather than playing a role in the solution. For example, in the case of Zimbabwe, the government was (by most) seen as the cause of the problems in the country (Human Rights Watch 2002). However, similarities can also be seen. For example: with natural disasters certain stages are identified: the pre-impact period, impact period, post impact stage, recovering and reconstruction (Fisher 1998; Stock 2007). These can, in my opinion, also be seen in other types of disaster in this case political disaster. Another similarity is that the media also tends to show (more) biased reporting in times of war and political unrest (Kolmer and Semetko 2009) which is also the case in natural disasters as this is the basis of the disaster myth literature (Goltz 1984; Wenger 1986; Quarantelli 1994; Tierney et al. 2006; Barsky 2006).

The research showed frames that perhaps could be identified as myths. Gandiwa's preliminary research as well as other studies showed that in some cases the size of Zimbabwe's wildlife population has grown or remained stable (Chamaillé-Jammes, Valeix et al. 2009; Dunham, Van Der Westhuizen et al. 2010; Gandiwa, in prep; Valeix, Fritz et al. 2008; Zisadza, Gandiwa et al. 2010), whereas the articles make us believe that there has been massive poaching in Zimbabwe. However, this does not mean that the articles published myths, there could be numerous reasons why this is. To name two, first of all it seems that in the articles a distinction is made between private game reserves and national parks and because of this it could be possible that the situation in National Parks is not as bad because they were better protected than private game reserves. Second of all the opening of the Limpopo park linking three massive national parks together from three countries (Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique) could perhaps also play a role. In order to conclude whether these are indeed myths further research will be necessary and I believe that this would be an interesting contribution to the existing literature on disaster myths and will add new insight to the existing body of literature.

What happens in the articles after 2000, myths or not, is a media attention shift. The focus of the articles on Zimbabwe shifts to the political situation itself and the suffering of the people and animals because of this. Zimbabwe's wildlife policies no longer seems important. This results in the media and other stakeholders involved "taking their hands off" wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe as soon as the political situation in Zimbabwe worsens. Zimbabwe loses its pioneer or example function. In the nineties, Zimbabwe was, by many perceived as a leader at their type of conservation and a very successful leader indeed. After 2000, it seems that nobody wants to be associated with Zimbabwe anymore, including some of their former partners. The reason for this seems to be the political situation, the government is blamed for everything that goes wrong and this starts to play a central role in the frames in the articles that are published. Nobody wants to be "seen" with Zimbabwe anymore and politics and wildlife conservation become intertwined. The articles no longer focus on what Zimbabwe's stand or position is on certain issues and instead focuses on what the political situation does to wildlife and nature in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's wildlife conservation policy seems to be "tarnished" by its politics and because of this can no longer be seen as equal voice in these controversial issues on wildlife conservation whose opinion needs to be considered.

What perhaps could also explain the "hands off" reaction by the international media is that, the political relations between the countries completely change. Both countries(UK and USA) have been major donor's to Zimbabwe and in specific to Zimbabwe's original land reform plans. Both pledged millions of dollars during the ZIMCO meeting in 1981 to the redistribution of land as was agreed during the Lancaster house agreement. (US department of state diplomacy in action; Embassy of Zimbabwe 2012;Chigora and DEWA "Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Both governments decided to stop funding this in the nineties and some, mostly government supporters, blame this for most of Zimbabwe's problems and in specific for forcing the Zimbabwean government of engaging in the current form of land reform (US department of state diplomacy in action; Embassy of Zimbabwe 2012;Chigora and DEWA "Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). Especially the UK is blamed for not honouring their agreement as set out in the Lancaster house agreement but also the US is blamed and accused of not honouring it's agreement and thus a cause of the problems (Embassy of Zimbabwe 2012;Chigora and DEWA "Zimbabwe." Encyclopædia Britannica 2012). The UK and USA political relations have deteriorated since 1997 and both have, besides the stop of funding, also been actively imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe.

What is also interesting is that not only the number of articles decrease in all international papers but also that there is a difference visible between the international papers in the two countries used in this research (UK and USA). The "hands off" reaction by the media seems to be more serious in the USA papers than in the UK. The number of articles after 2000 decreased to a bare minimum and if there was an article it was very negative. The reason for this could perhaps also be the political relation between the countries. The USA, has no historical ties to Zimbabwe like the UK, but has been an important funder of different programs in Zimbabwe. From the pledge made during the ZIMCO meeting to being one of the main funders of CAMPFIRE from the beginning of the nineties. This made Zimbabwe newsworthy for the USA media throughout the nineties. Both stopped and the USA have strongly condemned the Zimbabwe government since then (US department of state diplomacy in action 2012). This could be a reason why Zimbabwe became less news worthy for the USA. It also explains why their "hands off" reaction is stronger, they no longer want to be associated with CAMPFIRE or Mugabe's regime. The UK articles continue more stable, although also decreasing, which perhaps can be linked to UK's historical ties with Zimbabwe which cannot be broken as easily as the ties to the USA. Even in the Zimbabwe paper, the amount of articles decreases after 2000 but the issues still continue to play an important role in the media, which could be explained by the fact that the issues, affect more directly the people's lives in Zimbabwe. Whether these changes in the political relations as well as the position of Zimbabwe in the wildlife conservation debate are the reasons for the change of frames and decrease of article cannot be confirmed with this study.

Although it cannot be confirmed research in framing shows that the political relations between countries can have a severe impact on the way an issue or event is framed. Entman, shows in his article on the “Framing of U.S. Coverage of international news: contrast in narratives of the KAL and Iran Air incidents” an example of this. This research shows, how the U.S media frames two incidents. First of all the US downing of an Iranian plane which is framed as a technical glitch and second of all the Soviet downing of a Korean plane which was framed as a moral outrage (Entman 1991, Entman 2004). In this case the Cold war Paradigm influenced the response among elites, journalists and citizens (Entman 1991; Entman 2004) and led to the framing of two similar incidents in a completely different way.

A less extreme example of what effect a different political stand can have on framing is showing in the research done by De Vreese et al. They did a cross comparative study on “framing politics at the launch of the euro. What they concluded is that although the introduction of the euro was framed more or less the same. The differences that occurred merely showed in the countries in which the euro was not introduced. In these countries the main frame centred about what it would mean not to belong to the new “euro land” whereas in the countries where the euro was introduced the frames focussed on the economic consequence(de Vreese et al.2001). Both this example as the previous examples given reason to believe that the changing political context can be responsible for the “spill over” effect and the changed frames.

The decreasing number of articles as well as the changed frames could thus be a consequence of both the changed relationship between the three countries and Zimbabwe losing its example role in the wildlife conservation debate. The changed frames could be myths, differences as well as similarities show in the literature and it could be interesting to do further research on this.

This research focussed on newspaper articles, because of this it is not possible to focus on the possible consequences of these changed frames. Disaster literature on myths show that these myths can have a profound impact on for example aid (Tierney et al. 2006). By conducting for example interviews with different people involved in wildlife conservation, it would perhaps have been possible to focus more on the consequences these frames had on wildlife conservation in Zimbabwe. This study also did not really focus more on where the frames originate from, what makes journalist frame one issue over another, where do their sources come from. This could give insight on how frames develop and why certain frames, perhaps myths, develop over others. I do not think that not conducting this is a short coming in this study because it did not focus on this. Both, however, could be interesting suggestions for future research.

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APPENDIX 1

Most important frames of the International papers

Opposing the ban frame	rhino near extinct/rhino poaching frame	sustainable utilization of wildlife frame
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •loss of income/income will be used for conservation frame •too many elephants frame •ivory ban will lead to increase poaching frame •political unrest and land reform blame frame (after 2000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •war frame/ shoot to kill •dehorning frame •allow trade in rhino horn frame •Intensive protection zones frame •political unrest and land reform blame frame (after 2000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •income for rural communities frame •human/elephant conflict frame •political unrest and land reform blame frame (after 2000)

Most important frames of Zimbabwe papers

opposing the ban frame	rhino near extinct/rhino poaching frame	CAMPFIRE example frame
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •the loss of income/right to exploit a resource frame •too many elephants frame •ivory ban will lead to increase poaching frame •illegal ivory trade leads to arrest and conviction a fine or jail time frame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •war frame/ shoot to kill •dehorning •allow trade in rhino horn frame •Intensive protection zones frame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •benefit from CAMPFIRE frame •benefit for local people frame •people should benefit from their natural resources frame •human elephant conflict

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